

**Evaluation of the
Offender Focused Domestic Violence Initiative (OFDVI)
in High Point, NC & Replication in Lexington, NC**

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Stacy Sechrist, Ph.D., John Weil, & Terri Shelton, Ph.D.



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Authors:

Stacy Sechrist is a Research Scientist for Violence and Crime Prevention with the North Carolina Network for Safe Communities at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

John Weil is a Senior Program Specialist for Court Interventions, Community Safety & Violence and Crime Prevention with the North Carolina Network for Safe Communities at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Terri Shelton is the Vice Chancellor for Research and Economic Development and Carol Jenkins Mattocks Distinguished Professor at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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Overview of the Present Paper

The following paper will document the implementation and evaluation of the Offender Focused Domestic Violence Initiative (OFDVI) High Point, North Carolina, and the replication of OFDVI in Lexington, North Carolina. The OFDVI strategy uses focused deterrence policing methods to combat domestic violence. First, we will review the history of focused deterrence and how the model took hold in High Point. The early experience of personnel in High Point with focused deterrence policing assisted in later implementation of the OFDVI strategy. The OFDVI strategy represents a novel approach to combatting domestic violence which will be detailed along with how the strategy transitioned from theory into practice. The process of implementing / replicating the strategy will be outlined, including building the necessary partnerships, organizational changes needed for strategy success, data and information systems needed to effectively track outcomes, and detailed procedures for identification and notification of offenders and following up with both offenders and victims. Evaluation findings about the strategy's success in reducing domestic violence recidivism while also reducing demands on law enforcement resources and preventing victim harm will be presented. Finally, valuable lessons were learned throughout implementation of the strategy, which included some necessary changes which needed to occur within the justice system. These will be discussed at the conclusion of the paper as well as next steps for the OFDVI strategy moving forward. Perspectives from key workgroup members responsible for implementing the strategy will be shared throughout the paper to provide a firsthand account of how the strategy has been developed, revamped, and received by those doing the work as well as within the greater communities of High Point and Lexington.

The Emergence of the Offender Focused Domestic Violence Initiative (OFDVI)

Background of Focused Deterrence Policing

Developed by David Kennedy in the mid 90's, what has become known as the focused deterrence or "pulling levers" approach (Kennedy, 1997) revolutionized crime prevention and intervention, receiving extensive local and national attention (CBS Evening News, 2006; Kennedy, 2009; Schoofs, 2006). Beginning in Boston in 1995, Operation Ceasefire, initially known as the Boston Gun Project, combined problem-oriented policing with collaboration between law enforcement organizations and community stakeholders focusing on the reduction of gang violence in the city. These efforts resulted in an over 60 percent reduction in youth homicide, launching several national initiatives building on the core principles of focused deterrence.

The "pulling levers" strategy has been described as a six-step process: 1) selecting a target behavior; 2) bringing together the criminal justice and other agencies that will be

involved; 3) delivering a direct and explicit deterrence message to the targeted group; 4) following through with the effort; 5) continuing to communicate with the target group; and 6) selecting a new target behavior once the original behavior has been controlled. While specific offender-based policing strategies may vary, these strategies often include some or all of the following elements:

- Police-community partnerships
- Interagency working groups (police, prosecution, courts)
- Partnerships with researchers
- General and focused deterrence messages
- Social services delivery

In October 2000, the Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) was launched with multiple sites across the country. Like Operation Ceasefire, most SACSI sites focused on reducing gun violence, using variations of the original model including increasing collaboration among law enforcement organizations, community partners and researchers (reference). Building on that wave of success and lessons learned, Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) was established in 2001. Like the earlier iterations of the model, PSN focused on creating effective partnerships among federal, state and local prosecutors; law enforcement; researchers; media and outreach specialists; and community leaders. It focuses on individualizing the intervention strategy to reduce gun violence to the particular challenges identified in the specific communities through crime data analyses.

The Comprehensive Anti-Gang Initiative was developed as an extension of PSN and is intended to reduce gang crime and violence through the implementation of three strategies: 1) prosecution and enforcement; 2) prevention and intervention; and 3) prisoner reentry. The prosecution and enforcement strategy is driven by data and real-time intelligence, and includes both reactive and proactive efforts coupled with planning and coordination with federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. The prevention and intervention strategy provides gang prevention programming to youth at high risk for gang involvement. The prisoner reentry strategy provides mentoring and social services and treatment to gang-involved offenders returning to the community from prison. A separate program, the Comprehensive Anti-Gang Initiative, is using a similar approach to address gang membership. All efforts reflected the core foundational components of engaging the community in a meaningful way, identifying the specific crime problem, and focusing on the individuals driving that crime.

Developed as an extension of PSN, the Comprehensive Anti-Gang Initiative focuses on reducing gang crime and violence through the implementation of three strategies: 1) prosecution and enforcement; 2) prevention and intervention; and 3) prisoner reentry. As with the other focused deterrence applications, the prosecution and enforcement

strategy is informed by data and real-time intelligence, building on comprehensive planning and coordination with federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. The prevention and intervention strategy provides gang prevention programming to youth at high risk for gang involvement. The prisoner reentry strategy provides mentoring and social services and treatment to gang-involved offenders returning to the community from prison.

History of Focused Deterrence in High Point

In 1997, members of the High Point Police Department (HPPD) became aware of this approach and went to Boston, accompanied by personnel from the US Attorney's Office from the Middle District of North Carolina to learn more about this approach. By 1998, initial implementation of the focused deterrence strategy began in earnest in High Point. The first application targeted gun violence associated with repeat offenders but the initiative truly took hold when the High Point community began to focus on violence associated with open drug markets in May 2004.

The High Point Intervention (also known as the Drug Market Intervention) draws on the principles of Operation Ceasefire, SACSI and PSN to not only stop gun violence, but also to shut down open-air drug markets and the chaos that comes with them: the street sales, crack houses, drive-through buyers, prostitution, gunplay and the taking over of public space.

The drug market elimination strategy uses crime-mapping information to target drug dealers, drug suppliers, and street-level drug sales that impact community safety in a clearly defined neighborhood. Building on a statistical and mapping foundation (Hunt, Sumner, Scholten, & Frabutt, 2008), extensive intelligence is gathered both on networks of individuals involved in the local drug market and individual patterns of criminal behavior (Fealy, Sumner, & Kennedy, 2006). To the usual menu of targeted enforcement and service provision, however, the strategy adds a process of direct engagement between law enforcement and the community with respect to examining and changing norms and narratives on each side, and then utilizes new norms and understandings to intervene with offender networks (Sumner, Hunt, & Frabutt, 2005). The principal actors, in their application for the 2006 Herman Goldstein Award, summarized their drug market elimination strategy thusly:

An operational plan was developed that addressed individual geographic drug markets as 'beachheads' in a larger citywide enterprise that directly engaged drug dealers and their families; created (but rarely employed) clear, predictable sanctions; offered a range of services and help; and, especially, mobilized community and even offender standards about right and wrong. Over the two-year course of implementation, overt drug markets in High Point were eliminated, directly and sustainably. No outside or additional resources were employed. There was no apparent displacement, and clear diffusion of

benefits (Fealy et al., 2006). See Figure 1 for a full description of the various iterations of focused deterrence to various violent crime types in High Point.

Figure 1. The evolution and history of focused deterrence in High Point.



The Problem of Domestic Violence in High Point

Having sustained the successful implementation of focused deterrence as it relates to violence in repeat offenders, open drug markets, and gangs, focused deterrence had become a way of doing business for the High Point community. Being data informed is foundational to this approach and despite the success in sustained reduction in violent crime related to the previous initiatives, detailed crime analysis indicated that the remaining violent crime was largely due to domestic violence. Since 2004 there had been 16 domestic related homicides in High Point, including three cases of murder/suicide where the suspect killed his partner and then turned the gun on himself.

Not only was domestic violence one of the primary causes of the remaining violent crime in High Point, domestic violence creates particular challenges for law enforcement. More specifically, in High Point, domestic violence disturbance calls were

consistently the number one call for service. Over the last 5 years, the High Point Police Department had responded to an average of 5,098 calls per year, many repeat calls. Domestic violence also is personnel intensive. Because domestic disturbance calls are unpredictable and sometimes violent, they require a two-officer response. Patrol statistics from 2009 showed the department handled 5,134 domestic disturbance calls, tying up two officers for an average of 25 minutes per call. That amounted to a total of 6,295 hours committed strictly to domestic violence calls that resulted in 424 arrests. But perhaps most upsetting were the times in which the violence resulted in homicide. Between 2004 and 2008, 32% of the 52 homicides in High Point were domestic related, making it the single most prevalent circumstance code for homicide. And, it turned out that domestic violence were prolific offenders of other crime types. From 2000 to 2010, a total of 1,033 people in High Point were charged with a domestic-related offense – a total of 10,328 different charges. Thus, despite the department's pro-arrest policy, aggressive prosecution, and the use of domestic 50B protective orders, the violence continued to persist.

Evolution to a Focus on Reducing Domestic Violence: The OFDVI Strategy

The Offender Focused Domestic Violence Initiative (OFDVI) was crafted over a ten year process of brainstorming, collaboration, and careful planning by a multidisciplinary workgroup of stakeholders. At the outset, David Kennedy, one of the first architects of focused deterrence, had written a paper commissioned by the Hewlett Foundation and presented it at a conference for domestic violence victim advocates and academics. In that paper, Kennedy proposed adapting his focused deterrence strategies to combat the crime of domestic violence. Those in attendance were skeptical of Kennedy's ideas, except for Susan Herman, a victim advocate and issues expert. In general, victim advocates thought the idea was illogical, far-fetched, too dangerous for victims of intimate partner domestic violence, and they did not buy into Kennedy's proposition that domestic offenders are often involved in lots of other criminal activity. There seemed a reluctance to give the idea a chance at that time, but Kennedy and Herman continued to discuss the idea and ways to make it take life. Herman, who was then director of the National Center for Victims of Crime, published Kennedy's paper in the organization's newsletter so it would get national distribution and a larger audience could react to it. It generated some conversation in the field, but fewer victim advocates were as familiar with Kennedy's work, beginning with the Boston Ceasefire Project, as compared to traditional criminal justice practitioners. Therefore, many victim advocates did not fully understand the focused deterrence model, much less how it might be adapted to apply to domestic violence offenders. According to David Kennedy:

“The [OFDVI] idea was not well-received in the domestic violence community. As with my experience with the drug market initiative, I spent years shopping this around without getting anybody willing to carry it forward. The way I work is not to

fully specify complete interventions and then try to get them implemented. I, at best, have a kind of outline and a direction and I then look for partners in a particular jurisdiction who would be willing to in a partnership figure out and implement that fully specified intervention. And I kept shopping this around and everybody rejected it.”

For years prior to Kennedy’s seminal paper applying focused deterrence to domestic violence, there had been ongoing discussions within the criminal justice field about how domestic violence consistently ranked among the top three precursors for homicides and assaults. Law enforcement personnel had always known that domestic violence was a top reason for calls for service and that responding to those calls consumed a large amount of departmental resources and put officers at great risk. Thus, law enforcement practitioners were eager to find a way to decrease domestic violence in their communities and were perhaps more motivated and willing to try a different approach to dealing with the issue than victim advocates. In High Point, NC and in the Middle District of North Carolina (MDNC) through the U.S. Attorney’s Office, focused deterrence had been institutionalized as a way of doing business for nearly 15 years prior to adoption of the OFDVI strategy. During that 15 year history, personnel from High Point and the Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA) in the MDNC would travel alongside Kennedy promoting focused deterrence work and serving as mentors to sites implementing the strategy. Law enforcement executives in High Point, NC in conjunction with David Kennedy had been considering the OFDVI idea and would often use travel time together to discuss it. As Rob Lang, Assistant United States Attorney (MDNC), and PSN and Anti-Gang Coordinator for U.S. Attorney Ripley Rand stated about the emergence of the OFDVI strategy:

“We [High Point Police Department personnel, Kennedy, and the AUSA] were in situations where you are living this stuff [focused deterrence] and you are on the road and you are with David Kennedy, Marty Sumner [then Assistant Chief of HPPD], and Jim Summey [Executive Director of the High Point Community Against Violence], you know, and we are discussing stuff...what is the next great wave of focused deterrence... [along with that was] sort of the secondary discussion with domestic violence being a high cause of some of the other violent crime that is not captured in some of this urban street violence. Then as we do violent incident reviews across the district at the various sites over the years, it is very interesting that you start seeing a ton of domestic violence in these homicide reviews and the police response was, ‘oh that was a domestic,’ and that’s sort of the canned response that there is nothing that you can do about it. Domestic always kind of lurked in there for me personally and started some discussions.”

At the time, the High Point Police Chief, Jim Fealy, felt that the Department was putting forth a great deal of effort to combat and respond to domestic violence, but those efforts

were not having the desired impact as far as measureable decreases in incidents. In an analogy, he stated:

”If you are writing a hundred thousand tickets a year and you are still having an increase in serious injury and fatality collisions, it is time to look at something else too. It doesn’t mean that you quit writing tickets, but you look at something else because that alone is not doing it... If you are satisfied with what you are doing, don’t try anything new. But from what I have seen, a lot of us should not be satisfied with what we have been doing [concerning domestic violence]...”

Thus, Chief Fealy was ready to try a new approach to combat domestic violence. According to David Kennedy, he approached Chief Fealy and then Assistant Chief Marty Sumner with the OFDVI strategy, stating:

“I said I’ve actually got this thing [his original paper on the strategy] in my file cabinet. Let’s see what you think. I shared it with the two of them and very interestingly they both said we don’t want to do this. And that was particularly strong from Chief Fealy who essentially said I don’t believe that these serious domestic violence offenders will be responsive to anything like this and I don’t want to set the department up for failure. And then to his credit, he tasked his people with doing what turned out to be a very high quality and quite meticulous and revealing analysis of what was going on with domestic violence victimization in and around High Point... basically what this staff officer did was go back a couple of years look at domestic violence homicide victims and then looked at those that had killed them—their characteristics, their background, and the history of those events—and found a couple of things. They found that the guys were the kinds of chronic offenders that the literature suggested they often are. That the ‘system’ had failed miserably in its encounters with them, that they had had repeated contacts with the system, and no effective action had been taken. There were multiple opportunities visible in which, had anybody been watching carefully, it would’ve been evident that something quite serious was likely to happen and there were multiple opportunities for intervention along the lines of the kinds of strategic deterrence in law enforcement that we are all now very familiar with”

Given the results of the analysis Kennedy described above and the High Point Police Department’s commitment to and success with using focused deterrence as a way of doing business, addressing gun, open drug market, and gang violence, Chief Fealy decided that applying the strategy to domestic violence was, “...a no brainer... this model works, let’s keep applying it until we find something that it doesn’t work on.” As part of the focused deterrence approach, the High Point Police Department had also institutionalized the practice of regularly monitoring crime data and letting data drive

decisions about where to apply the focused deterrence strategy next. The data were saying that domestic violence was the next logical place. According to Chief Fealy:

“Overall across the board over the years, sometimes over half of our homicides had been domestic violence-related in some way, shape, or form. I know that statistically we are well above the national average. We are well above the state average. That is unacceptable. We can do better than that. As David [Kennedy] once said, ‘are they [offenders] resisting your best efforts?’ No, because we have not put our best efforts forward.”

Based on the data about the high rate of domestic violence in the city of High Point and the institutionalization of focused deterrence within the Department, the High Point Police Department was very interested in adopting and testing the OFDVI strategy. Domestic violence was the next obvious level of violence that needed to be addressed in the community, and as usual, the data drove the administration to the decision point. Thus, a workgroup was formed which began to collaborate and the strategy took root for the first time. The workgroup consisted of executive staff from the High Point Police Department, a command staff supervisor and investigators who would be doing police work on the ground, the district attorney in High Point, AUSA Lang in the MDNC, High Point Police Department’s crime analyst, the executive director of the High Point Community Against Violence, a representative from the victim resource agency for the initiative in High Point, David Kennedy, Susan Herman, and researchers from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro’s (UNCG) North Carolina Network for Safe Communities.

Susan Herman participated in the workgroup meeting as someone who brought an extensive background in victims’ issues, having worked in the victims’ field for over 30 years in different capacities. Her role in the strategy development was to bring the victim perspective to the workgroup discussions. Susan had spent several years focusing exclusively on domestic violence, and focused the 10 years prior to OFDVI implementation on creating a more novel and effective societal response to victims of crime. Susan was motivated to think about crime control strategies that prevent repeat-victimization rather than always looking at crime control strategies that are reactive or incident based. The OFDVI strategy fit the mold. Susan stated her views about the importance of the OFDVI strategy and how it could shape policing responses to domestic violence in the future:

“I really believe this is one of the most important initiatives that we’ve seen in decades. It is as ground-breaking and as pioneering and important as David’s [Kennedy] original work. As much as this just seems like a logical extension or it seems appropriate to all of us who are engaged in it, applying these concepts to a population that is perhaps more sociopathic than other populations and has

less group identity than other populations is going to be challenging and potentially unbelievably rewarding. It could absolutely change how we think about domestic violence.”

The workgroup knew from previous research (Best, 2009; Hefner, Frabutt, Harvey, Di Luca, & Shelton, 2013; Hipple, Corsaro, McGarrell, 2010; Kennedy, 2009) that High Point had already built strong community support for its focused deterrence strategies dating back to 1997. Using established relationships with community and resource providers, the workgroup began to engage the community and resource partners about the OFDVI strategy. Knowing from Kennedy’s past efforts that the strategy could be difficult to sell, especially to victim advocates in the community, the High Point Police Department called a meeting and invited everyone who might have a stake in this issue. David Kennedy came to High Point to explain the strategy, to talk about offender-based deterrence, and to try to start to elaborate and generate in-depth discussion on the strategy, particularly among stakeholders who were less informed about focused deterrence initiatives. Interestingly, it turned out that the community was so bought into the High Point Police Department’s way of doing business using focused deterrence that the OFDVI strategy was not a difficult concept to embrace, and drew immediate support.

With community support established, the workgroup then met at John Jay College in New York to begin planning the implementation strategy. In this meeting, the tiered approach to categorizing offenders and their respective victims was elaborated. The High Point Police Department and its UNCG research partners utilized crime data to establish baselines and criteria for offender categorization purposes. Using this approach, the worst offenders would be put on the A-list and prosecuted immediately. The B-level offenders would be notified in a face-to-face group meeting and given a personalized description of their criminal history and legal exposures, as well as offered opportunities for services, and given a message from the community that domestic violence would no longer be tolerated. The C-level offenders would have face-to-face contact with detectives within 48 hours after their first domestic violence arrest and be given a thorough explanation of how domestic violence would now be handled by the High Point Police Department and the OFDVI partnership. The D-level offenders would be those who were not charged but would be notified at the scene of a domestic disturbance call of the new approach to domestic violence in High Point. The tiered notification approach was a novel method, adapted from the Domestic Violence Repeat Victimization Project out of Yorkshire, England (Hanmer, Griffiths, & Jerwood, 1999), representing a hybrid of various notification methods that members of the workgroup had discussed over time. ASUA Rob Lang stated that prior to the workgroup meeting, there had been discussions of doing field notifications and inside notifications at different offender levels and allowing the community and those that were not in chronic

offending mode to watch and understand that law enforcement was taking a new, more serious approach to domestic violence. The Killingbeck Project demonstrated that, "...early intervention achieves the greatest reduction in repeat attendances [calls for service] (p. 25, Hanmer et al., 1999)" for domestic violence offenders. Thus, the workgroup felt that in developing the OFDVI, identification and notification of low-level or first-time domestic offenders could be similarly successful as an early intervention method to reduce repeat domestic violence calls for service in High Point. Additionally, the Killingbeck Project was effective at reducing repeat calls for service because, "...the model calls for a rational response from an offender; that is, the recognition that the actions taken in relation to him and the support given to his victim mean that it will become progressively more difficult to continue with his behavior without the likelihood of some negative consequences to himself and/or his behavior will become less effective in relation to his victim (p. 26, Hanmer, et al., 1999)." The "rational choice" model relied upon for the Killingbeck Project's effectiveness is also the model relied upon for focused deterrence's effectiveness: offenders will make the choice to stop offending due to the threat of certain and swift consequences.

Members of the High Point Police Department's executive and command staff were almost exclusively responsible for planning how the OFDVI process would transform from theory into practice, and how the model would actually function in practice. Part of the planning at the meeting in New York involved discussion of practices that have been done to address domestic violence around the world. Specifically, the workgroup reviewed the Killingbeck Project (Hanmer et al., 1999), wherein repeat domestic violence calls for service were reduced due to the strategy of stripping the anonymity of the offender by warning them that law enforcement knows who they are and that they are being watched. The workgroup borrowed and expounded upon several of the concepts underlying the Killingbeck strategy's success. Specifically, the Killingbeck strategy relied on:

- consistent and appropriate police responses to domestic violence
- applying equal focus on both offenders and victims of domestic violence while ensuring victim safety
- using a tiered approach to addressing domestic violence offenders and victims based on their history of domestic violence, and
- creating interagency collaboration between law enforcement agencies and service providers for victims and offenders.

The workgroup laid out the theory and the procedural components of OFDVI using the principles outlined in the Killingbeck strategy, with key operations revolving around the basic face-to-face notification, the stripping of offender anonymity, and focus on the offender. High Point Police Department staff then used the workgroup's thoughts to

determine how the process would look in real life based on past work the Department had done with chronic offender call-ins and the drug market initiative. Victim advocate and issues expert, Susan Herman, described the careful attention to detail that the OFDVI planning group gave to strategy development and implementation. Her point of view encapsulates why High Point was an excellent community to be the very first site for OFDVI strategy implementation:

“I think that the folks that we’re dealing with in High Point have a very good understanding. They’ve done their research, they are extremely thoughtful-police executives, law enforcement executives, and their partners are extremely thoughtful. What’s wonderful about working with the High Point folks is that they are careful, thoughtful, what I would call ‘good government’ people, in that they are careful about their work. They’re collaborative about their work. Because they have achieved great success in the previous [focused deterrence] initiative, they are confident that they can succeed but they know that those initiatives took a lot of work and planning and that you can’t relax. You have to continue to be vigilant about every detail. It’s a special experience. It’s a different experience working with folks from High Point because there is no ego involved. It’s all about the work and it’s all about doing the right thing and being. You know I keep saying, careful and thoughtful but that’s what I think about when I think about them. It’s terrific.”

After the planning meeting in New York, the team on the ground in High Point went back to begin the challenging work of implementing the OFDVI strategy. According to David Kenney and much to the credit of the High Point Police Department, the Department and Chief Fealy really took ownership of the domestic violence strategy. Kennedy stated:

“The thing that most impressed me about my role is how little of a role I had. It’s true. More than anything else that we’ve done together in High Point, the department and especially the command staff at HPPD owned this. It was really striking because it was especially striking with respect to Jim Fealy’s attitude and role because he went from where he started which was, ‘I don’t think this will work. I don’t think we can do it. I think its doomed,’ to looking at the embarrassing way quite frankly with which the authorities were addressing these very dangerous, serious, chronic guys and he turned around 180 degrees and ended up very quickly in a place where he said, ‘We can do this. We’re going to do this. What’s been going on is scandalously bad.’ And, he became more committed to it than anything else that we’ve done and he was very frank about that. That as serious as he had been about the Violent Crimes Task Force and then about the drug market work, the robbery work, and everything else that he’d done and as you know he was very serious about all of those things, but this captured his

commitment and really I think his spirit in a way that even those things hadn't done. And, they [HPPD] worked it out themselves. They meticulously thought it through and I had very little to do with it... So, we kept our hand in but we were not driving it. We weren't even really central to it. The High Point team was."

Novelty of the OFDVI Strategy

Addressing domestic violence through the OFDVI strategy was novel in many aspects as compared to the traditional way of policing domestic violence. The movement against domestic violence had been ongoing for 30 years. Originally, the thought was—provide a safe place for that victim to go to, and then provide some additional services and protection. Progress had been made during those 30 years, but many victim advocates felt they had reached the limits to the effectiveness of domestic violence intervention if the criminal justice system continued to focus only on the victim. The OFDVI strategy was unique in that it took the next step, which was to focus on the offender, and attempt to avoid re-victimization of victims by alleviating systematic barriers in the judicial process.

To shift the focus on the offender, the OFDVI strategy had to address issues or gaps within the criminal justice system itself that had socialized domestic violence offenders to perceive that they would receive only minor consequences for their offenses, and led offenders and victims to believe that domestic violence is not an issue of importance to the criminal justice system and the community. By continuing to perpetuate these perceptions, offenders were reinforced to continue with their violence and escalate their behavior over time which could result in serious injury or even death for victims. For example, in reviewing domestic violence offenders in High Point, one officer reported that when you, "...see some [offenders] with eight or nine 50B violations against them... you are like how can that happen in our court system? How can someone be charged eight or nine times with different victims, not just one victim, and they are still on the street?" Figure 2 describes how the estimate of risk relates to the likelihood of offending. When estimating risk, an offender will take into account their likelihood of being caught, arrested, prosecuted, convicted, and the severity of a potential sentence upon adjudication. As Figure 2 shows, when the estimate of risk is high, the likelihood of offending is lowered. For domestic violence offenders who have been socialized through their own experiences with the criminal justice system and those of their peers, the estimate of risk associated with domestic violence offending is low. The reality of the domestic violence offender's experience is presented in the second frame of Figure 2. Until the estimate of risk associated with committing domestic violence could be increased, the likelihood of offending would stay the same. The OFDVI strategy was created to make the system focus on domestic violence offenders, hold them accountable, and thereby increase the estimate of risk associated with domestic violence offending.

Figure 2. Likelihood of domestic violence offending as it relates to perceived estimate of risk associated with offending.



The ability of the OFDVI strategy to address the gaping holes that have allowed offenders to continually manipulate the system without consequence was a key motivator for law enforcement personnel to do the work. A palpable level of frustration had built within officers over time because they had continually seen domestic violence offenders beating the system, thereby creating the feeling that nothing could be done to combat the issue. However, with the offender focus, the rewards for law enforcement personnel are great. According to Major Larry Casterline of the High Point Police Department who assisted in the development of the OFDVI strategy:

“I think, intuitively, law enforcement officers have probably always recognized that we need to be focusing on offenders. The way the system exists, it has really caused law enforcement officers to throw up their hands because it has been a situation where no matter what we do, he manages to get to her and change her mind. All the effort that is put into charging and all this other stuff just ends up being dismissed, and so then we end up asking ourselves ‘why are we doing this?’ So I think that actually when the officers sit and look at how we are going to do this and where the focus is going to be, you almost get the sense that they’re like ‘wow, it’s about time, you know, that we make him responsible.’”

To enact change in the criminal justice system’s response to domestic violence, there needed to be changes in the attitudes and behaviors of key players in the system, specifically the courts and law enforcement personnel who deal with the perpetrator. The OFDVI strategy was set up to create a partnership that would enact change at all levels of the system through constant monitoring of the system, ongoing feedback from parties involved in the system, and a willingness of system players to be open to criticism and be willing to change or affect change in others. Perpetrators have to know

what the community expectation is—domestic violence is no longer tolerated—and how the court system and law enforcement are going to follow through to ensure that offenders are held accountable. Major Casterline summed it up by saying:

“I’m so convinced that right now, they’re [offenders are] just acting based on the way the system treats them and handles them. What the system teaches them is that he can get to her and he can drive what she does and everybody just lets him do that. And therefore she’s intimidated into dropping charges. There are no consequences for what he does, you know. He is to an extent acting anonymously.”

That quote brings about a final innovative aspect of the OFDVI strategy—the strategy’s ability to focus on offenders by targeting them at earlier stages of offending, before the secrecy of offending entrenches, and the violence escalates. Over time, the offender begins to feel immune to consequences and the victim feels incapable of seeking help, as that is how they are socialized. The OFDVI strategy seeks to strip offender anonymity at all levels—from first time offenders to those who have long criminal histories of domestic violence. With both the community and law enforcement focused on the offense of domestic violence and the offenders who perpetrate it, offenders will feel the additional scrutiny and begin to understand that the strategy is in effect, the consequences are real, and the rational choice is to stop the violence.

Over time, as the OFDVI strategy began to take root in the community, it was hoped that victims and other community members would also learn to focus on the offenders, and victims would begin to realize that domestic violence is not something that they cause. In a very powerful statement by victim service provider, Adenike Heyliger, she described the moment of epiphany when victims of domestic violence realized for the first time that they are not the cause of the violence:

“You see it come on. I mean the tears, the victims don’t even have to say it, but you just see the tears come down, and they got it—‘wow this isn’t about me. It’s not about that I didn’t keep the house clean enough, or I didn’t do this for the kids, or I’m not being supportive enough’. But they’ve been told that so many times that even when they are out of that abusive relationship, even though he’s in jail, he is still somewhat emotionally still controlling her.”

It would be most encouraging to have the prevailing community and law enforcement attitude be that victims are not at fault and that offenders are the focus and therefore the focus should be on their behavior. The OFDVI strategy just might be the catalyst for transforming attitudes at the societal level.

What is the OFDVI Recipe?

