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Policing In Indian Country

by Stewart Wakeling, Miriam Jorgensen,
and Susan Michaelson

Human Trafficking: “Natasha’s” Story

by Donna M. Hughes

Rural Alaskan Police Face High Turnover

by Darryl Wood

Winning Innovations in Criminal Justice

by Gail Christopher

and

At-A-Glance

■ Reducing Violence Against Indian Women

by Eileen Luna

■ Vermonters Speak Out About Justice System

by John Doble with Judith Greene





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Director's Message

This issue of the *NIJ Journal* brings three articles about the challenges of administering justice in Indian Country. In the cover story, Stewart Wakeling and his colleagues at Harvard describe the results of their exploratory study of policing practices on Indian reservations. As they explain the differences between Indian Country and municipal policing, the authors focus on specific problems faced by police departments in Indian Country and how Federal policy has influenced these issues. The article also notes the benefits of community policing in Indian Country.

Darryl Wood examines a situation often faced by law enforcement officers in remote areas: high turnover rates. Wood looks specifically at factors that affect turnover of officers in Alaska Native villages. He found that officers are more likely to stay in the Village police officer program if they are grounded in the Alaska Native culture, serve in their home villages, serve with other police officers (either village police officers or tribal police), and if they are married.

In the third article, Eileen Luna reports findings from her evaluation of the effectiveness of grants to help prevent and respond to violence against Indian women. This short article, found in the "At-A-Glance: Recent Research Findings" section of the *Journal*, describes how the tribes used the grants to improve coordination and training and enhance the focus on Native culture. The result: improved enforcement and conviction.

Donna Hughes looks at trafficking of women for use in the global sex industry. Between 100,000 and 500,000 Ukrainian women were trafficked in the 1990's alone. The United States is one of the recipient countries, and, as a result, legislation was passed to help stop the importation of women. Hughes looks at the factors feeding the need in the supplying countries, the extent of the problem in the United States, and actions that the United States can take to further eliminate the trafficking of women.

Criminal justice organizations are continually adapting to new issues and circumstances—such as human trafficking—and sometimes when they look at these problems from a new angle, they find innovative ways to solve them. Gail Christopher's article discusses different approaches to solving problems as exhibited by the winners and finalists of the 2000 Innovations in American Government Program. She describes the lessons learned from government innovations, the value of collaboration, the vital need for flexibility, and the importance of new information technologies.

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The “Natasha” Trade

Trafficking of women for global prostitution rings has become an epidemic in the former Soviet Union due to economic hardships and increased global communication technologies. Ukrainian women are currently the most sought after nationality, and it is estimated that 100,000 to 500,000 of these women were trafficked during the 1990’s. The U.S., one of the recipient countries, has passed recent legislation to help combat this growing situation. See “The ‘Natasha’ Trade: Transnational Sex Trafficking,” page 8. Photo source: PhotoDisc

Alaska's Native Police Turnover

Since the State’s inception in 1959, Alaska Native police departments have had extremely high officer turnover rates. A study of the factors associated with attrition in rural Alaska Native villages found that officers are more likely to remain in their positions if they are connected to the native culture, serve in their home village, are not the sole officer in the village, and are married. See “Police Turnover in Isolated Communities: The Alaska Experience,” page 16. Photo source: PhotoDisc

Policing on American Indian Reservations

*by Stewart Wakeling, Miriam Jorgensen,
and Susan Michaelson*



Policing in Indian Country is strikingly different from that of the municipal police department with which most of us are familiar.

Crime is increasing dramatically in Indian Country, but little is known about how the unique context of Indian Country—the culture, geography, and economy, for example—affects law enforcement policies and practices. This article summarizes the findings from the authors' exploratory report on policing on American Indian reservations.

The superficial description of Indian Country law enforcement shows a rural environment with rural-style policing. Imagine an area the size of Delaware, but with a population of only 10,000, that is patrolled by no more than three police officers and as few as one officer at any one time—a level of police coverage that is much lower than in other areas of the country.¹ Most departments are administered by tribes (through a contract between the tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]), but many are administered directly by BIA.

An important distinction is that these communities have

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The authors' full report on policing on American Indian reservations, NIJ grant number 95-IJ-CX-0086, is forthcoming in spring 2001 from NIJ. To obtain a copy, see the "For More Information" section at the end of this article.

a "government-to-government" relationship with the United States.² Although tribes control a narrower scope of policy than do nations such as Germany and Brazil, they have significantly more scope for policy-making than do cities or even U.S. States. Indian nations adopt constitutions for their societies, write civil laws to regulate conduct and commerce within their territorial boundaries, and enforce those laws with their own judicial systems.

Another distinguishing feature of these communities is that they exhibit an exceptionally wide variety of social and economic characteristics. Also, while "American Indian" is a single race category on the U.S. Census, members of one tribe can be as different from those of

another tribe as citizens of Greece are from citizens of Vietnam. Even so, most Indian nations face severe social and economic problems. Despite new tribal opportunities, American Indians remain the poorest minority in the United States.³

Problems and Challenges

The threat of increasing crime, particularly violent crime, is especially worrisome because we know far less than we would like about crime in Indian Country. This stems from the unique culture, geography, and economics on American Indian reservations; the limited administrative and technological resources available to tribal police departments; inadequate coordination between tribal and Federal agencies; and management problems common to both tribal and BIA police departments. Even when it is possible to obtain accurate tribal-level data, the prevalence and character of crime vary widely from reservation to reservation.

With this said, what do we know about the general prevalence, distribution, and character of crime on reservations?

- The intensity and range of problems that police departments in Indian Country must respond to are increasing significantly.

Crime is increasing dramatically in Indian Country, but little is known about how the unique context of Indian Country —the culture, geography, and economy, for example —affects law enforcement policies and practices.

Methodology

This research project was conducted by the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management and the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, two research programs affiliated with the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

The study began with a literature review and visits to several Indian police departments and the Indian

Police Academy in New Mexico. A two-part survey was distributed to Indian police departments, and intensive site visits were made to four reservations.

In selecting study sites, the authors chose Indian nations that varied on as many relevant dimensions as could be captured in a small sample. The four nations selected were the Tohono O'odham and the Gila River Indian Community (both in Arizona), the Confederated

Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation (in Montana), and the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation (in North Dakota).

The authors studied these reservation departments and the tribal contexts in which they operate in order to gain a richer understanding of the diverse and complex ways in which Native communities cope with policing challenges.

- A growing number of reservation residents have settled in semi-urban communities, and much of the crime on reservations occurs in these fairly dense areas.
- Notwithstanding recent reports of dramatic increases in violent crime on reservations, especially among youth, the crimes that most occupy police in Indian Country are those that directly or indirectly relate to alcohol abuse.

Moreover, departments in Indian Country face these challenges with a limited resource base. Existing data suggest that tribes have between 55 and 75 percent of the resource base available to non-Indian communities. However, the terms used in this comparison may underestimate the resource needs of Indian Country departments. The appropriate police coverage (police officers per thousand residents) comparison may not be between Indian departments and departments serving communities of similar size, but between Indian departments and communities with similar crime problems.

Given that the violent crime rate in Indian Country is likely to be between double and triple the national average,⁴ comparable communities would be large urban areas with high violent crime rates. For example, Baltimore (MD), Detroit (MI), New York (NY), and Washington (DC) feature high police-to-citizen ratios, from 3.9 to 6.6 officers per thousand residents.⁵ Few, if any, departments in Indian Country have ratios of more than 2 officers per thousand residents.

In fact, this does not capture the severity or complexity of the challenges to reservation policing. In the view of many researchers, policymakers, and police professionals, there is a crisis in reservation policing. This research supports such a conclusion. Among the problems that the authors and others have found are that:

- High turnover and poor employee morale result in a lack of well-qualified and experienced officers.

- Basic departmental management is flawed.
- Inadequate budgets, fiscal mismanagement, and even corruption create serious obstacles to the effective delivery of important police services and programs.
- Undue political interference in police operations inhibits the ability of the police to perform their duties in a fair and equitable manner and reduces the credibility of the police in the eyes of the community.

A number of special reports, commissions, conferences, and blue-ribbon committees have grappled with these problems and have responded with a wide variety of recommendations and proposals. These include increased funding, tightened management, clarification of ambiguous reporting relationships, and better technology. Many of these responses are necessary steps for improving policing in Indian Country, but they may treat the symptoms rather than the disease.

The historical record shows how Federal policy created a system that served the interests of the U.S. Government and nontribal citizens and failed to promote the ability of Indian nations to design and exert meaningful control over their own policing institutions. However, there is a substantial body of research that suggests a road map for understanding and beginning to remedy the problems with policing that are rooted in Federal policy.

Lessons From the Research

The authors argue that many of these issues are linked in important ways to Federal policy. Certainly, there is strong evidence of long, cumulative, negative effects of Federal policy on the practice of policing in Indian Country.

The historical record shows how Federal policy created a system that served the interests of the U.S. Government and nontribal citizens and failed to promote the ability of Indian nations to design and exert meaningful control over their own policing institutions.

However, there is a substantial body of research that suggests a road map for understanding and

beginning to remedy the problems with policing that are rooted in Federal policy.

Tribal Control of Institutions. Beginning in the 1970's, a handful of Indian nations embarked on successful paths of social and economic development. Research by the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED) indicates that the common denominator among these successful tribes was an effective government—one that was capable of both determining and implementing the policy priorities of the community.

One indicator of a tribal government's ability to effectively make and implement decisions is whether it has adequate control over its

own institutions. Significantly, the research also indicates that an alignment between the form and powers of a government's contemporary institutions and the form and powers of its pre-reservation institutions is most likely to create this stability, respect, and legitimacy. Yet that match is not typical: The U.S. Government created the twentieth-century governments of most tribes, overriding indigenous institutions.

In cases where tribes were fortunate enough to avoid imposed constitutions or where, fortuitously, the imposed structure is well matched to pre-reservation forms, tribes are performing well; but where the match is poor, tribes are struggling.⁶

One important lesson from this research concerns the effect of increased tribal control over tribal institutions. Only those tribes that have acquired meaningful control over their governing institutions have experienced improvements in local economic and social conditions. The research has not found a single case of sustained economic development where the tribe is not in the driver's seat. Although tribal-BIA relationships in thriving Indian nations range from cooperative to contentious, they are all characterized by a demotion of the BIA (and of other Federal agencies) from decision maker to advisor and provider of technical assistance.

Federal policies that regulate Indian policing have the twin effects of reducing tribal control and diffusing accountability for institutional performance. Tribes regularly blame Federal agencies for the poor state of policing in Indian Country; not only are the resources provided by Federal agencies inadequate, but Federal policies are driven by a misreading of tribes' real needs

and priorities. On the other hand, representatives of Federal agencies express skepticism about the ability and intention of tribes to develop and manage effective police departments. In actuality, the very fact that power is shared between tribal and Federal authorities allows each to avoid its more appropriate role and, thus, to perpetuate poor policing.

Cultural Match. The second relevant lesson for Indian policing from the HPAIED research is the importance of cultural match. A consonance between present and pre-reservation institutional forms confers legitimacy on the methods and outcomes of government decision making and channels political energies in productive directions.

How do the dynamics of cultural match play out in practical terms? The police officer working for the Tohono O’odham in southern Arizona who aggressively confronts a suspect will have offended long-standing tribal norms and will have failed to draw on them in the service of obtaining the suspect’s compliance. By contrast, the police officer at Turtle Mountain in North Dakota who fails to confront a suspect is guilty of the same errors.

To the extent that the ethos of the organization in which these officers work perpetuates such conflicts, both public support for and the effectiveness of the organization are diminished. It is, however, important not to be naive about the possibilities. There are no guarantees that culturally legitimate institutions will be effective in a contemporary setting. If old forms cannot be adapted to modern problems, the challenge becomes to design a new one that both makes cultural sense and works.

Community policing provides a framework that tribes might use to design and implement new, Native approaches to policing — approaches that should improve the quality of policing in Indian Country and, further, do so in the context of tribal nation building.

The Possibilities for Community Policing

The growing body of experience and research on community policing is remarkably congruent with the findings on effective governing institutions in Indian Country. Community policing provides a framework that tribes might use to design and implement new, Native approaches to policing—approaches that should improve the quality of policing in Indian Country and, further, do so in the context of tribal nation building.

The broader definition of the police function also helps align police priorities and values with those of the community. For example, many tribal citizens rely increasingly on their police departments to settle disputes, conflicts, and problems that police themselves do not consistently treat as legitimate crime problems.

The overarching lesson of community policing is that if reservation police were to pay attention to these

problems, and if they utilized credible tribal approaches as remedies, they would become more effective problem-solvers, more respected by tribal citizens, and better able to prevent problems that might otherwise escalate.

