

Victim Safety & Offender Accountability: The Intimate Partner Violence Interventions

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**National Network
For Safe Communities
at JOHN JAY COLLEGE**

Intimate Partner Violence Intervention

BWJP Webinar

August 28, 2018

The NNSC: An Overview

David M. Kennedy

David M. Kennedy is an established criminologist and professor of criminal justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City. Mr. Kennedy also serves as the director and co-founder of the National Network for Safe Communities (NNC) at John Jay.

Mr. Kennedy and the National Network support cities implementing strategic interventions to reduce violence, minimize arrest and incarceration, enhance police legitimacy, and strengthen relationships between law enforcement and communities.

Mr. Kennedy's work has won two Ford Foundation Innovations in Government awards, two Webber Seavey Awards from the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and two Herman Goldstein Awards for problem-oriented Policing. He was awarded the 2011 Hatfield Scholar Award for scholarship in the public interest.

The National Network for Safe Communities

Supports strategies designed to:

- Reduce serious violence
- Improve public safety
- Minimize arrest and incarceration
- Strengthen disadvantaged communities
- Establish legitimacy and trust between law enforcement and communities
- Operate largely within existing resources

NNSC Principles

1. Most serious crime driven by small number of offenders
2. Create certainty
3. Provide clear information about risk
4. Mobilize moral voice of the community
5. Offer support & outreach
6. Face-to-face communication
7. Enhance legitimacy and procedural justice
8. Follow up: keep your promises
9. Assess and evaluate

**Group Violence
Intervention:
Underpinnings of IPV**

GVI Overview

- Pioneered by David Kennedy and colleagues as “Operation Ceasefire” in Boston during the 1990’s
- GVI has repeatedly demonstrated that violence can be dramatically reduced when a partnership of community members, law enforcement, and social service providers directly engages with the small number of people actively involved in street groups in a meaningful way.
- Since its inception in Boston, GVI has been successfully implemented in various jurisdictions across the country

Results

63%

reduction in youth homicide
Boston (MA) Operation Ceasefire
(Braga, Kennedy, Waring, and Piehl, 2001)

42%

reduction in gun homicide
Stockton (CA) Operation Peacekeeper
(Braga, 2008)

37%

reduction in neighborhood-level homicide
Chicago (IL) Project Safe Neighborhoods
(Papachristos, Meares, and Fagan, 2007)

44%

reduction in gun assaults
Lowell (MA) Project Safe Neighborhoods
(Braga, Pierce, McDevitt, Bond, and Cronin, 2008)

34%

reduction in homicide
Indianapolis (IN) Violence Reduction Partnership
(McGarrel, Chermak, Wilson, and Corsaro, 2006)

23%

reduction in overall shooting behavior among factions represented at call-ins
Chicago Group Violence Reduction Strategy
(Papachristos & Kirk 2015)

Emerging Consensus

A Campbell Collaboration Systematic Review of the strategies, and others related to them, concluded that there is now **“strong empirical evidence”** for their crime prevention effectiveness.

Braga, A., & Weisburd, D. (2012). The Effects of “Pulling Levers” Focused Deterrence Strategies on Crime. Campbell Systematic Reviews.

“Focused deterrence...has the **largest direct impact on crime and violence**, of any intervention in this report.”

Abt, T. & Winship, C. (2016, February). What Works in Reducing Community Violence. United States Agency for International Development.

“Focused deterrence strategies can have a significant impact **even in the most challenging of contexts.**”

Corsaro, N., & Engel, R.S. (2015). Most Challenging of Contexts: Assessing the Impact of Focused Deterrence on Serious Violence in New Orleans. Criminology & Public Policy, 14(3).

Innovation Upon an Established Framework

The NNSC's Intimate Partner Violence Intervention (IPVI) is a new, innovative approach to reducing serious intimate partner violence, grounded in the same core principles and focused deterrence theory that drive David Kennedy's other evidence based interventions.

Through a close partnership between law enforcement, social service providers, and community members, the IPVI strategy provides jurisdictions with a framework to identify and deter the most serious IPV offenders, reduce IPV, and reduce harm to victims.

Intimate Partner Violence: Background

Why is IPV a Problem?

**A RECENT CDC STUDY INDICATES THAT
INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDES
COMPRISE 55% OF ALL THE MURDERS
OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES**

Patterns of IPV Offending

- Range of coercive and abusive behaviors used to gain **power and control**
- Creates a fixed imbalance of power
- Victims experience repeat victimization by individual and multiple offenders
- Cycles of control and psychological abuse
- Common pattern before lethal violence

IPV Prevalence

35.6% of women in the US have **experienced IPV** in their lifetime

40-50% of all murders of women are IPV homicides

15% of all violent crime is IPV

Importance of Victim-Focused Advocacy and Formal Response

Traditional victim services are vital

- Highlight fact and significance of victimization
- Provide support, services, and treatment to victim-survivors
- Develop robust safety plans
- Are essential to providing safety and healing trauma

Victim Fears

Only about **50%** of IPV victims
report to police at all

80% of IPV victims who had not contacted
police are **afraid to call in the future**

2 out of 3 IPV victims who contacted the
police **are afraid to call again**

Victim Fears, cont.

43%

felt the police
discriminated against them

70%

believed calling police
would make things worse

24%

were **arrested or threatened with
arrest** while reporting

33%

felt **less safe** after calling the police

Traditional Approaches

- Traditional police and criminal justice practices place an undue burden on victims to take action
- Dominant criminal justice measures available to address offenders have been criminogenic and put victims at greater risk following the release of their abusers
- Treatment options typically offered for rehabilitating the most serious offenders are largely ineffective

Traditional Victim Services are vital, as they

- Highlight fact and significance of victimization
- Provide support, services, and treatment for victims
- Develop robust safety plans
- However, they focus on **victim safety** in the context of an essentially **unaddressed offender**

The Driving Idea

When somebody whose name we know is repeatedly brutalizing someone else whose name we know, we should make him stop. **We have been utterly failing to do that.**

Are IPV Offenders Different from Other Violent Offenders?

**National and High
Point analyses say
no, not as much as
we thought.**

Proportion of Male Batterers with Histories of Other Antisocial Behaviors

Study	Antisocial Behavior	Proportion (%)
Faulk 1974	Previous criminal assault	12
Flynn 1977	Nonfamily criminal assault	33
Gayford 1975	Previously incarcerated (one-third of above for violent offenses)	50
Stacey and Shupe 1983	Arrest record (one-third of above for violent offenses)	80
Walker 1979	Previous arrest	71
Roundsaville 1978	• Arrest record	35
	• Previous incarceration	35
	• Nonfamily violence	51
Fagan, Stewart, and Hansen 1983	Previous arrests for other violence	46
Browne 1984 (batterers who were killed by their wives)	Previous arrest	92

Source: Langford, et al, "Criminal and restraining order histories of intimate partner-related homicide offenders in Massachusetts."

UNC Greensboro Analysis of High Point

1,033 # of people charged w/ a DV-related offense between 2000 and 2010

The average DV offender had
10 other charges

10,328 # of charges amongst the 1,033 charged w/ a DV-related offense

Intimate Partner Violence Intervention (IPVI)

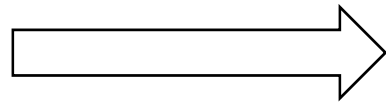
Driving Factors

- Criminal justice response is frequently “one size fits all” and historically ineffective
- “Experiential effect” – criminal justice system teaching offenders they will get away with it
- “Specialists” v. “Generalists”
 - Chronic and serious IPV offenders aren’t as different from other violent offenders as many people thought
- Offenders known to criminal justice system

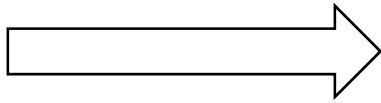
IPVI Goals

- Do no harm
- Protect victims who are most at risk from the most dangerous offenders
- Deter or prevent offending
- Take the burden off victims and place it on the CJ system
- Establish state, not victim, as addressing violence
- Addresses as many offenders as possible: counters the “experiential effect,” establish new norms
- Match with best possible victim support and protection
- Mobilize the community’s moral voice against violence