There is unfortunately not one “recipe” for OFDVI implementation, and each city or location has unique agencies, resources, relationships, history, and challenges. Conversely, there are many necessary “ingredients” that are critical in building the OFDVI strategy. In High Point, as previously noted, focused deterrence work has been the foundation of policing for over seventeen years. As a result, commitment, partnerships, and trust had been cultivated over years of work together. Partners in High Point are accountable to one another, and were ready to adapt a focused deterrence approach to intimate partner domestic violence when the process began. The High Point Police Department (HPPD) has also had a longstanding relationship with an academic partner, the University of North Carolina Greensboro (UNCG), who has worked with HPPD and partners in evaluation of data, process development, and general training and technical assistance. While HPPD and most law enforcement agencies have crime analysts and crime analysis capabilities, the UNCG academic partner served many important roles: neutral evaluator of data / neutral reporter or outlet for information, neutral facilitator or trainer in places where communities might have issues of trust with their respective police department or law enforcement agencies, independent recorder of processes, and neutral evaluator and assurer of data quality and control.

To say that there are a multitude of elements and necessary conditions that are essential for any city or location to attempt OFDVI replication would be absolutely true. For an agency to get started with OFDVI implementation, at minimum the key ingredients should be included:

- Preparation and data analysis
- Commitment from all partners (could include Memorandum of Understanding)
- Structure and defined roles and responsibilities
- Initial and ongoing data analysis
- Ongoing quality assurance
- Partnership with community and “nontraditional” partners
- Transparency with partners and with community

While the concepts of focused deterrence are not complicated, the proper execution, operational components, and sustainability are complex. With OFDVI, and other types of focused deterrence initiatives, offenders are held accountable. Law enforcement agencies and partners engage in a new way of communication and a new way of policing that involves fairness, transparency, and new relationships with other law enforcement, resource, and prosecution partners, but also with the communities in which these strategies are implemented. The accountability between partners is every bit as essential as the accountability of the offender. With OFDVI in particular, if

agencies and community partners cannot keep promises to each other, and to offenders and victims, there could be a heightened risk to the victims. It must be stated and reiterated how challenging this early and essential phase is to the overall success of an initiative. Even with government agencies, which share responsibility for public safety and possibly share resources, there are challenges with leadership, vision, resources, authority structure, personnel, and commitment. Police chiefs, sheriffs, district attorneys, and other leaders must be engaged and committed; they must understand the goals and objectives, and be willing to lead at times, and follow at times. They must be accountable for their pieces of the strategy, and not push away from the partnership when there are problems and disagreements. Leaders within positions change, and as a result, goals can change. The power of the strategy and the partnership must be able to address challenges, and persevere during times of change, and during instances of conflict. Challenges with community partners can be equally daunting. Community advocates, partners, faith leaders, and citizens are essential partners. Community partners are often volunteers, and may share the same desired outcomes, but may have had negative experiences with the legal system, law enforcement, or government agencies. As a result of all these factors, the development of trust and relationships is as important as developing a task list, or outlining responsibilities. The same concepts of fairness and transparency must exist among partners, as well as with the community and offenders where a strategy will be implemented.

To replicate OFDVI, having already operationalized and sustained a focused deterrence strategy is not essential, but would certainly increase the potential for a smoother process with OFDVI implementation. It takes the combination of agencies and community members to both deliver consequences to offenders for further violent actions, and to provide assistance for those offenders willing to make changes. While focused deterrence strategies are designed to reduce violent and gun related crime, and are primarily law enforcement driven strategies, we have observed that the most dramatic changes within communities take place when the community and resource components are committed and stable.

As previously outlined, focused deterrence strategies have been in existence for many years, and have been implemented across the United States, and around the world. An advantage to such a long history of work is the tremendous amount of information that can be easily accessed for sites who are interested in replication of a focused deterrence strategy. While it is possible to research information about focused deterrence replication, without thoughtful planning, and structured training / operational assistance, the fidelity of the initiative, subsequent outcomes, and overall safety could be compromised. David Kennedy, Director – National Network of Safe Communities, Center for Crime Prevention and Control at John Jay College of Criminal Justice noted:

“OFDVI is the result of nearly fifteen years of meticulous work, both in terms of the development and implementation of the operational strategy itself and with respect to the introduction of the idea to the law enforcement community, the domestic violence advocacy community, and domestic violence victims' rights community. That meticulous work has brought OFDVI to a promising but delicate stage. The on-the-ground record in High Point is promising but awaits formal and peer-reviewed scholarly evaluation; premature claims of success could permanently damage its credibility. Interest in replication is growing nationally but needs to be very carefully managed; OFDVI is extremely complicated, both in theory and in implementation, and "replications" with poor fidelity will not only fail - possibly permanently damaging the strategy's standing - but could easily get vulnerable women hurt and killed. The approach is not yet fully understood by the law enforcement, domestic violence, or victims' communities, and its introduction to those very important constituencies needs to proceed carefully and with full respect for their deep investment in, and perspectives on, domestic violence issues and responses thereto. There is a long history in my work of having enthusiastic third parties run with particular substantive approaches and inadvertently causing considerable harm. We absolutely cannot afford that with OFDVI.”

Understanding all that is involved and necessary to successfully implement and sustain a focused deterrence violent crime reduction strategy is critical for any location that is interested in applying OFDVI or other focused deterrence strategies.

HPPD and their partners had a proven track record of being able to navigate through the challenges of roles, responsibilities, partner and community trust building, reliability, accountability, and turnover in key positions, prior to implementing OFDVI as evidenced by their ongoing sustainment of focused deterrence as a way of doing business. Thus, High Point was an ideal location for OFDVI implementation because of HPPD's success in the institutionalization and sustainability of the focused deterrence approach. Key partners were already in place. The community had worked closely with the Police Department since 1997 and had formalized an organization and maintained regular meetings with HPPD through the High Point Community Against Violence (HPCAV). The community had been actively working with the High Point Police Department on what is known as, the Violent Crimes Task Force (VCTF) which identifies high-risk chronic offenders for notification. HPCAV presented the moral voice message during VCTF face-to-face notification meetings and provided resources to offenders. When it was time to shift the strategy to domestic violence offenders, the transition was easy for the community to accept due to their long standing relationship with the Police Department. As Detective Jerry Thompson of HPPD stated:

“We presented to them [HPCAV], again and a lot of them were already involved with the VCTF, so when we presented them with the domestic violence strategy, they were sold quickly. It made sense to them. They saw that we were thinking outside the box and that we are trying to make a change that will hopefully benefit the community.”

Replicating OFDVI in Lexington, NC

The Lexington Police Department (LPD) is located in the federal middle judicial district in North Carolina, and is located in Davidson County, NC. Davidson County borders Guilford County in some places, and High Point is located in Guilford County. In partnership with the United States Attorney’s Office, the Davidson County District Attorney’s Office, the Davidson County Sheriff’s Office, the Department of Public Safety, numerous local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, resource partners, and community partners, LPD began a Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) violent crime reduction strategy focusing on chronic violent offenders called Project SAFE Davidson, in September 2010. The High Point Police Department (HPPD), having been involved in violent crime reduction initiatives for over seventeen years, was also involved as a partner in LPD’s Project SAFE Davidson initiative. High Point Chief Marty Sumner and Lexington Chief Tad Kepley (now retired) had known each other for many years, and Chief Sumner contacted Chief Kepley to inquire if he would be interested in replicating the OFDVI strategy. Chief Kepley, having already instituted changes in training and protocol regarding domestic violence, agreed to replicate the OFDVI strategy in Lexington. Chief Kepley described:

“Chief Marty Sumner and myself, we go back about 30 some years ago when we were in college together. So, we developed a relationship over the years, a professional relationship because our careers are parallel, and so...of course Chief Sumner felt comfortable coming and asking us and although, you know, I was excited about it from the beginning, simply because I have a passion for helping victims of domestic violence. So Chief Sumner doesn't know my history with dealing with domestic violence. But I've probably had a little more training than most, and was the Chairman of our Domestic Violence Task Force all the way back to somewhere around 1996. We had a task force, and then I'm on my second term serving on the Board of Directors at Family Services of Davidson County. So I've always had an interest, and a little more training, and of course I have been teaching domestic violence at the local community college in terms of BLEET [Basic Law Enforcement Training]. So Chief Sumner didn't know that background, so when he came, I was really excited from the onset because I felt like, not only could we be that one to replicate it, but we have some folks including myself with a little bit of passion, and a little bit of background in domestic violence, and then particularly myself, Captain Rummage, and Lt.

Carter, have all three have been domestic violence instructors, and had a little bit more training than just the average officers. So I felt like it was a great fit, I was excited about it. I knew when he came, I knew that the administrative team was going to be supportive of it, and so I was excited. Although, I kind of allowed my administrative team to help with that decision, I knew that we were going to be taking it on.”

The fact that LPD was familiar with focused deterrence strategies, and had implemented the Project SAFE Davidson chronic violent offender strategy in 2010, was an advantage for them in being able to replicate the OFDVI strategy. As a natural part of building Project SAFE Davidson, partners including law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, probation / parole officers, community and social service resource providers, and community members had to come together to not only learn about the strategy, but to carve out and agree upon specific duties and responsibilities. Each agency or partner had established relationships with one another and had a history of being accountable to each other, both of which were advantageous to the OFDVI strategy’s potential for success.

As with High Point’s implementation of the OFDVI strategy, Lexington set up a core workgroup on the ground that met regularly on a bi-weekly basis. The regular workgroup meeting was essential in ensuring the strategy’s success. Without a regular forum for information sharing and tracking the strategy’s successes and shortcomings, key issues would not have been addressed efficiently and system holes not identified. Lots of information about victims and offenders was shared through the workgroup’s regular meetings often leading to discrepancies between workgroup members about offenders, victims, and processes being resolved. Over time, additional personnel were invited to the regular workgroup meetings as it became apparent that it was essential to have as many persons involved in the direct day-to-day operations and decision-making processes as possible for the sake of troubleshooting and information sharing. As with any focused deterrence strategy, having multiple perspectives sharing information is a key ingredient for the success of the OFDVI strategy. The regular sharing of information effectively promoted cohesion, solidarity, and mutual trust and respect amongst workgroup members.

In High Point, Captain Tim Ellenberger was assigned to oversee operational responsibilities regarding OFDVI in 2012. LPD was able to take lessons learned from the High Point experience and apply them to their own OFDVI development. Having a great deal of experience and knowledge about focused deterrence initiatives allowed Captain Ellenberger to understand the value of the relationships with partners to help build a successful and sustainable strategy and this information was shared with LPD. Captain Ellenberger commented on his role, and his experiences with OFDVI:

“The way I see it, my role is to keep everything, every piece of it [OFDVI] going in the same general direction. And so I don't investigate the cases, and I don't make the notifications, and I don't advocate for the victims, or prosecute the cases, or any of that, but I make sure that, I try to make sure that, the investigation supports the prosecution, and also supports that advocacy, and that the problems that they identify get addressed in a way that is suitable to everyone involved...I think we take a closer look from the second the (911) call is placed, all the way through to successful, or even an unsuccessful prosecution. We take a closer look at intimate partner violence and that's the biggest step we've made...Most police departments can probably do this, but whatever you focus on, put your attention on, you can make a difference there, but we are definitely handling things a lot different than when I was a patrol officer. I mean I'm almost embarrassed sometimes when I read case reports and think of some of the things that I did because it wasn't our focus, and we didn't really know any other way to handle it.

And that's not to say we win everything, but we have made it different, I think, and made it more difficult for the offender to get out of stuff...Well my focus is really on the processes instead of the outcome, because if I think we are going to sustain anything any long period of time, we have to have those processes in place, and the relationships between the various partners, or else it will just go by the way side when those people change positions. I know that I am just a stroke of the pen away from being on patrol, so if I don't have good processes in place and good relationships and partnerships, then when I do go back to patrol it all just the outcomes won't be achievable without starting over again so I try to make sure that you know our partnerships are strong; everyone can say what they really want to say without having stones thrown at them. And there are conflicts between partners, but there are solutions too, so I guess to answer the question, I think if we focus on the process, then the outcomes will be something we can be happy with...”

Captain Ellenberger also spoke at length about the necessity and value of the partners that all work together to make OFDVI successful:

“The goals I thought were important were that we can do a whole lot better than we have been doing, and so just having a bi-weekly meeting with all of our partners or stakeholders, or whatever you want to call them, and hearing the concerns from one group or another group, or a solution provided from a different group, then that right there has made things better. That was one of the goals to get everyone together because it's not just a police problem, it's not just a

prosecutorial problem, it's not just an advocacy problem, it's not just an offender services problem, or a probation problem, but it's everyone's (issue) we are all dealing with it and in the past, we were all dealing with it in our own separate ways and weren't getting anywhere, and now I think we are all dealing with it with respect to each other's responsibilities and roles. We are much better at it, so I guess my goal at the outset was too was to just do a better job at controlling intimate partner violence, and at that time I didn't know what a better job looked like.”

LPD, like HPPD, assigned structure and organizational responsibility to learning about OFDVI, and operationalizing the strategy. Chief Kepley assigned key personnel to directly manage the day-to-day operations of the strategy within LPD, as well as with working with partner agencies to create structure and process. Major Mark Sink (who has since been appointed Lexington Police Chief), Captain Robby Rummage, and Lieutenant Melissa Carter were charged with operational responsibilities. HPPD and the North Carolina Network for Safe Communities Training and Technical Assistance (NCNSC T/TA) team at the University of North Carolina Greensboro (UNCG) provided ongoing support for the replication process. Per Lt. Carter in describing her approach to replicating the OFDVI strategy in Lexington:

“I went to High Point because I wanted to see the actual workings myself. So, you know, they [HPPD] allowed us to come over, and be with them as many times as I would need to see it live, actually going to the jail, going through process with the High Point detectives, and then reviewing their paperwork comparable to our paperwork. I was specifically told we are to shadow their [HPPD's] model. We were not implementing anything new to put our own stamp on it. We're to follow what they [HPPD] do, so I am not making it up, I'm not recreating it. I'm just doing what they do.”

As new processes were needed to both understand the scope of the problem of domestic violence, as well as develop internal procedures to respond to intimate partner domestic violence, Major Mark Sink and Captain Robby Rummage worked with Chief Kepley and Lt. Carter on how to capture the intimate partner domestic violence calls for service and the respective response protocol. Unlike the 911 Communications in High Point, LPD shared 911 Communications personnel with other law enforcement partners within Davidson County. In order to change the coding for domestic violence calls for service, to separate intimate partner calls from other domestic violence calls for service, LPD had to work with 911 Communications to establish a new IPDV (intimate partner domestic violence) call code, so each call could be tracked and responded to according to what was necessary to replicate the OFDVI model. Both in High Point and in Lexington, it would not be possible to move forward with any strategy without first understanding the data associated with domestic violence.

HPPD met with LPD personnel, and discussed OFDVI, and also presented information on OFDVI on two different occasions in Lexington. In one presentation, HPPD Chief Marty Sumner, HPPD personnel, LPD Chief Tad Kepley, and Guilford County District Court Judge Tom Jarrell presented to judges, law enforcement personnel, court personnel, prosecutors with the Davidson County District Attorney's Office, resource providers in Davidson County, and other community members on the OFDVI strategy. One particular area for consideration for sites interested in replication is that while the presentations were both valuable and necessary, it is imperative to meet with leadership from agencies that will be involved to expressly and openly discuss what their particular roles and responsibilities will be in the initiative, including what resources and specific personnel they will need to dedicate. By having these discussions, agencies are able to understand their roles, and take the necessary steps to position themselves for success.

Certainly one of the most important components of the OFDVI replication in Lexington was the consistent support, data collection, training, and technical assistance from HPPD, High Point partners, and the North Carolina Network for Safe Communities training and technical assistance (NCNSC T/TA) team. The combination of peer-to-peer support between HPPD and LPD, as well as the close relationship between LPD and NCNSC helped with the development and with the challenges of building a new and complex initiative. Regarding the law enforcement peer-to-peer support, LPD personnel were able to communicate questions, and seek guidance from HPPD when necessary. That communication included dialogue between Chief Kepley and Chief Sumner, and down through the ranks. LPD Lt. Melissa Carter sought guidance on process from HPPD Captain Tim Ellenberger and HPPD Detective Jerry Thompson. The close geographic proximity between High Point and Lexington was also a major advantage, as Lt. Carter was able to go to High Point to shadow Detective Thompson, and utilize the close proximity for additional visits or consultation as needed. When partners in Davidson County, including LPD, were building the Project SAFE Davidson initiative, individuals from agencies and the community were able to travel the short distance to High Point to observe chronic violent offender notifications. It was a definite advantage to have such geographical proximity in building OFDVI, as that closeness helped Lexington partners establish and build trust with their High Point partners.

The NCNSC T/TA team at UNCG was also consistently available for support and training. The NCNSC team attended almost every Lexington biweekly OFDVI meeting to assist with questions and concerns about strategy development. The NCNSC team has been involved with HPPD and partners since the very beginning of OFDVI development, which has included a process documentation of the strategy (Sechrist, Weil, Shelton, & Payne, 2013) which LPD and other agencies have consulted to learn about the initiative. The NCNSC team has been involved with sites across North

Carolina in full support of implementation of other iterations of focused deterrence violent crime reduction initiatives. The NCNSC team worked closely with LPD to help with data collection and coding processes. As with High Point, the NCNSC Team developed close relationships with LPD and LPD partners, which helped in the development and implementation of the strategy in Lexington. When barriers or challenges were identified in Lexington, the NCNSC team was able to draw those issues out to the forefront, and help collectively problem solve. While process challenges are inherent in the building of the OFDVI strategy or any focused deterrence strategy, the positive relationships and close proximity between partners involved in the LPD OFDVI replication were invaluable. While not necessarily the most technical, or easily explained “ingredient” in any focused deterrence work, as well as with replication of focused deterrence initiatives, are the relationships and partnerships. People in agencies become totally accountable and dependent on one another, and do not want to let each other down. The challenges and struggles of building an initiative can serve to strengthen or tear down relationships, but when partners are truly committed, the relationships can reach extraordinarily high levels of trust and accountability.

Progress was slow at times during the early biweekly teams in Lexington. LPD personnel and partner agencies had heard information or presentations about OFDVI, but were still learning what the expectations, roles, and responsibilities were for themselves and their agencies. Often during this period, different members of partner agencies would attend the biweekly meetings, and would either not have the authority to make a commitment, or not be certain of what was being asked of them. There was a mix of excitement about implementing OFDVI combined with some confusion around how all the pieces fit together. Three major functions of the biweekly team meetings illustrate why teamwork, shared expectations, and understanding roles/responsibilities are so vital to the OFDVI strategy’s success:

1. Collectively discuss specific incidents, charges, arrests, court cares, and status of offenders and victims, and,
2. Collectively identify next steps for each agency to keep the promises of swift, certain, and possibly severe consequences for offenders, as well as identify services and needs for victims, and finally,
3. Collectively identify issues or problems with existing systems, and identify specific processes for addressing those problems (things such as court issues, service issues, training issues, personnel issues, gaps in services, complete absence of services, etc.).

HPPD Major Kenneth Shultz shared some of his thoughts on the importance of the relationships in replication of OFDVI:

“It's all about personal relationships right from the start. If you don't have a personal relationship to begin with from people from each of these groups [partners in the OFDVI workgroup], you have got to develop that first thing. That's above and beyond the strategy itself. You go to have somebody you can talk to in the prosecutor's office. We've got Walt Jones. We know we can talk to him at any time and it would be easy enough. We could start whatever initiative we wanted to and as long as we've got our background work prepared. We could go to Walt with what we are trying to do, justify it, and I feel confident that he would support us in it because of our relationship. It's the same thing with Family Service of the Piedmont. I can go over to Tom Campbell or Shay (Harger) or one of those people, explain what we need, and because of our relationship, they would support us in these endeavors. So anybody starting from scratch, you've got to have the personal relationships. Unfortunately, I've heard of too many cases where the prosecutor's office doesn't care anything about the police department, and they refuse to cooperate. And then the police department is upset because the prosecutor's office is always dismissing cases or not following through on stuff. You've got to get beyond that. Go find individuals that can talk, whether it's a detective or supervisor that has a relationship with a prosecutor, start at that level and then hopefully that detective can bring the police department along or that supervisor. The prosecutor you're working with can bring his or her office along and the same thing with the victim advocate. So I think you start off individually on a personal basis. You present what you are trying to do, you get a unified understanding between those people and then let all of those people go back and pitch it to their organizations, and encourage involvement from that point. I believe that's the only way to do it.”

Focused deterrence initiatives require a strong level of commitment, as these types of initiatives are not “programs” or “projects”, with no set timeframe or end dates. With the OFDVI model, the need for commitment and understanding of the complexities of the model are most critical. Other focused deterrence initiatives including Drug Market Intervention, Chronic Violent Offender, and Gang / Group strategies require many of the same partners, but because of the complexity of OFDVI, there is a need to identify and invite additional partners to be a part of the initiative. OFDVI includes four categories of domestic violence offenders (based on offense history), as well as known victims. Therefore, operationalizing the OFDVI strategy requires the highest level of commitment from all partners involved. Within LPD, some personnel have many similar duties in OFDVI as they do with LPD's Project SAFE Davidson chronic violent offender strategy, although it must be reiterated that there are numerous unique responsibilities in making OFDVI effective. LPD Captain Robby Rummage described his role in OFDVI as follows:

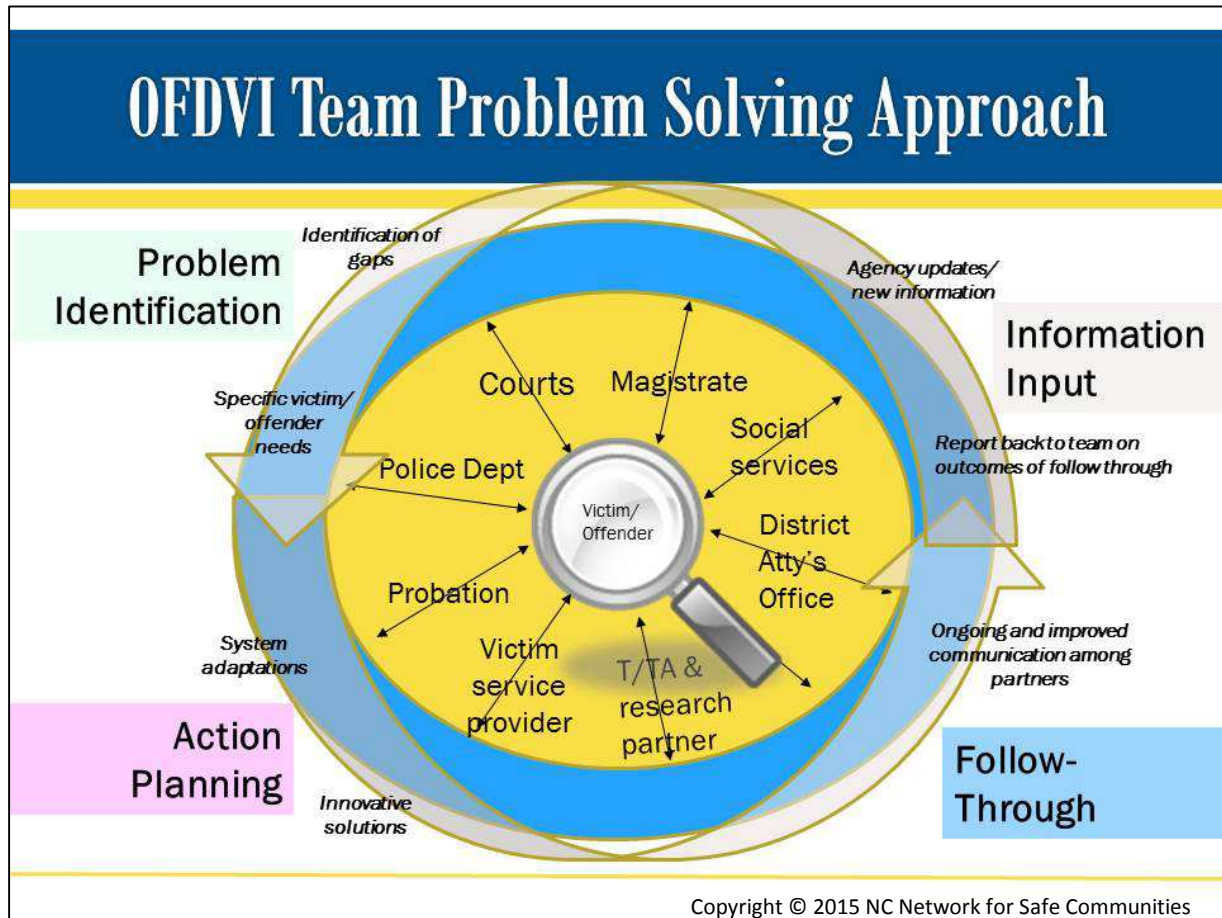
"I am in the administrative role of directly overseeing our dedicated personnel, Lt. Carter. I oversee her in the implementation at the patrol level. We communicate regularly about officers are doing and what they can do to improve. Basically, from a training aspect, she tells me how's it's going, and relays it back to the patrol supervisors, including how they can improve on updating calls for service, how they are investigating domestic violence calls, and the handling the notifications. So I am kind of like the checks and balances of the day-to-day... [As part of the OFDI strategy] We'll follow up with the victim letter notifications to let them know about our partnership with the District Attorney's Office, with Family Services of Davidson County, and the resources that are in the community. We also follow up with the offenders to let them know about our strong stance about what we are doing, so that they realize that. To me there is a huge message in the fact that our officers will go on a call one day, and the very next day, the offender sees a different officer giving them a notification. That says [to the offender], 'Hey we were out here, and here is a letter signed by the Chief, and it's actually got the information for Family Services on there as well. Other people are talking about you, and that there is a record of this.' I think that is very huge on the offender's side, because it's different than what they've seen before. Offenders kind of know they have had an opportunity, you know historically; they have had an opportunity to float beneath the radar. They think, 'If I can bluff my way through this call, if she calls tomorrow, chances are LPD will have somebody else answer the call.' With this new OFDVI strategy, we are much more likely to actually peg a situation collectively as opposed to just separate officers trying to handle it from one day to the next."

While many of the existing partners were already involved with the Project SAFE Davidson chronic violent offender initiative, it was necessary to invite, educate, and reach agreements with those agencies about OFDVI, as well as additional agencies that were invited to participate. One of the most important elements of beginning, and sustaining a focused deterrence strategy, is to create open dialogue and commitment from agency partners. This commitment is necessary from the top leadership of an organization, and throughout each agency. For example, without buy-in and commitment from the elected District Attorney, the Assistant District Attorneys and other personnel within the District Attorney's Office would not have the ability to fully participate. As part of the replication process in Lexington, the frequent and regularly scheduled workgroup meetings served to educate partners, conduct planning, assign and understand expectations and agency responsibilities, as well as to address system gaps or issues that could impact implementation of the OFDVI strategy. Chief Kepley spoke of the benefits he was able to see as a result of the regular partner meetings in Lexington:

“I would just naturally point to our biweekly meetings. What I'm seeing is more cooperation with some of the agencies that maybe earlier had a little bit of resistance in dealing with us [LPD] about things. Now it seems like we have better cooperation. That is probably because we are meeting on a regular basis, and there is some accountability, some expectations almost. At least what I am gathering is a better relationship with service providers and those who deal with either directly with victims, or the children of victims. That's what I'm seeing. I'm sure there are probably some partners that really don't want to come to the meetings, or resist coming to the meetings, but I haven't heard anything like that. You know, I just heard that people are doing it for the right reason, and that they're wanting to help victims.”

In a very basic sense, the biweekly team meetings have created a process for building relationships between agencies that have always served victims, offenders, and children, but have not always understood how to work together effectively, and in some instances, helping to understand the reason agencies should work together. The OFDVI strategy is built upon very focused objectives, and the biweekly workgroup meeting is an absolutely critical mechanism that allows for agencies to collectively problem solve. The focus of the biweekly meeting always involves specific discussion about offenders, and their specific behaviors. The team works together to respond to the behavior of a notified offender, whether that is enforcement or provision of assistance / resources. The team also examines systems and processes to identify where possible gaps or problems are, and attempts to identify solutions to correct those issues. The team also discusses each victim, and what support and services are being given to each victim and children / family. The team constantly identifies more efficient or effective methods to deter offenders and to assist or support victims. An example of the OFDVI team problem-solving approach is provided in Figure 3. The four main components of the team problem-solving approach are: 1) problem identification, 2) action planning, 3) follow through, and 4) information input. Problems can be identified and brought the attention of the workgroup by any partner in the group. Once a problem is identified, the group work together to create a plan to adapt systems or apply innovative solutions to solve the problem. Once the plan is created, the plan is put into practice. Feedback about the impact of the solution once put into practice is reported back to the workgroup. Transparent and ongoing information sharing among members of the workgroup are key to effective problem-solving.

Figure 3. OFDVI team problem-solving approach.