For any given Indian nation, the systems that animate and guide policing—such as the organizational structures of the police department, tribal personnel and training systems, and local management information and control systems—can be linked to a vision of policing shaped by that nation’s beliefs, priorities, and resources. Changing departmental policies and procedures is one nuts-and-bolts way this linkage between policing systems and tribal priorities might occur.

Consider the dispatch function. Depending on a dispatcher’s assessment of a call, a local elder could accompany a responding officer; in many instances, the officer might be there only to support the elder’s authority (or vice versa). Such an effort would lend credibility to the

modern police function while showing respect for important tribal traditions.⁷

With the support of the Federal Government, tribes must reconsider the foundations of policing on American Indian reservations. The lessons drawn by tribes, academics, and policymakers from the research on and accumulating experience in community policing and the design of effective governing institutions in Indian Country can productively inform the development of Federal policy. This same evidence and experience provide the necessary starting points for tribes as they rethink policing.

Significantly, we do not recommend that Federal and tribal policymakers direct their full attention and resources to increased funding for reservation police departments, the development of new specialized crime-fighting task forces, or improved technology. Without the core investment we describe, these efforts will add little to the ability of Indian police departments and tribal communities to address the problems they face.

At the same time, we are not recommending that tribes reflexively resurrect dormant pre-reservation methods of social control and policing, nor are we giving a blanket endorsement to restorative justice. The challenge is to create workable, nation-specific policing institutions and approaches informed by traditional customs.

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For More Information

- Copies of the full report upon which this article is based will be available in spring 2001. Watch the NIJ Web page for an announcement of its availability.
- Visit the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development at <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/hpaied>.

Notes

1. In actuality, however, substantial numbers of reservation residents live in fairly dense communities that share attributes of suburban and urban areas.
2. Janet Reno, U.S. Attorney General, "Department of Justice Policy on Indian Sovereignty and Government-to-Government Relations With Indian Tribes," U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Tribal Justice, Washington, DC, June 1, 1995, published in *Federal Register* 61(112) (June 10, 1996): 29424.
3. Pace, David, "Most Indians Haven't Benefited From Casino Boom," Associated Press, September 1, 2000 (<http://wire.ap.org>); and Cornell, Stephen, Joseph P. Kalt, Matthew Krepps, and Jonathan Taylor, "American Indian Gaming Policy and It's Socio-Economic Effects," Report to the National Gaming Impact Study Commission, Cambridge, MA: The Economics Resource Group, July 1998 (<http://www.ncai.org/indianissues/TribalGaming/NGISCREpt.pdf>).
4. Greenfeld, Lawrence A., and Steven K. Smith, "American Indians and Crime," U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC, February 1999, p. 2.
5. These rates were calculated from 1996 data found in Table 1.28 (p. 39) and Table 3.118 (pp. 276-281) in Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics—1997*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1998.
6. This point is based on research by Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt, especially "Where Does Economic Development Really Come From? Constitutional Rule Among the Contemporary Sioux and Apache," *Economic Inquiry* 33(July 1995): 402-426.
7. We emphasize that community policing is not only a set of tactics (such as foot patrol) but also a process by which police partner with communities.

The "Natasha" Trade: Transnational Sex Trafficking

by Donna M. Hughes



Trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation is a shadow market valued at US \$7 billion annually. Women are trafficked to, from, and through every region in the world. This highly profitable trade poses a relatively low risk compared with trades in drugs or arms. The moneymakers are transnational networks of traffickers and pimps who prey on women seeking employment and opportunities. These illegal activities and related crimes not only harm the women involved; they also undermine the social, political, and economic fabric of the nations where they occur.

Countries with large sex industries create the demand for women; countries where traffickers easily recruit women provide the supply. For decades, the primary sending countries were in Asia. But the collapse of the Soviet Union opened up a pool of millions of women from which traffickers can recruit. Former Soviet republics such as Belarus, Latvia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine have become major suppliers of women to sex industries all over the world. In the sex industry today, the most popular and

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valuable women are from Russia and Ukraine.

This article focuses on the trade originating in Ukraine. It examines the scope of the problem, the factors that create a climate ripe for trafficking, the methods traffickers use, and the people who profit from the trade in women and girls. It concludes with some strategies to address the problem of trafficking and discusses the role that policymakers, researchers, and law enforcement officers in the United States can play.

Scope of the Problem

It is difficult to know how many women have been trafficked for sexual exploitation. The trade is secretive, the women are silenced, the traffickers are dangerous, and not many agencies are counting. Also, the word “trafficking” does not have

a universal meaning, resulting in different estimates depending on the definition used. This article uses the following definition:

Trafficking is any practice that involves moving people within and across local or national borders for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Trafficking may be the result of force, coercion, manipulation, deception, abuse of authority, initial consent, family pressure, past and present family and community violence, economic deprivation, or other conditions of inequality for women and children.¹

This definition accepts that trafficking occurs even if the woman consents, which is consistent with the 1949 United Nations convention prohibiting it. Narrower definitions of trafficking require acts of violence or coercion.

Exact numbers are unknown, but international agencies and governmental bodies estimate that each year over 1 million women and girls are trafficked for sexual exploitation in sex industries.

In the last decade, hundreds of thousands of women have been trafficked from Central and Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union into prostitution throughout the world. The U.S. State Department estimates that 50,000 to 100,000 women and children are trafficked into the United States each year for labor or sexual exploitation, primarily

“Can people really buy and sell women and get away with it? Sometimes I sit here and ask myself if that really happened to me, if it can really happen at all.”

— A Ukrainian woman who was trafficked, beaten, raped, and used in the sex industry in Israel. After a police raid, she was put in prison, awaiting deportation.

The U.S. Response and Role

Until recently, trafficking in women in the United States had never been systematically studied, and the U.S. lagged behind Europe and Asia in recognizing and addressing the problem, especially as it occurred within this country. In the last 2 years, the United States has vigorously responded, making the trafficking of women a top priority. In 1998, a Memorandum on Steps to Combat Violence Against Women and the Trafficking of Women and Girls was issued that directed the

Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the President's Interagency Council on Women to expand their work against violence against women to include work against the trafficking of women.

The strategy to combat trafficking has been implemented as a program referred to as the three P's: Prevention of Trafficking, Protection and Assistance for Victims, and Prosecution and Enforcement Against Traffickers.

from Southeast Asia, the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe.²

The Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior estimated last year that 100,000 Ukrainian women were trafficked during the previous decade. The International Organization for Migration estimated the number to be four to five times higher. Popular destination countries include Canada, the Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, the United States, and Yugoslavia. Large numbers of Ukrainian women are trafficked into Korea to be used as prostitutes near military bases. In some parts of the world, such as Israel and Turkey, women from Russia and other former Soviet republics are so prevalent that prostitutes are called "Natashas."

Climate for Trafficking

The growth of shadow economies and criminal networks in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union arises from expanding economic, political, and social transnational linkages increasingly

beyond local and state control. Members of organized crime rings establish contacts with collaborators in diaspora communities and work within migrating populations to build criminal networks. Increased migration also serves as a cover for traffickers transporting women.

Privatization and liberalization of markets have created wider and more open marketplaces. Computer technologies also have enabled the increased volume and complexity of international financial transactions, increasing opportunities for transnational crime and decreasing the probability of detection. This technological aspect of globalization allows money gained through trafficking in women to be transferred and laundered.

In the former Soviet Union, the state economy didn't supply the goods and services the public needed or wanted. The shadow economy began to meet those demands decades before the collapse of communism. When the Soviet political and economic system weakened and collapsed, existing organizations leaped to fill the vacuum. Privatization allowed previously illegal markets to operate legally and expand, but they retained their

business methods, which were based on corruption and protection schemes. The independent states that emerged lacked organized and efficient regulatory agencies to hinder the growth of crime networks.

In Ukraine, people who were no longer able to support themselves with one salary or who weren't being paid for long periods sought additional work. But the only jobs available were in the privatized criminal businesses. The result has been a criminalization of the economy in general and an expansion of organized criminal networks. By 1995, the shadow economy accounted for 50 percent of Ukraine's gross domestic product.

Transnational trafficking of women from the former Soviet Union had its beginnings during perestroika in the mid-1980's, when international travel restrictions were eased. The disintegration of the Soviet Union opened borders for travel, migration, and privatized trade, all of which facilitated the operations of criminal networks. Transnational crime networks from the Newly Independent States organized to meet the demand for women to be used in brothels, massage parlors, bars, and street prostitution in receiving countries.

Strategies and Tactics

Hundreds of trafficking victims have recounted their experiences to nongovernmental organizations, reporters, and police. Although individual variations exist, the themes of manipulation and violence from the traffickers and further persecution by police appear repeatedly.

Irina, aged 18, responded to an advertisement in a Kyiv, Ukraine, newspaper for a training course in Berlin, Germany, in 1996. With a fake passport,

she traveled to Berlin, where she was told that the school had closed. She was sent on to Brussels, Belgium, for a job. When she arrived, she was told she needed to repay a debt of US \$10,000 and would have to earn the money in prostitution. Her passport was confiscated, and she was threatened, beaten, and raped. When she didn't earn enough money for the first pimp, she was sold to another pimp who operated in Brussels' red light district. When she escaped with police assistance, she was arrested because she had no legal documentation. A medical exam verified the abuse she had suffered, such as cigarette burns all over her body.³

Lena, aged 21, was recruited by a woman who said her daughter was working in Greece and making a lot of money. When Lena arrived in Greece, her passport was taken away and she was put into a small room in a brothel, guarded by two dogs. She was sold in prostitution each night from 9 in the evening until 6 in the morning. When she escaped and returned to Mykolayiv, she had US \$55.⁴

Tatyana, aged 20, is from a small town in Lugansk Oblast in Eastern Ukraine. She could not find a job there because the economy is very poor and the factories are closed. A friend of her mother's told her that she could earn US \$4,000 a month working as a maid for a rich family in the United Arab Emirates. When she arrived, her passport was taken and she was sold to a brothel for US \$7,000 and forced into prostitution to repay the purchase and travel costs. When she escaped and went to the police for help, she was arrested and sentenced to

3 years in prison for working in a brothel.⁵

In addition, a number of trafficking rings have been uncovered, revealing the tactics, financial rewards, and transnational reach of such networks.

In March 1999 in Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine, two men and a woman were arrested for selling 200 Ukrainian women and girls, aged 13 to 25, for the sex industry in Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus. The traffickers received US \$2,000 for each woman. The women were held in debt bondage until they repaid their expenses. If they complained, their debt was tripled.⁶

In Poland, 70 percent of the Ukrainian women in the sex industry are monitored at all times by guards. The women are sold from one agency to another for US \$4,500 to \$11,000, and each time the woman incurs a debt that must be repaid.⁷

In September 1999, a psychology teacher from Cherkasy, Ukraine, was charged with being head of an international trafficking ring that sold young Ukrainian women into the sex industry in the United Arab Emirates. Along with criminals from Kazakhstan, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates, she promised 30 young women jobs as dancers, waitresses, or domestic servants, and then sold them to buyers in the sex industry.⁸

Recruitment Methods

Sex industries use up women—both physically and emotionally—necessitating regular fresh supplies of women, which keeps trafficking profitable. Recruiters, traffickers, and pimps have developed common operating methods. One strategy is

advertisements in newspapers offering lucrative job opportunities in foreign countries for low-skilled jobs, such as waitresses and nannies. Some advertisements promise good salaries to young, attractive women who will work as dancers and hostesses. An estimated 20 percent of trafficked women are recruited through advertisements.

Another method of recruitment is through "marriage agencies," sometimes called mail-order bride agencies or international introduction services. According to a report by the International Organization for Migration, all mail-order bride agencies with women from the former Soviet Union are under the control of organized crime networks.⁹ Recruiters use "marriage agencies" to contact women who are eager to travel or emigrate.

But the most common way for Ukrainian women to be recruited is through a friend or acquaintance who gains the woman's confidence. "Second wave" recruiting occurs when a trafficked woman returns home to draft other women. Once a woman has been trafficked and trapped in the sex industry, she has few options. One of the few means of escaping the brutality of being forced to have sex with multiple men each day is to move from victim to perpetrator.

Entrapment in Prostitution

Whatever the recruitment method, the majority of women do not expect the sexual exploitation and violence that await them. After a woman has reached the destination country, the trafficker or pimp tells her that she is not going to work as a waitress, nanny, or whatever more agreeable opportunity was offered, but will be in prostitution. The methods used to control women

once they reach the destination country include confiscation of travel documents, violence, threats to harm family members, and debt bondage.

Pimps in Western Europe and Israel can buy Russian or Ukrainian women for a few hundred to a few thousand dollars, then make several thousand dollars from them by selling them in prostitution. The women get to keep little, if any, of the money. Women must repay their purchase price and travel and other expenses before they are allowed to leave. A woman may be sold from one pimp to another, at which time her debt starts all over again. Often, the only way out of the sex industry is a police raid, which results in deportation. There are indications that pimps, working with officials, tip off police on the whereabouts of a woman just about the time that woman has earned enough money to leave, resulting in the woman being arrested and deported and the pimps keeping the money.