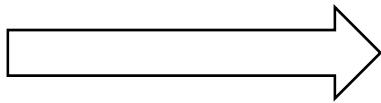
IPVI Operational Elements



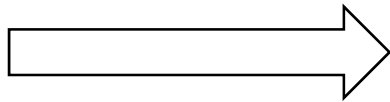
Conduct qualitative and quantitative data analysis of local dynamics (“problem analysis”)



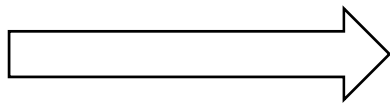
Identify levels of offenders



Engage each level of offender with a specific approach and offer of help

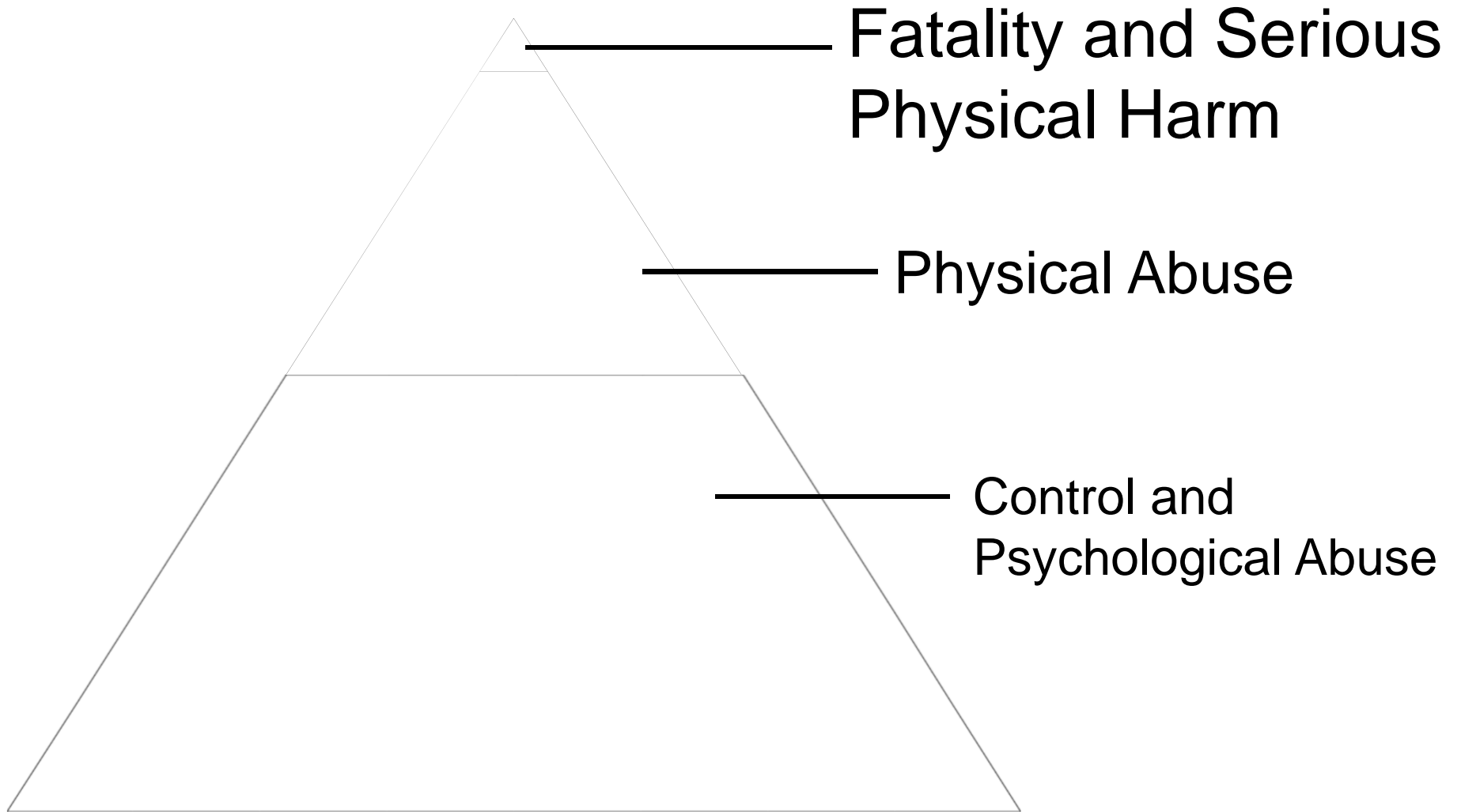


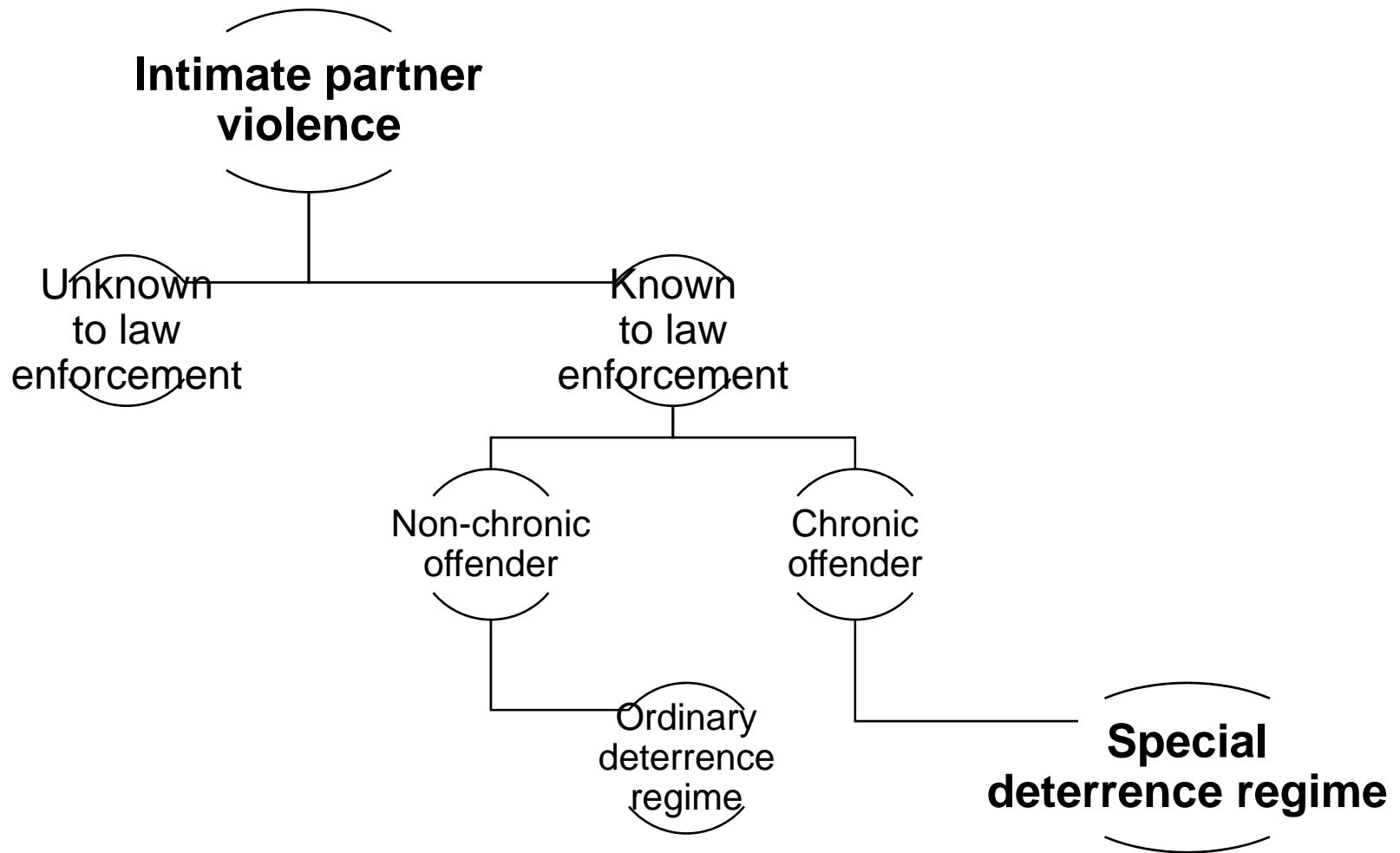
Elevate offenders to the appropriate higher level if continued offending occurs, emphasize risks