Major Kenneth Shultz, of HPPD, has been involved with OFDVI for over two years, and supervises the Major Crimes Deterrence and Prevention Bureau. Major Shultz has witnessed first-hand the changes, and positive outcomes resulting from implementation of OFDVI, the biweekly OFDVI team meeting, and the ongoing team problem-solving approach:

“I think the biggest thing we've seen is the ability to work through problems, and work through issues that weren't taking place. We've seen a lot of buy-in by everyone, from the officers I spoken with, to the magistrates, to the judges, the prosecutors. Everybody has really upped their games as far as prosecuting domestic violence cases. I'm seeing a lot of effort put in on the front end, as well as the back end so I think that's one of the biggest changes. Again, throughout the whole organization, we've been able to address it [domestic violence] and take it to that next level. I've seen a lot interesting stuff going on through the biweekly meetings, where we are looking at particular issues or isolated incidents where the solution or the past solution hadn't been able to successfully do what

we wanted it to. Whether it was subpoenas with domestic violence for the victims—we had an issue where we had to get them served in person as opposed to by telephone—the magistrates' issue with the understanding of what to do if someone violates a release order, and working that through the system to get that implemented properly—a lot of different things along that level, all the way down to the communication. I think we've had in the past some issues with advocates, legal aid, and district attorneys, and officers in the police department not communicating all that well together. Part of it was, I think, unfamiliarity with each other and a little bit of nervousness to share information. But I think now through OFDVI, we've actually developed a great relationship between all of those groups and we are able to work together in confidence to successfully prosecute the cases”

Julie Gregg works with Family Services of Davidson County, and she along with other personnel with Family Services are regular members of the OFDVI team. Julie noted many positive changes as a result of OFDVI implementation:

“I think what appeals to us the most is that it [OFDVI] is offender focused, and it takes some of the pressure off of the victims, where it is not all their responsibility to make sure this is done or that is done. I hope it gets to the point, where the victims don't have to go to court, so that it separates the victim from the situation in some ways. They are not as pressured. The guys [offenders] don't feel like it's all the victim's fault. The offenders know it's the police department that started this and that's looking at them. So I don't think the victims feel as overwhelmed with everything. They know that they have support now. A lot of them made the comments that before OFDVI started, that they didn't feel like that had support from the police department. But, now they do. So I think everyone involved is feeling more... secure, maybe is the right word. And, victims know that once they start this process they are going to have support all the way through... Most of the referrals we got before were from the Clerk's Office, whereas now, we are getting more of the referrals through the police department. We've even had the magistrate's office calling us. If someone goes and presses charges and things like that. I think it's more just the awareness that everybody is working together. So, it's [OFDVI] kind of brought everybody together, and before we weren't even aware of some of the different agencies that were sitting at the table, what they did or what their procedures were—things like that. So it's been more of a learning experience about the other agencies involved. I think it's been a great experience. It's been a positive thing. There are people that had come [to Family Service] or had called on the crisis line several times before. We would encourage them to go and get a 50B [protective order]. We would encourage them to follow through all the steps that they needed to and they wouldn't. Now

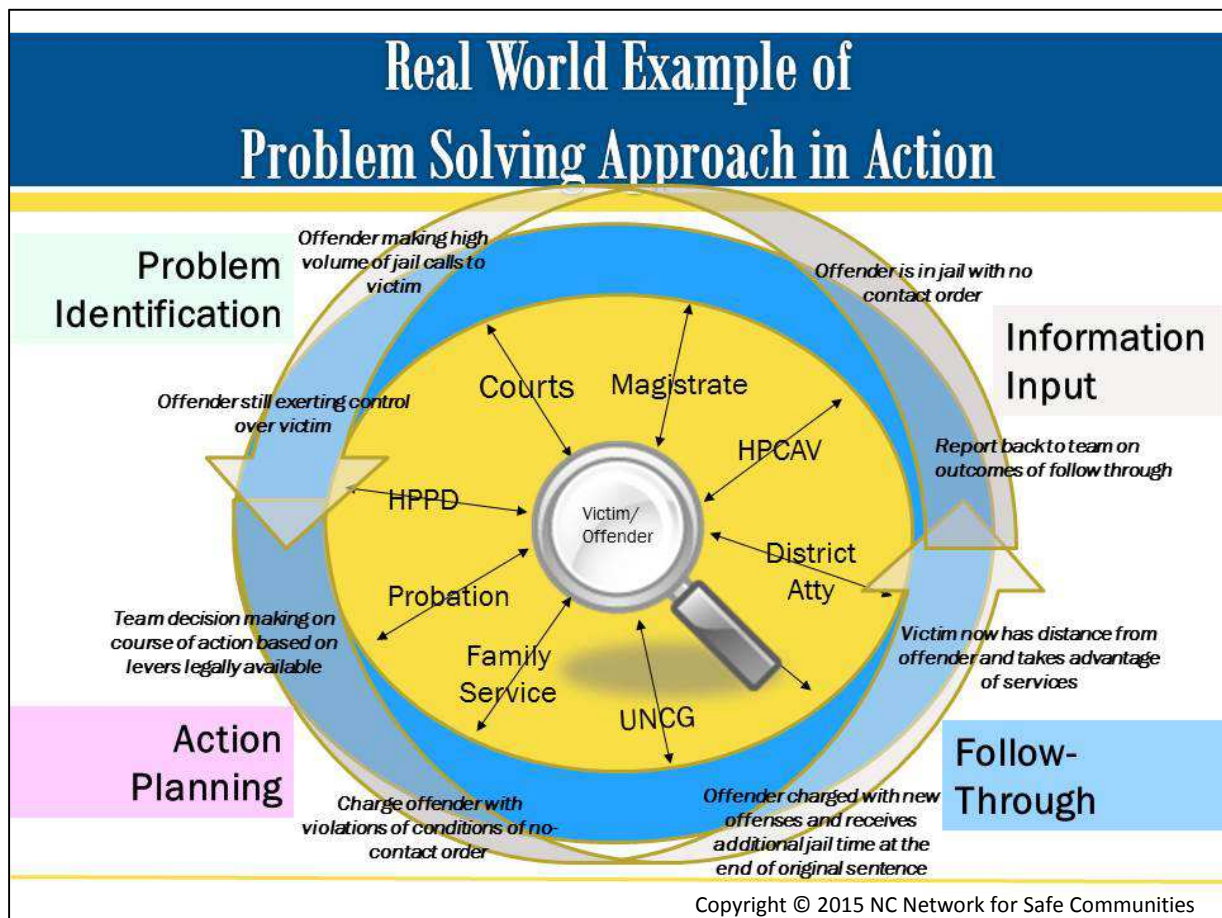
since this strategy has been implemented, those same people are actually following through. They're in court. They are working with the police department. It's just nice to see that because they feel they are supported by more than one person, or more than one agency, they seem to be more apt to follow through all the way.”

LPD's Lt. Melissa Carter played a central role in facilitating information, helping identify partners, and communicating information about challenges and successes with the OFDVI process and implementation and also working directly with victims. One major difference between Lexington and High Point regarding implementation of OFDVI was the absence of the lengthy and rich history of partnerships surrounding focused deterrence initiatives in Lexington. As a result, many new partnerships had to be built, and both new and existing partnerships had to be strengthened. Lt. Carter had a long professional history of working with many of the existing partners and the new partners through her career with LPD. To reiterate HPPD's Major Schultz's point about the importance of relationships in building partnerships to the OFDVI strategy, it was because of partner agencies' relationships with Lt. Carter and Chief Kepley that securing partner buy-in and commitment to the OFDVI strategy was easier. It cannot be overemphasized that the commitment and relationships between partners were a key foundational component, along with the utilization and understanding of data around intimate partner domestic violence, and are absolutely necessary in order to implement OFDVI. Though LPD had a short history of focused deterrence work, there were still some challenges and barriers with building and operationalizing OFDVI. Lt. Melissa Carter reflected:

“Before we started OFDVI, very rarely would we [LPD and partners] even talk. I mean we all were doing the same job and dealing with the same people, but we wouldn't even talk. Now we pretty much talk to each other at least once every week, and sometimes, every day for the main stakeholders. You know, DSS [Department of Social Services], Family Services, the court. So we have collaboration by being able to all talk about the same offenders.”

As illustrated in Figure 3, the biweekly OFDVI meetings are a forum to communicate successful or positive outcomes as they relate to actions taken by partners. Lt. Carter and LPD personnel routinely communicated information about specific actions or sanctions related to offender behavior and / or progress or status of victims. Figure 4 provides a demonstration of how each of the partners who participate in the OFDVI biweekly meetings were able to use innovative levers to put additional focus on a domestic violence offender by collectively problem-solving and working together.

Figure 4. Example of OFDVI workgroup problem-solving to focus on a domestic violence offender.



The problem identified in Figure 4 was that a domestic violence offender was making a high volume of phone calls from jail to the victim. As a result of the calls, the offenders still maintained a high level of high level of control over his victim as reported by the victim service provider. The team decided upon a plan of lever pulling which included charging the offender with violations of a no-contact order imposed by the judge, meaning that the offender should not have any contact with the victim per a judge's order. The team also decided that some new charges for violating the no-contact order would not be taken out until shortly before the offender was due to be released from jail, thereby, keeping him in jail for a longer period of time and allowing the victim space and time away from the offender to begin to make changes for herself to potentially leave the violent relationship. As a result of the team's follow through with the plan, the victim was able to take advantage of services and according to the victim service provider, was leaning more toward leaving the relationship with the offender. Meanwhile, the offender remained in jail for a longer period of time with a continued no-contact order.

The key partners in the judicial system, including the Davidson County District Attorney's Office, judges, magistrates, and the Clerk or Court were instrumental in building OFDVI in Lexington. Efforts and presentations to educate partners in the judicial system in Lexington have included joint presentations with HPPD and LPD, "lunch and Learn" meetings, biweekly team meetings, and other forms of information sharing. Assistant District Attorney Sheri Woodyard, and other members of the Davidson County District Attorney's Office regularly attend the OFDVI biweekly meeting and provide information about court proceedings involving offenders and victims, seek information from partners, and participate in planning to address system issues. Sheri Woodyard described some of her experiences early on in the process:

"We [LPD and partners] had the luncheon to educate them [judges and court personnel] about the [OFDVI] process and about what the purpose of the initiative is, and we've seen some of the judges work with us on bond at the first appearance and especially when Melissa [Lt. Carter] or another officer from LPD is in court to help give information about the case. I've seen the judges have some pretty high bonds in those instances... Judge Michael is our Chief District Court Judge, and he's been very helpful in working with me and Melissa and the Clerk's Office, and everybody's who is involved in the violations of the pre-trial release, and with the magistrates when those types of cases come up. There is not really a procedure that had been in effect to deal with those cases [violations of pre-trial release]. We've tried to develop a new way to handle those cases, so we'd make sure that everybody is on the same page. We get a new bond set and the offenders are held accountable for violating court orders. In the past, I don't think that is how it was. I don't think that that was tracked as well as it is now."

ADA Woodyard's comment illustrates again how partners have worked together toward a common goal and have created innovative ways to deal with problems that have been identified as the OFDVI strategy was being built and implemented in Lexington.

Lieutenant Al Ferguson of HPPD currently serves as the Court Liaison / Administrative Assistant to the Courts, and is stationed at the Courthouse in High Point, NC. Lt. Ferguson fulfills a very unique and important role as the Court Liaison:

"One of my main focuses with the initiative is to help track and prosecute in a timely manner, the domestic violence offenders who go through the court system. What that entails for me is running their records, and getting a copy of the case report each morning before first appearances. So my main focus is on first appearances. Once a case leaves first appearance, I will assist in any way I can, but for the most part, I'm kind of out of the loop after that. I give a copy of the case report to the DA who is going to be in first appearances and with that, the

DA then has it to talk to the judge in a more informed manner. I also talk to [HPPD] Detective Jerry Thompson and [HPPD] Detective Ken Leonard and get any input that they may have as far as bond recommendation if it's somebody who we've seen before, such as a class A offender, which is the worst offender. We do see some class C repeat offenders come through, and we pay special attention to them...When I first was assigned to this position, one of the first things we started with this initiative was entering the release order [into a database that patrol officer could access and see] that the judges would give us, the pre-trial release order. So, again one of my main jobs is after court or during court, I take notes based on the pre-trial release orders that judges give the DV offenders. With those notes, I then enter them into our PISTOL system, each officer has access to the PISTOL system within their cars, and so when they come up to a DV call, they can pull up the suspected offender and see if they have been through the system already. If so, they can see if a pre-trial release order been imposed against them. Typically it will say something to the effect of 'no contact with the prosecuting witnesses or 'not assault, threaten, harass, intimate, follow'—that sort of thing. If the offender is violating that condition of pre-trial release, then the officer can go ahead and make an onsite arrest, bring that person before magistrate, and their bond is then revoked, and they have to go back before a district court judge for another first appearance. So that has helped greatly, and I'll tell you the biggest reason why it's helped is because before when officers pulled up to a domestic violence call, if they suspected something was going on, but didn't actually have a crime, they couldn't arrest. However, now if the person is violating that pre-trial release, they can arrest onsite and solve the problem. So it has helped tremendously. Officers seem to like it quite a bit. We don't see a lot of repeat guys come through with the violations of pre-trial release, but we do see it once maybe every 2 or 3 weeks. When we see somebody come through [with violations of pre-trial release], we pay special attention to them and so do the judges. The judges have gotten on board as well and they'll typically give a little higher bond than they normally would have.”

While LPD and HPPD have many things in common regarding focused deterrence policing, they like any other agency attempting to implement a new strategy have different resources and personnel capabilities. In High Point, the structure and personnel assigned to operationalize OFDVI was quite different than in Lexington. HPPD is a larger agency, and has also been involved with focused deterrence operations since 1997. While both HPPD and LPD had buy-in and commitment from their respective Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs, and a designated Captain, HPPD also has Lieutenants, two designated detectives, and a designated court liaison who described his roles and responsibilities in the quote above. LPD Chief Kepley assigned much of

the operational responsibility to Lt. Melissa Carter. Lt. Carter serves in multiple capacities, including conducting C-notifications, data collection, coming to offender first appearances, victim assistance, training, leading biweekly OFDVI meetings, and other responsibilities that larger agencies potentially have additional personnel to share some of the tasks. LPD command staff has recognized the high volume of duties that are involved in implementing and sustaining OFDVI, and have recently assigned personnel to assist Lt. Carter, as well as secured funding for a dedicated position to assist with OFDVI duties.

Challenges with Implementing the OFDVI Strategy

If you build it, will they come?

In almost every way, each partner's role within the OFDVI partnership is critical. While each agency has a unique role, and some agencies have greater operational responsibility, all partner agencies must submit to the larger partnership for OFDVI to be successful. While the responding law enforcement agency responds to each call for service, the overall change in the system response must look different as well. As HPPD and LPD have crafted letters to offenders, scripts for interactions with offenders and victims, general orders for documentation and follow up, as well as unique responses to victims, without other partner agencies also responding to offender behavior differently, short and long term offender behavior will not be consistent. The verbiage regarding promises of swift and certain, and sometimes severe consequences for future acts of domestic violence cannot be guaranteed without the commitment of all necessary partners. In any jurisdiction, domestic violence is a shared problem that must be addressed through a shared solution that involves a large partnership including the courts, law enforcement, judges, probation / parole, magistrates, clerk of court, victim advocates, local departments of social services, mental health and substance abuse providers, medical professionals, schools, citizens, and other community partners.

HPPD Major Kenneth Shultz is quite involved in the biweekly team meetings, and expressed the importance of the partnership and each partner doing their part in making OFDVI successful:

“The partnerships are extremely important, nobody can do this alone. It can't be the victim advocate out there running this, it can't be the police department, and it can't be the prosecutor's office. It's got to be really all three groups there working together. Obviously Legal Aid supports all that, and all the preliminary groups that are attached to our program are beneficial, but if you don't have good communications, I think between at least those three groups, the police department, prosecutor, and the victim advocate side of it, you really are not

going to be able to have a case, or a good one. The program is not going to work out; the police department can do everything they have in their power, and if it's not prosecuted it's not going to go anywhere, they are going to just be released and turned back on the street. We've seen a couple of cases like that, where we've had a judge, a wild card judge, that comes up and throws out a case, or dismissing something, or doesn't quite follow through with what we presented. And obviously that is bit of a setback; they are rare, kind of odd in-between, but we have to deal with that. If you have an agency that doesn't have that full time support that we've got, then the program is not going to work.

Same thing with the prosecutor's office, they can prosecute everything that comes before them, but if the officers are not out on the front, doing the proper work and putting the proper emphasis on it, and taking the time to document stuff, it is not going to happen either, so that biggest challenge for everybody is make sure they got a working relationship with those three groups. A lot of times, I'm sure that's easier said than done, but you've got to have that working relationship. I know you've talked to Mr. Summey [Executive Director High Point Community Against Violence] beforehand, a lot of people see our community element as being a hard piece to replicate for the initiatives, whether it's the repeat violent offenders or drug market initiative. I don't see that as having such a clear cut role as far as the service providing goes for this [OFDVI]. We've not seen a lot of takers for the support. I think the community message is still important that it's [IPDV] wrong, and I think it should be fairly easy for an outside agency to get a group of people in that at least helps with the message. So, I think as long as they got the message delivered that violence is wrong, and if they can recruit the family members and other key people of the community on that side, I think they will do well."

In Lexington, educating partners on what was necessary for successful implementation was a challenging process. Agencies had to look at personnel limitations, internal process changes, general buy-in from staff, and other potential or perceived barriers. LPD could not instruct nor authorize another agency about how to use their personnel or resources, and as a result, numerous trainings, formal and informal meetings, and ongoing dialogue were necessary to solidify the partnerships and roles within the strategy. For any focused deterrence initiative, partnership is required among local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, and corrections as well as, individual members of the local community and resource providers who can assist offenders with services to help them avoid reoffending. The OFDVI strategy is no exception. Success depends on the partnership and having the right players at the table when key decisions are made. It is also essential that all key stakeholders understand both the purpose and realistic goals of implementing and sustaining a focused

deterrence initiative. As the OFDVI strategy moved from development to implementation in High Point and Lexington, additional key players were invited to the table to address issues specifically related to domestic violence. Without the collaboration of all stakeholders, criminal justice system issues would have been identified and corrected at a much slower pace.

Davidson County Probation Officer Supervisor Rusty Orrell emphasized the challenges, particularly about attitudes surrounding probation officers working with domestic violence offenders:

“I think the officers, both probation officers and police officers, have dealt with domestic violence... It's the victim that's continually a problem, which I'm sure you've heard in several of our meetings and different things. Getting the victims' “buy-in”, and them to continue to want to follow up, is hard. Sometimes it may be because they are scared, or they just think the charges are bogus, and so forth, but this doesn't happen all the time. Getting victims to want to pursue a conviction and getting them wanting to pursue justice for their abusers—that is frustrating. I think it's frustrating for law enforcement, though I can't speak totally for them, but I have heard them say it. And I know it's frustrating for myself and the probation staff. Frequently, victims do not want to pursue the charge... I think it's improved some in Lexington, because word has gotten around about this [OFDVI] program. Offenders and the community talk, especially offenders. Word gets out and they talk. They talk in jail and different things. I think it's [victim's cooperating with prosecution] improved some, but there's a ways to go. It'll just take time. And I think it will improve, too, if the program broadens out to the county. We do have three other law enforcement agencies in this county that I would love to eventually see come on board with this.”

Strategy Flexibility

It can be a challenge for a site who wants to adopt OFDVI not to focus on a face-to-face notification or B-level call-in as a milestone or indicator of success for the strategy. As Lexington began OFDVI implementation, one of the initial goals was to have a face-to-face B-level notification. There was a sense of urgency at times to set a date for a B-level call-in, even though LPD and partners were still building the partnerships and working through challenges. Many sites that implement focused deterrence strategies gravitate to the face-to-face notifications, as that type of notification is too often seen as the goal. The Lexington partners understood that to rush into a B-level notification prior to building the strategy would do more harm to the long term goals. As OFDVI gained momentum in Lexington, word about the strategy was getting out not only to partner agencies throughout the city and county, but to the community, and specifically offenders and victims. LPD, probation/parole, the District Attorney's Office, the Clerk's Office, the Department of Social Services, Family Service, and other partners had been

engaging in such a sound partnership that awareness of OFDVI increased and subsequently, offender and victim behaviors began to change. The LPD C-level jail notifications had become quite effective, and the real-time response to C-level reoffenders was so swift and certain that offender behavior was being dealt with effectively, thereby increasing deterrence for both the reoffender and other offenders present in the courtroom to experience the effect on one of their peers. It was almost as if the C-level offenders/reoffenders in Lexington were being dealt with as swiftly and certainly as B-level offenders would have been, and therefore the need to implement a B-level call-in became less immediate. It was collectively decided to make certain that all the partners were ready prior to holding a B-level notification. LPD and their partners are in the process of planning for a B-level notification, but wanted to be sure to avoid the early mistake of too hastily conducting a call-in where enforcement, follow through, or identification of the right offender to hear the message were not certain and could have derailed the entire initiative. With OFDVI, and other focused deterrence strategies, there is a natural focus on the “call-in” or “notification” process. Often times, there is not as much planning or communication about how to sustain an initiative after the call-in. The call-in can represent the culmination of all the planning and can be a powerful vehicle for communicating the “stop the violence” message, and the offer of assistance, but sites can struggle with how to sustain a focused deterrence initiative long term. Not only must the partners keep all the promises made to the offenders, victims, community, and to one another regarding consequences for continued future violent offenses, but there must be measures in place to track notified offenders, respond to requests for assistance from both offenders and victims, continue to address gaps within the systems, continue to build existing and new partnerships, continue to track and analyze crime statistics and crime dynamics, and continue to share in transparent communication with community partners.

OFDVI and Sustainability

Sustaining OFDVI or any focused deterrence initiative can be a challenge for many reasons, many of which have been discussed already. Inherent challenges include changes in leadership roles among partners. Much of the work is built on trust between partners, and the accountability that grows from those relationships. There are always “champions” who play important roles in building trust between partners, as well as having rank or authority to authorize use of personnel and resources. Both planning for and adapting to changes in organizational structure are vital in sustaining any focused deterrence initiative.

High Point has employed focused deterrence strategies for over seventeen years without interruption. HPPD and their partners have not only refined and sustained focused deterrence strategies, but also been able to develop new strategies over that time, with major changes in leadership positions, including three different Chiefs of

Police. Retired High Point Chief Louis Quijas was instrumental in the early years with strategy development and building partnerships with community members, resource partners, the High Point Community Against Violence (HPCAV), the District Attorney's Office, and the United States Attorney's Office. After Chief Quijas retired, the next Chief was able to sustain and grow the focused deterrence work, as well. Frequently, when a new chief accepts the position in an agency, many of the initiatives from the past chief are not continued. The new chief will often bring new ideas, or strategies from another agency to establish his/her own "signature" style. In High Point, when Chief James Fealy (retired) replaced Chief Quijas, he was able to assess and find great value in the work being done in High Point and at HPPD involving focused deterrence. The relationships and successes resulting from focused deterrence initiatives had become so powerful, and so integrated in how agencies and community members worked together, that it would have been problematic, and unnecessary to venture away from the strategy. Assistant Guilford County District Attorney Walt Jones commented in the value of the longstanding partnerships in High Point:

"What you've got here in High Point is a partnership that already existed. I think I have some obligation to say that there are things in this community that not every community has that make this program better. 1. You have a quality police department, 2. You have community trust in your police department. Does everybody in the community trust the police? No, that's impossible, but for the most part you have community trust in your police department. You have a good relationship between the DA's office and the police department. We've worked together on things. We've had impasses and things are addressed and everybody's on the same page before operations kick off or things take place. All these things were either here or they developed as a result of a very successful VCTF [Violent Crimes Task Force, High Point's chronic violence offender focused deterrence strategy] and DMI [Drug Market Initiative focused deterrence strategy]. And to some degree we have had some philanthropists in this community that have been willing to throw some money at this [OFDVI]. For instance, our dedicated DV prosecutor's salary is paid off with grant that we got from High Point Community Foundation. Some of the other areas that try this [OFDVI] project may not have those things. They are going to have to work and build a foundation before they can build a house. I'm not trying to say this [OFDVI] can't happen anywhere else but High Point. A lot of it's just the way we do things. We respect each other and do business with each other."

During Chief Jim Fealy's leadership, the HPPD continued to evolve and modify their processes internally as well as grow their relationships with their partners. HPPD examined their organizational structure, specifically around accountability and information sharing. Changes were made at HPPD to support focused deterrence

strategies, and to counter much of the work being done in silos. It was understood that personnel must have a process and protocol for sharing information internally about violent crime, and specific offenders. Some of the major changes included raising the accountability to the rank of Major (command staff / executive level), realigning the different units that worked with the Violent Crimes Task Force (VCTF) into one division (Major Crime and Prevention Division), assigning one detective working in violent crime to the VCTF, mandating that Violent Crime and Property Crime detectives work cases as a team, formalizing crime / case reviews with broader HPPD participation, utilization of peer-to-peer internal discussion boards, adding a Crime Analyst / crime analysis tools, and continued to refine the process to identify and track VCTF offenders. HPPD also continued to develop the relationship and partnership with the High Point Community Against Violence (HPCAV). Part of that process included active participation in monthly HPCAV meetings in which HPPD would share information on violent crime and current operations. Chief Fealy, and his successor, current Chief Marty Sumner would regularly attend HPCAV meetings and work with HPCAV members to develop strategies for strengthening the initiatives.

In Lexington, Chief Tad Kepley was the Chief as the OFDVI replication began. Chief Kepley was active in building buy-in at LPD, as well as helping build a larger partnership with other agencies and community members. When Chief Kepley retired, his successor, current Chief Mark Sink continued to support and build the strategy. When LPD faced budget cuts, which eliminated positions for officers, Chief Sink successfully advocated keeping Lt. Melissa Carter in place as the person responsible for operational considerations. Chief Sink was also able to successfully negotiate an additional position to assist Lt. Carter, as OFDVI was seen as such an integral strategy to hold offenders accountable and to assist with victim safety. During Chief Sink's swearing in, he publically announced LPD's commitment to OFDVI. As a major indication of the growing success and support in Lexington, the City Council identified OFDVI as one of the city's "top ten" priorities, and expressed plans to continue to support LPD and their partners.

Probation Supervisor Orrell shared his experiences and thoughts on OFDVI and how his agency views LPD since the strategy began—specifically how the structure of and dedication to the OFDVI process has led to the potential for sustainability and optimism for him and other in his agency:

"I have been very impressed with how much time the [Lexington] Police Department has put in this. You know, when I first heard about it, even before I met with them [LPD] I was a little bit skeptical because of just not knowing how it would work. But when I saw that LPD took a lieutenant off the street and put her focusing on this OFDVI strategy, basically 100% of the time, that impressed me. When I heard that, and I've seen it implemented, I've seen how serious they

[LPD] are about it. It's really blown me away. It's blown my supervisors away. I've talked to LPD a lot about it. I'm a numbers type of guy. I'm looking forward to seeing the numbers, whether it's three months from now, six months from now, at the one year anniversary from when we started in July 2015, to see what kind of difference we've made. I truly believe there is going to be a difference. Will it [domestic violence] all be overcome in one year? Probably not, but I'm looking forward to the long term and being able to sustain this strategy and keep going, and keep everyone on board. I'm looking forward to that."

Data Tracking

New systems had to be put into place to ensure effective tracking of offender outcomes and domestic violence crime data. According to former High Point Police Department crime analyst, Dr. Lee (Eleazer) Hunt:

"Law enforcement in the United States needs to understand that the currency of law enforcement is data. You cannot do your jobs efficiently and effectively without having a robust, coordinated, validated set of data that you can use operationally, tactically, strategically and for any kind of special projects, or programs, or initiatives that you wish to do. That is why I am so adamant about this. Along with that, agencies need to go through the process of looking at the flow of information and communication across an agency. So you start with a 911 call: what happens with that call and any subsequent field contact, arrest, incident report, who it goes to, what you do with it, how you follow up on it, what kind of analysis is done? If any agency goes through that process, they will see all of the holes and gaps and assumptions that they make about what happens with the data. Particularly if they are going to do anything with any type of focused deterrence or intelligence led policing... They are really going to need to understand that whole chain of communication and where the data flows."

In order to track intimate partner domestic violence calls as separate from general domestic violence calls, HPPD instituted a new code for intimate partner domestic calls (1079IP) as did LPD. The new code ensured that intimate partner domestic calls were captured and could be tracked as such as opposed to other domestic calls that do not involve intimate partners. In cases where detectives found that a call was not correctly classified with the intimate partner code, the detectives notified the responding patrol officer to make them aware of the need for correct classification. Later, it was discovered that a similar separate coding classification mechanism was needed for arrests.

Within HPPD, the way the domestic violence initiative was structured, the process for tracking the A and B-level offenders was really no different than the existing VCTF structure. So, for example, B-level offenders are identified for call-in based on their

criminal histories and probation status. Probation is used a lever to get the offender to come to the call-in. After the call-in, B-level offenders are monitored for re-offense. If a B-level offender re-offends, then law enforcement quickly responds and the offender is fast-tracked through the criminal justice system—work that is mainly tasked to the detectives assigned to the domestic violence unit. Tracking and monitoring the C and D level offenders, however, posed a greater challenge in having to follow offenders from the point of first call for domestic violence and subsequent calls for service at that address. One measure of OFDVI's success relied on being able to identify, measure, and study the rate of change of domestic violence intimate partner calls, arrests, and re-offenses. Thus, accurate coding of intimate partner domestic violence data was imperative. So, one adaptation made in both High Point and Lexington has been better tracking of intimate partner domestic violence. Anytime there is a domestic call for service involving intimate partners, a piece of paper will follow that response, no matter whether the outcome is a field contact sheet, arrest, or incident report. With all the potential responses and associated paperwork, the names of offenders and victims and other kinds of demographic information can be tracked which will evolve into a rich set of data to study over time.