Even when women know they will be in prostitution, their expectations are usually far from the reality. One woman who knew she would have to engage in prostitution thought it would be like the film “Pretty Woman,” where one man would support her.¹⁰ Women don’t realize the lack of control they will have, the level of the violence that will be used against them, and the small percentage of money they will receive.

According to Narcisa Escaler, Deputy Director General of the International Organization for Migration:

[M]any migrants...are eager to escape poverty or political and social insecurity, and...are unaware or unmindful of the pitfalls of irregular migration. [I]n many instances, trafficked migrants are lured by false promises, misled by misinfor-

Officials’ acceptance of prostitution and trafficking exacerbates the problem. According to Kateryna Levchenko, coordinator of La Strada–Ukraine, “Complacency on the part of government and law enforcement officials is as much to blame as financial difficulties [for facilitating recruitment].”

mation concerning migration regulations, or driven by economic despair or large-scale violence. In such cases, the migrant’s freedom of choice is so seriously impaired that the “voluntariness” of the transaction must be questioned.¹¹

The networks’ tactics mimic those of slave traders. For example, in Milan, Italy, in December 1997, police uncovered a gang that was auctioning women from the former Soviet Union. The women were stripped partially naked, displayed, and sold for an average price of US \$1,000.¹² Traffickers and pimps also use extreme violence to control their women and territory. In Italy, police report that one woman in prostitution is murdered each month.¹³ Women are mutilated and murdered as warnings to competing traffickers and pimps and as punishment for refusing to engage in prostitution. In two reported cases, women who resisted were killed as an example to other women. In Istanbul, Turkey, two Ukrainian women were thrown off a balcony and killed while six of their Russian friends watched. In Serbia, a Ukrainian woman who resisted was beheaded in public.¹⁴

Trafficked women get little assistance once they are under the control of traffickers and pimps. In receiving countries, they are treated as criminals, either as prostitutes or illegal immigrants.

Many people view the women as complicit in the trafficking, as immoral, or as workers—a wide span of perspectives, all of which ignore the harm to the victims and many of which blame the victims for the crimes committed against them. Officials often minimize or deny the severity of the problem, the violence and coercion used in trafficking, and the harm to victims. One official in Ukraine was quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, “women’s groups want to blow this all out of proportion. Perhaps this was a problem a few years ago. But it’s under control now.”¹⁵

Officials’ acceptance of prostitution and trafficking exacerbates the problem. According to Kateryna Levchenko, coordinator of La Strada–Ukraine, “Complacency on the part of government and law enforcement officials is as much to blame as financial difficulties [for facilitating recruitment].”¹⁶ In

Russia, an undercover investigation by the Global Survival Network implicated government officials in collaborating with trafficking networks.¹⁷

Profit and Corruption

Once a woman is under the control of a trafficker or pimp, she can be exploited to make a large profit. Pimps can make 5 to 20 times as much from a woman as they paid for her. An International Organization for Migration study of women trafficked into Germany found that the trafficker or pimp requires a payment of US \$3,000 to \$30,000 from a woman for her travel expenses and her purchase price. Then she must pay for her room and board in the brothel as well as the pimp's fees, lawyer's fees, doctor's fees, and sometimes private living expenses. Even after a woman has paid off her debt, she must turn over 50 to 75 percent of her earnings to pimps.

The *Kyiv Post* reported that a Ukrainian woman in a massage parlor owned by a Russian in Silver Spring, Maryland, was allowed to keep only 30 percent of the US \$70 price for a massage. If she wanted more money, she had to engage in prostitution for tips.¹⁸

Le Monde reported that during a 3-month stay in Germany on a tourist visa, a woman can make US \$20,000 for a pimp, according to German police. An Eastern European woman can earn more than that for a pimp or trafficker in Japan, where Eastern European women are considered exotic.

Le Monde further reported that Oksana Ryniekska, a Ukrainian doctor, operated a brothel with non-English speaking women from Eastern Europe in Essex,

UK, for 8 months before she was arrested. During that time she made more than US \$210,000.¹⁹

The money made from the sexual exploitation and enslavement of trafficked women enriches transnational criminal networks. According to Michael Platzer, of the United Nations Center for International Crime Prevention, trafficking in women has one of the highest profit margins and lowest risks for criminal groups in Eastern Europe. Mikhail Lebed, chief of criminal investigations for the Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior, told the *Kyiv Post*, "It is a human tragedy, but also, frankly, a national crisis. Gangsters make more money from these women in a week than we have in our law enforcement budget for the whole year."²⁰

The corruption of officials through bribes and the collaboration of criminal networks with government officials enable traffickers to operate. In Russia, the Global Survival Network found evidence of government collaboration in the Interior Ministry, the Federal Security Service, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²¹ As the influence of criminal networks deepens, the corruption goes beyond occasionally ignoring illegal activity to providing protection by blocking legislation that would hinder the groups' activities. As law enforcement personnel and government officials become more corrupt and criminals gain more influence, the line between the state and the criminal networks starts to blur, making it difficult to intervene in the succession of corruption, collaboration, crime, and profit.

Trafficking in women brings prosperity neither to individual women nor to the communities the women come from. The money the criminal networks make is laundered through bank accounts of criminal bosses in

financial centers, such as the United States and Western Europe or in offshore accounts.

In Israel, for instance, organized crime groups from the former Soviet Union invested profits from trafficking in women, along with other illegal activities, into legitimate businesses. Between 1990 and 1995, some US \$2.5 to \$4 billion had been invested in Israeli banks and another US \$600 million had been invested in real estate.²²

Moreover, trafficking in women has been found to be part of broader transnational criminal schemes. From early 1998 until mid-1999, US \$10 billion was laundered through the Bank of New York. The account belonged to Ukrainian-born crime boss Semion Mogilevich, who the FBI and Israeli intelligence reported was involved in prostitution, weapons and drug trafficking, and investment scams. According to one source, Mogilevich headed a large prostitution ring that operated in the nightclubs in Budapest and Prague.²³ Mogilevich's crime network operated in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ukraine, and the United States.²⁴

Strategies for Change

Although trafficked women can be found almost anywhere, the destinations for most trafficked women are countries and cities where there are large sex industry centers and where prostitution is legal or widely tolerated. Legalization of prostitution, pimping, and brothels causes an increase in trafficking to meet the demand created by a legitimized sex industry.

Most approaches to the problem of trafficking have focused on the sending countries. In the former Soviet Union, prevention education projects are aimed at potential victims of trafficking, and non-

governmental organizations have established hotlines for victims or women seeking information about the risks of accepting job offers abroad.

Less attention is focused on curtailing demand. For example, in 1998 a Training Program to Combat Trafficking of Women from Ukraine was held in New Jersey, where hundreds of Ukrainian women have been trafficked into strip clubs and massage parlors. Twenty representatives from Ukraine government ministries, law enforcement, social services, the media, and nongovernmental organizations attended. An INS agent told this audience, "This is your problem that you are going to have to solve. It is like drugs—you have to get at the root of the problem, which is overseas."²⁵ He ignored the possibility for action against the illegal sex industry in the United States.

Legalized prostitution makes it difficult to hold traffickers accountable for their activities. Traffickers evade prosecution by claiming that the women knew what they were getting into, and prosecutors generally have a hard time establishing the line between voluntary and forced prostitution. When prostitution is legal, the prosecution's case depends upon proving that the woman did not consent. Considering women's vulnerability in these slavlike circumstances and the fact that some women do initially consent to travel or even to work as a prostitute, such cases are much more difficult to prove.

According to Michael Platzer, head of operations for the United Nations' Center for International Crime Prevention, "The laws help the gangsters. Prostitution is semi-legal in many places, and that makes enforcement tricky. In most cases punishment is very light."²⁶ In the Plan of Action Against Traffic in Women and Forced Prostitution

for the Council of Europe, Michele Hirsch stated, "where only forced prostitution is illegal, inability to prove constraint has repeatedly led to international procurers being acquitted by the courts."²⁷

In 1949, the U.N. General Assembly Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others stated that "prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family, and the community" and that consent of the trafficked person is irrelevant to the prosecution of the exploiter. Ukraine is a signatory to the Convention (1954), as are the Russian Federation (1954), Belarus (1956), and Latvia (1992). The Convention was not widely ratified and did not create a monitoring body, so there has been no ongoing evaluation of its implementation or effectiveness.

The Convention is under attack by those who favor legalized prostitution and "consensual trafficking." The trend toward legalization of the sex industry and definitions of trafficking that require proof of coercion or force will make conviction of traffickers even more difficult and will benefit transnational criminal networks.

Another approach to ending trafficking is to intervene in the demand. In 1998, Sweden passed a law that created a new offense: "gross violation of a woman's integrity." Prostitution was included as a type of violence against women. The "purchase of sexual services" is prohibited and is punishable by fines and/or imprisonment up to 6 months. The government was clear that this new offense marked Sweden's attitude toward prostitution as an "undesirable social phe-

nomenon." This law is the first that aims to protect women from violence by holding men accountable and thereby addressing the demand for women to be trafficked for prostitution.

Policies and laws in the United States need to change to recognize the victimization of women who have been trafficked into prostitution. In most cases, the women are treated as criminals and/or illegal immigrants when in fact they have been the victims of violent crimes and are desperately in need of medical, legal, and social services. There needs to be aggressive intervention against illegal prostitution in the sex industry to curtail the trafficking of women to meet the demand. More research is needed to support a new understanding of prostitution and the trafficking of women, instead of relying on old rationales based on sexist judgments of women's lives and experiences.

Trafficking in women for sexual exploitation has become such a large and severe crisis, affecting not only women's well-being but also the security of nations, that strong interventions are needed at all levels and points in the trafficking process. This modern slave trade benefits only criminals.

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Notes

1. This definition of trafficking was modified slightly from that put forth by the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, an international nongovernmental organization.
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5. Escaler, Narcisa, "Statement at the United States–European Union Transatlantic Seminar to Prevent Trafficking in Women," Lviv, Ukraine, July 9–10, 1998.
6. "Ukrainian Police Arrest Sex Trade Gang," *Newsline* 3(54), Part II (Prague, Czech Republic: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, March 18, 1999). Regional Security Office, U.S. Embassy, Kyiv, Ukraine, *Crime Digest*, March 1999, <http://www.usemb.kiev.ua/rso/CrimeDigest9903.html>.
7. Regional Security Office, U.S. Embassy, Kyiv, Ukraine, *Crime Digest*, January 1999, <http://www.usemb.kiev.ua/rso/CrimeDigest9901.html>.
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10. Hyde, Lily, and Marina Denisenko, "Modern-Day Slavery Traps Local Women," *Kyiv Post*, October 9, 1997.
11. Escaler, Statement.
12. Specter, Michael, "Traffickers' New Cargo: Naive Slavic Women," *New York Times*, January 11, 1998.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. La Strada is a nongovernmental organization in Ukraine working to prevent trafficking in women

For More Information

- Todd S. Fogelson and Peter H. Solomon, "Crime, Criminal Justice and Criminology in Post-Soviet Ukraine" (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, forthcoming spring 2001).
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- Kateryna Levchenko, *Combat of Trafficking in Women and Forced Prostitution: Ukraine, Country Report* (Vienna: Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, September 1999).
- MiraMed Institute, "Who Is Trafficking CIS Women?" *Preliminary Survey Report on Sexual Trafficking in the CIS*. (Moscow MiraMed Institute, June 1999).
- Visit the Trafficking in Women From Ukraine Research Project, part of the US–Ukraine Research Partnership, Web site at <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/ukraine>.

- and help the victims of trafficking.
17. The Global Survival Network was an organization focused on illegal trafficking of both humans and other animals. In December 1999, the Network's directive was altered to include only wildlife conservation issues and its name was changed to WildAid. Although the group's emphasis has changed, information dealing with human trafficking still is available from WildAid. Contact the organization at <http://www.WildAid.org> or call 415–834–3174.
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Police Turnover in Isolated Communities: The Alaska Experience

by Darryl Wood

about the author

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In the rural areas of Alaska, where public safety services are provided to isolated areas spread across vast distances, officer employment turnover is a problem. This is especially true in isolated Alaska Native villages. From the days before statehood in 1959 to the present, administrators have had a difficult time keeping village police positions staffed. Employment turnover rates as high as 500 percent per year are not unheard of in some Alaska Native village police agencies.

To one degree or another, many small police agencies serving rural areas across the United States face similar problems. Rural police officers usually serve less time with their agencies than their suburban or metropolitan counterparts. The problem is especially troublesome for “micro” police departments—those with fewer than 10 sworn officers.¹ Generally speaking, the smaller a police department, the greater the officer turnover. In one early study, officer turnover was referred to as “the plague of small agencies.”²

Explanations often revolve around the issues of pay, benefits, and promotional opportunities. Because of limited tax bases, rural police

departments generally offer officers lower pay and relatively fewer benefits compared to agencies serving jurisdictions with larger populations. Departments with few employees often are treated as career “stepping stones” by officers who see them as a good place to begin a policing career. Because promotional advancement is difficult in smaller departments, officers often parlay the experience they receive in these small departments into a longer term position with a larger metropolitan or State police agency.