Provide affirmative outreach to victims at every level

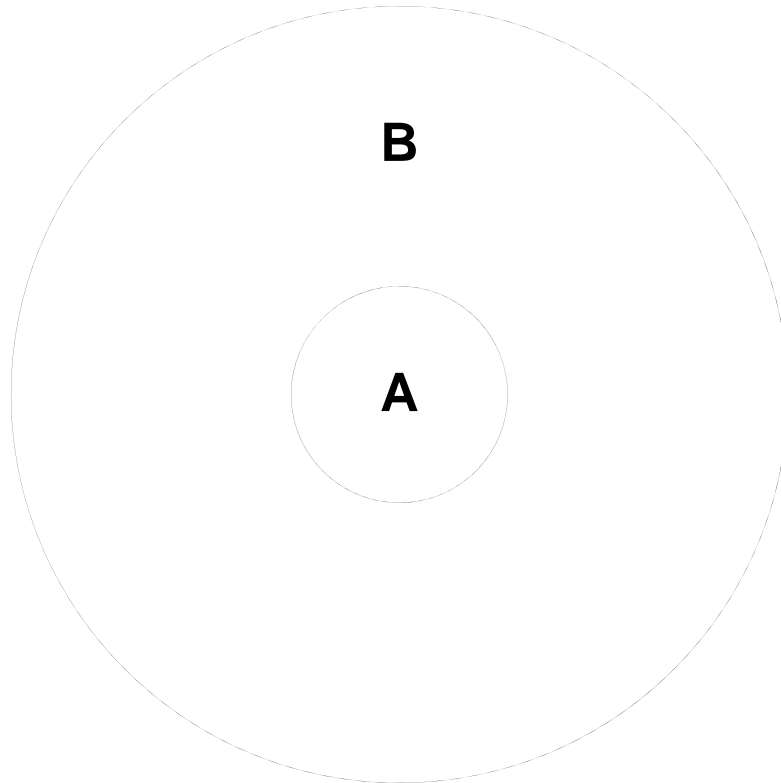
Range of IPV



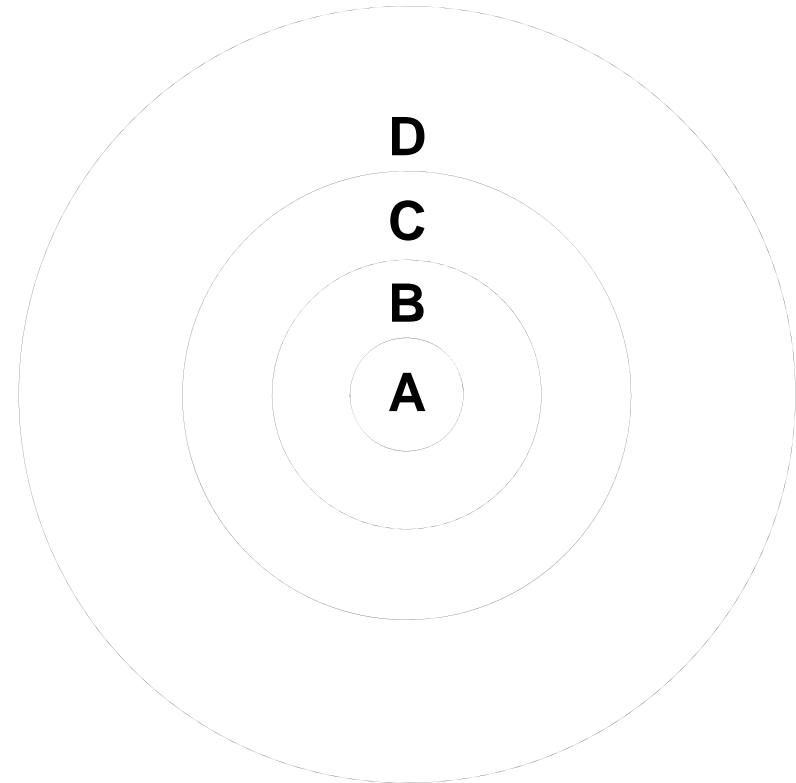


IPVI Approach

Traditional Model



IPVI Model



VS

*Low Intensity
Response*



*High Intensity
Response*



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IPVI Approach

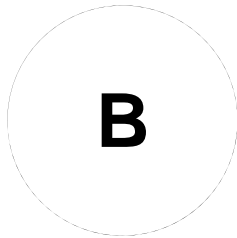
A-level

Undeterred,
serious
offender



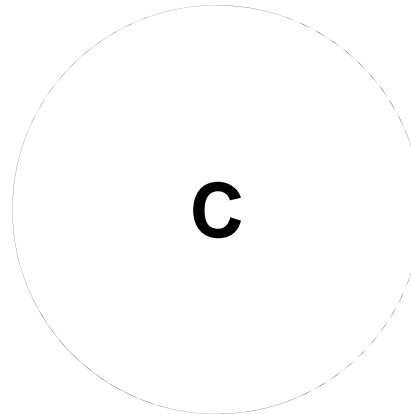
B-level

Demonstrated
repeat offending



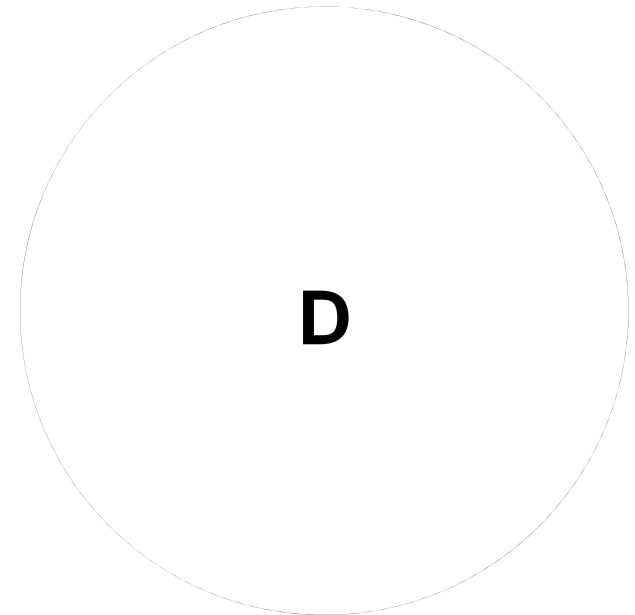
C-level

First known offense



D-level

Indication of IPV



*Low Intensity
Response*



*High Intensity
Response*

How Do We Do This?

- A **partnership** between:
 - Law enforcement (local, state, federal)
 - Community-based victim advocates
 - Social service providers
 - Community members
- Direct, consistent and sustained engagement with IPV offenders and victims by the partnership standing and acting **together**
- Clear prior explanation of how law enforcement will operate – **replace enforcement** as much as possible with communication and transparency
- Explicit commitment to **enhancing procedural justice** in interactions with victims and offenders

Data Driven Approach

- Inconsistent terminology and broad use of ‘domestic violence’ to refer to both family and intimate partner violence complicates the ability to focus on IPV
- One of the key aspects of IPVI is challenging jurisdictions to conceptualize IPV independently, and denote it as a distinct type of crime
- The scope of IPV offending varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction
- Knowledge of local offending dynamics is critically important to adapting the strategy to the community it is intended to serve
- Data is utilized to understand the historical trends of offending in a jurisdiction, not to predict future offending.