Victims involved in the OFDDVI strategy also needed to be tracked. Family Service of the Piedmont was tasked with contacting victims, explaining the details of the strategy, and connecting them with services if need be. In addition to the initial contact, the strategy was designed such that victims were to be re-contacted over time to ensure their well-being and to determine if further violence was being committed against them. However, due to agency capacity, concerns about contacting victims who are potentially being monitored by their abuser, and incorrect or outdated victim contact information prevented the victim follow-up schedule from being implemented.

Operational Procedures in the OFDVI Strategy

Conceptualizing the Process

Once key partnerships were formed and organizational changes and data tracking systems were in place, the workgroup implemented the operational procedures for the OFDVI strategy according to a well thought out plan of action. The operational procedures of the strategy include methods of offender identification at all tier levels (A-D) and notification, victim identification and notification, and monitoring and follow-up with offenders and victims across time. The operational procedures for offenders and victims differed across tiers A-D which required thoughtful and detailed planning on the part of the workgroup and training of operational personnel prior to implementation.

Offender Identification and Notification

The OFDVI model is designed to identify and notify domestic violence offenders with varying degrees of offense histories, from the most severe to those that have not yet been formally charged, in an effort to deter them from future acts of domestic violence. This deterrence messaging utilizes specific and individualized accounting of each offender's criminal history as well as discussion of outcomes related to re-offense (violation of a prohibited violent act, which is repeated to the offenders at the B, C, and D level at each contact). The belief that the domestic violence offender can be deterred when presented with concrete information relating to actions and consequences is a cornerstone to this type of behavior modification work. In order for the strategy to be successful, offenders at all levels must be monitored over time to ensure that those notified will face the consequences explained to them during their notification. Offenders must see that both law enforcement and community will follow through with their promises, and that both the community and law enforcement reject the violent behavior. While law enforcement, community, and resource providers do not approve of the violence, the messaging is equally clear that assistance will be provided to the offenders if they choose to accept the help.

Offenders were identified and assigned to one of four tiers: A-D. See Figure 5 below for offender tiers and how offenders transition across tiers throughout the strategy. The majority of offenders will enter at the D-level, prior to a first arrest for a domestic violence offense. The criteria for assignment, evaluation of, notification messaging, and investigation of offender cases varied across tiers. Therefore, careful attention was paid during implementation to the logistics within each tier so that tweaks could be made where needed over time to ensure strategy success. Criteria for assignment are displayed in Figure 6. During implementation, the A and B level processes were initiated first. After a three month period, the C and D level processes were initiated. The spacing between the A/B rollout and the C/D rollout allowed the High Point Police Department to focus exclusive attention and energy on each level of offenders to maximize the likelihood of successful implementation before moving onto other tiers. This was particularly important because the C and D tiers were mostly a function of patrol and the domestic violence unit detectives, which required additional patrol training and monitoring of and feedback to patrol about activities to ensure fidelity of the process.

The A-level consists of the most severe domestic offenders. A-level offenders have long domestic and other offense histories and also have levers that can be pulled immediately for prosecution due to the immediate threat they present. These offenders can be prosecuted and serve as examples for offenders that will be notified in the lower tiers. B-level offenders are those that hear the group notification message. Their criminal histories and domestic offense histories are severe enough that levers exist for

enhanced prosecution in the event of a domestic violence re-offense. At the notification meeting, B-level offenders are offered community resources to assist them and are given a firm message from the community and law enforcement that the violence must stop. B-level offenders are also made aware of the enhancements they may face during prosecution if they re-offend. C-level offenders are first-time domestic violence offenders who are given the notification message on an individual basis while they are in jail following the arrest for their domestic offense. C-level offenders are monitored by law enforcement and may move up to the B-level if they re-offend. D-level offenders are those who are involved in an intimate partner domestic violence call for service, but where an arrest was not made. D-level offenders are given the notification message within 48 hours of the incident by specially trained patrol officers. See Figure 6 for differences across offender levels in notification and deterrence messages. See Appendices for notification letters for offenders and victims and accompanying patrol officer script.

Figure 5. OFDVI deterrence logic model.

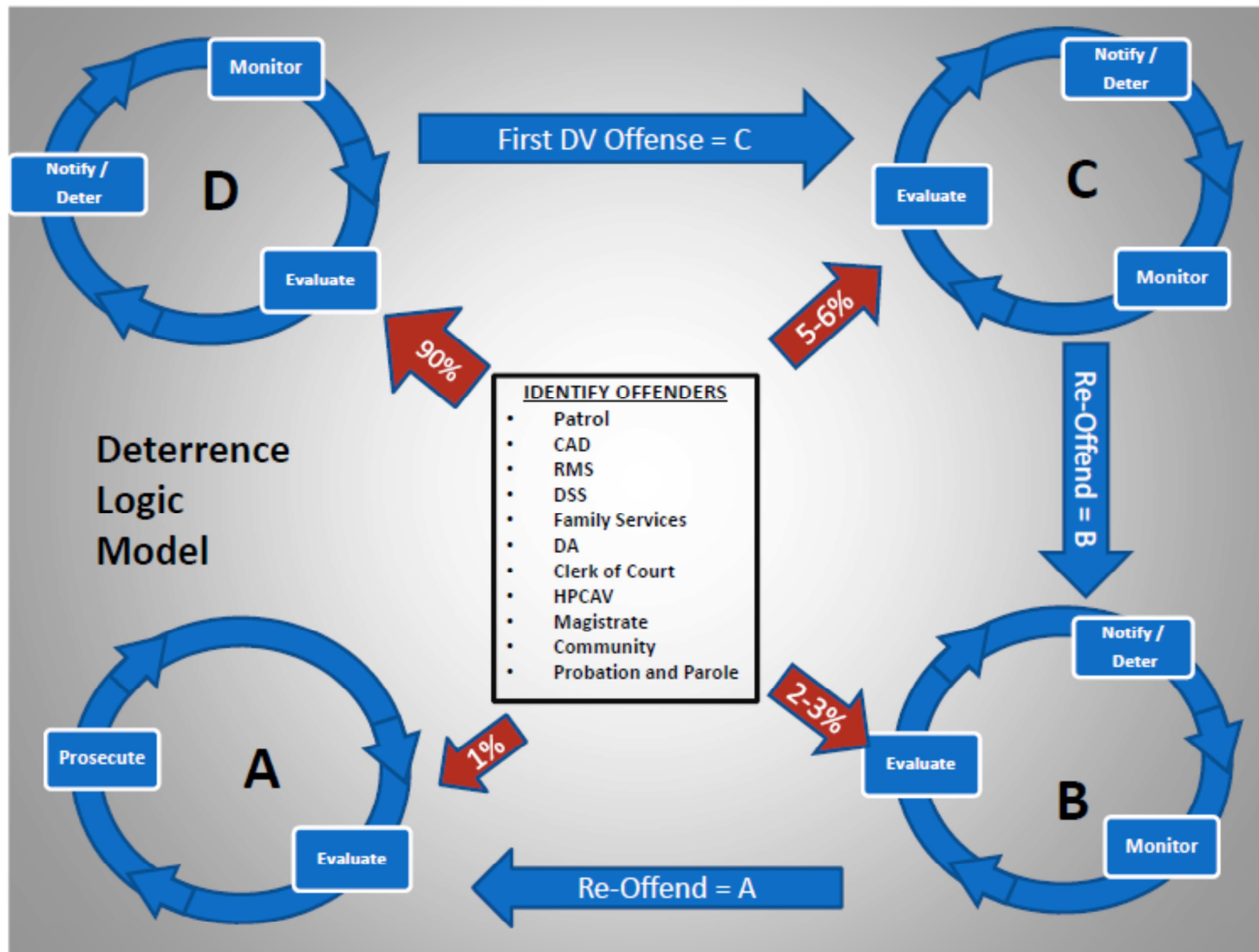



Figure 6. Criteria and process for offenders across notification levels.

CRITERIA FOR LEVELS OF DV OFFENDERS

D List			
No previous charges for DV	C List	B List	A List
Repeat call involving the same aggressor	1 st charge for DV related offense	2 nd charge of DV related offense	3 rd or more DV charges
Situation cannot be resolved by the first responding officer		or	Offender has violent record including DV
Officer believes the potential exists for violence		Violation of prohibited behavior for which offender received notice as C list offender (violating pretrial conditions, contacting victim, etc.)	Violation of 50B protective order
Validated intimate partner relationship			Used weapon in DV
			Convicted felon



OFFICIAL NOTICE AND DETERRENT MESSAGE BY LEVEL

D List			
Receives letter from Police putting him on official notice	C List	B List	A List
At the scene or a call, by mail or during a follow up visit	Face-to-face deterrent message from Violent Crime Detective	Law enforcement and community message face-to-face	Notified by Violent Crime Detective
	At the time of arrest, before pretrial release, probation visit or follow up visit by Detective	Offenders called to a notification perhaps quarterly or more frequent	At time of arrest or indictment

Table 1 below details how each of the offender tiers are identified, evaluated, notified, and monitored.

Table 1. Offender identification, evaluation, notification, and monitoring.

Level		
A	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole) • Graduation from B to A-list upon 3rd charge or violation of a DV court or protective order, have a violence record, use a weapon in a domestic offense, and/or be a convicted felon
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear & present danger • Not amenable
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic Violence Unit evaluates offenders referred from system input • If they have 3 domestic violence offense arrests, they will be listed as a A-list offender
	<i>Notification/Deterrence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigated for immediate prosecution • Notified when taken into custody that they are the highest level of domestic violence offender and that A-list classification led to immediate targeting for prosecution
	<i>Monitoring/Investigation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workgroup will determine quickest and most efficient way to move on the case • Spreadsheet will track date of selection and prosecution
Level		
B	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole) • Graduation from C to B-list upon 2nd domestic charge OR violation of a domestic violence court order
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to listen to notification messaging and make rational choice • Amenable • Appropriate levers to pull to make messaging impactful • Preferably on probation at time of notification
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic Violence Unit evaluates offenders referred to them from system input • If they have two domestic violence offense arrests, they will be listed as a B-list offender

	<i>Notification/Deterrence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Called in for a face-to-face group notification by law enforcement, community, and resource providers • Provided with a custom legal notification letter of exposures • After notification via call-in, DV Investigators will flag the offender in Pistol as being a notified B level offender
	<i>Monitoring/Investigation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offender is flagged in Pistol and this will appear when they have any police contact • Activities will continue to be reported to law enforcement by community, criminal justice and service providers. • Any offender that re-offends will be reviewed by the Domestic Violence Unit for designation for the next level offender, the A- level offender
Level		
C	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole) • Graduation from D to C-list upon 1st charge
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 charge domestic violence charge within past 48 hours • Must be offender's 1st domestic violence charge
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic Violence Unit evaluates offenders referred from system input • If they have 1 domestic violence offense, they will be listed as a C- list offender
	<i>Notification/Deterrence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacted face-to-face by Domestic Violence Unit Detectives and a HPCAV member, usually while in jail following arrest for domestic violence offense • Once official notification is made, Detectives will flag the offender in Pistol as being notified level C offender
	<i>Monitoring/Investigation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offender is flagged in pistol, and this will appear when they have any police contact • Activities will continue to be reported to law enforcement by community, criminal justice and service providers. • Any offender that re-offends will be reviewed by the Domestic Violence Unit for designation for the next level offender, the B-list offender
Level		
D	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation &

		Parole) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In most instances, patrol will respond to a domestic violence call and determine that the call involves <i>intimate partners</i>. • The officer will log the call as a DV/IP call, complete a field sheet and file a report. This process will trigger an evaluation of the offender by the Domestic Violence Unit.
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patrol officer responded to an intimate partner domestic violence call involving the offender, but no charges made • No history of other domestic violence charges
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic Violence Unit evaluates offenders referred from system input • If they have no history of domestic violence offenses, they will be listed as a D-list offender
	<i>Notification/Deterrence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recontacted by specially trained police officers within 48 hours • The deterrence message the offender receives will be specific to his/her situation and will warn him/her of pending police attention and sanctions if he/she re-offends • Offender will be flagged in Pistol as being a notified D-level offender
	<i>Monitoring/Investigation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offender is flagged in pistol, and this will appear when they have any police contact • Activities will continue to be reported to law enforcement by community, criminal justice and service providers. • Any offender that re-offends will be reviewed by the Domestic Violence Unit for designation for the next level offender

Victim Identification and Notification

Victims of offenders across all four tiers were given the message that their offenders have been notified and that the High Point Police Department now has a new way of handling domestic violence in the community. The workgroup was diligent in ensuring that the victim perspective and potential consequences for victims were accounted for in every decision. The decision was made the victim should be notified prior to the offender whenever possible. The workgroup was careful in their planning not to subject victims to potential harm as a result of the strategy. It was decided that the victim service provider would develop a follow-up schedule for victims over time to track any consequences for them due to offender notifications, but this has not happened due to

agency capacity issues. What has been found to be effective in taking pressure off victims in the notification process has been letting offenders know that the victim is not driving this strategy; this is a law enforcement driven initiative. See Appendices for victim notification letters.

Shortly after they began implementing OFDVI, LPD began administering the Lethality Assessment Program (LAP) on all intimate partner domestic violence calls for service. LPD has trained all four patrol units on administering the LAP and through LAP, officers responding to intimate partner domestic violence calls are able to screen and connect high-risk victims immediately with a victim service provider at the scene.

Just like with offenders, the message, messenger, and follow-up monitoring differed across the four victim levels as outlined in Table 2. Ultimately, the victim is given referrals and information of victim services, but the victims are not compelled to initiate services.

Table 2. Victim identification, evaluation, notification, and monitoring.

Level		
A	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole)
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be a victim or current intimate partner of an offender at the A-level
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims are not evaluated or contacted by law enforcement or victim services
	<i>Notification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims are not notified
	<i>Monitoring/Follow-up</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victim is flagged in law enforcement and victim services databases as an A-level victim No follow-up contact with victim specified
Level		
B	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole)
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be a victim or current intimate partner of an offender at the B-level
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5-question Risk Assessment
	<i>Notification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Notified via telephone call from victim services that his/her offender will be called in for a face-to-face group notification due to being a B-level offender Offered services and invited for an office visit
	<i>Monitoring/Follow-up</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victim is flagged in law enforcement and victim services databases as an B-level victim

Level		
C	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole)
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be a victim or current intimate partner of an offender at the C-level
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detectives screen cases for seriousness and past history of domestic incidents; victims of serious domestic incidents from offenders at C-level are referred to victim services If the victim comes into the victim services office, they are given the 5-question Risk Assessment
	<i>Notification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Notified by patrol officer at scene of response and provided with a letter explain that his/her offender is now at the C-level Victims of C-level offenders referred to victim services from detectives receive a phone call from victim services within 24 hours offering resources, when possible
	<i>Monitoring/Follow-up</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victim is flagged in both law enforcement and victim services databases as a C-level victim No follow-up contact specified unless victim chooses to receive services; then victim services maintains appropriate contact
Level		
D	<i>Identification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> System input (patrol/CAD/RMS/Family Services/DSS/Clerk of Court/HPCAV/Magistrate/Community/Probation & Parole) In most instances, patrol will respond to a domestic violence call and determine that the call involves <i>intimate partners</i>. The officer will log the call as a DV/IP call, complete a field sheet and file a report.
	<i>Criteria</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be a victim or current intimate partner for a D-level offender
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims receive a letter and information about available resources / victim services
	<i>Notification</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Notified by patrol officer at scene of response and provided with a letter about High Point's new way of handling domestic violence
	<i>Monitoring/ Follow-up</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victim is flagged in the law enforcement database as a D-level victim No follow-up contact specified

A-Level Operations

The most severe domestic violence offenders are placed at the A-level. These offenders are a clear and present danger to potential victims based on their criminal records. These offenders face immediate prosecution and are given no notification message in advance. They then serve as the examples for offenders at lower tiers to demonstrate the power of the OFDVI law enforcement partnership when working together to target domestic violence offenders. Offenders are categorized and moved to the A-level after careful review of each individual's criminal and domestic violence histories or by graduating from a lower tier to the A-level due to the commission of a new offense.

The first A-level offenders identified in the implementation strategy were selected from a pool of potential offenders based on their histories which demonstrated that they were unlikely to stop offending. All had to have at least three prior domestic violence charges. A review of the final list revealed that many A-level offenders had recent domestic violence charges; many had ten or more domestic charges; and some A-level charges included cases of strangulation. Once selected for the A-level, offenders were prosecuted vigorously using available levers against them. The goal was to incapacitate these offenders for as long as possible thereby deterring future violence.

Offenders could be moved to the A-level from the B-level by committing another act of domestic violence. To move to the A-level, a B-level offender must acquire a new domestic charge and have that case reviewed by a domestic violence detective for determination of graduation. Once at the A-level, the graduated offender would receive the same swift and vigorous prosecution efforts as the initial pool of A-level offenders.

For the prosecution of A-level offenders, the district attorney reviewed criminal histories to see what charges could bring the most severe punishments possible. For example, a third assault on female arrest could be charged as a felony. Any domestic-related criminal activity that crosses state lines could be reviewed for federal stalking prosecution. A-level offender cases were adopted by whichever system, state or federal, could get the offender the most severe sentence upon conviction. Prior to trial, attempts were made by the prosecutors and community via the High Point Community Against Violence (HPCAV) to make sure that the offender received a high or no bond to incapacitate the offender until their trial date and to demonstrate that the system has changed for domestic violence offenders. As judges were educated about the OFDVI strategy, it was often powerful for the assistant district attorney to state that the defendant had been previously notified and to have the presence of HPCAV in the courtroom during a first appearance. Even if HPCAV did not speak during the hearing, the group's presence sent a strong message to the judge that the community did not wish for this offender to be out

Victims of A-level offenders are not identified or notified through the OFDVI process.

B-Level Operations

B-level offenders are those with significant domestic violence histories and they are invited to the face-to-face notification meeting to hear the law enforcement, community, and resource messages to stop the domestic violence. At the notification, offenders are educated about the OFDVI strategy and how domestic violence is being handled differently in High Point. They are confronted by the community who states that domestic violence will no longer be tolerated. Resource providers are there with an offer of support to help offenders turn their lives around and assist with accessing services. B-level offenders were required to have at least two prior domestic violence charges. These B-level offenders were evaluated, and thought to be capable of listening to the message and making a rational choice to stop offending.

The face-to-face notification serves several functions—to educate offenders about the strategy and consequences, to send a message to the community that domestic violence is an important issue, to demonstrate to offenders the power of the law enforcement and community partnership, and to strip the offenders' anonymity. The High Point Police Department had been conducting face-to-face notifications across offender types for 15 years prior to the OFDVI notification. However, despite their vast experience, the workgroup was very diligent in planning the notification messaging specific to the domestic violence strategy. David Kennedy and Susan Herman traveled to High Point for a meeting with the workgroup. The team spent an entire day selecting offenders to bring into the first group notification and crafting the messages for law enforcement, the community, and resource providers. As with all planning steps with the OFDVI strategy, great care was taken to keep the victims' perspective in mind and not cause additional risk to the victims as a result of the strategy. A rehearsal was conducted a few days prior to the actual notification.

The workgroup decided that a "custom legal notification" letter would be written for each notified offender and given to offenders at the meeting. The district attorney's office prepared the letters based on each offender's criminal histories. The letters spelled out each offender's unique legal exposures within the criminal justice system, including probation/parole, based on their specific record, and told them what could potentially happen to them if they continued to offend. However, it was decided that the letter should not come from the district attorney's office due to concerns about perceived threats or promises on the part of that office. Therefore, the letter was from the Chief of Police composed on High Point Police Department letterhead and offenders were provided with High Point Police Department personnel's business cards with contact information for follow-up.

The custom legal notification letter, in addition to educating offenders, sends a message to the judiciary that the offender knew exactly what could happen to them if they chose to re-offend. Therefore, ignorance of the consequences could not be an excuse for

continued offending behavior. Offenders cannot be deterred by what they do not know. Thus, the letter served as an informational tool to guide offenders to a rational choice: stop the violence to avoid the consequences.

B-level offenders were invited to the notification by their probation officers whenever possible. Otherwise, they were invited by a detective and a community representative. Offenders were assured that they would not be arrested at the notification meeting and attendance was mandated for those on probation. Typically, offenders with pending charges are not invited to a notification. However, with domestic violence offenders, it was found that those who most needed to hear the message based on their past domestic offenses also had pending charges. Since these offenders needed to hear the message, the decision was made to invite them to the notification despite having pending charges. In these offenders' custom legal notification letters, it was stated that charges were pending and depending on the outcome of those charges, they could face possible consequences for continued offending. After charges are disposed of, the offender will receive a new custom legal notification letter with updated information about legal exposures. An important feature of the OFDVI strategy, which is consistent with all focused deterrence initiatives, is to not promise what cannot be delivered. The messaging is not intended to follow a "Scared Straight" theme, but rather to present consequences to offenders based on their actions; explaining why and how they were selected to hear the message (whether in a notification, or in a C and D-level scenario), and that their behavior will dictate what will happen in the future.

Victims of B-level offenders were contacted by a victim service provider via telephone of their offender's upcoming notification meeting. Attempts were made to contact the victim prior to offenders receiving the invitation from their probation officers whenever possible. However, some victims could not be reached due to outdated contact information. A few victims were still in relationships with their offenders and many were still in contact with their offenders even if they were no longer in dating relationship. All victims were re-contacted within a week after the notification meetings to gather feedback and ensure that there were no repercussions for victims after the notification meeting. Those victims still in relationships with offenders were then contacted again three weeks later, then thirty, sixty, and ninety days later.

During notification of B-level offenders, the arrests of A-level offenders were presented along with their offenses and sentences received. This presentation was done using a printed flyer that was given to B-level offenders. Also, the law enforcement panel referenced A-level offender examples during the verbal message. Many presentation methods exist to demonstrate an A-level offender group during a group notification. In past chronic offender, drug market, and gang notifications, the High Point Police Department has used a slide show presentation to demonstrate the A-level example offenders and this format may be used in again in future OFDVI notifications.

The content of messaging at notification included all the following components which were presented by appropriate law enforcement and community representatives. Sites implementing a focused deterrence notification can structure the sequence of speakers however best suits their needs. High Point regularly allows the community and resource providers to address the offenders first. Typically the President and Executive Director of the High Point Community Against Violence identify themselves and explain to offenders why they are there. Then, additional members of the group introduce themselves make a brief statement that they are against violence. One or two of the community members then make a longer presentation to the offenders to highlight a few points designed to capture the community's moral voice. For the OFDVI notification, the community message was specially crafted to hit each of the following points which were addressed directly to the offenders.

- Violence is wrong and domestic violence is wrong.
- We care about you and want to help you if you want the help.
- There are no excuses. Offenders are responsible for their actions.
- The community does not care why you are using violence, but the violence needs to stop.
- Domestic violence thrives on secrecy. Domestic violence is no longer a secret in High Point. We know who you are.
- The community owns the problem and will take a stand against domestic violence. The community will not tolerate it.
- There are costs associated with domestic violence to the community, to loved ones, to children reared in violent homes, and to the victims.
- If the offender is incarcerated, there are huge costs and burdens incurred by their families.
- Domestic violence is a leading cause of death for women. There are consequences associated with these deaths.
- We are in partnership with law enforcement. We expect them to deal with you if need be.

Once the community message is finished, the law enforcement panel enters the room and each person on the panel presents their individual message to the offenders. Typically, the following law enforcement panelists have speaking roles at the notification: police chief; representatives from surrounding local agencies; probation/parole representative; representatives from State Bureau of Investigation, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, and U.S. Marshall Service; the local district attorney; and a representative from the U.S. Attorney's Office. The Police Chief usually opens and closes the law enforcement portion of the notification, with other representatives

speaking in between. For the OFDVI notification, the law enforcement message was specially crafted to hit each of the following points.

- Offenders were told that it was their history of domestic violence and their behaviors that got them called into the notification meeting.
- The victim is no longer driving law enforcement's response to domestic violence. Law enforcement is now taking a stand against domestic violence.
- The offender can no longer control or intimidate victim. Law enforcement can and will prosecute without the victim if need be.
- The system has now changed. All sources of information about crimes of domestic violence will be considered.
- Law enforcement knows who the offenders are and is watching them closely. Information about offenders is being shared between partnering law enforcement agencies.
- Any new violent or any domestic violence-related offense will be highly scrutinized. All new offenses will be reviewed to look for undertones of domestic violence.
- Extra steps will now be taken in domestic cases. There will be detectives assigned to the cases. Thorough investigation will be conducted. There are special prosecutors assigned to deal with these cases.
- Offenders are now flagged as OFDVI notified. All law enforcement officers will know what that means and the offenders will be given special attention as such.
- Cases will be prosecuted in whichever system, state or federal, can get them the most time.
- If the system has taught offenders that domestic violence is not taken seriously, then that is now changing in High Point.
- In addition to the custom written notification to offenders outlining individual risks and exposures, a few examples of the exposures were shared verbally with the group by law enforcement.
- Domestic violence offenders and convicted felons cannot possess firearms.

A decision needed to be made about how to handle offenders who were invited to the call-in, but who did not attend. It was decided that no-shows who would still be on probation at the time of the next scheduled notification meeting would be invited to the next notification. If the no-show offender would not be on probation, then they would be notified on a one-on-one basis by a domestic violence detective and a representative from the community and given their custom legal notification letter. It was decided that whenever possible, offenders should hear the notification message in the group setting because of the power of stripping anonymity in that setting. No-show offenders who were on probation were in violation of missing a scheduled meeting and therefore were

given a “dip” by their probation officer. A dip is a brief stint of jail confinement that is limited to 2- or 3-day periods that total no more than six days per month. This discretionary “dip” was recently made an option for probation officers to use as part of North Carolina’s Justice Reinvestment Act.

Thus far, High Point has held four face-to-face group notification meetings for B-level offenders. Feedback about the notification meetings has been very positive. However, the workgroup did learn some valuable lessons about presenting the message based on offender responses from the very first notification meeting. First, a few offenders reacted by lashing out verbally during the notification meeting. Their response indicated that the message was striking a nerve with them. However, the presenters learned that they needed to be careful not to make the offenders feel disrespected. Some offenders reported that they felt they had been talked down to or that jokes were being made at their expense. The OFDVI offender group was a highly sensitive audience and precautions were taken at the second notification meeting to ensure that offenders did not feel insulted by the messengers. Messengers were encouraged not to make jokes or use humor during their messages, to make the point that some offenders have been doing well while on probation and they should be commended for doing so, and that all messages should be presented in a professional, respectful manner. No victims have reported repercussions associated with the notification meeting though many had spoken with their offender since the meeting. Victims were able to provide feedback from the offenders’ perspective. Many offenders stated that they were touched by the victim of domestic violence that shared her story during the notification meeting. Some follow-up attempts with victims were difficult, but nearly all victims of B-level victims were able to be reached. The victims wanted to make sure the offenders know that victims are not driving the notification strategy and most victims have given permission to be contacted later by the victim service provider. Local shelters were alerted of the notification strategy and agreed to save beds for victims of notified offenders. If the victim service provider gets an inclination during a contact that a victim may be in danger, she alerts the domestic violence detectives so they can investigate the situation.

After notification, all new crimes committed by B-level offenders received in-depth case investigation by detectives in the domestic violence unit. All new crimes were reviewed for undertones of domestic violence, regardless of the charge. If a B-level offender is re-arrested, a flyer will be distributed to all other B-level offenders through their probation officers letting them know of the arrest and outcome. The purpose of doing so is to reinforce the deterrence message and remind offenders of the consequences they could face if they chose to reoffend. Offenders need to know that new convictions are getting stiff sanctions and that law enforcement is serious about the strategy. For example, a B-level offender re-offended with a misdemeanor charge. An assistant

district attorney assigned to OFDVI cases came to district court to do the first appearance and advocated that the offender get a high bond. By doing so, the prosecutor sent a strong message to the judge about how seriously the prosecutor's office is viewing domestic violence.

Victims of B-level offenders are identified as current intimate partners or victims of intimate partner violence of B-level offenders. Victims of B-level offenders are contacted by a representative of Family Service of the Piedmont and told that their offender will be called in to a face-to-face notification meeting. The victim is offered services and can schedule an office visit at Family Service of the Piedmont if they so choose. In addition, the victim is given a brief 5-item Risk Assessment designed to determine the level of threat the victim currently faces. If a victim is deemed to be in crisis, they are referred to a domestic violence shelter and domestic violence unit detectives are notified of the situation. If a victim does not wish to receive services or schedule an appointment with Family Services, they will continue to be followed up with regularly. As the strategy was planned, it was anticipated that all B-level victims would be contacted 1 week, 30 days, 60 days, and 90 days post-notification to gather reactions to the notification and to ensure their safety. There have been challenges with the B-level victim follow up as originally planned: Key personnel from Family Services of the Piedmont left the agency, including supervisory and field personnel. Family Services of the Piedmont, like many victim service agencies, face challenges with funding and retaining enough staff to meet the needs of the victims and families they serve. Researchers from the North Carolina Network for Safe Communities at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro developed web-based data collection forms to capture victim needs and services, to track the victim advocates contact with victims, to track the types of services and needs of the victims, to record information from the victims about their safety, and to gather information from the victims about the offender behavior following notification, though it was never able to be utilized due to the issues mentioned here. Another challenge for the victim advocates, and law enforcement partners is that the contact information for victims often changes frequently; not only address information, but phone numbers and employment contact information. All partners must also be aware of the potential risks associated with contacting victims. Some of those risks include violating victim confidentiality, or possibly exacerbating the circumstances with the offender. Aside from the victim advocate staffing challenges, victims are not compelled to participate with additional appointments or attempts to gather information, and made it difficult to consistently gain the insight from the victims. That type of insight is key in the continual improvement of the initiative.