Alaska’s Situation

Alaska’s program that serves rural Alaska Native villages, the Alaska Village Public Safety Officer (VPSO) program, has not been immune from the employment turnover problem. Established as a way to locate a permanent public safety presence in isolated Alaska Native villages, the VPSO program has had an annual average turnover rate of 55 percent (see figure 1). This rate is roughly 10 times greater than

urban police departments across the country. With such high rates of attrition, the typical VPSO has remained employed in the program for slightly less than 1 year since the program began in 1979.

This article presents the findings from a study that examined factors related to officer turnover in the VPSO program. The findings from Alaska’s experience suggest ways police administrators in other rural jurisdictions can reduce the turnover rates in their departments.

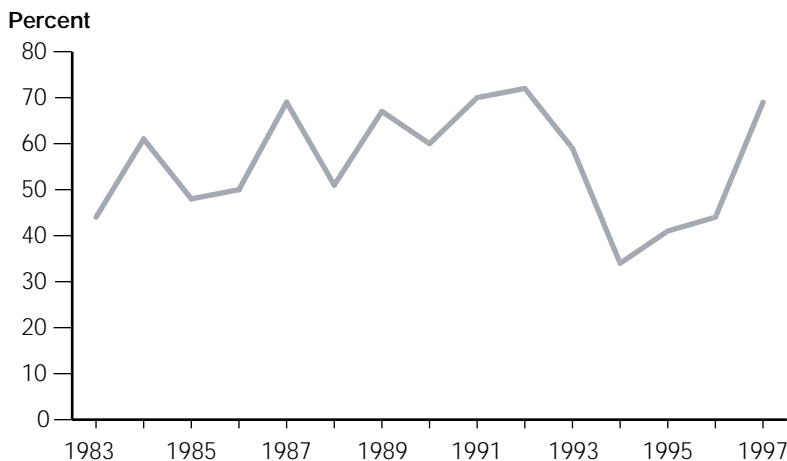
What Are Village Public Safety Officers?

Compared to non-Native jurisdictions, Alaska Native villages are dangerous places. The available measures of crime and accidental death in those villages are much higher on average than those found statewide or nationally.³

The high levels of crime and safety problems provide good reason for a local public safety presence in Alaska Native villages. However, difficult terrain, a harsh climate, and the lack of a road system connecting rural areas, along with relatively small village population sizes, make “traditional” methods of law enforcement and public safety unsuitable.

Rather than rely on a traditional police presence, many villages are served instead by Village Public Safety Officers. These officers are responsible for all public safety services, including law enforcement, fire fighting, water safety, emergency medical assistance, and search and rescue. VPSO’s can be thought of as public safety “jacks-of-all-trades.”

Figure 1: VPSO Turnover Rates, 1983-97*



*Computed as a percentage of the mean number of positions at mid-month.



VPSO's are assigned to a specific village and are responsible for meeting all public safety services in and closely around the village. They patrol on foot or in all-terrain vehicles and serve as the first response to any criminal offense or other emergency that may arise. As they presently operate, VPSO's serve a "trip-wire" function.⁴ Although they are trained and equipped to handle the smaller problems that arise, they must broker larger emergencies to their specially equipped partner agencies (such as the Alaska State Troopers).

Because of the VPSO's unique organizational structure and officers' multiple task bundle, Captain John Stearns, former VPSO program coordinator for the Alaska State Troopers, has referred to the program as "community policing at its rawest."⁵

Four aspects of the program make it a prime example of a community policing program:

- Policing authority is decentralized at the community level.
- Responsibilities both to State law and to traditional tribal and village social controls require officers to go beyond meeting minimal legal requirements and encourage VPSO's to employ problem-solving techniques to perform with effectiveness.

- The generalist policing role stresses the complexities of public safety and social order to address all causes of disorder and threats to welfare.
- Participation of the community is built into the organizational structure of the program, with the involvement of local village councils and regional nonprofit corporations in personnel and operational decisions.⁶

In short, the VPSO program is organized to provide a community-based response to the distinct needs of modern-day Alaska Native villages. (Read more about the organizational structure of the

program in "How the VPSO Program Works.")

In its development over the years, the VPSO program has received and continues to receive a good deal of support from within the Alaska Native community.⁷ Although it went unheeded, the Alaska Federation of Natives in 1998 passed a resolution calling for the State to increase funding for the program and expand it to cover Alaska Native villages located on the State's highway system. The State of Alaska, however, did not agree with the Federation's resolution, and funding was not increased.

Today the relationship between the Alaska Native community and the State government is, to put it mildly, strained. Limits on local self-government, disputes over subsistence hunting and fishing rights, and a general perception held by Alaska Natives that they are treated as second-class citizens underlie the strain. Given that the VPSO program is one of the few efforts of State government in the villages that has the support of the Alaska Native population, it is unfortunate that since its inception, the program has had a problem with retaining officers.

From the days before statehood in 1959 to the present, administrators have had a difficult time keeping village police positions staffed. Employment turnover rates as high as 500 percent per year are not unheard of in some Alaska Native village police agencies.

How the VPSO Program Works

From its outset, the VPSO program was designed to deal with the broad range of public safety issues facing Alaska Native villages and to instill within the program local support for and control over the provision of law enforcement and public safety services to these communities. The program has been heralded for a management structure that allows Alaska Native leaders in each village to make day-to-day decisions about the delivery of public safety services to their communities.

Administration of the VPSO program is divided into three levels: (1) the Alaska State Troopers, (2) regional nonprofit Native corporations, and (3) at the local level, Alaska Native villages. Each level has specific responsibilities associated with selecting, training, equipping, supervising, and paying VPSO's.

The Alaska State Troopers, whose policing jurisdiction encompasses all areas in the State that lack municipal police services, play a major role in the administration of the program. Apart from the agency's role in training and issuing some equipment, the troopers' main function in the program is field supervision of the VPSO's.

Each VPSO is assigned an "oversight trooper" (a commissioned Alaska State Trooper working from a central location that is, in some cases, 300 miles away from the VPSO posting) who acts as a mentor and provides technical assistance and on-the-job training. In high-risk or complex situations, including all felony cases, the VPSO stays in communication with the oversight trooper and takes immediate action as prescribed by the trooper to keep the situation under control until the trooper arrives, generally by air or snow machine.

Regional nonprofit Native corporations, which handle the day-to-day managerial functions of the VPSO program, are the agencies considered to be the actual employers of the individual officers.

Because these entities are unique to Alaska, a bit of explanation is in order. When the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was enacted in 1971, 12 regional for-profit Native corporations were created across Alaska to invest funds received from land claims. Coinciding geographically with these for-profit corporations are an equal number of regional nonprofit Native corporations, which play a significant role in the lives of Alaska Native village residents.¹ The nonprofit corporations provide many of the services, such as education, health, housing, and employment counseling, normally provided by local governments. The corporations actively compete for Federal and State grant funds to provide such services to their areas. Given their experience in the administration of government-funded programs and their awareness of the specific needs of the local areas to be served, these regional nonprofit corporations are viewed as being particularly well situated to provide administrative support to the VPSO program.²

Each nonprofit has a VPSO coordinator who administers the program for the corporation. The coordinator has numerous duties, including management of payroll, insurance, and retirement plans; record-keeping of personnel files; and expenditure of grant funds. The VPSO coordinators also assist the villages and the troopers in recruiting, hiring, and terminating VPSO's.

Local village control over the VPSO program comes in two ways. First,

the villages choose to participate in the program; they cannot have a VPSO imposed on them. Villages request a VPSO from their nonprofit, which, in turn, requests funding from the State for the position. When funding becomes available, the village receives its VPSO. With recent cutbacks in the program, however, more villages want VPSO's than can receive them.

The second source of village control over the program involves the selection and termination of officers. Although hiring and firing is generally conducted in consultation with the nonprofits and the troopers, the villages have the ultimate discretion over who becomes their VPSO and whether that officer is retained or dismissed.³

Given their inadequate resources, the local villages' other responsibilities to the VPSO program are limited. They provide office space, telephone service, and a holding cell for use by the VPSO. They also are responsible for obtaining any equipment above and beyond that provided by the Alaska State Troopers.

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Methods and Data Analysis

The research drew upon two primary data sources:

- Alaska Department of Public Safety records for the period 1978 through 1999, showing the amount of time officers spend in the VPSO program.
- Self-administered surveys from 113 (out of a possible 184) current and former VPSO's who had served in the program between July 1, 1994, and June 30, 1998.

The first data source was used to calculate program turnover rates and length of the officers' employment tenure. Information

for possible explanations of officer turnover was taken from the completed surveys.

Principal components analysis was used to reduce the large number of survey variables into a smaller number of theoretically compelling factors and scales that could then be reasonably analyzed while holding other factors constant. The goal was to determine the likelihood that a VPSO would leave the program in any one month.

These factors and scales were used in three different proportional hazards regression models.

Proportional hazards regression analysis examines the relationships between each of the individual causal variables (e.g., dissatisfaction with training) and the effect variable (VPSO turnover) while holding constant the values of the other causal variables (e.g., marital status, age, dissatisfaction with pay, and so forth). In other words, the proportional hazards regression analysis helped determine the impact of each individual causal variable upon turnover when the values of the other individual causal variables were held equal.

Why Do Officers Leave and Stay?

Researchers conducted a survey of current and former VPSO's to better understand the reasons for the high turnover rates the program has experienced. (See "Methods and Data Analysis.")

Survey questions were developed based on four possible explanations for officer turnover:

- Job stress, especially the stress associated with rural policing.
- Dissatisfaction with salary and benefits.
- Difficulties associated with applying non-Native policing arrangements in Alaska Native communities using Alaska Native employees.
- Sociodemographic characteristics, such as age and marital status.

Based upon a multivariate analysis of the data gathered in the survey, a number of factors were found to be closely associated with VPSO turnover while other factors once

thought to be important were ruled out as having an influence upon attrition.

The Effects of Job Stress. Stress, in general, did not appear to be the reason why VPSO's left the program. None of the traditional measures of police officer stress were associated with the likelihood of a VPSO leaving. For instance, VPSO's who reported having felt the physiological effects of stress (e.g., loss of sleep, headaches, difficulty relaxing) were no more or less likely to leave the program than officers not reporting such effects.

The degree to which officers reported experiencing role ambiguity or role conflict (that is, being a Native Alaskan *and* a law enforcement officer) likewise had no effect on their likelihood of turnover. Being injured on the job or facing numerous dangerous situations, including having to deal with armed conflict, also appeared to have little effect on the probability of an officer leaving the program.⁸

The only measure of general stress among police in general that did seem to influence turnover was counter to what was predicted: Those who reported feeling endangered on the job were actually less likely to leave the program.

Except for one officer, the special stresses often said to plague police serving in rural areas did not appear to be associated with VPSO turnover. The extent to which officers felt that they were expected to be on duty at all hours of the day or that their job made it difficult to hunt, fish, or spend time with their family had little influence on the likelihood of attrition.⁹

Serving in isolated circumstances also did not appear to increase the chances that a VPSO would leave the program. Those VPSO's reporting a lack of contact with the Alaska State Troopers or a long distance from Trooper support were not any more likely to leave the job.

The only factor associated with the stresses of rural policing that had a significant influence on

In many villages, VPSO's are the lone public safety presence; in others they serve alongside village police officers or tribal police officers. Turnover was less likely for officers serving in a village where there were other police officers.

VPSO turnover was the presence or absence of other police in the village. In many villages, VPSO's are the lone public safety presence; in others they serve alongside village police officers or tribal police officers.¹⁰ Turnover was less likely for officers serving in a village where there were other police officers.

Effects of Salary and Benefits. Officer dissatisfaction with salary and benefits, another issue facing most rural police administrators, was not shown to be associated with VPSO employment turnover.

Almost all of the VPSO's surveyed were strongly dissatisfied with the pay and benefits they received. Because the level of dissatisfaction was nearly equal for those who quit as for those who remained with the program over the long term, it failed to predict the likelihood of officer attrition.

Other measures associated with salary, however, were related to VPSO turnover. For instance, VPSO's who relied on food stamps to make ends meet while employed were about five times more likely to leave the program as those who did not use food stamps. Contrary to expectations, the officers who

reported additional employment (such as commercial fishing) while serving as a VPSO were about 70 percent less likely to leave the program than those who did not moonlight.