Problem Analysis

Use both existing and new information to identify the small number of offenders that drive the most serious violence

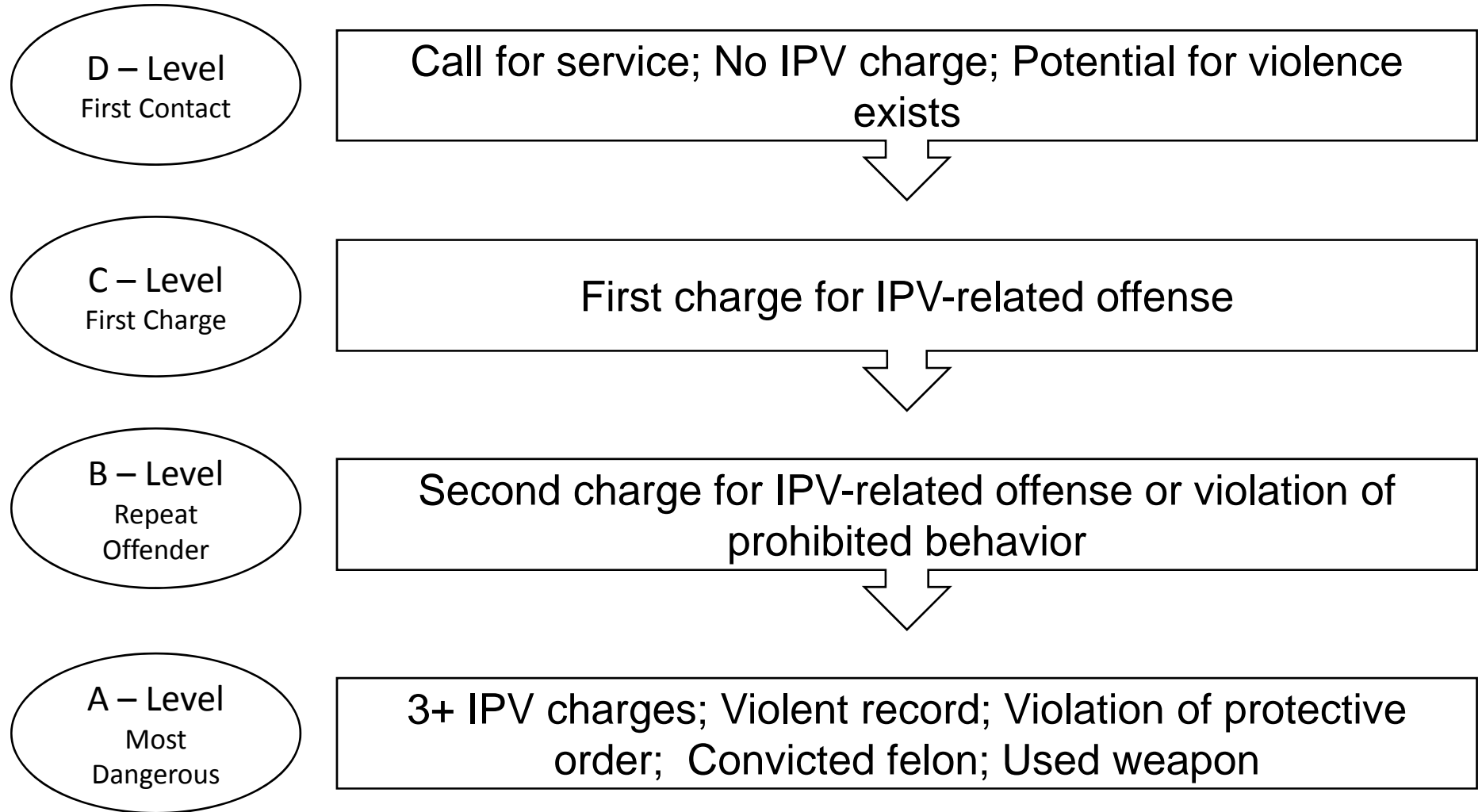
- Extricate IPV from overall DV incidents
- Review 3 years of IPV-related incidents in detail
- Review offender criminal histories

Data Tracking

Development of system to identify, flag, and track IPV offenders

- Separation of IPV from DV incidents
- Recoding RMS
- Creation of an enhanced system of tracking for law enforcement

Sample Structure



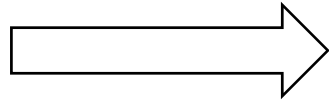
Parallel Notifications

Methods for law enforcement, community, and service providers to talk directly to offenders and victims:

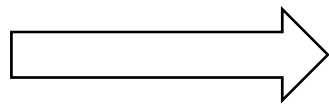
Offenders: removing anonymity, providing a clear message of legal consequences for further offending, stressing that criminal justice response is not coming from victim, offering support & outreach to those who want it.

Victims: advising them of all contacts with offenders, providing resources and support to plan for safety, informing them that the burden to stop the violence is not on them.

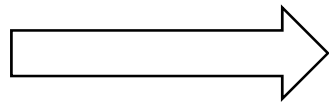
Transparency & Legitimacy



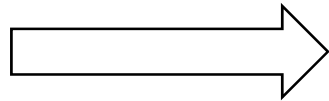
The criminal justice process can be confusing for victims and offenders



Not all criminal justice actors clearly explain what IPV crime was committed, its consequences, what victims and offenders can expect from the process, or what the next steps are



Therefore, victims may not know their options, and offenders do not face accountability



A procedurally just approach can transform the law enforcement response to IPV and achieve better outcomes

General Offending Notification and Response Structure

D – Level
First Contact

Notification letter from partnership, delivered by LE, explains IPVI and LE procedures. Offer of help. Affirms this is not by victim request.

C – Level
First Charge

B – Level
Repeat
Offender

A – Level
Most
Dangerous

General Offending Notification and Response Structure

D – Level
First Contact

C – Level
First Charge

B – Level
Repeat
Offender

A – Level
Most
Dangerous

Face-to-face deterrent message from LE. Notification letter from partnership delivered by LE. Offer of help. Affirms this is not by victim request.



General Offending Notification and Response Structure

D – Level
First Contact

C – Level
First Charge

B – Level
Repeat
Offender

A – Level
Most
Dangerous

Face-to-face deterrent message from LE. Notification letter with custom legal assessment. When appropriate, face-to-face LE and community message—”call-in”. Offer of help. Affirms this is not by victim request.

General Offending Notification and Response Structure

D – Level
First Contact

C – Level
First Charge

B – Level
Repeat
Offender

A – Level
Most
Dangerous

Addressed by any legal means available to the partnership (“pulling levers”).

Law Enforcement Message to Offenders

To be delivered with respect and clarity:

- It is not just IPV; it is violence
- Clearly define what intimate partner violence is
- Explain how and why IPV will be handled differently
- Action will be driven by the partnership, **not the victim**
- Help is available
- We want the violence to stop – not more arrests and more sentences
- Make consequences of reoffending so clear and certain that nobody wants them
- There will be follow through by the partnership if offending continues

Pulling Levers

Focus on non-IPV offenses to hold offenders accountable by any legal means

- Vigorously enforcing conditions of probation/parole
- Serving outstanding arrest warrants
- Performing drug buys/executing drug arrests
- Serving warrants for outstanding child support
- Giving out traffic citations and enforcing other possible infractions
- Enforcing housing codes
- Reviewing non-IPV cases for state enhancements and/or federal adoption
- Federal RICO and conspiracy cases

Community Moral Voice

- Clear, **direct community stand and support** from respected community leaders, clergy, activists, ex-offenders, folks of moral authority, etc.
- Enhances law enforcement legitimacy
- Mobilizes community partners and encourages culture change around community's understanding and tolerance of IPV
- This may look different in every jurisdiction but it is critical to the success and survival of the overall strategy

Support and Outreach for Offenders

Development of an offender support model that:

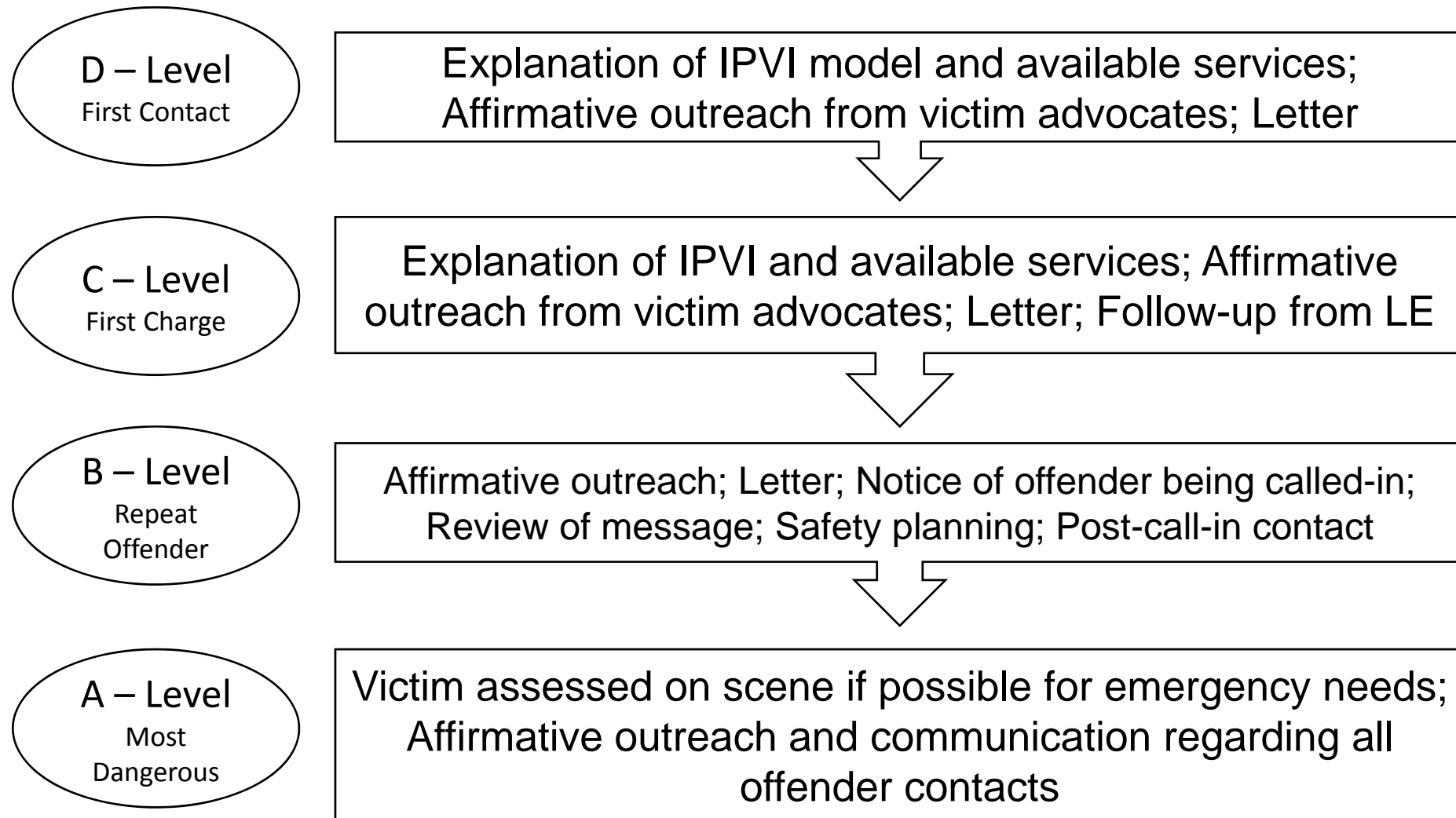
- Provides a genuine offer of help
- Treats offender with respect: procedural justice
- Mobilizes community partners
- Emphasizes accountability
- Addresses trauma
- Affirmative outreach
- Links to traditional social services
- Offer “big small stuff” – crucial real-time needs
 - Supplement traditional social services with the things nobody will pay for
 - Fill in where social service programs can't reach
 - More realistically, immediately, and fluidly address people's needs

Prioritize Victim Safety

Maintain awareness that any interventions made on behalf of victims may put them at risk

There must be an absolute commitment to victim safety—**no implementation until this standard is satisfied**

General Victim Notification and Response Structure



Victim Notifications

- Develop notification strategy that “matches”
- Notification language is clear and straightforward about the strategy, partners, and help that is available
- **Share the same information** that was given to offenders with victims
- When circumstances allow, affirmative outreach prior to offender notifications
 - At higher levels, affirmative outreach before and after any offender contact

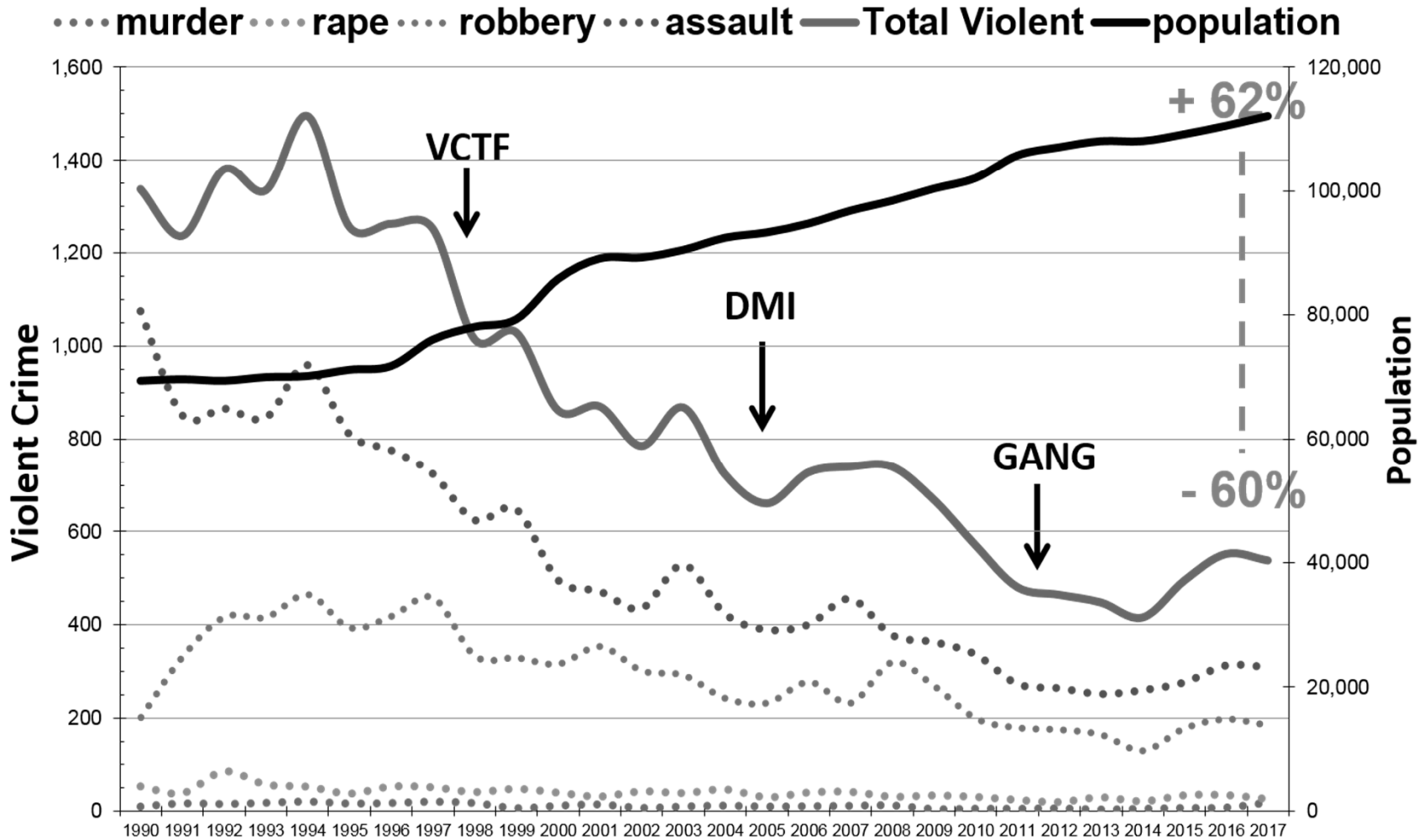
Support & Services for Victims

- Active and recurrent safety planning that engages support systems and assesses risk
- Holistic, informed, and comprehensive services that meet victims where they are:
 - Address trauma
 - Counseling—individual, group
 - Shelter and housing assistance
 - Economic empowerment services
 - Civil legal assistance
 - Advocacy
 - “Big small stuff”

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE INTERVENTION

High Point OFDVI: A Case Study

High Point's 27 Year Index Violent Crime Trend



Impact on High Point

1 out of **3** remaining homicides were DV related including two murder/suicides

HPPD Officers responded to more than **5,000** DV calls per year, including 5,352 in 2010