C-Level Operations

Offenders who are arrested with a first domestic violence charge since strategy implementation are placed on the C-level and they are notified by the domestic violence

detectives along with a community representative of their status and potential consequences. Most often, the one-on-one verbal notification occurs in the jail the day following the offender's arrest, but all are notified within 48 hours of arrest. Along with the notification, the offender receives a letter explaining the OFDVI strategy (see Appendix A). In planning for the C-level notification, the district attorney's office requested that detectives Mirandize offenders prior to notification so that any statements by the offenders could be used for prosecution purposes. Also, the district attorney's office requested that detectives document that they had a conversation with the offender for purposes of discovery. After an offender is placed at the C-level, they are flagged and monitored for new offenses. If an offender at the C-level is re-arrested for a domestic violence crime, then he or she may graduate to the B-level after review by the domestic violence detectives.

Victims of C-level offenders are notified verbally by the responding patrol officer of the offender's status and he or she is given a victim notification letter at the scene of the incident (see Appendix B). Victims are also provided with contact information for the victim service provider should they need assistance. Domestic violence detectives screen the incoming C-level cases and in cases where there is a history of violence or if the incident was severe, then detectives may make a referral to the victim service provider. If a referral is made, the victim is contacted by the victim service provider via phone within 24 hours. No specific follow-up contact with C-level victims is specified unless the victim accepts services. In cases in which the victim service provider is actively working with a victim, then the provider's routine follow-up contact schedule is followed.

The Killingbeck Domestic Violence Repeat Victimization Project (Hamner et al., 1999) distributed letters and resource materials to victims and offenders as part of the project's strategy providing rationale as to why the OFDVI workgroup decided to use letters in OFDVI notifications. Victims in the Killingbeck Project reported that letters were seen as confirmation that police are concerned about the issue of domestic violence and made victims feel less isolated and vulnerable. Many victims reported keeping the letter and resource materials and referring to them later. Victims also reported that providing letters to first-time or low-level offenders acted as a formal condemnation of the violence by the police department which was probably effective in dissuading further violence on the part of first-time or low-level offenders. However, for chronic domestic offenders, victims in the Killingbeck Project reported that they did not feel that notification letters were very effective as many offenders would dismiss the letters, and some victims did not even recall that the offender had received a letter.

D-Level Operations

Individuals are placed at the D-level if there is an event of an intimate partner domestic call for service, but no arrest was made. A field contact sheet is generated by the

responding patrol officer. The contact note then goes to one of the domestic violence detectives who will assign one of two specially trained officers to notify the offending party about the OFDVI strategy the following day (see Appendix C). The offending party is also given a letter (see Appendix D). The victim is notified about the strategy by the responding patrol officer at the scene of the call. The victim is also provided with a notification letter at that time (see Appendix E). After an offender is placed at the D-level, they are flagged and monitored for new offenses. If an offender at the D-level is later arrested for a domestic violence crime, then he or she will graduate to the C-level. The offender and the victim of the offender will then be notified the same as those at the C-level.

Evaluation of the OFDVI Strategy

Defining Success

In order to evaluate the OFDVI strategy, we first needed to define what success for the strategy would look like. The researcher met with HPPD command staff and asked: What are the top questions you would want to be able to answer to demonstrate the strategy's effectiveness? Going back the OFDVI strategy's original goals, HPPD command staff stated that they hoped the strategy would:

1. Change domestic violence offender behavior through deterrence
2. Protect victims and prevent homicides
3. Potentially reduce law enforcement resources needed to respond to domestic violence

Based on the desired goals as stated by HPPD command staff, success was operationally defined as follows and specific research questions were developed which corresponded to each of the goals listed above:

1. Can domestic violence offender behavior be changed through OFDVI notification as measured by notified offender recidivism rates for new domestic violence offenses?
2. Are victims less likely to be injured or killed due to OFDVI as measured by victim injuries reported in intimate partner domestic violence arrest reports and homicide counts pre- vs. post-OFDVI implementation?
3. Are resources needed to respond to domestic violence reduced through the OFDVI strategy as measured by counts of intimate partner domestic violence arrests, counts of calls for service, and repeat calls for service to the same location pre- vs. post-OFDVI implementation?

Data Preface

Before launching into the results of the evaluation and answering the research questions outlined above, there is need to discuss what has been learned about intimate partner domestic violence data including some caveats before drawing conclusions based on the data findings. The following issues surfaced as we began to examine and pull data necessary for analysis:

1. Solid baseline data about intimate partner domestic violence (IPDV) is difficult to obtain from law enforcement agency records.
 - o Neither HPPD nor LPD had codes which would classify *intimate partner* domestic violence, which occurs between people who are in a dating, marital, or otherwise intimate relationship, as separate from general

domestic violence, which could occur between any family members or persons living together.

- HPPD and LPD did not have any such IPDV coding until shortly before they implemented the strategy. Therefore, accessing baseline data to compare against post-OFDVI data was problematic. It is not expected that other agencies seeking to replicate the strategy are likely to have such coding either. Since there was no specific IPDV code, the researcher and command staff at each police agency had to decide what offense types should be identified and given to the research for use as baseline data. In other words, we had to create a “rule” to be applied to arrest records prior to implementation of IPDV classification codes which could be used to identify what we believed to be IPDV arrests versus general domestic violence arrests. A deeper discussion of the rules we applied to the data is included in the Methods descriptions further along in the Evaluation section of this report.

2. For recidivism after notification, we needed a definition for what exactly would count as a re-offense.
 - If a notified offender got a new IPDV assault/charge after notification, it was counted as a re-offense.
 - It became more problematic when deciding what to do about other violations such as violating pre-trial conditions of release such as no-contact orders. It turned out the LPD adopted a stricter definition of recidivism and considered any violation of pretrial release or conditions of sentencing to be re-offenses and tracked their notified offenders as such. HPPD decided to only count as reoffenders only those notified offenders who committed a new intimate partner domestic violence crime.
 - In terms of recidivism—understanding, defining, and labeling it—there is a need to contextualize the data within what we know about intimate partner relationships in which domestic violence occurs.
 - Most often in cases of IPDV, couples stay together. They often share a residence/responsibilities and often children, and from what victims have stated in focus groups, the victim just “wants the violence to stop”.
 - Therefore, applying a strict definition of recidivism in cases of violations of no-contact orders may oversimplify or be unduly harsh in cases where victims and offenders maintain contact out of necessity so long as the offender is no longer perpetrating new acts of violence against the victim.

3. For the data to be meaningful, the researcher had to rely on accurate coding of offenses and tracking of offenders by the law enforcement agency.
 - The researcher put a data quality control process in place (described in detail later in the Evaluation section) which assisted the law enforcement agencies in correcting any coding errors within their systems and allowed for identification of any offenders who may have been mistracked or who were not notified, thereby highlighting in gaps in the system that may have allowed domestic violence offenders to go unnotified.
4. Some of the strategy's greatest successes will not be quantified in the data.
 - Therefore, we have also included some case examples and anecdotal evidence of the strategy's success.

Notified Offender Recidivism Rates

Method

Domestic violence arrest records were provided to the researcher by the crime analysts at High Point Police Department (HPPD) and Lexington Police Department (LPD). In High Point, arrest records ranged from January 1998 through December 2014. It should be noted that only arrests that occurred by HPPD were available. Therefore, the domestic violence history of the offenders was limited to arrests that happened in High Point. Since there was no separate code for intimate partner domestic violence (IPDV) prior to implementing the OFDVI strategy, the researcher and command staff at HPPD agreed upon a general rule to pull domestic violence arrests records prior to 2012. All arrests for the charge of assault on a female and any arrest that was coded as "domestic" were included for analysis. At the time, the "domestic" code was used by HPPD to categorize mostly intimate partner violence charges, many of which may have included charges other than assault on female. We were aware that some arrests captured using this rule may not have been true intimate partner violence but may have been general domestic violence between other family members. It was also possible that we would not capture *all* true IPDV arrests in cases where charges other than assault on female were not appropriately coded as domestic. However, we were confident that this rule would get a fairly close approximation of the true number of IPDV arrests in High Point prior to 2012. Without relying on the general rule, the narratives from the arrest reports for literally thousands of cases would have had to be manually read, reviewed, and categorized. Resources were not available for this time-intensive and tedious process. After 2012, HPPD began to more closely review all potential IPDV cases and categorize them appropriately and distinctly from general domestic violence. For years 2012-2014, arrest records coded as IPDV were provided to the researcher. In Lexington, arrest records were provided for the time period of January 2011 through June 2015. It should be noted that only arrests that occurred by LPD were available.

Therefore, the domestic violence history of the offenders was limited to arrests that happened in Lexington. As with HPPD, LPD did not have a separate code for IPDV as opposed to general domestic violence so the researcher and command staff at LPD agreed upon a rule to capture the majority of IPDV arrests for the time period in Lexington. All arrests for the following charges were provided to the researcher: 1) assault on female, 2) assault by strangulation, 3) communicating threats, 4) charges including the word, “domestic” and 5) violations of 50B/protective orders.

Data about notified offenders was maintained by personnel in each police department via a notified offender tracking spreadsheet. When an offender was notified, their name was placed on the appropriate notification list (i.e., B, C, or D) along with the date they were notified and other identifying information about the offender. If an offender reoffended after notification, the re-offense was tracked in the spreadsheet along with re-offense date.

To prepare the data for analysis at the offender level, the data from the two separate data sources had to be merged so that variables in each source could be used collectively in analysis. The first data source, A) all arrest records for IPDV arrests for a specified time period, had to be merged with data from the second source, B) notified offender tracking spreadsheet maintained by each police department. See Figure 7 below for a graphic representation of the data preparation and quality assurance process. Information about each arrest in database A) included date of arrest and type of charge. Information about the offender arrested in database A) included date of birth and sex. Database A) for arrest records was restructured by offender name so that the total number of IPDV arrests for each offender could be counted along with creation of other variables such as length of time between IPDV arrests and age of first IPDV arrest. The second data source, B) the notified offender tracking spreadsheet, was used to track all offenders at levels B-D who received a notification message and also offenders at the A-level. The arrest record database A) was merged based on offender name with database B) containing notified offender tracking information as shown in Figure 7. A FINAL database, C), contained all arrest and notification information for offenders and was used for final analyses.

Additional steps were completed by the researcher for data quality assurance purposes as shown in Figure 7. The researcher noted certain “problem offenders”, as they came to be known, within the data. Two main issues emerged: 1) an IPDV arrest record would appear in database A) but the offender would not be included in data source B), the notified offender tracking spreadsheet. Thus, it appeared that an offender had been arrested for an IPDV arrest but had not been notified. The question was, why. The second issue was: 2) a previously notified offender received a new arrest in database A) but was not tracked as a reoffender in data source B), the notified offender tracking spreadsheet. If a notified offender was not tracked as a reoffender, again, the question

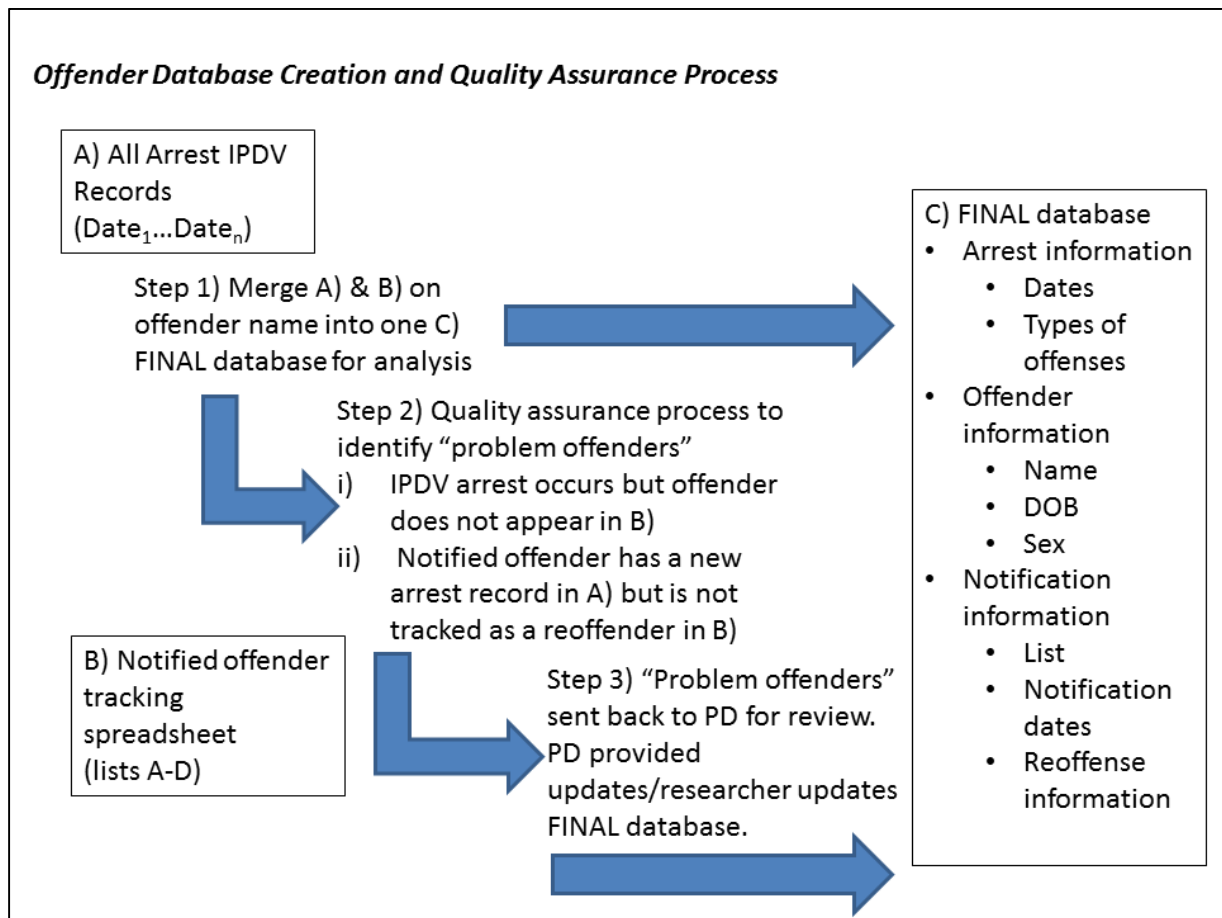
was why. A list of “problem offenders” was then sent back to HPPD or LPD to resolve. Once HPPD/LPD investigated each “problem offender”, an explanation was provided and updates were made to HPPD/LPD databases where applicable and also to the researcher’s FINAL database C) as shown in Figure X. Over the course of the project, this merging and quality assurance process was completed several times—often as a prerequisite for new data analyses and data updates. Some 600 “problem offenders” were discovered over the span of two years of analysis work which led to identification of a need for a new coding system for arrest data which was implemented by HPPD to classify IPDV arrests as distinct from other domestic violence arrests. The most frequent reasons for “problem offenders” with issue 1), an IPDV arrest record without the offender being in the notified offender spreadsheet, were:

- i.) arrests occurring on a weekend with the offender being released before detectives were able to notify them
- ii.) the magistrate not correctly coding the arrest as IPDV or using a different criteria than the police department for what constitutes an IPDV arrest (especially in cases of IPDV occurring in same sex relationships), and
- iii.) the arrest was not actually an IPDV charge and was miscoded by the arresting officer.

The most frequent reasons for “problem offenders” with issue 2), a notified offender with a new arrest that was not tracked as a reoffender, were:

- i.) errors in tracking or data input into the B) notified offender tracking spreadsheet and
- ii.) the new arrest was not actually IPDV and was miscoded by the arresting officer.

Figure 7. Offender database creation and data quality assurance process.



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Results

A basic description of the offenders notified at each level in High Point and Lexington is provided in Table 3 below. In both sites, offenders across levels were mostly male, though females were more likely to appear at the lower levels of notification than in the higher levels of notification. The average age at time of notification was 34-36 years across notification lists in both sites, with the B-level offenders being oldest group at age of notification. The B-notified offenders, as expected, had quite extensive domestic violence histories which included an average number of four prior domestic violence offenses per offender and as many as 13 prior domestic violence offenses for one offender. At the C-level, most offenders did not have a domestic violence offense prior to the offense that led to their C- notification. However, there was a substantial percentage of C-level offenders in both sites that had domestic violence offenses prior to the offense that led to their C-notification. Specifically, 36% of C-notified offenders in High Point and 21% of C-notified offenders in Lexington had prior domestic violence offenses before being C-notified. Of those C-level offenders with prior domestic violence offenses in High Point, the average number of prior domestic violence offenses was 2

with one offender having as many as 15 priors. In Lexington, the average number of prior domestic offenses for C-notified offenders was 1.6 with some offenders having as many as 4 prior domestic violence offenses. At the D- level, offenders were less likely to have had a prior domestic violence charge. In High Point, 67% of D-notified offenders did not have a prior domestic violence charge. In Lexington, 83% of D-notified offenders did not have a prior domestic violence charge.

Table 3. Characteristics of notified offenders in High Point and Lexington.

	High Point				Lexington			
	N	Sex	Avg. Age	DV History	N	Sex	Avg. Age	DV History
B-Level	62	93% male	36.3	Average of 4 priors; up to 13 priors	<i>Not applicable; LPD has not yet done a B-level notification</i>			
C-Level	1057	77% male	33.9	64% no priors; average of 2 priors; up to 15 priors	230	79% male	34.0	79% no priors; average of 1.6 priors; up to 4 priors
D-Level	305	66% male	36.1	67% no priors	185	77% male	34.8	83% no priors

Offender recidivism data for High Point from all offenders notified from February 2012-December 2014 was first analyzed by graphing the cumulative percentage of recidivists over time, creating a recidivism rate curve as shown in Figure 8. Each point along the curve shows the cumulative percentage of offenders who recidivated during the time period along the horizontal axis. Figure 8 shows the recidivism curves for each of the offender notification levels (B-D) based on the cumulative number of offenders who had reoffended at various points in time ranging from the first 15 days after notification to 935 days after notification (which is just over 2.5 years and was the longest point of recidivism for offenders in this study). Table 4 includes the cumulative recidivism percentages shown in Figure 8 to make it easier to readers to determine the exact numerical values from the figure. Please note: *All* offenders ever notified in High Point since the OFDVI strategy began were included in the recidivism curves.

Figure 8. Recidivism curves for notified offenders in High Point.

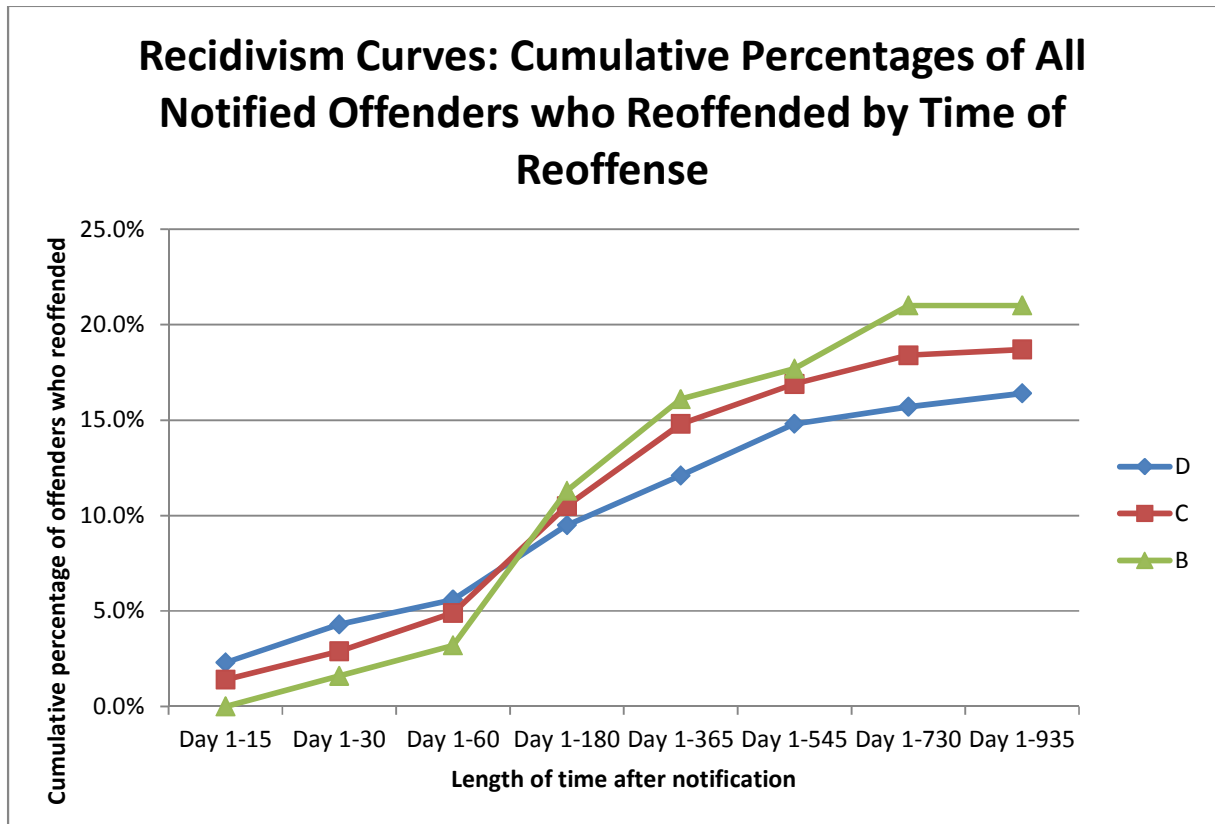


Table 4. Cumulative recidivism percentages for notified offenders in High Point at various time points.

	D-Level	C-Level	B-Level
Day 1-15	2.3%	1.4%	0.0%
Day 1-30	4.3%	2.9%	1.6%
Day 1-60	5.6%	4.9%	3.2%
Day 1-180	9.5%	10.5%	11.3%
Day 1-365	12.1%	14.8%	16.1%
Day 1-545	14.8%	16.9%	17.7%
Day 1-730	15.7%	18.4%	21.0%
Day 1-935	16.7%	18.7%	21.0%

Across offender notification levels, a marked increase in recidivism likelihood occurs between the Day 1-60 mark and the Day 1-180 mark and this increase is greatest for the B-level offenders. The result suggests that the period of approximately 2-6 months post-notification may be a period of great vulnerability for notified IPDV offenders to reoffend. Perhaps it is during this period that offenders are most likely to be released from custody if they were arrested and/or convicted for the IPDV offense for which they

were notified and therefore have access to their victim for the first time since notification during the 2-6 month time frame. This is merely a speculative hypothesis and therefore further examination of this finding is warranted.

To get a better understanding of 6-month and 1-year recidivism rates, the 6-month and 1-year recidivism rates were calculated in High Point using only those offenders who have had at least 6 months (meaning they had to be notified by June 30, 2014 to be included) or one year to reoffend since their notification date (meaning they had to be notified by December 31, 2013 to be included). In Lexington, the 6-month recidivism rate was calculated using only those offenders who have had at least 6 months to reoffend since their notification date (meaning they had to be notified by January 31, 2015 to be included). Please note: By including *only* offenders who have had the requisite amount of time to recidivate (i.e., 6 months or one year), the recidivism rates are not falsely underinflated due to offenders being included in the analysis who have not had the requisite amount of time to recidivate. The recidivism rates for High Point are presented in Table 5 below followed by the recidivism rates for Lexington in Table 6.

Table 5. High Point notified offender recidivism rates.

	Total Notified Since Strategy Began (Feb. 2012-Dec. 2014)	Total Recidivism Percentage	Total Notified as of June 30, 2014	6-Month Recidivism Percentage	Total Notified as of Dec. 31, 2013	1-Year Recidivism Percentage
D-Level	305	16.7%	230	11.3%	199	16.6%
C-Level	1057	18.7%	918	10.9%	780	16.0%
B-Level	62	21.0%	55	10.9%	48	16.7%

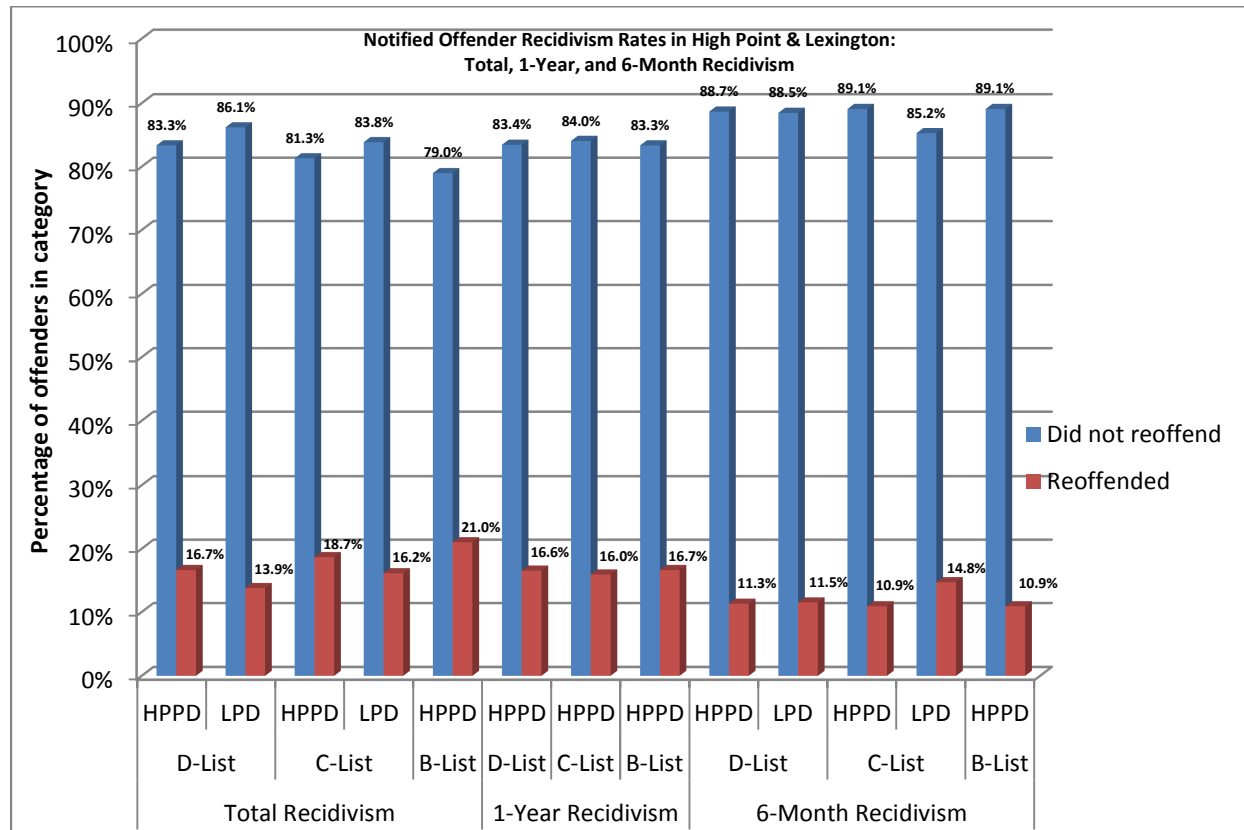
Table 6. Lexington notified offender recidivism rates.

	Total Notified Since Strategy Began (July 2014-July 2015)	Total Recidivism Percentage	Total Notified As of Jan. 31, 2015	6-Month Recidivism Percentage
D-Level	230	13.9%	182	11.5%
C-Level	185	16.2%	115	14.8%

An examination of the recidivism rates at certain points in time (i.e., at six months post-notification and one year post-notification) allows comparison of recidivism rates using the OFDVI strategy to recidivism rates using other types of offender interventions,

recidivism rates across the two OFDVI sites, and potentially recidivism rates in other future replication sites. The six-month recidivism rates for notified offenders in High Point ranged from 10.9-11.3% across levels and in Lexington ranged from 11.5-14.8% across the D and C levels. Note: Lexington had not yet begun B-notifications. In High Point, the one-year recidivism rates ranged from 16.0-16.7% across levels. In Lexington, the C-level recidivism rate at six months was higher (14.8%) than in High Point (10.9%) but it should be noted that LPD defined offender recidivism differently than HPPD resulting in a stricter definition for re-offense. In High Point, recidivism was defined and tracked as such when a notified offender got a new IPDV charge after notification. In Lexington, recidivism was defined and tracked when a notified offender got a new IPDV charge after notification or when an offender violated any pretrial court order related to the IPDV charge they were notified for or when an offender violated any court-ordered sentencing condition related to the IPDV charge they were notified and adjudicated for. In Lexington, 47% of re-offenses after notification were for new IPDV charges. Another 31% of re-offenses consisted of violations of court-ordered conditions, which often included the offender making telephone calls to victims while the offender was in jail awaiting trial for their domestic violence charge or some other victim contact after a judge had ordered a pretrial condition of no contact with the victim. Another 22% reoffended due to violating a domestic violence protective order that the victim had taken out often in response to the IPDV charge the offender was notified for. The notified offender recidivism rates for both sites across time are presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Comparison of notified offender recidivism rates in both sites and over time.