Effects of Non-Native Policing Arrangements. The survey also examined the issues associated with using Alaska Native employees to apply non-Native policing arrangements. The researchers hypothesized that factors associated with VPSO attrition would include (1) feelings of rejection and isolation, which Native police officers sometimes develop in their encounters with the community, (2) difficulties associated with policing one's relatives, and (3) the conflicting feelings officers might have when required by official duties to go against fundamental cultural precepts.

Contrary to the hypotheses, however, analyses indicated that those most likely to stay on the job were Alaska Natives from the villages they were serving. The stronger a VPSO's Alaska Native heritage (in terms of being Alaska Native, being fluent in the native language, and being raised in an Alaska Native home and village), the less likely he or she was to leave the job. VPSO's serving in

their home villages were less likely to leave the program as were the Alaska Native VPSO's who were psychologically suited to conduct their business in a culturally appropriate fashion.

Feelings of rejection and isolation and the need sometimes to deal with relatives in a law enforcement capacity were not factors associated with increased turnover. Although many officers felt that they received little village support or that they were treated like outcasts in the village, neither of these factors were associated with turnover. Similarly, the pressures and difficulties of policing relatives did not appear to increase the probability of an officer leaving the program.

Although the VPSO program was originally designed so that Alaska Native officers would provide public safety services to their home villages, over time a sizable minority of officers have been hired who are non-Natives and are outsiders to the villages they serve. This is an unfortunate development, given that locally hired Alaska Natives are the ones who last the longest on the job.

Effects of Social and Demographic Characteristics. Of the VPSO's sociodemographic characteristics examined in the survey, only two appeared to be associated with turnover.

The most prominent was marital status: VPSO's, both Alaska Natives and non-Alaska Natives, who were married were much less likely to leave the program. The age of an officer also appeared to affect the chances of remaining a VPSO: Among the non-Native VPSO's, the younger the officer was, the more likely he or she was to leave the program. Age did not make a significant difference for Alaska Native VPSO's.

Implications for Policy and Practice

VPSO turnover does not appear to be associated with the relatively low pay, the job-related stresses, the difficulty in policing one's relatives, or the difficulties of enforcing non-Native policing policies and procedures.

Rather, officers are more likely to stay in the VPSO program if they are:

- Embedded in the Alaska Native culture.
- Married.
- Serving in their home villages.
- Serving in villages where other police, such as village police officers or tribal police, are stationed (even though it can increase the levels of stress reported by VPSO's).

Despite all the reasons for leaving, many VPSO's do remain with the program for a considerable amount of time. Some of these factors, such as officer marital status, cannot be considered in the recruiting and hiring process. Other factors, such as higher salaries, are usually beyond the control of many rural police administrators. Nonetheless, the central finding—that officers with personal and cultural connections to their local environment and to other local police are the ones most likely to remain in service—suggests a number of steps that rural police administrators can take to minimize officer attrition.

Hire locally. Compared to those who are recruited from outside, VPSO recruits from in and around the immediate police jurisdiction are more likely to remain with the department. It appears to be a sign of an intent to stay when someone from the local area chooses to join a local department.

Given the solitary nature of rural policing—in which officers spend much of their day working alone—administrators should expand the opportunities for working with others in the law enforcement field, both inside and outside their departments. Doing so will help officers feel that they are part of something bigger than their little corner of the world and will give them someone with whom they can share the ups and downs of the police occupation.

Conversely, those from outside the local area have already demonstrated their willingness to move geographically to a new job. Chances are, they will be willing to move again.

Hire culturally. Of all the VPSO's surveyed, those who were most integrated in the local culture remained with the program the longest. Having strong connections to the local culture appears to give police officers—VPSO's and, perhaps, their rural counterparts in the lower 48 States—a greater reason to stay.

Strengthen ties to the community. Once an officer has been hired, steps should be taken to strengthen connections to the local community. Some rural police chiefs, for example, have found it

useful to encourage their officers to purchase homes locally, thereby giving them a reason to remain employed in the area.¹¹ Administrators might persuade their officers to take advantage of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Officer Next Door Program, which allows full-time police officers to purchase HUD homes at 50 percent of market value.¹² By purchasing their own homes, officers both gain a stake in employment stability and become owners of a piece of the community.

Strengthen ties to the police culture. Rural police managers also can reduce turnover once officers are hired by getting officers involved in the larger police culture. VPSO's

who had a connection to other officers in their village were about twice as likely to stay on the job as VPSO's who served without such connections.

Given the solitary nature of rural policing—in which officers spend much of their day working alone—administrators should expand the opportunities for working with others in the law enforcement field, both inside and outside their departments. Doing so will help officers feel that they are part of something bigger than their little corner of the world and will give them someone with whom they can share the ups and downs of the police occupation.

Employment turnover among rural police officers is prevalent but by no means inevitable. Even in the Alaska VPSO program, with its many conditions that might encourage officers to leave, many stay and provide police services that meet the specific needs of Alaska Native villages. Knowing why suggests actions decision makers can follow to reduce officer attrition in similar situations.

NCJ 186187

Notes

1. Bass, Jay, "Rural Policing: Patterns and Problems of 'Micro' Departments," *The Justice Professional* 9 (April 1995): 59.
2. Hoffman, John, "Turnover: The Plague of Small Agencies," *Law & Order* 41 (June 1993): 25.
3. Angell, John E., *Alaska Village Justice: An Exploratory Study*, Anchorage, AK: Criminal Justice Center, University of Alaska Anchorage, 1979: 49. Berman, Matthew, and Linda Leask, "Violent Death in Alaska: Who Is Most Likely to Die?" *Alaska Review of Social and Economic Conditions* 29(1) (Spring 1994): 5. Lee, Nella, "Rural Crime Rates High," *Alaska Justice Forum* 5(2) (Summer 1998): 1-3.
4. Hippler, Arthur, *Final Report to the Commissioner of the Department of Public Safety on the Village Public Safety Officers Program (VPSO)*. Anchorage, AK: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska Anchorage, 1982: 4.
5. Associated Press, "Funding Sought for Village Cops," *Juneau Empire* (September 14, 1992): 8.
6. See, for example, Marenin, Otwin, "Community Policing in Alaska's Rural Areas: The Village Public Safety Officer (VPSO) Program," unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Denver, Colorado, 1990: 21-22.
7. Marenin, Otwin, "Conflicting Perspectives on the Role of the Village Public Safety Officer in Native Villages in Alaska," *American Indian Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1994): 313.
8. It should be noted that VPSO's do not carry firearms in the performance of their duties.
9. As one VPSO put it, "The only time I am off duty is when I am out of the village."
10. Some villages, using local and Federal funding, employ their own village police officers. Other villages, through local tribal governments, employ "tribal police officers." Unlike the VPSO program, neither of these policing arrangements has typically received the support and funding of the State of Alaska; recently, though, the Alaska State Troopers have begun to provide rudimentary police training to the village police officers and tribal officers.
11. Hoffman, "Turnover: The Plague of Small Agencies," 27.
12. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Officer Next Door Program*. February 14, 2001, <http://www.hud.gov:80/ond/ond.html>.

Creating Winning Innovations in Criminal Justice

by *Gail Christopher*



Innovation may be more of a challenge in government than anywhere else. Proposals that depart from established ways of doing business may face objections from organizations or individuals wedded to the status quo. In the criminal justice system, innovation may be an even greater challenge. After all, crime can be a matter of life and death. Protecting citizens from crime and ensuring equitable treatment by the justice system are the overriding concerns. Because so much is at stake, policy debate can be acrimonious, public opinion sharply divided. Yet despite this, and despite the complexity and scope of the issues, innovative practices abound at all levels and in virtually every component of the criminal justice system, including arenas in which the problems seem insurmountable.

The Need

The decline in the crime rate notwithstanding, established ways no longer produce the desired results in many arenas of criminal justice. Reinvention, with its emphasis on performance, responsiveness, and customer service, is the new imperative and has been the catalyst for innovation.

Since its inception in 1986, the Ford Foundation's Innovations in American Government awards program has counted many criminal justice programs among its winners and finalists. (The most recently named award recipients are listed in "Notable Criminal Justice Innovators in 2000," page 26.) Outside that circle are uncounted others, at the local, State, and Federal levels, who also exemplify risk-taking, adaptability, and flexibility.

Lessons From Government Innovations

Innovative programs in criminal justice and elsewhere in government are born when staff and administrators face head-on the frustrations that can be common in the public sector. They find ways to overcome barriers and eliminate disincentives, and the best of them find ways to sustain their programs for the long term.

Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, which administers the Innovations program, has distilled the lessons learned from the winners in the 14 years since the program began.¹ Most, if not all, apply to criminal justice agencies, where they can serve as guidelines for seeking new solutions.

- Define a mission clearly and in terms of compelling public problems. Most award-winning government programs clearly articulate a purpose that is understood both inside and outside the organization. This sense of mission keeps the organization focused in the face of controversy, change, and daily routine.
- Define challenging but achievable outcomes against which to measure performance. Because results are what matter, setting outcome targets can motivate staff and mobilize support. If outcome measures

are clearly defined, the public is more likely to feel the agency is accountable.

- Collaborate with other agencies whenever possible. Shrinking resources and greater demand have spurred the search for creative ways to collaborate. Partnerships can help solve problems too complex for any single agency to handle.
- Build partnerships with the private and nonprofit sectors. Working alone, the government cannot solve all problems. Business and community nonprofits are often the best equipped to be catalysts and to help develop programs.
- Respect the talents of frontline workers. The prospect of innovation is enhanced when employees participate in decision making and when their experience informs practice. The business world knows this, and it is being applied increasingly in the public sector.

about the author

Gail Christopher is Executive Director of the Innovations in American Government awards program of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and cochair of the National Academy of Public Administration's Alliance for Redesigning Government.

- Identify clearly the citizens and groups entitled to your services and focus as sharply as possible on their needs. Many award-winning government programs have borrowed the customer service approach of the business world and are shifting their focus accordingly, from process to people.
- If the agency's tasks involve regulation, consider working with the regulated parties to meet common objectives through compliance, rather than depending entirely on traditional enforcement. Much discontent with government stems from stories of seemingly capricious, adversarial actions by regulatory agencies. Many agencies have adopted a more cooperative, problem-solving approach that involves a mutual focus on results and partnerships.
- Consider how market forces may complement the provision of public goods and services. In many areas of government, opportunities exist to improve service by being open to market forces. The interests of business may often dovetail well with those of government agencies.
- Use information technology to improve services to citizens. This area holds great potential for improving access to agencies and their programs. The government may lag behind the private sector, but it is now assiduously cultivating the use of telecommunications and information technologies to speed service and save resources.
- Be flexible, take risks, and don't give up. The Innovations program award recipients are always on the lookout to improve performance. They work collaboratively with multiple partners and are as patient as they are energetic in planning and improvising toward their goals.

NCJ 186188

Note

1. Based on the paper by Alan Altshuler, "Ten Lessons From Innovations," *Innovations in American Government, 1986–1996, Tenth Anniversary*, New York: Ford Foundation, December 1996: 8–11. The complete essay is available on the Innovations Web site: <http://www.innovations.harvard.edu/essays.htm>.

The decline in the crime rate notwithstanding, established ways no longer produce the desired results in many arenas of criminal justice. Reinvention, with its emphasis on performance, responsiveness, and customer service, is the new imperative and has been the catalyst for innovation.

Notable Criminal Justice Innovators in 2000

INNOVATIONS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT



The Innovations in American Government Program, which began in 1986, identifies outstanding examples of creative problem-solving in the public sector at the

local, State, and Federal levels. Administered by Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and managed by the Council for Excellence in Government, the program each year names 10 winners and 15 finalists. Each receives a Ford Foundation grant.

Information about the program and instructional materials

in the form of case studies of award-winning programs are on the Innovations Web site, at <http://www.innovations.harvard.edu/index.html>.

Of the winners and finalists in the 2000 competition, four were in the field of criminal justice. The following programs were named the winner and finalists:

W I N N E R

Healthier Inmates Can
Mean a Healthier
Community

"Public Health Model for Corrections"

*Hampden County,
Massachusetts, Sheriff's
Department*

Inmates' limited access to health care before incarceration, along with impulsive or risky behavior, contributes to a disproportionate prevalence of disease among them. Once discharged, they could potentially be a public health risk. The Hampden County, Massachusetts, Sheriff's Department developed a public health model of care that responds to the concerns of the community and also meets the medical needs of jail inmates.

The model helps inmates lead healthier lives in jail and when released. Medical service is provided contractually with nonprofit neighborhood health centers. Inmates are assigned to a team of doctors and case managers from

the centers who provide care onsite at the jail and after release. Program elements include assessment, long-term treatment, education, and case management with postrelease links to the community. For more information, contact:

Dr. Thomas Conklin
Hampden County Sheriff's
Department
627 Randall Road
Ludlow, MA 01056-1079
Phone: 413-547-8000, ext. 2344
Fax: 413-589-0912

Public Health Model for Corrections—
Inmates' limited access to
health care before incarceration,
along with impulsive or risky behavior,
contributes to a disproportionate
prevalence of disease among them.
Once discharged, they could potentially
be a public health risk.