Average on scene time is 26 minutes x 2 officers = **6,472** hours on DV calls that year

Addressing System Flaws

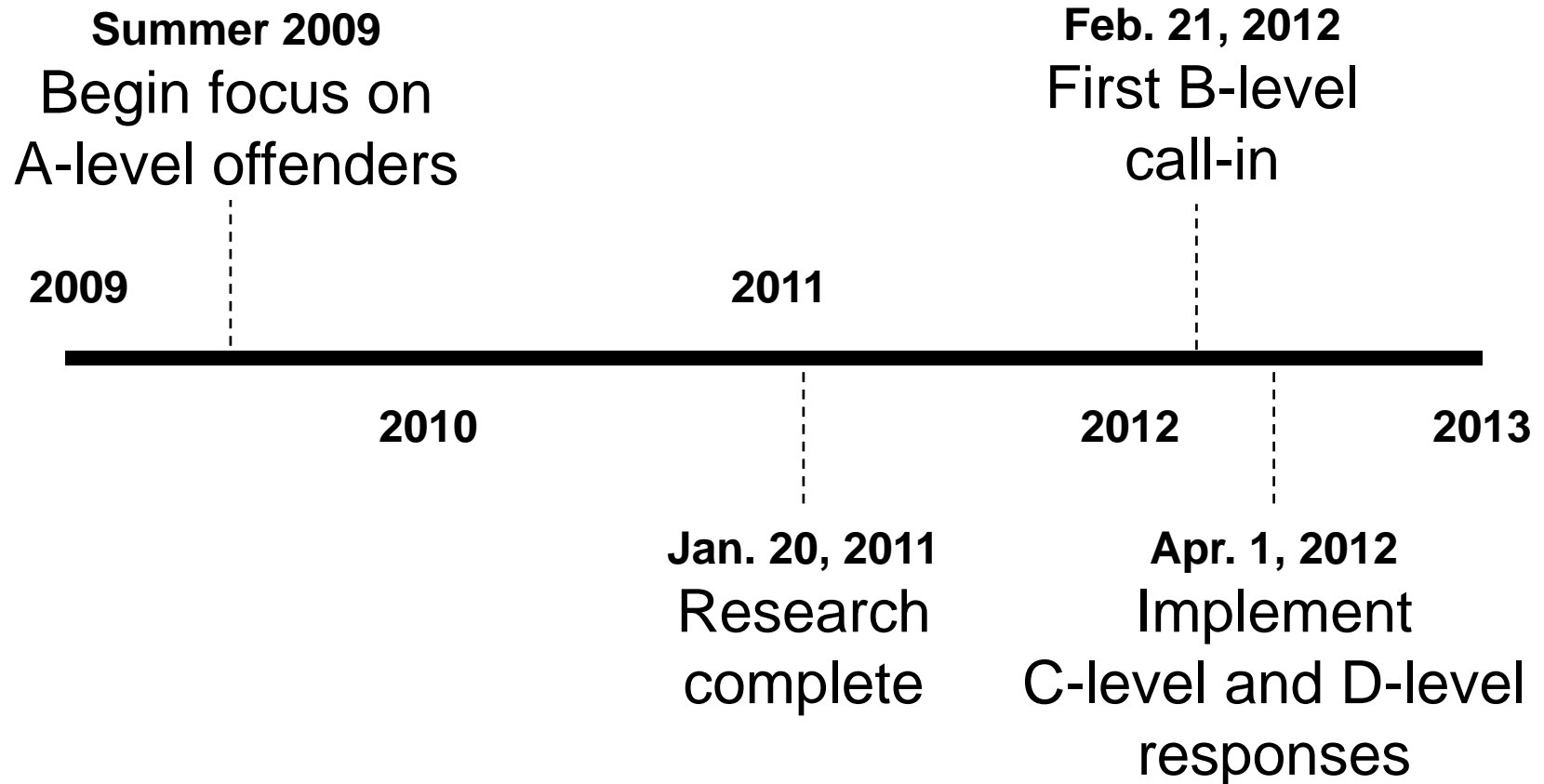
- No differentiation between DV and IPV
- Inconsistent police response: different depending on officers present, whether offender and victim were still at scene, and victim's willingness to press charges
- Poor coordination between CJ actors: police, prosecution, probation, parole
 - Little CJ coordination with advocates and service providers
 - Dropping "high intensity supervision" IPV probationers
 - Order of protection service brought offenders into contact with victims

Victim Informed and Victim Centered

It was of primary importance to incorporate the voices and experiences of victims and the knowledge of advocates

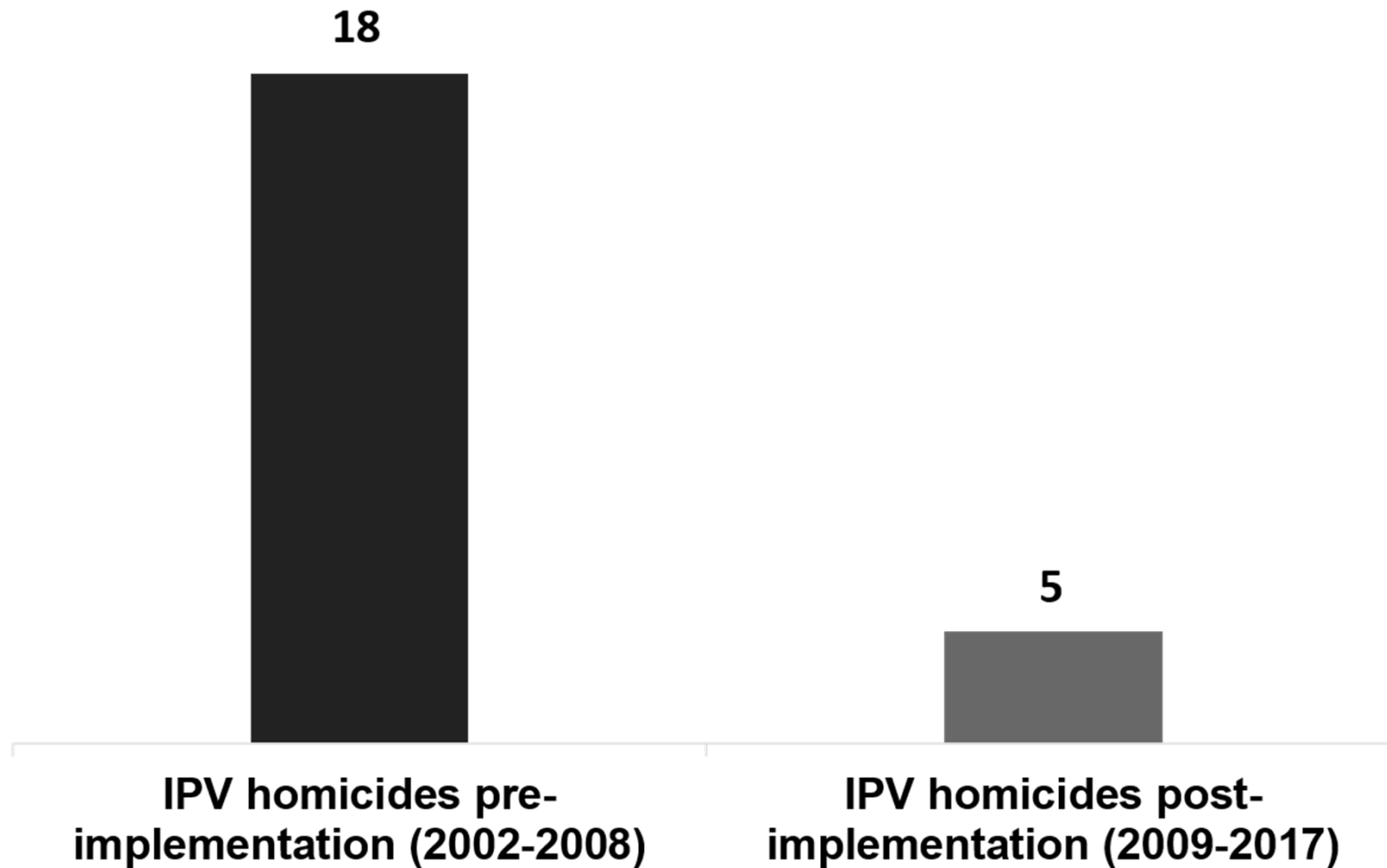
- Designed in partnership with community-based victim advocates
- Family Services conducted surveys, and facilitated workshops and discussions with victims
- Most common response from victims: “I just want the violence to stop”