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Recidivism Rates in Perspective

Recidivism rates can vary widely in the literature based on how recidivism is defined and at what point it is measured. According to a comprehensive report by the National Institute of Justice (Klein, 2009), recidivism rates for domestic violence are high, with estimates as high as 80%. Most offenders who reoffend do so rather quickly. For example, in a sample of domestic violence offenders in Rhode Island, 60% who reoffended did so within six months of their original offense (Klein, Wilson, Crowe, & DeMichele, 2005), and in the Bronx, 2/3 of domestic violence offenders who were rearrested for a new domestic violence offense were rearrested within six months (Rempel, Labriola, & Davis, 2008). For purposes of evaluation of the OFDVI strategy, recidivism was defined by HPPD as rearrest for a new intimate partner domestic violence offense. Some studies have relied on batterer and/or partner self-report to measure recidivism. Therefore to compare the recidivism rates found in High Point through the OFDVI strategy, we must compare those rates to recidivism rates in other studies which are measured the same way and over approximately the same periods of

time. One such study was Klein et al.'s (2005) study of 552 males convicted of domestic violence misdemeanors in Rhode Island. In that study, 64.2% of men under traditional supervision were rearrested for a new domestic violence charge within one year (Klein, Wilson, Crowe, & DeMichele, 2005). Other more longitudinal studies have found that approximately 51.5% of domestic violence offenders were rearrested for a new domestic violence offense over a period of ten years, with the average time to rearrest being 5.61 years (Richards, Jennings, Tomsich, & Gover, 2014). A 5-year longitudinal study in Washington State reported that 45% of domestic violence offenders were charged with a new domestic violence offense within the follow-up period (George, 2008). It should be noted that even in studies using rearrest for a new domestic violence offense as a definition of recidivism, the OFDVI experience has taught us that crime data about domestic violence is often riddled with the issue of being able to account for intimate partner domestic violence (IPDV) as distinct from general domestic violence, which could occur between family members more generally. Coding of such arrest data is dependent upon a law enforcement agency having a policy in place for officers to code the two types of domestic violence as distinct and then reliant further upon officer recognition and understanding of the need to properly code domestic-related events and to follow through appropriately. The High Point and Lexington Police Departments did not have appropriate agency procedures and protocols in place for separate coding of IPDV arrests until after the OFDVI strategy was in place.

When comparing the success of the OFDVI strategy in reducing domestic violence offender recidivism to other types of treatment programs for domestic violence offenders, it is important to understand the nature of various treatment program types. The literature has shown that certain types of offender or batterer treatment are more effective than others in reducing recidivism. The same issues with defining recidivism and length of time of follow up also come into play when comparing OFDVI recidivism numbers to studies available in the literature about recidivism rates associated with various treatment approaches. In a meta-analysis of batterer treatment programs (Babcock, Green, & Robie, 2004), recidivism rates varied across treatment types. To put the OFDVI recidivism rates into perspective, the studies included in the meta-analysis that used police report as a measure of recidivism are included below. For cognitive-behavioral based treatment programs, recidivism rates based on police reports ranged from:

- 9.7% at 22-36 month follow-up (Morrel, Elliott, Murphy, & Taft, 2003)
- 13% at 6-month follow-up (Leong, Coates, & Hoskins, 1987)
- 18% at 6-month follow-up (Hawkins & Beauvais, 1985)
- 50% at 15-29 month follow-up and 30% for a control group who received no treatment (Harrell, 1991)

For Duluth models, recidivism rates based on police reports ranged from:

- 17%, 26%, and 12% across three programs at 15 month follow-up (Gondolf, 1998; 2000)

And, for a feminist psychoeducational treatment program, the recidivism rate was:

- 23% at 2-year follow-up (Newell, 1994)

It should be noted that some of the studies reported above and included in the meta-analysis were papers presented at conferences and one was a dissertation.

Other studies have looked specifically at the recidivism rates of domestic violence offenders who have gone through the criminal justice system. One such study examined the effects of various types of sentences on domestic violence offender recidivism (George, 2012). The study found that recidivism was lowest over a 5-year follow-up period when offenders were mandated to and received victim-oriented treatment (i.e., victim awareness education and/or a victim's panel). Recidivism as defined by getting a new domestic violence arrest was 12% for offenders receiving victim-oriented treatment, followed by offenders receiving any type of probation (14% recidivism), those receiving any type of treatment AND probation (18% recidivism), those receiving anger management treatment (21% recidivism), and those who received fines and/or proscriptions 25% recidivism). Offenders who were referred for domestic violence treatment along with being sentenced to fine and/or proscriptions had a 29% recidivism rate. Offenders who were sentenced to jail had a 55% recidivism rate. Treatment options appear to have better recidivism rates than jail sentences though it seems yet again that some treatment types fare better than others.

In addition to the type of batterer treatment program in determining effectiveness of a program to reduce recidivism, for any type of treatment program to succeed, the offender must stick with and complete the program which often lasts several weeks or months. Attrition rates for batterer treatment programs are often quite high, with the studies from Babcock et al.'s (2004) meta-analysis reporting attrition rates ranging from 18-84%. With the OFDVI strategy, recidivism rates have been attained which are much lower than those reported by most treatment programs and without the added expense required to administer treatment and without dependency on the offender to follow through with the program. Attrition in offender treatment programs could be due to any number of factors such as offender unwillingness to participate, lack of funds required for the offender to participate, or lack of opportunity to participate due to location, scheduling, or program capacity. The OFDVI strategy is not affected by any of the aforementioned factors affecting offender participation in treatment programs, yet still holds the offender accountable for their violent behavior and had yielded comparable or more favorable recidivism rates than traditional treatment programs.

Effect of the OFDVI Strategy on Reducing Victim Harm

Method

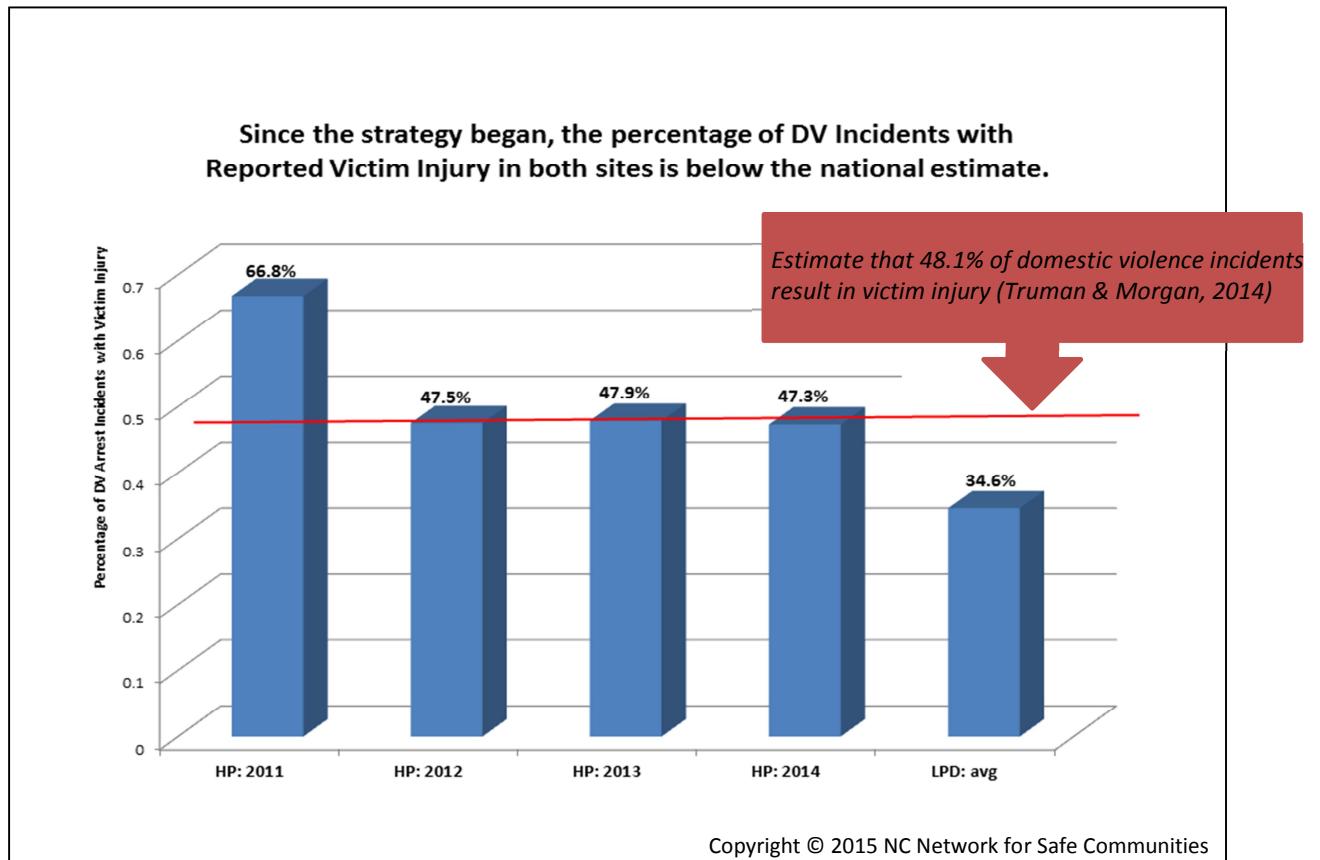
Victim harm was operationally defined using domestic violence arrest reports. An incident with victim harm occurred when the arresting officer reported that the victim had suffered injury by checking the associated box on the arrest report. The crime analysts at both HPPD and LPD provided monthly counts of total IPDV arrests and total IPDV arrests with reported victim injuries to the researcher. Again, the caveat should be noted that before the OFDVI strategy was implemented in each site, classification of arrests as IPDV versus general domestic violence did not occur and therefore classification of IPDV arrests may have been underrepresented relative to the actual occurrence of such arrests. The domestic violence arrest and victim injury data were aggregated on a yearly basis for each year in 2011-2014 in High Point. In 2011, High Point began to more closely scrutinize domestic violence arrest reports and began reclassifying reports as IPDV where appropriate and to screen out those that were not correctly classified as IPDV. Percentages of all IPDV arrests which included victim injury were calculated to determine whether victim injury declined from pre-OFDVI strategy in year 2011 to post-OFDVI strategy in years 2012, 2013, and 2014.

For Lexington, victim injury data was reported monthly beginning in August 2014 through July 2015. The percentages of total IPDV arrests each month with reported victim injury were calculated. Victim injury data prior to LPD's implementation of the OFDVI strategy was not available for analysis.

Results

Figure 10 shows the percentage of total IPDV arrests resulting in victim injury across time in High Point for years 2011-2014 and for the duration of the OFDVI strategy (August 2014-July 2015) in Lexington. Also represented in the graphic is the national estimate that 48.1% of all domestic violence incidents result in victim injury based on the *National Crime Victimization Survey* from years 2003-2012 (Truman & Morgan, 2014). The data show that since OFDVI implementation in High Point and Lexington, the percentage of arrest incidents in which there was associated victim injury was lower than the national estimate.

Figure 10. Percentage of intimate partner domestic violence arrest reports with reported victim injury across time and across sites.



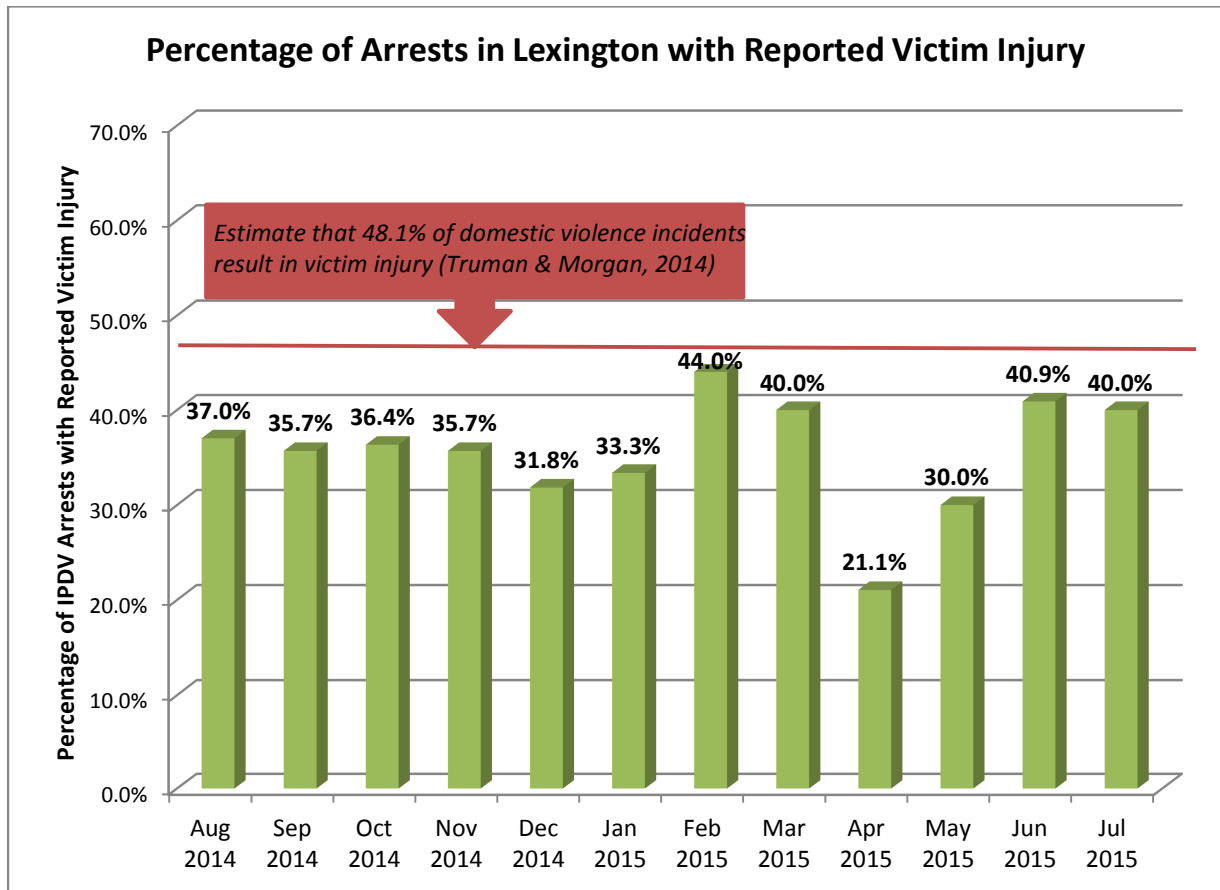
In High Point, the percentage of IPDV arrests with victim injury declined from 66.8% pre-OFDVI strategy implementation in 2011 to 47.5% post-OFDVI strategy implementation in 2012 and to an all-time low of 47.3% in 2014. In Lexington, the average victim injury rate for the duration of the OFDVI strategy implementation was 34.6%.

When the percentage of IPDV arrests with reported victim injury in year 2011 in High Point (pre-OFDVI implementation) was compared to subsequent years 2012-2014 (post-OFDVI implementation) using a chi-square analyses, the reduction in victim injuries for years 2012-2014 compared to year 2011 was statistically significant for all years, $\chi^2(1) = 76.40, p < .0001$ for year 2012, $\chi^2(1) = 68.98, p < .0001$ for year 2013, and $\chi^2(1) = 71.74, p < .0001$ for year 2014.

Data from LPD regarding percentage of IPDV arrests with associated victim injury are presented in Figure 11 below. The data for each month that the OFDVI strategy has been ongoing from August 2014 through July 2015 are reported along with a line to

represent the 48.1% national estimate of the percentage of domestic violence incidents that result in victim injury based on the *National Crime Victimization Survey* (Truman & Morgan, 2014). While there has been considerable fluctuation in the percentage of IPDV arrests with associated victim harm over time in Lexington, in no month has the percentage of reported victim harm met or exceeded the national estimate of 48.1%.

Figure 11. Percentage of intimate partner domestic violence arrest reports with reported victim injury in Lexington by month since OFDVI implementation.



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Victim Injury Rates in Perspective

According to data available from the *National Crime Victimization Survey* (NCVS) from years 2003-2012 (Truman & Morgan, 2014) and years 1993-2011 (Catalano, 2013), nearly half of all victims report injuries as a result of physical violence perpetrated by their intimate partner. The NCVS relies on self-reports from victims for data. It is very difficult to draw true estimates of victim harm from actual law enforcement reports of intimate partner domestic violence arrests due to data coding issues previously discussed in this report. As with HPPD and LPD, it would not be expected that many law enforcement agencies across the nation are classifying intimate partner domestic violence arrests and associated injuries as distinct from general domestic violence

arrests and associated injuries to allow for comparison to the injury rates in High Point and Lexington. Thus, data from victim self-reports are more widely available in the literature. It is known that self-reported incidents from sources like the *NCVS* are not always reported to law enforcement. Therefore, it is difficult to draw comparisons between *NCVS* estimates and law enforcement arrest records such as those from HPPD and LPD in the current report. According to the *NCVS*, victims reported about 62% of their victimization experiences to police and reporting rates have increased in recent years (Catalano, 2007). Victims with prior criminal justice system experience, especially those with protective orders or with more severe abuse histories are more likely to call police (Buzawa et al., 1999; Catalano, 2007; Holt et al., 2002; Klein et al., 2005). A strategy such as OFDVI may be effective in assisting victims through the criminal justice process and encouraging them to seek protective orders, thereby leading them to be more likely to call police in the event of a future intimate partner assault.

Effect of the OFDVI Strategy on Reducing IPDV-Related Homicides

Method

The crime analyst at HPPD provided homicide counts for specified years to the researcher which included the total homicide count and the IPDV-related homicide count for each year. The yearly percentage of homicides that were IPDV-related were computed.

Results

Yearly homicide counts in High Point for ten years along with the percentage of yearly homicides that were IPDV-related are included in Table 7.

Since the OFDVI strategy has been implemented beginning in 2012, there has been one out of nine (11.1%) total homicides that was IPDV-related compared to 17 out of 63 (27.0%) for the years 2004-2011 preceding OFDVI implementation. IPDV-related homicides were at their highest in 2005 when five IPDV-homicides accounted for 56% of all homicides in High Point. From 2009-2014, there was only one IPDV-related homicide in High Point and the total homicide count in general was reduced from 52 total homicides in years 2004-2008 to 20 total homicides in years 2009-2014 representing a 61% reduction in total homicides. The dramatic reduction in total homicides in High Point beginning in year 2009 has been attributed to HPPD's ongoing focused deterrence efforts, which use data to drive violent crime reduction efforts throughout the City.

Table 7. Yearly counts of IPDV-related homicides and percentage of total homicides that were IPDV-related in High Point: 2004-2014.

Year	# IPDV-related Homicides	Total # Homicides	% of Homicides that were IPDV-related
2004	3	11	27.3%
2005	5	9	55.6%
2006	4	10	40.0%
2007	1	10	10.0%
2008	4	12	33.3%
2009	0	3	0.0%
2010	0	4	0.0%
2011	0	4	0.0%
2012	0	3	0.0%
2013	1	2	50.0%
2014	0	4	0.0%

Homicide Rates in Perspective

According to U.S. Department of Justice statistics, the homicide rate in the United States has declined since 2000 (Cooper & Smith, 2011). During the years 1980-2008, 10% of homicides where the perpetrator was known were committed by a spouse and another 6.3% were committed by a boyfriend/girlfriend meaning that IPDV-related homicides accounted for 16.3% of all homicides committed during that time period (Cooper & Smith, 2011). The decline in homicides in High Point coincided with declines in homicide numbers across the country, though the 61% reduction in High Point for years 2009-2014 is greater than the reduction seen in North Carolina for the same time period. In North Carolina, the murder rate dropped from 6.5 per 100,000 people in year 2008 to 4.8 per 100,000 in year 2013 representing a 26% reduction in homicide victimizations (FBI, 2014; 2009). During the pre-OFDVI period in High Point, 27% of all homicides were IPDV-related which is higher than the 16.3% rate of IPDV-related homicides reported nationally. The 2005 and 2006 IPDV-related homicide rates of 55.6% and 40% were especially high compared to national rates as were the overall homicide rates of approximately 9.0 to 10.0 per 100,000 people in High Point during the same time period. High Point has reduced the overall homicide rate in the City over the last decade and almost eliminated IPDV-related homicides since OFDVI-strategy implementation.

Effect of the OFDVI Strategy on Number of Intimate Partner Domestic Violence Arrests

Method

The crime analyst at HPPD provided the researcher with the monthly counts for IPDV arrest incidents for years 2009-2014 using the general rule established by the researcher and HPPD command staff. The monthly arrests were then aggregated into quarterly data for purposes of analysis. Quarterly arrests totals for years 2009-2011 served as the pre-OFDVI data. The post-OFDVI data consisted of the quarterly arrests totals for years 2012-2014. The arrest data were subjected to a time series analysis which included a smoothing technique to “deseseasonalize” the data to allow better examination of the trends in the data without the interference of seasonal effects. First, a seasonal index was computed using the ratio-to-moving average method as explained in Lind et al. (2009) and which is cited as the most commonly used method to compute a typical seasonal pattern. Then, the actual data points for each quarter were converted into deseasonalized data points for each quarter. The deseasonalized data represents the pre- and post-OFDVI arrest trends over time for each quarter with the seasonal fluctuation removed. The actual pre- and post-OFDVI data and the deseasonalized pre- and post-OFDVI were plotted on a graph. The pre-OFDVI data was plotted separately from the post-OFDVI data to determine whether there were significant differences in the slopes of the pre- vs. post-OFDVI arrest data, which could indicate that the OFDVI intervention had an impact on arrests over time. The analysis technique allowed the researcher to use the data points in the pre- and post-OFDVI quarterly arrest data to compute the intercept (a) and slope (b) needed to solve the regression equation, $y = a + b(t)$. The two slopes for pre- and post-OFDVI arrests were compared to determine if a significant difference existed. The regression equation was then used to project a predicted or forecasted trend (Lind et al., 2009) for quarterly arrests for two additional years for both the pre- and post-OFDVI data.

A similar method was followed for the LPD data as with the HPPD data, though there were fewer post-OFDVI implementation data points available for comparison since Lexington only began implementation in July 2014. The pre-OFDVI data consisted of the four quarters leading up to implementation beginning in July 2013 and ending in June 2014. The post-OFDVI data consisted of the four quarters beginning in July 2014 and ending in June 2015. As with the High Point data, the Lexington data was subjected to a time series analysis with a smoothing technique. Seasonal indexes were found using arrest dating back to Quarter 1 of 2010. The seasonal indexes were then used to convert the actual data into deseasonalized data. The deseasonalized data were graphed for the pre- and post-ODVI periods, including one year of additional data which was predicted using the slope and intercept coefficients obtained. Finally, the slopes of the pre- and post-OFDVI data were compared to see if significant differences existed.

Results

The seasonal indexes computed for each of the four quarters in High Point are reported in Table 8. The seasonal index for Quarter 1 was 86.50, which means that in High Point in January-March, IPDV arrests were 13.5% lower than an average quarter. The seasonal index for Quarter 2 was 118.40, which means that in High Point in April-June, IPDV arrests were 18.40% higher than an average quarter. The seasonal index for Quarter 3 representing months July-September indicates that IPDV arrests in High Point for this quarter were 1.92% higher than the average quarter. Finally, the seasonal index of 91.99 for Quarter 4 indicates that IPDV arrests in High Point for the quarter containing months October-December were 8.01% lower than the average quarter.

The seasonal indexes for each of the four quarters in Lexington are found in the last column of Table 8. The seasonal index for Quarter 1 in Lexington was 90.73, meaning that IPDV arrests for the months of January-March were 9.27% lower than an average quarter. The seasonal index for Quarter 2 in Lexington was 111.17 meaning that IPDV arrests for April-June were 11.17% higher than an average quarter. The seasonal index for Quarter 3 in Lexington was 104.35 meaning that IPDV arrests in July-September were 4.35% higher than the average quarter. Finally, the seasonal index in Quarter 4 in Lexington was 93.83 meaning that IPDV arrests in October-December were 6.17% lower than an average quarter.

In looking across the two sites, the seasonal indexes appear to follow similar seasonal trends with IPDV arrests being lower than average in the colder, winter months of January-March in Quarter 1 and October-December in Quarter 4. Likewise, IPDV arrests across the two sites were higher than average in warmer, spring and summer months of April-Jun in Quarter 2 and July-September in Quarter 3.

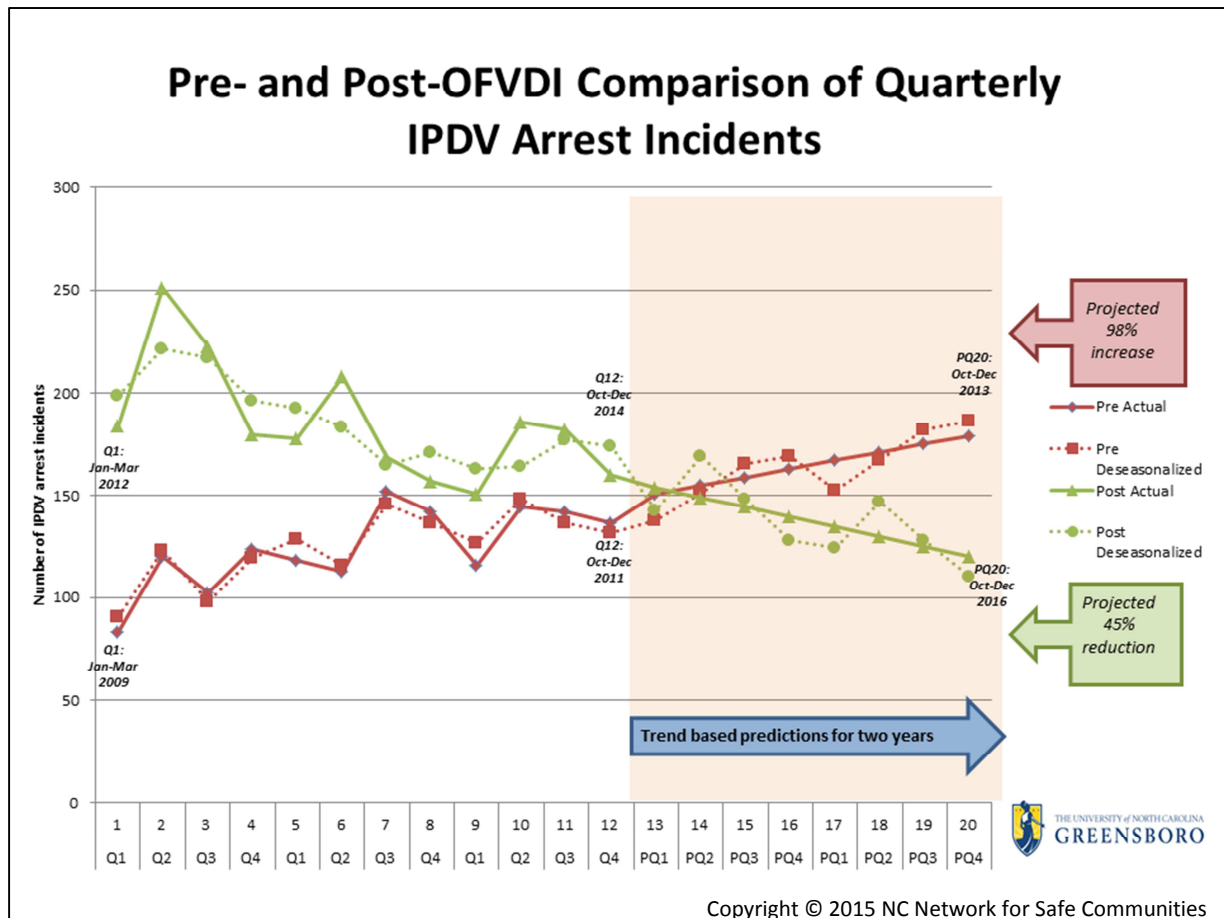
Table 8. Seasonal indexes for quarters using High Point and Lexington OFDVI arrest data.

Quarter	Seasonal index	
	High Point	Lexington
1 Jan-Mar	86.50	90.73
2 Apr-Jun	118.40	111.17
3 Jul-Sep	101.92	104.35
4 Oct-Dec	91.99	93.83

The pre- and post-OFDVI *actual* and *deseasonalized* quarterly arrest data in High Point are plotted in Figure 12. Quarterly arrests from Quarter 1 (January-March 2009) to Quarter 12 (October-December 2011) represented a three-year span of pre-OFDVI data. During those three years, quarterly arrests showed an actual increase of 65.1% from 83 total arrests in Quarter 1 to 137 total arrests in Quarter 12. Quarterly arrests from Quarter 1 (January-March 2012) to Quarter 12 (October-December 2014)

represented a three-year span of post-OFDVI data. During those three years, quarterly arrests decreased 13.0% from 184 actual arrests in Quarter 1 to 160 total arrests in Quarter 12. The equation, $y = a + b(t)$ was used to predict arrest data for an additional two years. The predicted data is shown in Figure 12 in the area of the graph with the shaded background and beginning at data point 13 along the x-axis. The coefficients for the slope and intercept for both the pre- and post-OFDVI data are presented in Table 9.