FINALISTS

Community Program
Keeps Young Offenders
Out of State Institutions

“Community Youth Investment Program”

*Deschutes County, Oregon,
Commission on Children and
Families and Department of
Juvenile Community Justice*

Placing young people who commit nonviolent crimes in State institutions can do more harm than good for both the offender and the community. Deschutes County's Community Youth Investment Program (CYIP) is an alternative way to help youthful offenders while saving the county money.

The young people participate in a highly structured program that holds them accountable for their offenses while teaching them responsibility and requiring restitution and community service.

In return, the county earns money for every bed it does not use in a State facility that would otherwise house these offenders.

As a result of the program, the county's incarceration rate for young people dropped from 23 in 1997, the year before CYIP began, to 5 in 2000. The county earned funds for use in early intervention programs, proven to reduce juvenile crime. For more information, contact:

Deevy Holcomb
Department of Juvenile
Community Justice
Deschutes County
63333 Highway 20 West
Bend, OR 97701
Phone: 541-617-3356
Fax: 541-383-0165
Email: deevyh@deschutes.org

Research and Data Used
to Identify Risk and
Prevent Juvenile
Offending

“Risk-Focused Policing”

*City of Redlands, California,
Police Department*

Redlands, California, began consolidating its police, recreation, and housing services in 1997 in an attempt to reduce factors that put young people at risk for delinquency, substance abuse, dropping out of school, and teen pregnancy.

The Redlands Police Department is the first in the country to fully embrace a research-based prevention framework, focused on risk and protective factors. In this data-driven strategy, the department, working with the local school district, measures community, family, school, and peer group risk factors and develops comprehensive responses.

Through recreation center and afterschool programs, Redlands has served thousands of young people. Since program implementation, major crime has decreased 36 percent. After a police officer was assigned to the local drug court, participation in the program among youth increased 70 percent, and drug court recidivism dropped as much as 6 percent. For more information contact:

Chief Jim Bueermann
Redlands Police Department
30 Cajon Street
Redlands, CA 92373
Phone: 909-798-7661
Email: JBueermann@aol.com

Inmate-on-Inmate
Violence Reduced

“Total Efficiency Accountability Management System (TEAMS)”

*New York City Department of
Correction*

New York City jails have been transformed into a safer and more habitable environment through the reduction of inmate-on-inmate violence. The city's Department of Correction accomplished this through its Total Efficiency Accountability Management System (TEAMS), introduced in 1996 to address growing inmate violence, staff absenteeism, and low morale and to control employee use of overtime.

TEAMS holds managers accountable while emphasizing goal-oriented management and job performance of correctional officers. An information collection system was created to measure performance throughout the agency. Since TEAMS began, inmate violence has fallen 93 percent and employee absenteeism more than 30 percent. Staff spend less time responding to violent and dangerous incidents and more time improving inmate services. For more information, contact:

Thomas Antenen
Deputy Commissioner of Public
Information
Police Department
City of New York
One Police Plaza
New York, NY 10038
Phone: 212-374-6700
Fax: 212-374-6056
<http://www.ci.nyc.ny.us/html/doc/html/teams.html>

At-A-Glance: Recent Research Findings

Protecting Indian Women From Domestic Violence

Eileen Luna, Impact Evaluation of STOP Grant Programs for Reducing Violence Against Women Among Indian Tribes, final report submitted to NIJ, grant number 96-WT-NX-0006 (NCJ 186235).

When Congress made funds available for the development of ways to reduce violence against Indian women, tribal elders faced a challenging task: find ways to cooperate with various tribal and nontribal criminal justice agencies, and navigate the maze of law enforcement authority.

(For more discussion about the complexity of law enforcement in Indian Country, see “Policing on American Indian Reservations” by Wakeling, Jorgensen, and Michaelson, page 2.)

A recently released evaluation found that the tribes rose to the challenge. The grants to stop violence against Indian women have made a significant impact in the 14 Native communities that initially received awards.

The Congressional Mandate

Through Title IV, the Violence Against Women Act of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (the Crime Act), Congress mandated that 4 percent of the funds allocated for violence against women grants be made available to Indian tribal governments to empower Native communities to combat violent crimes against women.

In fiscal year 1995, 14 tribal governments received grants from the Department of Justice’s Violence Against Women Office to develop ways to stop violence against Indian women. The money was made available through a program called STOP (Service–Training–Officers–Prosecutors).

Evaluating the Effects of Violence Against Women Grants

To assess the effects of the violence against Indian women grants, the Tribal Law and Policy Program at the University of Arizona, with NIJ funding, conducted an evaluation using surveys and

site interviews. In particular, researchers sought to learn about the unique cultural and political context within which each STOP program functioned.

Improved training. Many tribal grantees used their STOP violence against Indian women funds to train representatives from numerous agencies who came into contact with abused women.

The evaluators found that training improved both the efficiency and the number of responses to domestic violence situations, as well as increased awareness among community, police, prosecution, and judicial officials.

How to Get At-A-Glance Materials

Materials are available at:

- NIJ’s Web site at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij>, or
- NCJRS, puborder@ncjrs.org, 1–800–851–3420, P.O. Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20849–6000.

The summaries in this section are based on the following:

Research in Progress Seminars. At these seminars, scholars discuss their ongoing research and preliminary findings with an audience of researchers and criminal justice professionals. Sixty-minute VHS videotapes of the Research in Progress seminars are available from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) at 1–800–851–3420. Videotaped seminars are \$19 (\$24 in Canada and other countries).

NIJ Final Reports. These final submissions from NIJ grantees typically are available from NCJRS through interlibrary loan. In some cases, photocopies may be obtained for a fee. For information about these reports and possible fees, contact NCJRS.

NIJ Publications. Some of the information here is summarized from recent NIJ publications, which are available from the NIJ Web site or by contacting NCJRS. Refer to the documents’ accession (ACN) or NCJ numbers.

The evaluators found that, in general, the working groups successfully developed appropriate, tribal legislative codes and protocols for responding to violent crimes against Indian women, fostered interagency coordination, and created an atmosphere where issues related to violence against Indian women could be discussed in the community.

According to the data, increases in protection orders ranged from a 98-percent increase in one tribal community to a 50-percent increase in another. Prosecution rates rose as well; in one location, cases reaching court quadrupled after training.

Improved coordination. Other grantees formed working groups to bring together representatives from various community groups to design and review policies regarding the handling of sexual assault and domestic violence cases. These groups often included members from tribal courts, law enforcement, prosecution, victims' services, tribal council, social services, and community members.

The evaluators found that, in general, the working groups successfully developed appropriate, sensitive tribal legislative codes and protocols for responding to violent crimes against Indian women, fostered interagency coordination, and created an atmosphere where

issues related to violence against Indian women could be discussed in the community.

Improved focus on Native culture. Tribes that received grants were creating programs that kept traditional views intact.

Before the STOP funding was available, Indian women who requested counseling often were referred to off-reservation counseling centers in surrounding towns. Such programs usually stress leaving the abusive situation and becoming self-sufficient—something that usually requires urbanization and is inappropriate for Native populations. Similarly, grantees view off-reservation batterer intervention programs as incompatible with tribal values, customs, and practices. With their STOP grants, tribes are developing on-reservation, culturally appropriate crisis intervention programs for women and their batterers.

Improving Enforcement

Tribal police and courts encounter significant problems getting tribal court orders and tribal legislative codes honored by other jurisdictions. To rectify this problem, grantees are:

- Negotiating full faith and credit agreements with outside jurisdictions.
- Expanding task forces or advisory boards to include nontribal law enforcement agencies to generate a more coordinated response.
- Constructing tribal legislative codes modeled after State codes in the hope that they will be more readily accepted by outside jurisdictions.
- Negotiating cross-deputization agreements with nontribal law enforcement agencies.

Four tribal grantees added a specialized domestic violence/sexual assault officer through the grant, and eight grantees developed mandatory arrest policies as a result of the STOP Violence Against Indian Women grant.

Most grantees used the discretionary portion of their awards to develop or supplement probation services and to develop or supplement court-mandated batterer intervention groups. Six tribes created a position in which someone tracks offenders' movements through the criminal justice system.

Increasing Conviction Rates

Overall, tribal grantees were prosecuting and sentencing domestic violence crimes more vigorously. Grant managers attributed the increased conviction rates both to initiation of the funding and to the resulting development of tribal legislative codes since the funding became available.

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For more information, contact Eileen Luna, Principal Investigator, Tribal Law and Policy Program, University of Arizona, P.O. Box 210076, Harvill 430, Tucson, AZ 85721-0076, 520-621-2262, eluna@email.arizona.edu. The final report, under grant number 96-WT-NX-0006, is available from NCJRS (NCJ 186235).

Misperceptions in Vermonters' Opinions

John Doble with Judith Greene, Attitudes Toward Crime and Justice in Vermont: An Experiment With Restorative Justice, NIJ final report, grant number 98-IJ-CX-0028 (NCJ 182361).

Understanding public opinion is an integral part of any successful criminal justice system. To further under-

stand public opinion about the criminal justice system in Vermont, John Doble Research Associates and Judith Greene updated in 1999 an earlier 1994 study that found low public confidence in the entire system and broad public support for a reform that was subsequently enacted: the establishment of a statewide network of community-based reparative boards that give citizen volunteers the authority to determine and oversee nonincarcerative community-based punishments for an array of nonviolent offenders.

Common Misperceptions

The 1999 study found that Vermont's citizen evaluations of the performance of the criminal justice system had improved by 7 percent. The study also found

three misperceptions that seemed to be root causes of what is often called "the disconnect," which is the widespread alienation and cynicism people feel toward the government.

Misperception 1: Vermonters overestimate the crime rate in the State. More than 80 percent reported that crime had increased or was as common as it was 5 years ago. In truth, crime in Vermont, as in many jurisdictions, has been steadily decreasing.¹

Misperception 2: While 95 percent said that someone "convicted of violently raping a woman at knife-point" should be sent to prison, only 28 percent said this is what (always or almost always) happens. In truth, anyone convicted of such a crime would almost certainly be incarcerated in Vermont.²

Misperception 3: Sixty-three percent of Vermonters said that “many” violent offenders are released early because of prison overcrowding. Though not all violent offenders serve the maximum term imposed by the court, the truth is that none are released early just because of prison overcrowding.³

Fighting Misperceptions

No substitute exists for an informed public; misperceptions must be cleared up. But correcting misperceptions, the study suggests, is only part of the answer to restoring public confidence and making the public believe that the criminal justice system is fulfilling its mandate.

The authors suggest that reparative boards, a reform favored by 91 percent of the respondents, along with other approaches to reconnect the public, such as the establishment of community justice centers, have the potential to give people what they want—a sense of ownership over a significant piece of the criminal justice function.

Reparative boards encourage restoration of the victim and restitution by the offender, two top priorities for Vermonters, while simultaneously transferring decision-making authority from the bureaucracy to the community.

Allowing community members to decide what are appropriate sanctions and risks may be a way to reconnect the public to the criminal justice system while informing the

public about what is one of the government’s most basic functions.

For more information, contact John Doble, John Doble Research Associates, 375 Sylvan Avenue, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632, 201-568-7200, doble@carroll.com; or Judith Greene, Justice Strategies, 199 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11205, 718-857-3316, greenej1@mindspring.com. The final report, under grant number 98-IJ-CX-0028, is available from NCJRS (NCJ 182361).

Notes

1. FBI Uniform Crime Report data show that index crime rates have been decreasing in Vermont for two decades. Part 1 violent crimes (murder, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery) have dropped from 179 per 100,000 citizens in 1980 to 106 per 100,000 in 1998. Part 1 property crime rates also have declined since they reached a peak of approximately 5,000 per 100,000 in 1979 to approximately 3,000 per 100,000 in 1998.
2. Data available from the Vermont Department of Corrections (DOC) do not allow for distinguishing between offenders who were convicted of FBI part 1 violent crimes using a knife or gun from those who did not. Of those convicted of a violent crime, about three-quarters are sentenced to a term of incarceration. Data also do not distinguish between offenders who

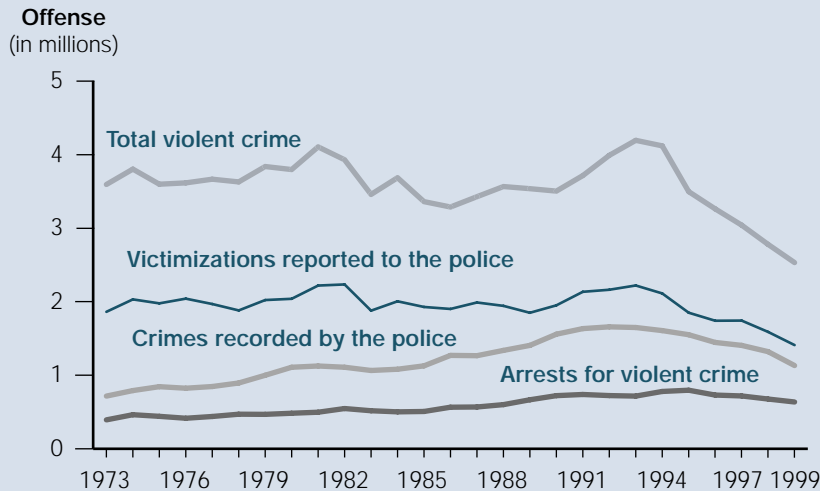
were convicted of rape using a knife from those who did not. Of all those convicted of a sex crime, about three-fifths are sentenced to a term of incarceration. Fifteen judges, State’s attorneys, and public defenders interviewed for the project said, with unanimity, that anyone convicted of rape at knifepoint would unquestionably be incarcerated in Vermont, probably for a sentence of at least 15 years and possibly for life.