Focus on Most Dangerous Offenders



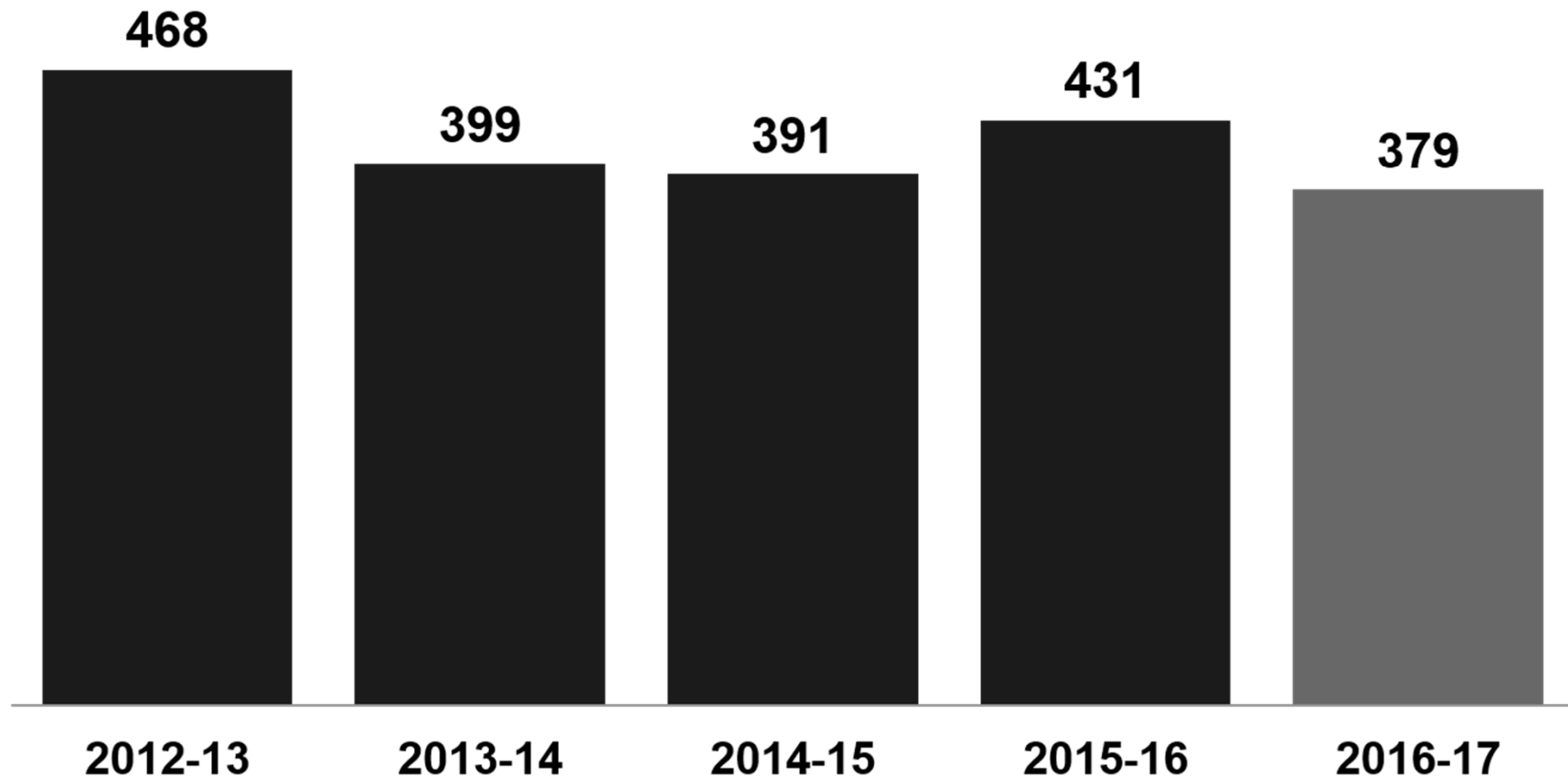
Results

IPV Homicide in High Point



Results, cont'd

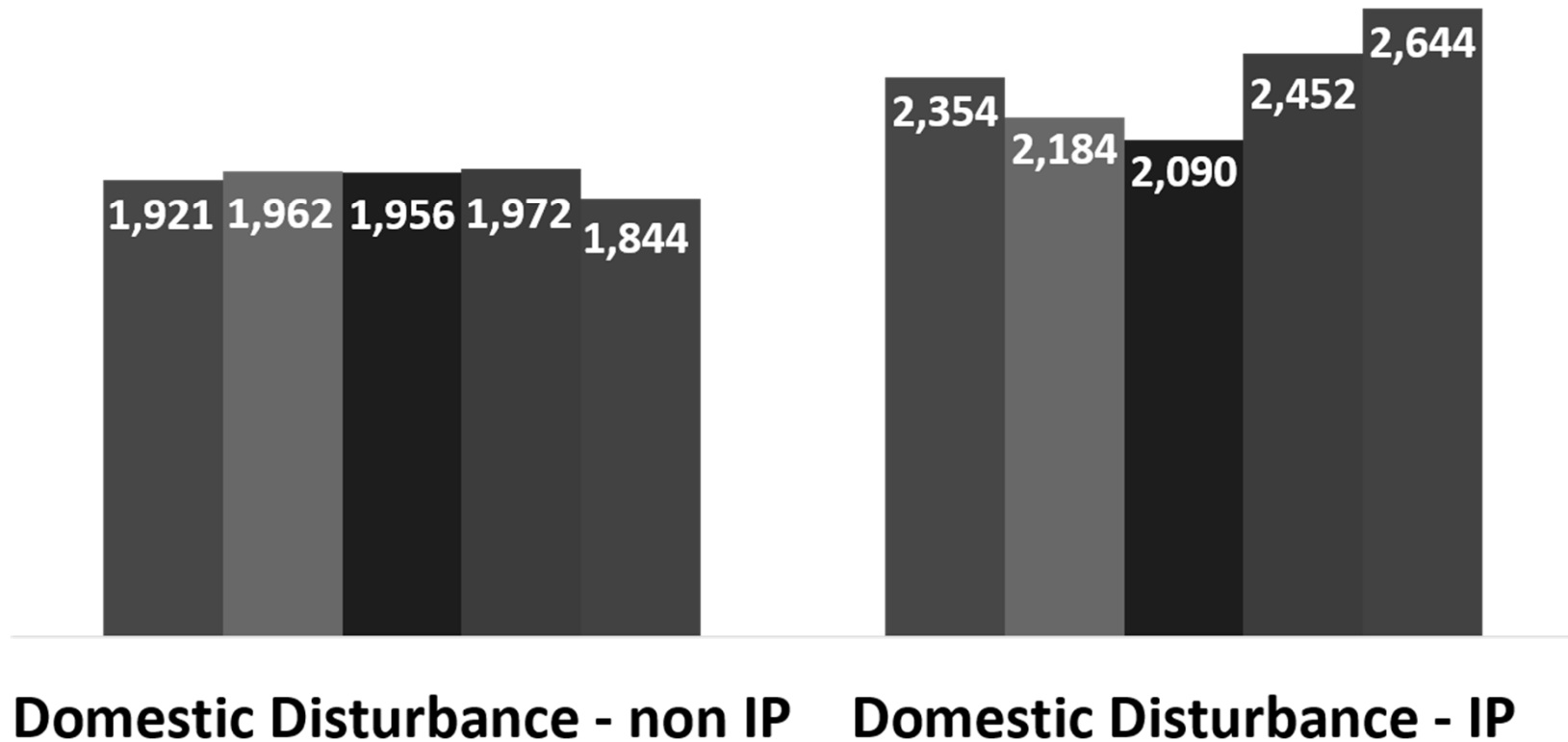
IPV Incidents with Injuries to Victims



Results, cont'd

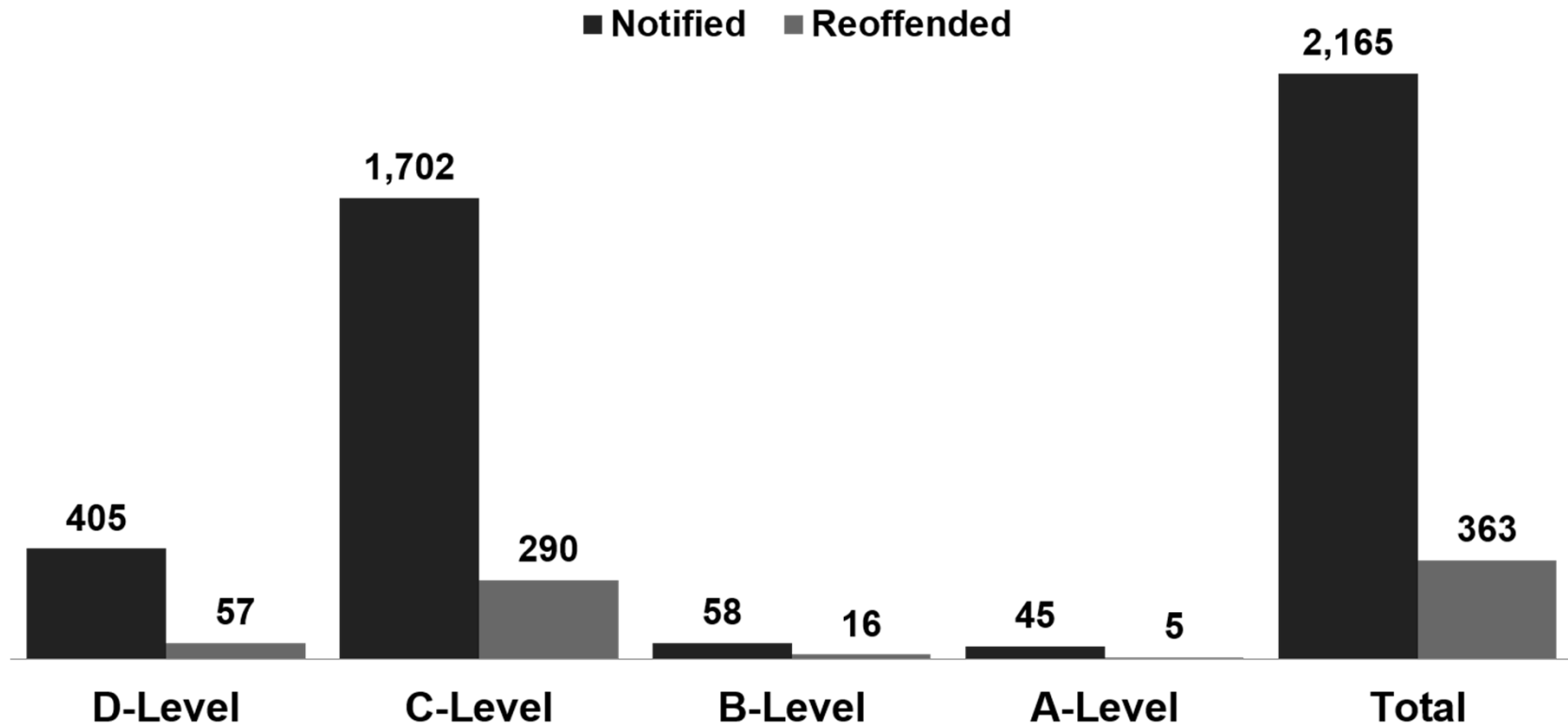
Intimate partner disturbance calls

■ 2012-13 ■ 2013-14 ■ 2014-15 ■ 2015-16 ■ 2016-17



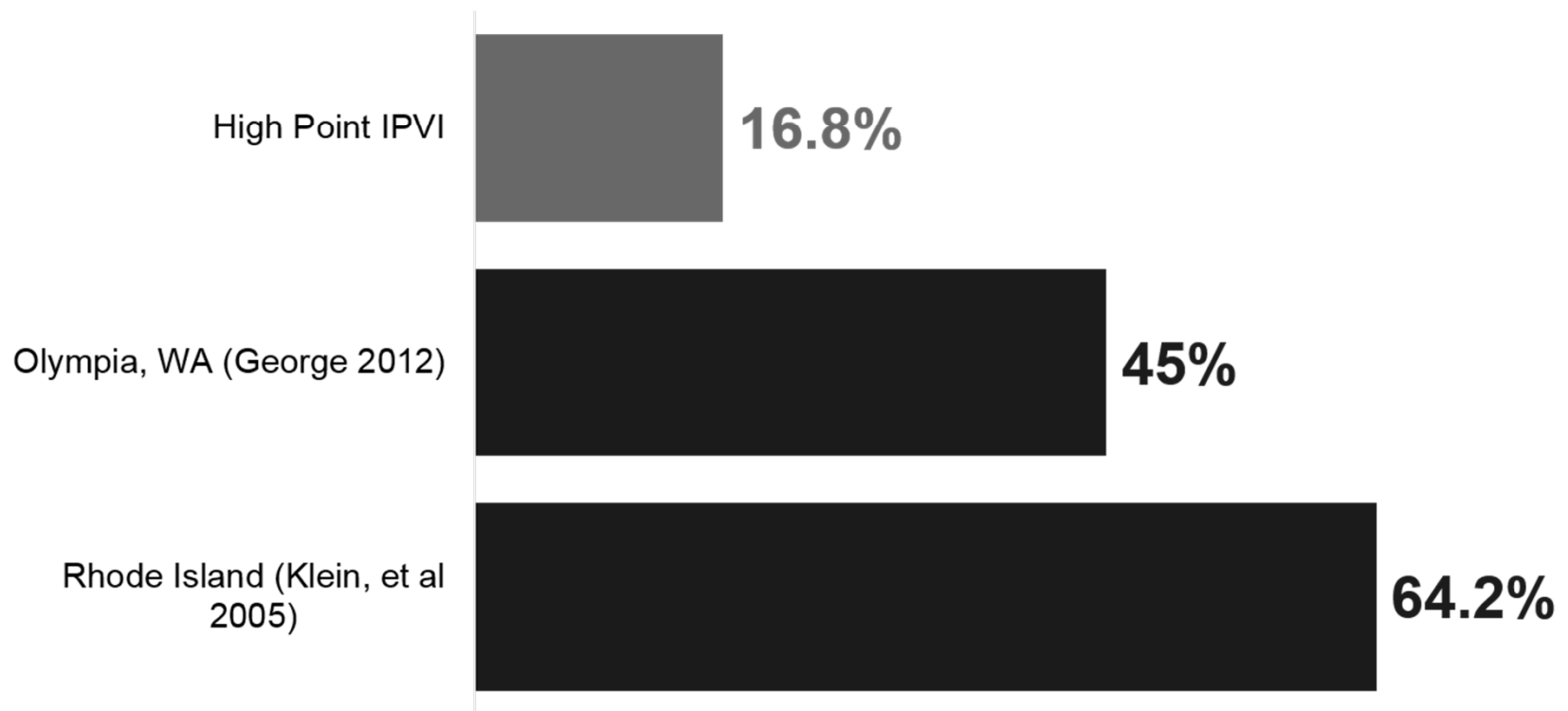
Results, cont'd

Recidivism Rate of Notified Offenders April 1, 2012 – April 1, 2017



Results, cont'd

Recidivism rate in High Point vs. recidivism rate in traditional DV interventions



INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE INTERVENTION

Lessons Learned

Lessons Learned

- Procedural justice can deter crime
- Offender accountability is increased when:
 - Law enforcement clearly notifies offenders about the legal consequences of their actions
 - Protective orders are explained and consistently enforced
- Increased victim trust can deter and interrupt IPV:
 - When victims know what to expect from the CJ system, they're more likely to reach out for help
 - Victims are more likely to report crimes earlier and more often
 - This helps law enforcement both stop and effectively prosecute IPV crimes, especially before they escalate or become lethal

Thank you!

BWJP Webinar

August 28, 2018

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