Figure 12. Pre- and post-OFDVI quarterly arrest data in High Point.



When looking at the forecasted post-OFDVI deseasonalized arrests, there was a projected 44.6% reduction in OFDVI arrests from the start of OFDVI implementation in Quarter 1 of 2012 to the end of the five-year estimate in Quarter 20 (October-December 2016).

Table 9. Slopes and intercepts obtained from pre- and post-OFDVI IPDV arrest data in High Point.

	Pre-OFDVI	Post-OFDVI
Intercept (a)	102.60	214.71
Slope (b)	3.60	-4.50

*The difference between the pre- and post-OFDVI slopes was statistically significant, $t(20) = 5.70, p < .001$

A significant difference was found between the two slopes comparing the pre- and post-OFDVI arrest data, $t(20) = 5.70, p < .001$, indicating that the OFDVI intervention had an effect on IPDV arrests over time. Specifically, after ODVI implementation, quarterly arrests have decreased significantly and are expected to continue to decrease as compared to the quarterly arrest data prior to OFDVI implementation. When interpreting the slope (b), it can be stated that for every quarterly increase over time, we should expect to see a 4.5 reduction in IPDV arrests since the OFDVI has been implemented. Likewise, if the OFDVI strategy was not implemented, we would have expected to see IPDV arrests increase by 3.6 for each additional quarter over time.

The pre- and post-OFDVI *deseasonalized* quarterly arrest data in Lexington are plotted in Figure 13. Arrests from each quarter beginning in July 2013 through June 2014 served as the pre-OFDVI implementation data. Arrests from each quarter beginning in July 2014 through June 2015 served as the post-OFDVI implementation data. The equation, $y = a + b(t)$ was used to predict arrest data for one additional year. The predicted data is shown in Figure 13 in the area of the graph with the shaded background and beginning at data point 5 along the x-axis. The coefficients for the slope and intercept for both the pre- and post-OFDVI data are presented in Table 10.

Figure 13. Pre- and post-OFDVI quarterly arrest data in Lexington.

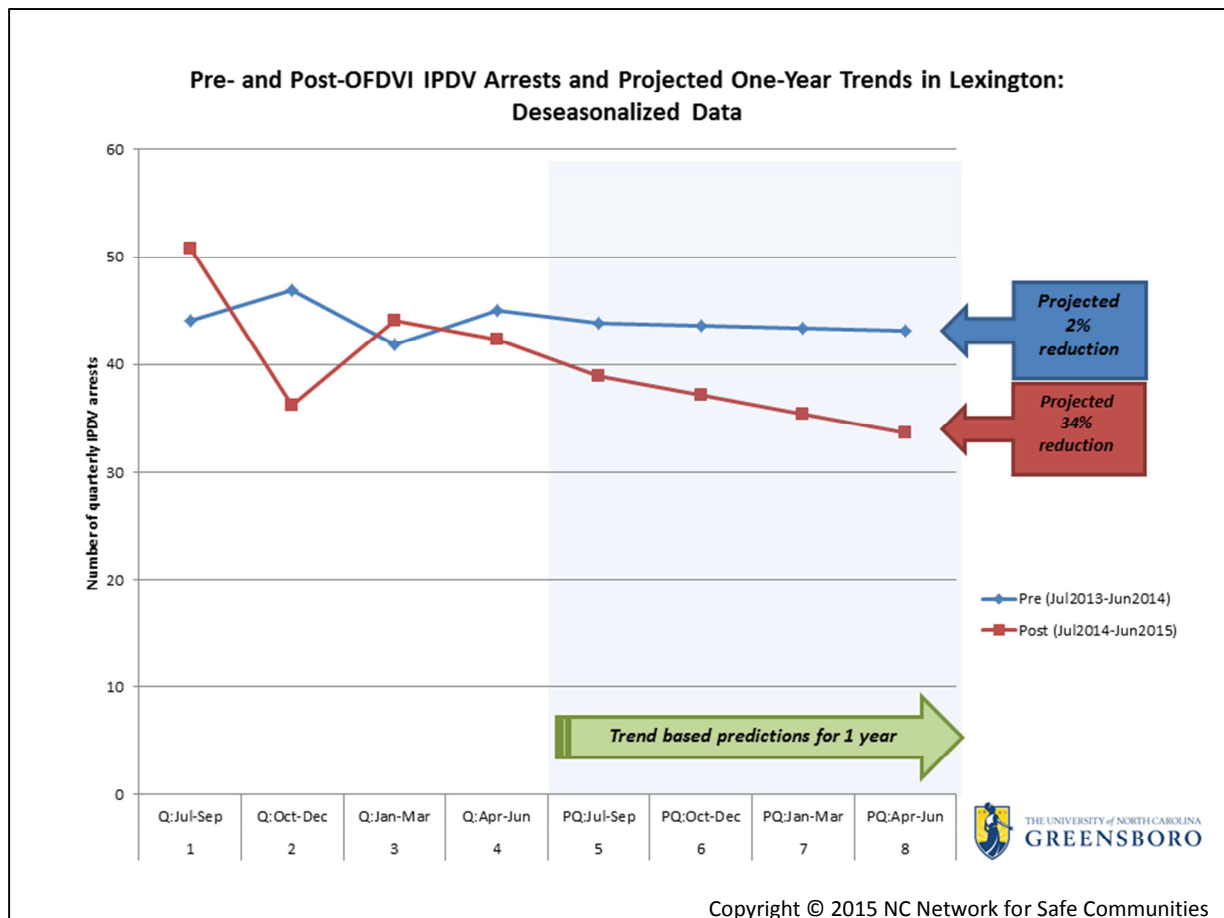


Figure 12 shows that a 34% reduction in total IPDV arrests is expected by the end of June 2016 since OFDVI has been implemented in Lexington. Had OFDVI not been implemented, we would have expected to see virtually no change in the number of IPDV arrests over time.

Table 10. Slopes and intercepts obtained from pre- and post-OFDVI IPDV arrest data in Lexington.

	Pre-OFDVI	Post-OFDVI
Intercept (a)	45.05	47.77
Slope (b)	-.23	-1.77

*The difference between the pre- and post-OFDVI slopes was not statistically significant, $t(4) = 1.09$, $p = n.s.$

No statistically significant difference was found between the two slopes comparing the pre- and post-OFDVI arrest data in Lexington, $t(4) = 1.09$, $p = n.s.$ The sample size for

IPDV quarterly arrests was small given that Lexington has only been fully implementing OFDVI for one year (i.e., four quarters). However, the trends and projections in the data appear promising showing an expected 34% reduction in IPDV arrests by the end of the upcoming year. It should be noted that the amount of change in IPDV arrests expected in each quarter is small. Specifically, when interpreting the slope (*b*), it can be stated that for every quarterly increase over time, we should expect to see a 1.77 reduction in IPDV arrests since the OFDVI strategy was implemented. If the OFDVI strategy was not implemented, we would have expected to see IPDV arrests decrease by .23 for each additional quarter over time—a change of less than one arrest per quarter is virtually non-existent.

IPDV Arrest Numbers in Perspective

The initial increase in arrests in High Point leading up to OFDVI implementation in late 2011 and soon after implementation in early 2012 in High Point is the likely result of better, more accurate tracking and coding of IPDV arrests by HPPD. It is likely, due to the coding issues described before which made classification and identification of IPDV arrests difficult, that the pre-OFDVI arrests numbers used in analysis were underreported. Therefore, the reductions in IPDV arrests after OFDVI implementation are likely greater than what the results show. Lexington experienced a similar spike in quarterly IPDV arrest numbers at the point of implementation in July 2014 with a trend toward reduction following initial implementation. Thus, any agency seeking to replicate the OFDVI strategy may notice an initial increase in IPDV arrests leading up to and immediately after implementation. This should not necessarily be a cause of concern and may actually be a reflection of more accurate coding and tracking of IPDV arrests and due diligence by frontline officers.

According to estimates in a National Institute of Justice report (Klein, 2009), based on victim reporting rates to law enforcement, law enforcement should be responding annually to at least 4 to 5 incidents per 1,000 females (12 and older) and 1 to 2 per 1,000 males (12 and older). If law enforcement responded to all incidents of domestic violence as estimated by using victim self-report such as the *NCVS*, police would respond annually to 8 to 9 incidents per 1,000 females and 2 to 3 per 1,000 males (Klein, 2009). In both High Point and Lexington, efforts to extrapolate the number of arrests per 1,000 females and 1,000 males in the population showed that arrests were much higher in both sites than those cited in the National Institute of Justice report (Klein, 2009).

Effect of the OFDVI Strategy on Intimate Partner Domestic Violence Calls for Service

Method

The crime analyst at HPPD provided the researcher with the monthly counts for intimate partner domestic violence (IPDV) calls for service (CFS) beginning in September 2011 when the new call code for to classify intimate partner (IP) domestic calls from general domestic calls was implemented. Given that the new IP code was so recently implemented relative to the start of the OFDVI strategy in High Point, there was no baseline pre-OFDVI CFS data available to compare against the post-OFDVI implementation CFS. Therefore, a time series analysis was conducted to examine the general trend in CFS over time. The monthly data were aggregated into 4-month totals. "Fall" consisted of months September-December, "Winter" consisted of months January-April, and "Summer" consisted of months May-August. As with the IPDV arrest data, the CFS were subjected to a time series analysis using a smoothing technique and computing a seasonal index using the ratio-to-moving average method as explained in Lind et al. (2009). The actual and deseasonalized CFS were plotted on a graph as shown in Figure 14. The deseasonalized data represents the CFS trend with seasonal fluctuations removed, thereby allowing the trend over time to be studied without interference from seasonal effects. Finally, regression trend equations were used to project a predicted or forecasted trend (Lind et al., 2009) for CFS for two additional years.

Data on IPDV CFS in Lexington was more limited. Lexington began classifying IPDV CFS separate from general domestic violence CFS in January 2014. IPDV CFS counts for each month from July 2014-July 2015 were provided to the researcher by the LPD crime analyst. Given that there was no baseline pre-OFDVI CFS data available from Lexington and the sample size of data points was small, the monthly data and the quarterly were plotted to provide a general view of the trend over time. No other analyses were conducted.

Results

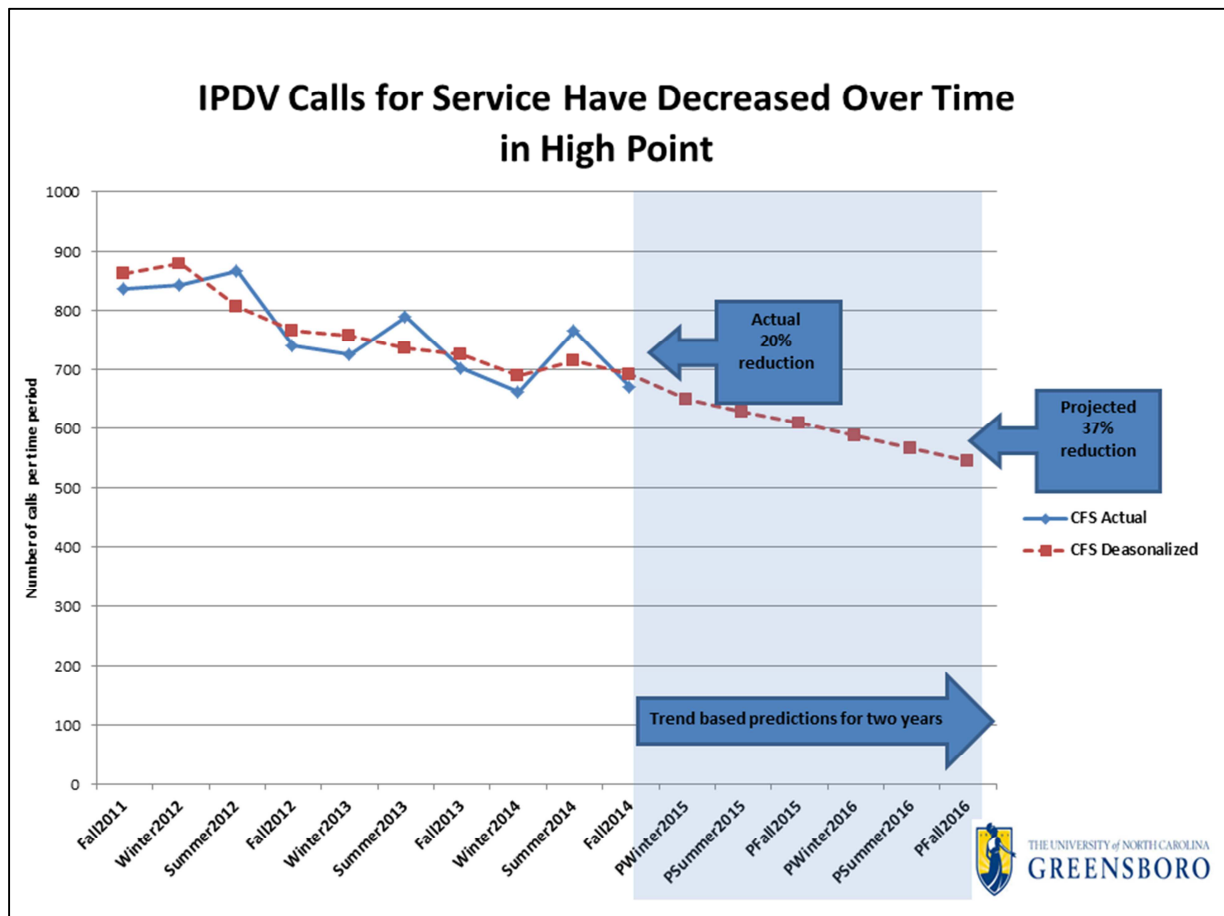
The seasonal indexes for the High Point IPDV CFS data were computed for each of the three seasons. The seasonal indexes are reported in Table 11. The seasonal index for Fall was 96.88, which means that in High Point from September-December, IPDV CFS were 3.12% lower than the average season. The seasonal index for Winter was 95.89, which means that in High Point from January-April, IPDV CFS were 4.11% lower than the average season. The seasonal index for Summer representing months May-August indicates that IPDV CFS in High Point were 7.23% higher in the Summer season as compared to the average season.

Table 11. Seasonal indexes for quarters using IPDV arrest data in High Point.

Season	Seasonal index
Fall	96.88
Winter	95.89
Summer	107.23

The deseasonalized and actual IPDV CFS data are plotted in Figure 14. Since the initiation of the new IP code for classifying CFS in September 2011, there has been an actual 20% reduction in IPDV CFS through year end 2014. When the deseasonalized data were used to project the expected trend for two additional years, a total 37% reduction in IPDV CFS is expected through year end 2016.

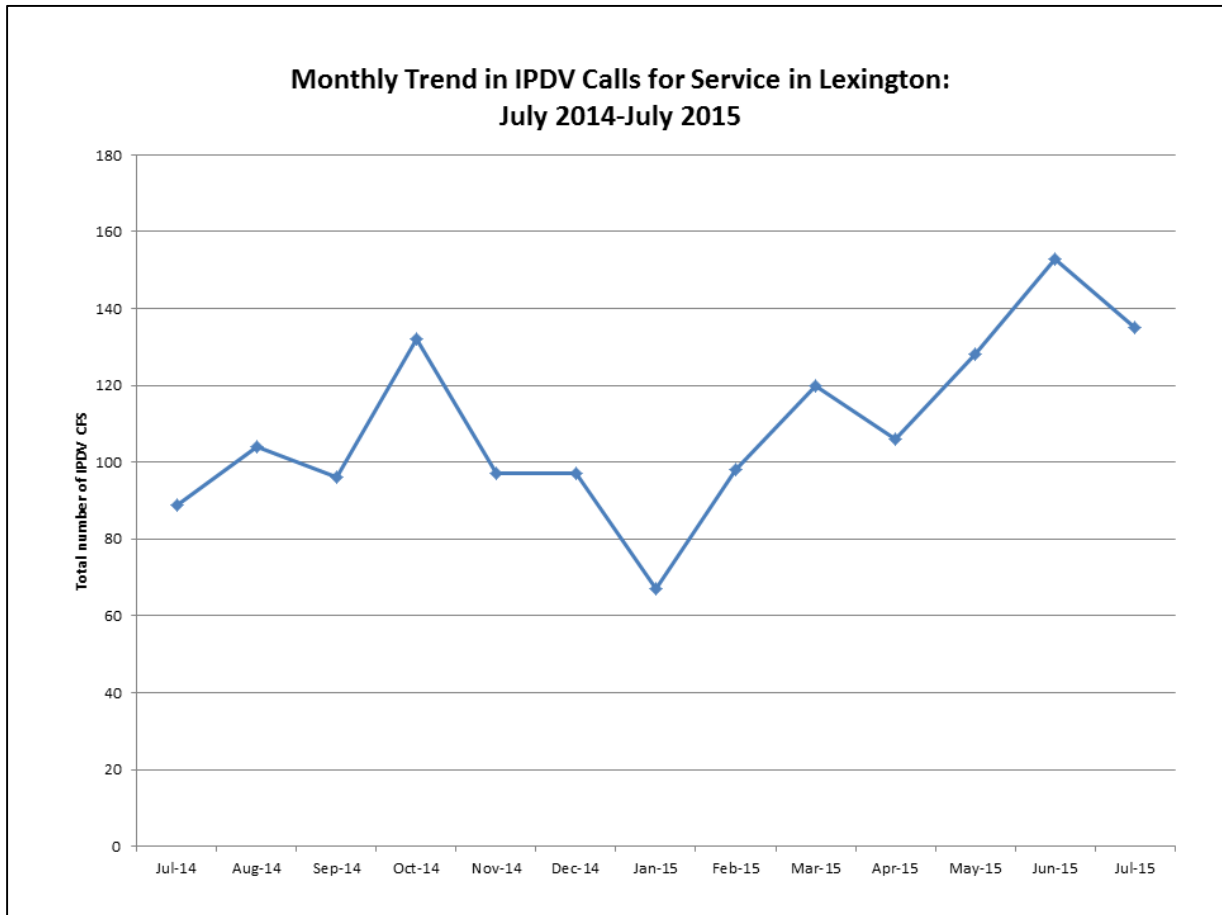
Figure 14. IPDV calls for service (CFS) over time in High Point since OFDVI implementation.



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The IPDV CFS totals for each month from July 2014 through July 2015 in Lexington are shown in Figure 15. The data show a general trend upward but there was not sufficient data to examine for any seasonal effects in the data at this time.

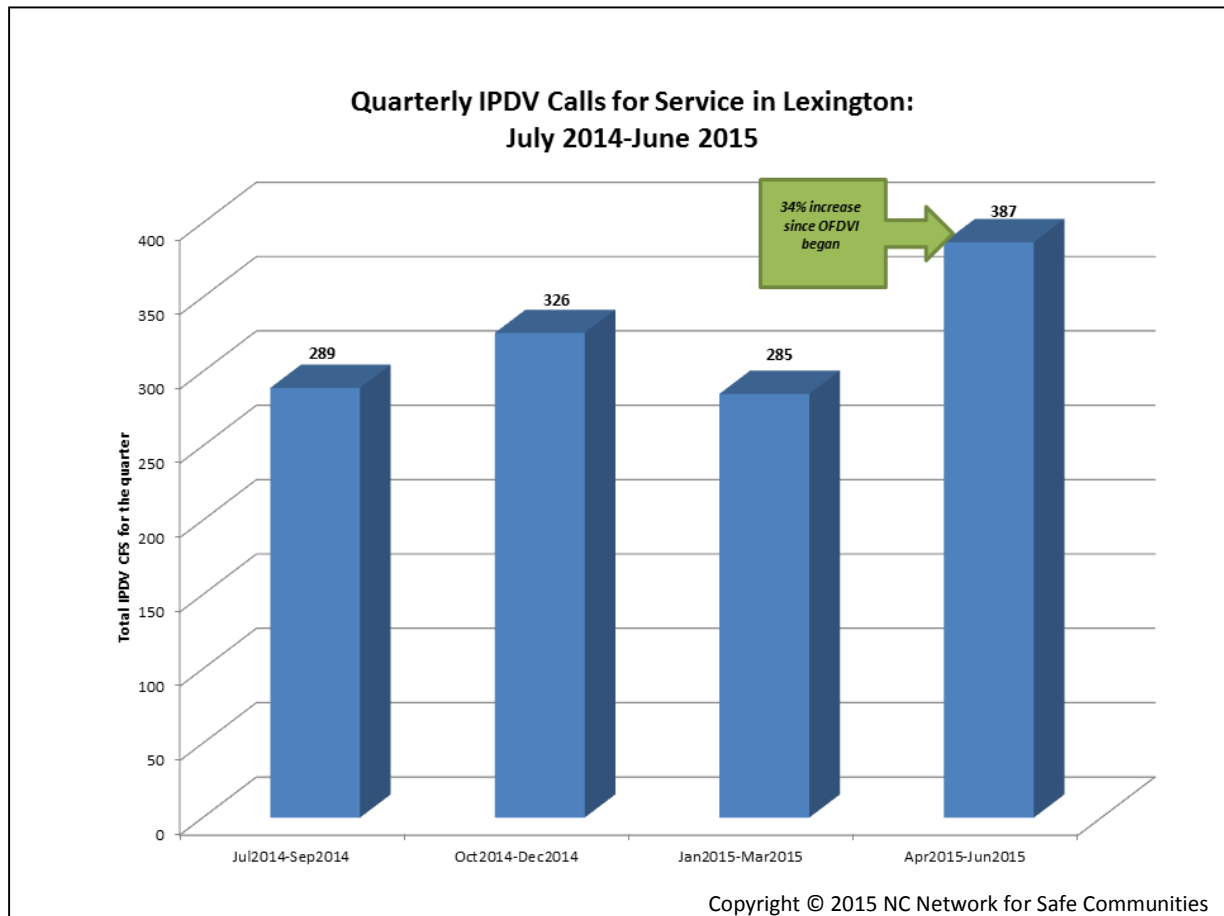
Figure 15. Monthly IPDV calls for service (CFS) in Lexington since OFDVI implementation.



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When comparing the aggregate quarterly IPDV CFS totals for the year since OFDVI implementation in Lexington (see Figure 16), there was a 34% increase in IPDV CFS from the first quarter (July 2014-September 2014) through the fourth quarter (April 2015-June 2015).

Figure 16. Quarterly IPDV calls for service (CFS) in Lexington since OFDVI implementation.



Calls for Service Numbers in Perspective

Domestic violence calls represent the single largest category of calls received by police accounting for 15-50% of all calls (Friday, Lord, Exum, & Hartman, 2006; Klein, 2009). An issue is that agencies are not tracking IPDV calls as distinct from general domestic violence calls, so it is difficult to estimate the percentage of all domestic calls that are IPDV calls. In High Point in the year 2010 prior to OFDVI implementation, officers responded to 5,352 calls with an average time on-scene per call of 26 minutes for two officers per call. Thus, in 2010 HPPD was spending 6,472 hours on domestic violence calls for service that year. In addition to the demand on personnel time, HPPD also reports that domestic violence calls were the most dangerous calls for officers to handle and often required use of force to make arrests. After HPPD began coding intimate partner domestic violence calls as separate from general domestic violence calls, it was found that IPDV calls accounted for just over 50% of all domestic violence calls. In

Lexington, once LPD began tracking IPDV calls separately, approximately 67% of all domestic violence calls were IPDV calls. Thus, a strategy that leads to a reduction in IPDV calls for service would have a huge impact on police department resources.

The National Institute of Justice (Klein, 2009) recommended that all law enforcement agencies have a domestic violence policy in place because of the high demand on law enforcement resources. HPPD has created a model policy and has outlined in the policy the OFDVI response and protocol and shared that policy with LPD. The National Institute of Justice recommendations go on to state that at minimum a written report should be completed on all domestic violence calls. As part of the OFDVI strategy, a written report or “field sheet” is completed on every IPDV call for service even in situations where no arrest is made. Given that victims often wait until they have suffered repeated assaults or until the abuse escalates in severity before reporting to the police (Felson, Ackerman, & Gallagher, 2005; Finn, 2003; Keilitz, Hannaford, & Efkenman, 1997), completing field sheets and interviews with victims at the D-level may uncover previously unreported assaults which could possibly be charged. The field sheets completed by responding officers are necessary to initiate D-level notifications and to track D-level offenders in the OFDVI strategy. Research has shown that law enforcement follow-up makes victims more likely to report future acts of intimate partner violence (Davis & Maxwell, 2002). Therefore, the D-level follow up notifications with offenders are likely to encourage the victim to report any future acts of intimate partner violence in High Point and Lexington. Further research has shown that increased victim confidence in law enforcement leads to more reports of new violence (Davis & Taylor, 1997; Friday et al., 2006; Jolin, Feyerman, Fountain, & Friedman, 1998). Research also shows that victims who found the criminal justice response insufficient were less likely to report subsequent victimizations (Buzawa et al., 1999). This evidence supports the idea that an upward trend or no movement in repeat calls for service after OFDVI implementation may be expected given that victims gain confidence in law enforcement through the OFDVI response and find the OFDVI response by law enforcement to be sufficient. The goal of the OFDVI strategy is to deter offender violence. However, initial research on factors related to notified offender recidivism in High Point has shown that some offenders will not be deterred (Sechrist & Weil, 2014). In those cases, it is imperative that victims feel that the law enforcement response was sufficient and built trust between themselves and police so that victims of offenders who are unlikely to be deterred will continue to report victimization to law enforcement. A case example from a victim of a notified offender in Lexington suggests that the OFDVI approach was successful in establishing trust between law enforcement and the victim. See the victim’s statement in Figure 17. The statement is a photocopy of the victim’s address that was prepared and read aloud to strategy partners in Lexington at the one-year celebration of the OFDVI strategy there.

Figure 17. Victim's statement about the impact of the OFDVI strategy.

I was in an emotionally, verbally and physically abusive relationship for just short of 3 years. What started off as name calling eventually became a bruised neck and a broken heart.

I remember laying in bed at night and thinking that my life would never get any better. My days and nights would always revolve around my abuser's mood.

I never thought of myself as a victim. I had been conditioned to believe that I deserved this abuse and believed just that. It actually took Lt. Carter saying to me, YOU ARE A VICTIM, before I started to believe it.

Domestic Violence is not something that happens overnight nor is it something that people want to talk about. It isn't until you plan a road trip with your best friend of 20 years and when she comes to pick you up you realize she doesn't even know where you live. You are slowly isolated from your friends and family until it is just you and your abuser. The changes are so gradual you start to believe this lifestyle is normal.

I eventually worked up the nerve to file for a 50B. I was given an ex parte and a court date. At the first appearance I was there with my dad. He arrived with a criminal defense attorney. I immediately felt like any chance I had of getting the 50B were gone. I asked for a continuance in hopes of somehow getting an attorney.

This is where Lt. Carter and the Lexington Police Department come in. She was in court that day and reached out to me afterwards. After talking to her the first time I somehow knew that my daughter and I were going to be ok.

They have been there every step of the way. When my abuser violated the temporary protective order Lt. Carter had officers come to my home and take my statement. With 24 hours there was an order for his arrest. When he turned himself in he was given a \$350,000 secured bond. At the hearing for my 50B Lt. Carter was there and testified to the past issues we had with domestic violence. At the trial I was granted the 50B for one year and temporary custody of my daughter. *The trial was scary but the judge heard my cry.*

When my abuser requested a bond reduction hearing, there the Lexington Police Department was again to give the judge information on our case and give me a voice in the situation. Without their help, I feel like things would have gone very different. They already had. The incident that led me to file for a 50B took place in the City of Lexington and that is why I was able to receive the help from Lt. Carter and the LPD. However, it was not my first experience with law enforcement and Domestic Violence. A separate law enforcement agency had been to my home on two separate occasions. In a December 2014 visit from this agency the gentleman I thought had arrived to help me did just the opposite. This gentleman joke that the broken furniture in my kitchen floor could be used for firewood, if only we had a fireplace. He went on to tell me that it was a shame for a man to work hard all day long and then have to come home to this. This poor guy just did not have an out. Looking back I only wish that man had been more educated on domestic violence. That night, he walked a habitual abuser, with violent charges pending in court, some felonies, out of my front door. My abuser later bragged he snuck an unregistered handgun and a bag of marijuana out of the house with them.

I would like to ask that each of the agency's here today please consider adopting the same zero tolerance domestic violence policy that the Lexington Police has. By not having such a thing in place women are being revictimized over and over again. I could very easily be your daughter, sister, neighbor or co-worker.

When I am in the city of Lexington I know I am safe and protected. I don't feel the same way when I leave the city limits. This initiative is a saving grace for victims of domestic violence.