3. Data available from the Vermont DOC show that early release of violent offenders is on the decline in Vermont and that violent offenders are serving longer terms of incarceration. In 1993, those sentenced for FBI part 1 violent crimes served an average of 29 months, having been released after serving—on average—just 29 percent of the maximum term imposed by the court. By 1998, these offenders were serving an average of 76 months, released—on average—after serving 59 percent of the maximum term. In background interviews, DOC officials said that although many violent offenders are released before serving the maximum term imposed by the court, such releases are unrelated to overcrowding and that it is DOC policy that no violent offenders are released early because of, or merely to ease, prison overcrowding.

Crime and Conviction Trends at a Glance from the Bureau of Justice Statistics

Four Measures of Serious Violent Crime, 1973-99

Serious violent crime levels continued to decline in 1999.

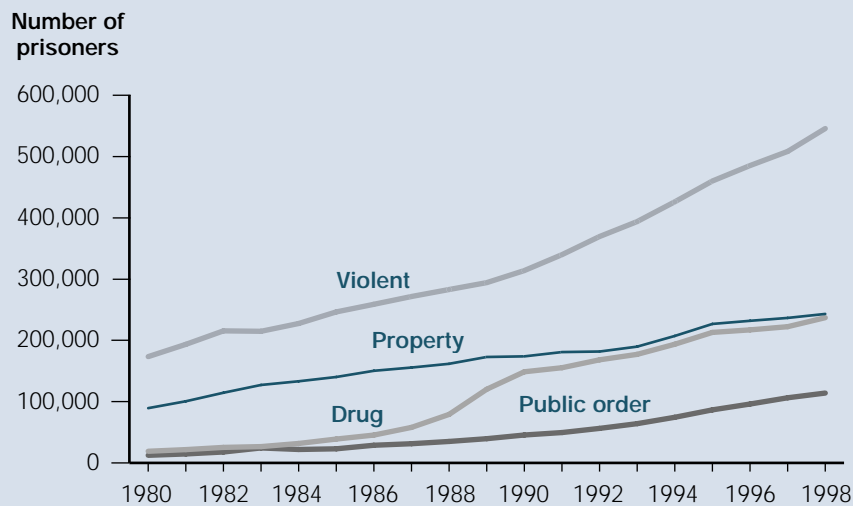


Sources: The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR).

View this graph and the data online at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/cv2.htm>.

State Prison Population by Offense Type, 1980-98

More than half the increase in State prison population since 1990 is due to an increase in the prisoners convicted of violent offenses.



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the U.S., 1996*, and *Prisoners in 1999*.

View this graph and the data online at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/corrtyp.htm>.

Homicide Rates Decline

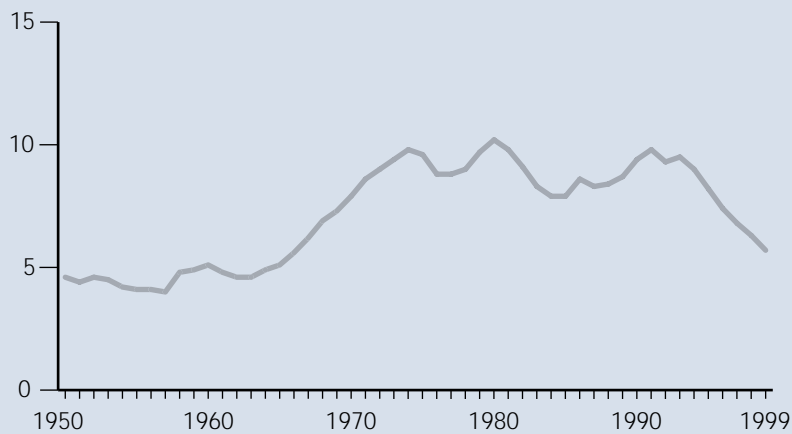
The Bureau of Justice Statistics has updated the "Homicide Trends" section of their Web site. The updated site contains charts that describe homicide patterns and trends in the United States since 1976.

Homicide is of interest not only because of its severity but also because it is a fairly reliable barometer of all violent crime. At a national level, no other crime is measured as accurately and precisely.

Visit "Homicide Trends in the United States" at: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/homtrnd.htm>.

Homicide Victimization, 1950-99

Rate per 100,000 population



Source: FBI, Uniform Crime Reports, 1950-99.

View this graph and the data online at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/hmrt.htm>.

Solicitations & Awards

Search NIJ Grant Information Online

The fully searchable portfolio of all NIJ grants is now available to Web users at the NIJ Web site.

The online database can be searched using all or one of the following terms: project title, category, project location, date awarded, project number, awardee, and awardee contact name. Once the project is identified, the system provides all remaining information, including a description and funding data.

The portfolio reflects research, evaluation, technology develop-

ment, dissemination, and technical support projects, including those supported by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (the Crime Act) and those conducted in partnership with other Federal agencies through inter-agency and cooperative agreements.

In fiscal year 2000, NIJ made more than 200 awards totaling more than \$116 million.

Visit the online portfolio at <http://www.nij.ncjrs.org/portfolio>. For more information about the latest funding opportunities, visit the NIJ Web site at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij>.

<http://www.nij.ncjrs.org/portfolio>

The image shows a screenshot of the NIJ Research Portfolio search interface. On the left is a vertical navigation menu with links for 'About the Portfolio', 'Search Title', 'Search Categories', and 'Search'. The main content area is titled 'RESEARCH PORTFOLIO' and contains a search form. The form includes a 'Search For Keywords' field, a 'Project Title' field, a 'Category' dropdown menu, a 'Project Location' field, a 'Date' field, a 'Year' field, a 'Date Awarded' field, a 'Project Number' field, an 'Awardee Contact Name' field, and a 'Search Title' field. There are also radio buttons for 'All' and 'Full' search options, and a 'Submit' button at the bottom right.

New & Noteworthy

Special Issue of *NIJ Journal*

“Crime Policy in the 21st Century” is the working title of a special edition of the *NIJ Journal* to be published this Spring. The special issue is the product of a series of roundtable discussions held in 2000 that examined three significant issues the criminal justice field will face in the future.

The topics of the three roundtables were (1) public trust and confidence in the system, (2) sentencing and corrections, and (3) use of technology.

Before each roundtable session, well-known experts in the field were asked to submit background papers

as a starting point for the conversations. The special issue of the *NIJ Journal* will summarize the papers and the conversations; the full-length version of the essays and comments will be available online at the NIJ Web site (<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij>).

The special edition of the *NIJ Journal* will explore three primary

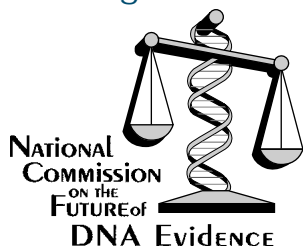
policy issues as seen by well-known thinkers and experts on each topic.

All regular *NIJ Journal* subscribers will automatically receive a copy of the special edition. To become a subscriber, email puborder@ncjrs.org and enter “*NIJ Journal* subscription” in the subject line.

Correction: The October issue of the *NIJ Journal* incorrectly identified the location of “Building Data Systems for Monitoring and Responding to Violence Against Women.” It can be found in the *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Reports*, vol. 49, no. RR-11, published October 27, 2000, and it is available online in both .pdf and .html formats. Volume 49 of the MMWR can be found on the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Web site at http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/indrr_2000.html.

Events

DNA Commission Holds Its Final Meeting



The National Commission on the Future of DNA Evidence convened its 11th and final meeting November 19–21 in Boston. Held in conjunction with the “DNA and the Criminal Justice System” conference, cosponsored by Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, the Commission members focused on critical issues, including DNA database privacy issues, postconviction DNA testing and retesting, funding opportunities, and the relation of genetics and environment to criminality.

The opening panel for the conference, “Behavior, Genetics, and the Criminal Justice System,” addressed the concept of a gene for criminality and how it would affect the roles of responsibility and rehabilitation in the criminal justice system. The panel included Nobel Laureate James Watson, who identified the structures of DNA in 1953.

Proceedings of the meeting will be available through the Commission’s Web site at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/dna>.

The Future of DNA Testing: Predictions of the Research and Development Working Group also was released at the conference. This NIJ publication describes past and present techniques used to analyze DNA and predicts improvements over the next decade, including:

What Every Law Enforcement Officer Should Know About DNA Evidence (already available as a brochure) is soon to be released free of charge as an interactive training program on CD-ROM. The computer-based training will provide in-depth training on identification, preservation, and collection of DNA evidence at a crime scene.

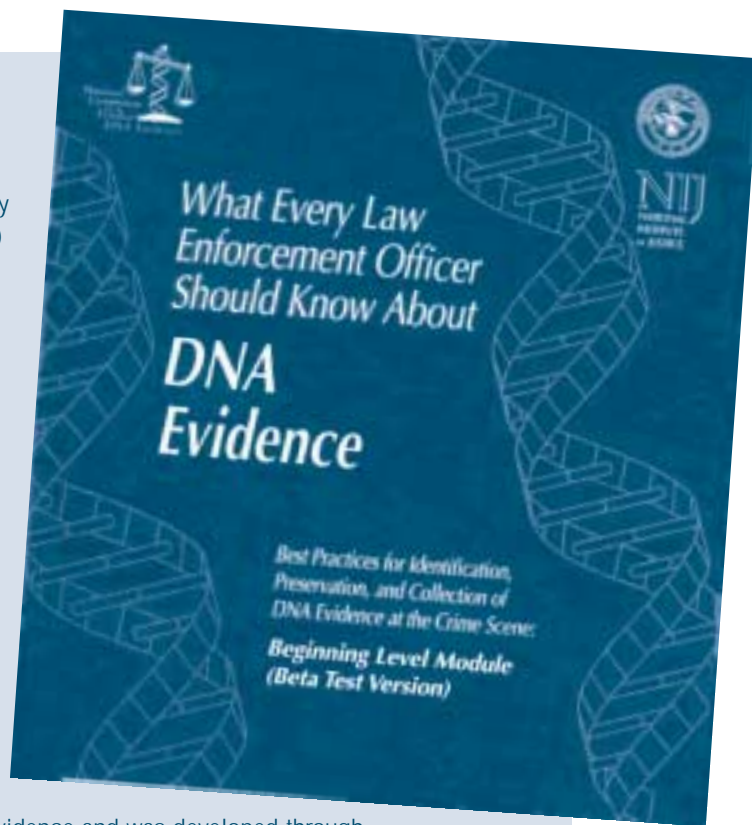
The training program was written by members of the Crime Scene Investigation Working Group of the National Commission on the Future of DNA Evidence and was developed through an NIJ grant to Eastern Kentucky University and Advanced Systems Technology, Inc.

The program can be used on any desktop or laptop computer equipped with a CD player and can be used by both individual officers or in groups, such as at roll-call or in an academy training session.

The training has two modules: The first module covers basic information on identifying and preserving potential DNA evidence; the second module is a more advanced curriculum designed for the investigating officer or evidence technician who collects evidence at the crime scene.

The CD program will be available free of charge in early 2001 through the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS). Call 1–800–851–3420 for more information.

- More reliable and quicker results created through increased automation.
- Production of small, mobile computer chips which would allow officers to complete DNA testing at a crime scene.
- Improvements in the ability to analyze small and/or degraded DNA samples.
- More comprehensive DNA databases of convicted criminals.
- More accessible global information and international DNA comparisons.
- Increased number of suspects identified through DNA databases.



Former Attorney General Janet Reno established the DNA Commission in 1996 to respond to concerns in five specific areas: (1) the use of DNA in postconviction relief cases; (2) legal issues arising out of expanded use of DNA technology in DNA cases; (3) criteria for training and technical assistance for criminal

justice professionals involved in the identification, collection, and preservation of DNA evidence at the crime scene; (4) essential laboratory capabilities in the face of emerging technologies; and (5) the impact of future technological developments on the use of DNA in the criminal justice system.

To learn more about the Commission, visit its Web site at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/dna/welcome.html>. Copies of *The Future of DNA Testing: Predictions of the Research and Development Working Group* are available from NCJRS (NCJ 183697) and at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/pubs-sum/183697.htm>.

OLETC Conference Exhibits New Technologies

Advances in technology can help criminal justice practitioners stay one step ahead of criminals. To spotlight technological advances, NIJ's Office of Law Enforcement Technology Commercialization (OLETC) held the National Commercialization Conference 2000, which brought together more than 200 researchers, developers, and users to discuss new trends in technology.

The conference emphasized topics such as "Bringing New Technology into Your Agency" and "Partnering Basics," which showed the importance of partnerships and demonstrated how the commercialization process works.

In his keynote speech, Captain Donald R. Gagnon discussed the Navy's simulated training efforts as well as current projects and partnerships.

Established in 1995 and located on the campus of Wheeling Jesuit University (West Virginia), OLETC works to bring new technology and innovations to the market. Its mission is to join research and private industry activities so that affordable, market-driven technologies are

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developed, commercialized, and made available to practitioners in the field.

Technologies exhibited at the conference included:

- CruiseCam™, which combines a camera, microphone, control panel, and recording equipment into a seat (developed by Lear Corporation).
- Integrated Law Enforcement Face-Identification System, a next generation system based on a 3D framework (developed at Wheeling Jesuit University through a cooperative agreement with NIJ).

- Puncture-resistant gloves, which provide additional protection to officers who come into contact with individuals in custody (developed by Gimbel Glove Corporation).

For more information, visit the Office of Law Enforcement Technology Commercialization's Web site at <http://www.oletc.org>.



Crime Mapping Investigates “Broken Windows”

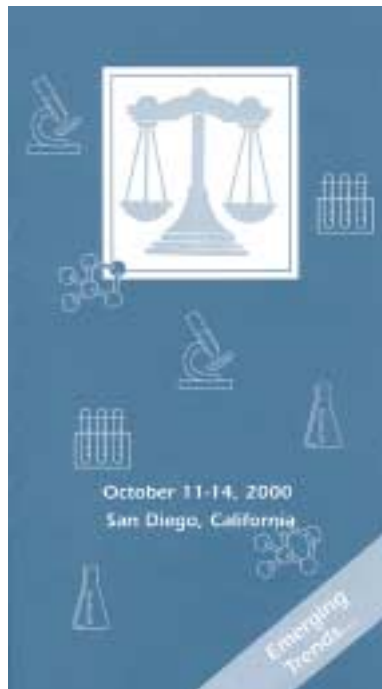
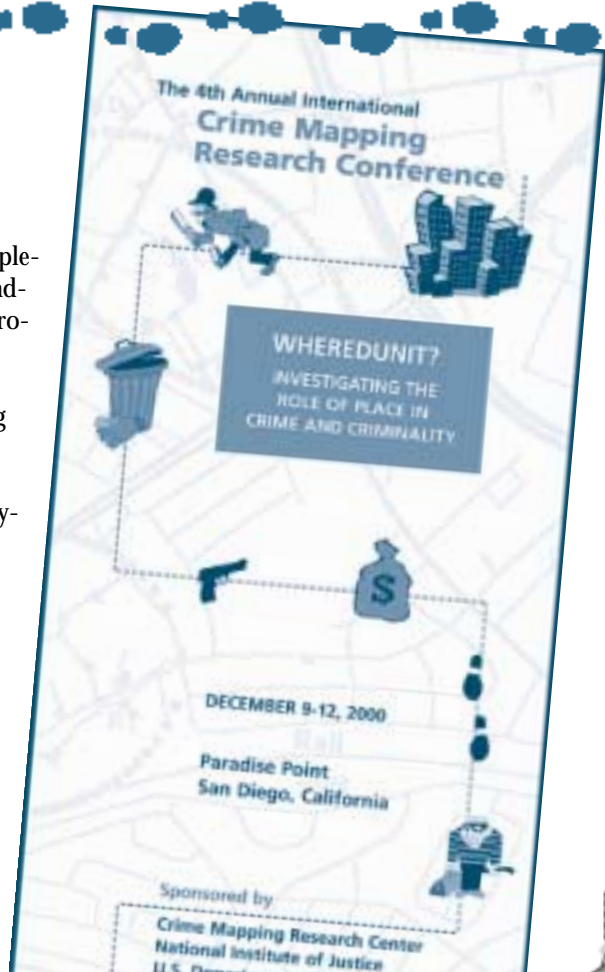
The increasing role of geographic information systems (GIS) in investigations was the focus of the fourth annual International Crime Mapping Research Conference, “Wheredunit? Investigating the Role of Place in Crime and Criminality,” sponsored by NIJ’s Crime Mapping Research Center. The conference brought together crime analysts, police officers, researchers, and criminal justice practitioners to look at several topics, including the use of GIS in school safety, multijurisdictional cases, and juvenile criminal justice.

How GIS sheds light on the “Broken Windows” theory was of major interest at the conference. Featured speaker Dr. Lawrence Sherman, Albert M. Greenfield Professor of Human Relations and Director of the Jerry Lee Center of Criminology at the University of Pennsylvania, discussed aspects of the theory in

his lecture, “Hot Spots, Broken Windows, and Tipping Points.”

The conference, which included more than 45 plenary sessions and 70 leading expert presenters, provided information on hotspotting methods, Internet-based mapping applications, advanced spatial analysis techniques, and spatial analysis tools. Victimization, corrections, and school safety were all analyzed in depth.

For more information about the crime mapping conference, visit the Crime Mapping Research Center’s Web site at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/cmrc>.



Courtroom Science Subject of NIJ Conference

Improving understanding among scientists, attorneys, and judges is important for the developing relationship between science and the law.

The second annual National Conference on Science and the Law, “Emerging Trends: Scientific Evidence in the Courtroom,” brought together 400 criminal justice professionals to discuss just how to improve these relationships.

The NIJ-sponsored conference fostered discussion among speakers and attendees on topics they felt would benefit from additional research, such as the use of DNA

to predict dangerousness, the challenges to the admissibility of expert testimony, and new and historically accepted scientific techniques in light of recent Supreme Court rulings.

In addition, to help attendees develop questions for future research, panel discussions included risk assessment and predictions of dangerousness, new identification procedures, and case study and forensic evidence presentation for court.

For more information about the Science and Law conference, contact Anjali Swinton, Senior Forensic Analyst, NIJ, 202-305-9076, swinton@ojp.usdoj.gov. You can also visit the conference’s Web site at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/more_scall.htm.

Practice and Research Team Up at VAW Conference

A recent conference marked the first opportunity for NIJ to discuss with both researchers and practitioners findings from NIJ's violence against women and family violence research portfolio.

The conference drew almost 200 participants and promoted researcher-practitioner interaction by having practitioners serve as discussants on the various research panels.

Keynote speaker Beth Richie challenged participants to question the effectiveness of their efforts to conduct research that serves all women in all situations and populations.

Dr. Richie, associate professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, stressed the importance of conducting studies of and providing services for all kinds of women, especially those in hard-to-reach populations. In particular, she highlighted the domestic violence experiences of women in prison and women on the street, noting that these populations are the ones most often forgotten and perhaps in need of the most attention.

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For more information about NIJ's portfolio on family violence, including funding opportunities, visit the Violence Against Women and Family Violence Program's Web page at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/vawprog>. For

information about other violence against women and family violence projects within the Office of Justice Programs, visit the Violence Against Women Office Web site at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/vawo>.

Top Thinkers Speak at Free Lecture Series

As part of the fifth annual "Perspectives on Crime and Justice" lecture series, NIJ has invited four of the top thinkers in the criminal justice field to speak about this year's hot topics.

The well-attended breakfast series gives policymakers a chance to talk candidly with leading thinkers in a question-and-answer session that follows each lecture.

The scholars, their topics, and dates for the 2001 series are:

- Alfred Blumstein, J. Erik Jonsson University Professor of Urban Systems and Operations

Research, H. John Heinz III School of Public Policy and Management, Carnegie Mellon University, "Why Is Crime Falling—or Is It?" February 14, 2001.

- Laurence Steinberg, Distinguished Professor, Psychology Department, Temple University, "The Juvenile Psychopath: Fads,

Fictions, and Facts About the Identification and Treatment of Serious Juvenile Offenders,” March 20, 2001.

- Carl Bell, President and CEO, Community Mental Health Council and Foundation, Inc., “Violence Prevention 101: Implications for Policy Development,” April 20, 2001.
- Margaret Berger, Suzanne J. and Norman Miles Professor of Law,

Brooklyn Law School, “Raising the Bar: The Impact of DNA Testing on the Field of Forensics,” May 9, 2001.

This year the series moves from Capitol Hill to the JW Marriott Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue near the White House.

The lectures are free and include a continental breakfast, but because of limited space, reservations are required. For more information or

to register, visit the Institute for Law and Justice’s (ILJ) Web site at <http://nijpcs.org/upcoming/perspectives.htm>, contact ILJ at 703-684-5300, or email ILJ at nijpcs@ilj.org.

Videotapes and the collected papers have been published for the last 3 years. Call NCJRS at 1-800-851-3420 for more information or to obtain copies of the videotapes or books.

Index 2000

This index lists all the features and At-A-Glance articles published in the *NIJ Journal* during 2000.

January (JR 000242)

Feature Articles

- Childhood Victimization: Early Adversity, Later Psychopathology by Cathy Spatz Widom
- Crunching Numbers: Crime and Incarceration at the End of the Millennium by Jan M. Chaiken
- On-the-Job Stress in Policing—Reducing It, Preventing It
- Community Oriented Lawyering: An Emerging Approach to Legal Practice by Roger Conner
- Piecing Together the Cross-National Crime Puzzle by Jan van Dijk and Kristiina Kangaspunta

At-A-Glance: Recent Research Findings

- Using Insects as “Tools” in Criminal Investigations
- Police Discretion in Fixing “Broken Windows” by George Kelling
- Reducing Gun-Related Crime by Terrence Dunworth
- Restraining Orders May Be Key to Uncovering Current Violence by L. Oriana Linares

April (JR 000243)

Feature Articles

- Clearing Up Homicide Clearance Rates by Charles Wellford and James Cronin
- Drug-Facilitated Rape: Looking for the Missing Pieces by Nora Fitzgerald and K. Jack Riley
- Can We Talk? Public Safety and the Interoperability Challenge by Brenna Smith and Tom Tolman

- Departing Thoughts From an NIJ Director by Jeremy Travis and Alfred Blumstein
- Youth Violence: Do Parents and Families Make a Difference? by Laurence Steinberg

At-A-Glance: Recent Research Findings

- A New Look at Neighborhood Disorder by Robert J. Sampson and Stephen W. Raudenbush
- Effectiveness of Residential Drug Treatment for Florida Probationers by Pamela Lattimore and Richard Linster
- Juveniles in Adult Prisons by Robert B. Levinson and John J. Greene
- Alcohol, Drugs, and Battered Women’s Calls to the Police by Ira W. Hutchison
- The Declining Rate of Intimate Partner Homicide by Laura Dugan, Daniel Nagin, and Richard Rosenfeld

July (JR 000244)

Feature Articles

- Meeting the Challenge of Transnational Crime by James O. Finckenaue
- Keeping the Peace: Police Discretion and Mentally Ill Persons by Linda A. Teplin
- Getting Smarter: Making Guns Safer for Law Enforcement and Consumers by Lauren R. Taylor
- Reducing Offender Drug Use Through Prison-Based Treatment

At-A-Glance: Recent Research Findings

- Effective Police Management Affects Citizen Perceptions by Robert C. Davis and Pedro Mateu-Gelabert

- Victim Services Programs for Women Evaluated by Barbara E. Smith, Robert C. Davis, and Laura B. Nickles
- Performance Measures Shape Officer Actions by Geoffrey P. Alpert, D.J. Kenney, and T.M. Oettemier
- Profiling the Needs of Young Female Offenders by Barbara Owen and B. Bloom
- Does Drug Testing Matter? by Rudy Haapanen

October (JR 000245)

Feature Articles

- Harnessing Information in a Prosecutor’s Office by Elizabeth Glazer
- Methamphetamine: An Update on an Emerging Problem
- Getting to Know Neighborhoods by G. Thomas Kingsley and Kathryn L.S. Pettit
- Measuring Violence Against Women: Recommendations From an Interagency Workshop
- Toward the Ideal of Community Justice by Todd R. Clear and David R. Karp

At-A-Glance: Recent Research Findings

- Connecting Crack Markets, Guns, and Youth Homicide by Daniel Cork
- Turning Points That Lead Away From Delinquency by John H. Laub
- Psychiatric Disorders of Youthful Offenders by Linda A. Teplin
- Testing, Treatment, and Sanction to Reduce Drug Use by Faye S. Taxman

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The National Institute of Justice is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

JR 000246