Until Lt. Carter reached out to me I felt like I was screaming and no one could hear me. I now know that I do have a voice. I will use that voice to do my part in seeing that other victims get the help they deserve and so desperately need. I would like to see not only this county and surrounding cities but every town in America have a program in place to protect victims and to also show abusers that their behavior will not be tolerated.

The system is set up in such a way that money is power. They abusers most always have an attorney, while the victims do not. The process is also very confusing. Once a victim has made up their mind to file for a 50B they are given a very confusing stack of paperwork to fill out. After filling that out you are told you will go in the courtroom, while court is in session, and ask a judge to grant you a temporary order. That in itself is probably enough to make some victims change their minds and forget the whole thing. I would like to see that change. Any victim, anywhere is entitled to protection from violence and abuse no matter their demographics.

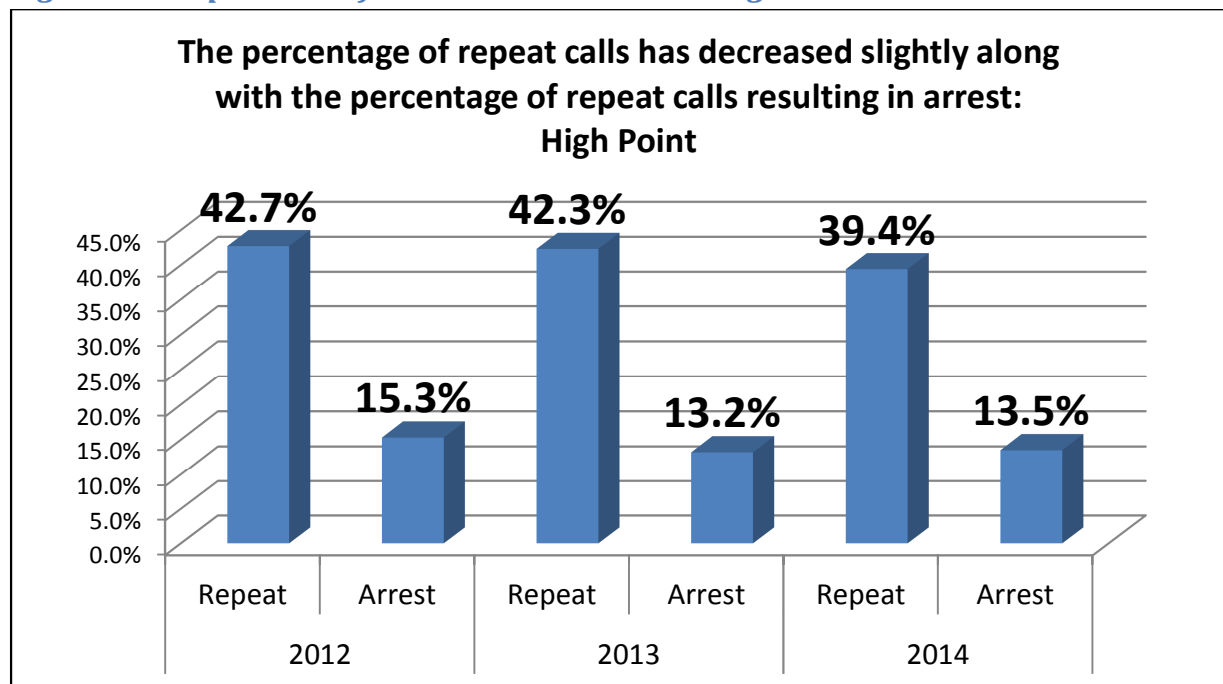
I would like to thank the entire Lexington Police Department for saving mine and my daughter's lives. We would not be where we are today without you. I certainly could not have done this alone. Thank you Lt. Carter for coming into my life and showing me the light at the end of the tunnel and also for being there for me when I did not have the strength to be there for myself. Thank you Officers Oburst, Berry and Tysinger for your compassion and understanding.

Thank you,

I would also like to thank the judges of Davidson County. They were instrumental in their decisions and ultimately saved our lives.

In an attempt to better understand how the OFDVI strategy has impacted repeat IPDV calls for service, we looked at changes in the percentage of all calls for service that were IPDV-related over time (see Figure 18). Since the OFDVI strategy began in High Point, there has been a slight decrease in repeat IPDV CFS from 2012 through 2014. The reduction from 42.7% of all CFS being IPDV in 2012 to 39.4% in 2014 is not so large that we should be concerned that victims are not calling to report IPDV. Further, when looking at outcomes of repeat IPDV CFS, the percentage of repeat calls that result in arrest has decreased slightly over the same time period from 15.3% of repeat calls resulting in arrest in 2012 to 13.5% in 2014. These percentage changes are not huge, but are indicators that the OFDVI strategy is not preventing victims from calling due to fear of consequences for the offender and the outcome of calls indicates that offenders may be getting the deterrent message of no violence. Since arrests are somewhat less likely to result from repeat calls now, it indicates that incidents have been less likely to escalate to violence (i.e., a chargeable offense) or that victims are more comfortable and willing to call police earlier, before an incident escalates to violence, due to better police responses as a result of the victim's experiences since the OFDVI strategy began.

Figure 18. Repeat calls for service over time in High Point.



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Note: For repeat calls, commercial locations were removed from analysis to better ensure same offender/victim

Practitioner Perspectives

High Point Police Chief Marty Sumner has been involved with focused deterrence initiatives since the very early days in High Point, and has been very closely involved with the development and implementation of OFDVI specifically. Chief Sumner was the Assistant Chief during the early stages of the OFDVI development, and became the HPPD Chief shortly after the first OFDVI notification. Chief Sumner has worked closely with David Kennedy, Director of the National Network for Safe Communities, and many other partners on the OFDVI strategy. The successes and benefits of applying OFDVI in High point have been extremely promising:

“I do think that what we have done is a way to change every part of why domestic violence has persisted for my 30 year career, the victims attitude the cops attitude, the prosecutors, the judges, the victims advocate, everybody who had any responsibility with domestic violence and victims, we have changed how they view it and now advocates are no longer reluctant to share things with law enforcement. They understand what we're doing, and all the things that I really wasn't focusing on, I've seen happen, and what that I predict potentially could mean is this; you got a society, you got a community here where a certain segment of this community didn't really think domestic violence was such a big deal, some of them even thought, well that's just the way people treat their wives or their girlfriends, and that's how I saw it. I think eventually if we keep doing this the way we are doing this, that segment grows smaller and smaller and smaller, and [becomes the] outlier, and the presumption is that you don't treat your intimate partner that way, period. You know, I think the benefit to that is the children that don't see the violence in the home will perhaps, skip a generation, or break that cycle. So, I really think, because the way it was designed, it wasn't really designed to change a few offenders, it was really designed to change everybody in High Point's attitude towards domestic violence, and how really we are going to respond together.

You can you can clamp down pretty hard on some of these offenders without doing all the other parts, but that's what I really think will make it sustainable, it's changed the world view, and the expectations and that's got to be done society wide...We have changed the way that we do business, we changed our domestic violence general order to responding to intimate partner violence, we've changed the definitions of it, we re-wrote the entire general order, which outlines the officers responsibilities are when he encounters domestic violence. [We've] even expanded that; what his responsibilities are when he is called to a disturbance call, when there has actually not been any violence. So, we have broadened the officers' responsibilities in response to intimate partner violence. We've changed the way we define it. It's broader, much broader than the state statute, and we

have this graduated system of interventions, starting from first call, all the way up to repeat offender.

We now do written notification to those offenders the first time that the domestic violence call comes in. We've used custom legal notification, and we've expanded that to all other segments of our deterrence work. We use custom notification now for street notifications, all other violent crime, [and] chronic offender call-ins, so that was a very large system change. That directly resulted from the DV work. Our partnership is broader than it was before, this specific application of deterrence work brought new partners in to the Violent Crimes Task Force. For example, the Sheriff's Department, they were never a close partner before, [and] they saw this, and they wanted to replicate it. We trained some of their folks, and now when we've done this last domestic violence notification, the Sheriff's Department had some of their domestic offenders present. We did a combined one [B-Level notification], and Carl Powers [Guilford County Sheriff's Office] spoke as part of our panel. I know for a fact that the officers view this differently, so they have an enlightened sense of awareness about domestic violence, and there are many anecdotal examples of an officer asking that next question, going the extra step, which would lead to a good investigation, which would lead to a charge, which would lead to control of the offender and that does not happen five years ago..."

Chief Sumner gave an example of a specific incident:

"Okay an example [that involved] Officer Needham. He went to serve a warrant on a female; it was not domestic related; it was a custody warrant. When he goes to the door, she has obvious signs of injury around her neck, her face, [and] he asked her how she got hurt. She said that her boyfriend beat her up the day before, drug her out in the front yard, and she didn't call the police, and it wasn't reported, so Officer Needham took her to the magistrate on the warrant that he was originally there for, he got a written promise to appear, he took her to the hospital to have her injuries checked, and took her back home. He initiated a report for the domestic violence that she been a victim of, and he went next door to the neighbor, and found a neighbor who said "yeah I did witness that". Then he went to the magistrate, and got a warrant for the offender, and went and found the offender. So, we raise domestic violence to a serious offense, and that you're really supposed to be thinking about it. Him [Officer Needham] asking that question, how she got those injuries, I don't think we'd ask that question five years ago, and we surely didn't have that kind of follow through. And how the agencies changed, when I heard about that story, I went to his role call and gave him a departmental letter of commendation for that, because if they're doing exactly what you want them to do, you got to reward and recognize..."

Walt Jones, Assistant District Attorney – Guilford County, NC, has been involved with focused deterrence initiatives, and OFDVI since the early development, and serves in a leadership capacity with the DA's Office. ADA Walt Jones reflected on changes resulting from OFDVI implementation:

"I think so and there is going to be some of these ways are going to be, I guess more abstract explanations than others. I mean certainly the attitude has changed, and it's understood that that the day and age of somebody walking up and not wanting to prosecute, police dismiss the case and it's over with, or the day and age where, well we tried to subpoena her, and she didn't pick it up, it's over with. We are going to continue to make the efforts to get the victim up here, and part of that's just going to be, you know, a maturation of thought about domestic violence in general. Now, in terms of supporting the project in its entirety, and the theory, and especially delivering on the deterrent message, you know we all bought in to, and understand the necessity to be hard if we think the crime has been committed, [and] to be quick, and so we have changed business in that regard in that the persons who have been marked as offenders in the past are not going to receive the typical treatment. Their cases will move quicker [and] they will be indicted quicker, and be brought to trial quicker. The results by the state are going to be stiffer, even, and again, tempering that with the fact that we we're still going to be ethical. This is not a no-drop policy, [and] a lot of folks think this is a no-drop policy. It's not, it's just a very aggressive way of treating cases where we believe domestic violence has occurred...

Sure, well if you start taking the High Point initiative, and you think about the way these offenders progress, your traditional offender is going to have his first DV arrest and charge, second DV arrest, and he or she is working their way towards the higher category being a B or an A [A-level or B-level offender]. Almost all of your domestic cases are going to be in District Court, assaults on a female, domestic criminal trespass, 50B violations, communicating threats, and there's probably 3 or 4 more that I can throw in there, anecdotally, but you get the drift, and they are all going to be misdemeanors, and they are all going to start in District Court. They will only wind up in Superior Court if there is a conviction or an appeal. So [ADA] Monica [Burnette], our DV person over here, who handles the District Court matters, will become personally involved in each case. When I say personally involved, I don't mean personally attached to the case where she's lost her objectivity. She's going to know who they are, and going to have continuity here when the cases come in. We're not going to have, the State, is not going to be behind the 8-ball because the DA who handled it last time, was not here this time, so we have continuity across this [piece]. She [ADA Monica Burnette] knows the victims, if they're repeat offenders, if they are in here

constantly, she knows the nature of the relationship, she knows about prior instances, and she can make the court aware of all these things.

Nothing is getting lost from the cup to the mouth. Meantime, you know you have some people who are going to creep up the alphabet [reoffend, require a different level of response] because this wasn't a typical assault on a female, but a deadly weapon was used, or somebody was hospitalized because the injury was very serious, or there was a kidnapping. Those are going to be felony cases. The only time they are going to be in District Court is when they are initially charged, and maybe have a bond motion for first appearance... one of the two or three prosecutors in the office, who is integrated into this project, not just the theory but the nuances of domestic law, and is signed on to support the project, is going to handle the cases going forward, and that is going to be either me, or [ADA] Leah [Howell], or [ADA] Christon [Halkiotis]...

I think for the most part [OFDVI goals] have been met. Every day you know, because of this, is something that's not been tried before. We're all the time finding things that we can improve upon, or different tools that we have. I'll be quiet candid; I was amazed there in the beginning. I was one of the sort of old school people who thought domestic violence is kind of like war in the Middle East, it's always going to be there, you know what I'm saying, and three or four years ago, I never thought we would be as successful as we are. I mean I, was going to support it, but I wasn't going to be a robot. I just told those guys we will try this, but I'm really not expecting that much and I've been pleasantly surprised..."

Christon Halkiotis, Assistant District Attorney is another prosecutor with the Guilford County DA's Office, and has been involved with OFDVI as a team member and prosecutor. When asked if she has seen changes, she shared some of her thoughts:

"I wasn't expecting that much. I sort of came at it from a different perspective. I was the dedicated DV prosecutor in District Court in Greensboro from July 2005 - July 2006 and it was kind of much the same idea, you know we saw our victim coming to court. Those rates were through the roof. They knew that every time they came to court, they didn't have to tell their story to a different DA. There was so much. The continuity was so important, and that we came to know everyone, I came to know every single one of those cases just like Monica [ADA Monica Burnette] is coming to know every one of these, and just like in Superior Court we have the luxury of coming to know all of the cases that are assigned to us, you know the conviction rate went way up, victims reporting to court went way up, there was a lot more trust I think between the victims and the DA's Office,

and the whole court process in general, and that's what really really made a difference..."

Detective Jerry Thompson of the High Point Police Department has been with the High Point Police Department for over twenty eight years, and has had significant operational responsibilities with OFDVI:

"I've been involved from the start; my role as a Detective in Major Crimes, sort of over this domestic violence initiative, and how the agencies are involved. My role is basically overseeing the notifications of, especially the C-offenders and the D-offenders. Also, we assist with lining up the B-offender notifications and keeping up with a spread sheet for any of the other violators, those that violate or re-violate. And also, of course, dealing with cases that come in that need attention right then, and also assisting other officers on what are strategy is, and how it works; if they have questions and stuff, a little bit of everything..."

Detective Thompson reflected on how HPPD now views, and responds differently to intimate partner domestic violence, and specifically, some of the changes that he has observed:

"Well yes, most definitely, quite a few changes, the biggest thing I think is they actually have taken domestic violence a lot more serious, you know they took it serious before, but it's a lot more serious now. And changing their focus from the victim, to the offender, where it should have been to start with. Making the offender accountable for his actions, and still giving the victim assistance through Family Services, or Legal Aid, or whatever else we can get them in touch with, or people we can get them in touch with. But you know, it's really changed, so I've been here twenty-eight years, and to see it change how it has went from where officers showed up, basically spilt them [offender and victim] up for the day or night, you know, to pro-arrest and arrest them, and that's basically all we did. And the victim needed to do this, and she needed to get out, and she need to do this, and so on.

And now it's focused on the offender and, keeping up with them, letting them know we are tracking them, letting them know basically that when they do mess up, making sure we make contact with the right people to make them have some type of punishment for when they do mess up... - The biggest success I would say is just the recidivism rate; what it is now, compared to what it used to be on people, as well as the same addresses. We use to get so many calls to the same addresses, and I don't see that as often now. I think the call volume has dropped. It took a while for that to happen, but I think it has happened.

And being able to reach out and touch the offenders early and I think that's so important. In letting them know things have changed here, and in showing them: 'hey, here's basically your record [and] if you mess up, this is what you are going to be looking at, and that we are not playing.' That's probably the biggest thing.

I think something like this is always going to be developing. We learn something, I mean all the time, something new comes up, or some other lever we can pull on the offender... It's almost like how we do it, so if it's an everyday thing, and officers are getting trained by older officers, who have been here, and new officers come in, and they get trained that way from the start, it's just how it is. So, it's general orders, and everything else, and in keeping the partners you know with their involvement, it's a biggie and I think we are doing that. It's a balancing act sometimes, and I just think besides saying it's a project, it's just that's how it's done, this is how we work..."

Likewise, Lt. Carter with LPD described her experience and how things have changed since Lexington has adopted the OFDVI strategy. Per LPD Lt. Melissa Carter:

"The strategy has made an impact on the offenders that we've notified. I'm actually able to stay with, and follow those [notified offender's] court dates, follow those jail calls, follow their mail, follow every court date they have that we told them we were going to be involved in. Even when they got out, we were still in touch with their probation officer, still in touch with every aspect that we could be in touch with. And every time they had a court date they saw us.

That never happened before. So until we started the initiative that never happened. They would have their court dates, and give their sob stories to the judge, and get back out on unsecured bonds, and come and go, and be dismissed. Now it's kind of like every move they make, if they're an offender, that has repeat calls for service, and their record is really bad, and we do feel like they are going to reach out to this victim, having me in place is somebody that can follow their every single move, and they know it.

I mean just their expression on their face, when they hear that we've listened to their call, even though the jail call says, that this is being recorded, they don't believe it. And when we come back, and tell them things from the [jail] calls in court, when we tell the judge we heard this, and heard this, and heard this, there is no denying that they did it, and their expression is priceless. They know. I know [one of] the latest offenders, that's one of the reasons he took the plea in Superior Court, is to get us off his back, to be done with us. Because after we, after I, got his mail, incoming and outgoing mail, where he had the victim get a P.O. Box, and was sending mail to the victim under a fake name, and he had her

get a P.O. Box, and he was wishing her happy birthday, even under the fake name, because our victims birthday was on that date. I think he had enough, but then he is going back, and telling the other people in the [jail] population, so that was a win, every single day. Now he's in DOC [Department of Corrections], so he's gone to tell them. The good thing is when he comes out, even though the amount of time he got, I think he ended up getting right at a year, so going ahead and taking his time and pleading to what he plead to, he will be on eight months of post release. So here we go again, because we won't be done with him, because we know, we are going to ask him [while on] post release, to not have any contact with his victim, so it's a [lot] of follow through..."

Reverend Jim Summey, Executive Director – High Point Community Against Violence (HPCAV), has been a partner in the focused deterrence work for nearly twenty years. Reverend Summey and HPCAV partner with the High Point Police Department and other partners to work with offenders who are seeking positive alternatives to violence. Reverend Summey shared some of his thoughts on OFDVI:

"Again, like I've said, just the very fact that the presupposition is, and this was the original thinking; if we call these guys out, they will stop, and the big question was, as you guys know, four years ago or five maybe, what will happen to the victim if we call these guys out because of how they are. The reduction of harm to the victim, or with the victims' situation, was our major concern, and really was the only thing that held us back from implementing this. The way we did everything, and I know the total research on this, and everybody thinking and really agonizes over not wanting to do something to make it worse, and at the same time, thinking it's worth the risk because not a thing else we've done in all of life by being sweet and kind to the victim has changed the problem with the offender and the victim, that tornadic relationship. So you know, we, with the best information and the best way of looking at it possible, it was more like step forward. If you can use the word faith, chance, whatever, stepping forward, and so we have got to try this, and it frees up the presupposition, and if you call them out, they'll quit, that's it. The power of this whole thing [OFDVI].

It's really not, as far as I'm concerned, in this case, and in this case only, the service around it is far less meaningful than any other part of it. The service to the victims, the service to the offender, is not the major factor that causes this to work. It is, from my observation, the fact that everybody behind the scenes does their work. By singling out these guys, and looking at them, we make the right selection in regard to these guys being domestic offenders. They've got all these problems, [and] they're involved in this stuff, they've got multiple victims often, and we're concerned about them hurting someone worse or killing somebody.

We call them out and say stop, and overall they stop, or something changes somewhere, and so that in this case. That's the real beauty and the rest of it, I'd say that we would see far more recidivism with repeat violent crime offenders, even the gang offenders, and the drug market offenders if it wasn't for the services, the services is vital for recidivism as you know to reduce re-offending, but in this case, I don't think the services play into it..."

Gretta Bush, President – High Point Community Against Violence, has also been working together with the High Point Police Department and other community partners as part of the violent crime reduction strategies from the very early stages. Gretta Bush and HPCAV have mainly worked with offenders, but have also worked with victims as part of OFDVI. Gretta Bush shared some of her thoughts and involvement with OFDVI:

"I've been involved with this strategy since the inception, since the beginning. We are basically designated to work with the offenders but over the time that this strategy has been in place, we've had a lot of encounters, connections, and interactions with the victims, which is something we didn't expect. But it has helped in some of the cases, making sure that the persons are indicted, and things are held in court properly, and the victims are safe...If the victims are assisted on a much stronger level, they'll come forth more readily. In this particular endeavor, your victims are very frightened; they don't feel secure in stepping forward. I think if more services are available, and connected to ensure that they're not mistreated, or put in further danger, I think our convictions would go up, and the offenders would realize that we are very serious about making sure that they are following through on whatever help, assistance, or incarceration is needed for them to understand that they cannot continue to violate victims in our community..."

When asked for her thoughts on some of the differences she was seeing since full OFDVI implementation, Gretta Bush shared some of her observations:

"Convictions, convictions, convictions; this was a different wake up call for offenders that we have dealt with before, because it was such a "now" conviction, or don't do it anymore. You see the impact when they [offenders] are actually sentenced to a DV hold, more than 24 hours. They may now actually have to stay in jail for putting their hands on someone; for violating someone. Also, we've seen a difference in women who have especially come forward who have been the victims, and all of a sudden become the offenders, so you have to make sure that you are careful in not penalizing them twice, because they hold out for so long, and then they become the offenders. And so we are dealing with them on the level of an offender also, which is an unusual circumstance we did not foresee... understanding the needs of the individuals, whether it's the victim or

the offender, what resources are needed; we never thought mental health would be a very important component in this. DSS [Department of Social Services], the children that are effected by the family units, so being aware what services are offered, and filling the gaps on what is not there, and making sure that those needs are assessed and fulfilled is what we are trying to do now, and we are always researching. We look at other cities, states, and communities to see what they have in place.

For instance, Winston-Salem has an advocate group that provides a person that stands there [with the victim in court] and they are not through Family Services or DSS but sometimes just to have a person standing there, I can be there with you. That's something that we lack. It's a resource that we can reach out for. When you have a paid staff it's never enough, so if that advocate group could be in place here, that could be a person that's a stand-in, and they're not always tied, their hands are not always tied to follow a certain protocol. Which sometimes a lot of people need, I guess a very good example is that you cannot call Family Services for another person, if the person has a mental issue, and they cannot pick up the phone. See, that person could continue to be in a DV situation to have an advocate or open a door where mental health patients can be rendered the services that they cannot contact, but through a servicing group would be fantastic and we are still looking for that now.

A lot of the offenders are particular. They hand pick who they are going to offend [against], who they are going to beat, so they are making sure that that person is not strong enough to stand up to them. It's like bullying. So when they are picking women with mental issues, they could possibly never ever come out of it, because nobody will stand up, and Family Services has a time, because I can't call Family Services and say this person with mental issue is being victimized, and they cannot request the services and follow through because they do not have the mental capacity to do the steps for a 50-B, to seek safety and that particular component. That's one particular area we are still trying to reach out and find, and talk about, and see if someone else has something that could be put in place..."

Shay Harger, Director, Victim Services Division – Family Service of the Piedmont, has been involved since July, 2013. Shay Harger, and her agency provide assistance, services, and advocacy for victims of domestic violence and Family Service of the Piedmont has been a partner with OFDVI since the beginning. Shay reflected on her thoughts and involvement with OFDVI:

"I've been involved with the DV initiative, I guess going on a little over a year and a half at this point, in July 2013 when I took the Director position. Our role is to

provide the victim service piece of the DV initiative, to work with the victims. We provide advocacy, and we also have a position in the Victim Justice Center (VJC), just to fill in the other side of the equation so that the victims have support they need... the goals in the victim services world are "is the victim safe, are we providing them service, good service, at the time, the right time, yes". This sounds negative, but it's not. Maybe we were over simplistic in some ways, and I think we need to think about some of our goals in more complex ways in the context of this DV initiative. But yes, I think we have met our goals in terms of providing services, yes..."

Heather Frazier, who works at the Lexington Police Department, understands first-hand the dangers and trauma involved in intimate partner domestic violence. Heather works closely with LPD personnel on the OFDVI strategy, and shared her personal story about domestic violence:

"I do statistical research, and try to help Lt. Carter with getting the data from calls for service, and making sure that they are documented correctly; making sure that she's aware we've had events over the week or like when she's off keeping track of those incidents to try to help her maintain our offender list, and maintain our initiative going forward... For twelve years, I lived in a home where there was some severe domestic violence going on. It's near and dear to my heart. In 1995 my step dad did shoot and kill my mom. I have PTSD from it, from childhood on. I got there ten minutes after it happened, and then different events through that next year, and through the trial is when I really had some traumatic events during the trial, and during the initial event. So anything that I can do to try to help somebody get out of that situation, or try to get it to where nobody has to go through what I went through, then I am all for it. Whether it's doing statistics, talking to a victim, talking to the officers to get them to try to stop being complacent, anything that I can do so that somebody else does not have to go through what I went through, and I'm all for it..."

Heather also shared her thoughts on desired outcomes:

"Reducing calls for service for the officers, because these calls, calls for service, types of calls for services are one of the most dangerous for them, and I see it's not just with this agency, I see that across that nation, there is complacency. Where they go out to the same house routinely and deal with the same people routinely, until it gets to a boiling point, and you know something happens, you know they could get hurt, whether it's by the abuser or the victim, because the victim often takes up for the abuser because they don't realize "hey I am in an abusive relationship". So officer safety, and reducing the number of calls for service for them...Also, getting the officers to see beyond them feeling like it's

more paperwork, and more things for them to do because they are looking at what all they are doing now. We [LPD] are certainly doing more with this [OFDVI], but getting them [officers] beyond that point, to seeing the benefits of it. You know the potential that they could save a life, the potential that they may not be getting through to the adults in the house, but something they say in front of that child, or that teenager to where, it gives them the idea that they don't have to live in it. That may be the only time that they hear that message. You know that they [officers] get tired of going out to the same house or dealing with the same people, and getting them to see that in the long run, if this program, as it is intended, and we get the same results that High Point does, that they may not be going out every single day to deal with these people..."

HPPD Lieutenant Al Ferguson has been involved with, and observed many significant changes from his position as the Court Liaison:

"The strategy is showing signs of success with not only the public, but also the department, success for the public because we are able to solve the problem. We pull up on the scene, and before we may not been able to make an arrest, like I mentioned, but now we can give that prosecuting witness immediate relief if they [offenders] have violated, if the defendant has violated a condition of the pre-trial release. So that is a success for the community. We are also paying a lot closer attention to the DV offender. The judges, as I said, are on board as well, and the DV offenders, from what I've seen, are staying in jail for a longer period of time, again, giving that prosecuting witness some relief. So it's a success for the community in those regards, and also it is a success for the department, because we are not having to go back out to the addresses day in and day out. You know we can help solve some of these problems, and not having as many repeat calls to the problem addresses..."

Lt. Ferguson also commented on the importance of the role of the judges with OFDVI:

"Lt. Gordon Stallings did a very good job on educating the judges up here, and for the most part that was done when I got here, however there was some follow up that I did. And part of that was to actually make a print off of what our classes meant, our domestic violence classifications: class A, B, C, and D, and that print off shows exactly how a defendant may reach a certain class; class D being the lowest, class A being the highest. So we took that printout and actually affixed it to the judge's bench in first appearances and the judge's bench in district court, and the judges have actually paid a lot of attention to those. And a lot of time, it's when a DV case will come up in either first appearance or district court, you'll see the judge look over at the little graph we have and you can see them trying to figure out how the defendant got where he is. So that's one way and I when I

first got back here and it's not so prevalent now, because the judges have come to understand it, but I would stay after court and speak to the judges a little bit, and thank them for their time in taking a look a closer look at this DV case, so that's how I kind of helped out as far as the judges. But, I also take every opportunity I get, when I speak to another officer from another agency about domestic violence. I take every opportunity to mention what we are doing and how it's affected not only our agency, but also our city here, and I'm hoping that that helps. As a matter of fact, I have sent emails to an officer in Australia. I met him on exchange program and he was inquiring about the domestic violence initiative that we had, and also about the violent crime initiative as well, and so I sent him emails. I don't know if they have implemented anything, I didn't get any feedback after that..."

Lessons Learned in Implementation of the OFDVI Strategy

Historically, the law enforcement, community, and general systems response to intimate partner domestic violence has been wildly inconsistent regarding enforcement and accountability for offenders. To some extent, IPDV has been marginalized as some other type of violence, almost separate from other violent crime; "It's just DV". OFDVI flips much of the conventional conversations and responses upside down, holding offenders more accountable, as well as supporting victims in a much more effective manner. One of the significant challenges with OFDVI is that it requires absolute commitment and tremendous dedication to sustain the effort. As IPDV is a shared community and law enforcement problem, it again requires a shared response. In the absence of that partnership and commitment, it would be very unlikely to sustain OFDVI.

While OFDVI, and other iterations of focused deterrence, are violent crime reduction strategies, a combination of highly dedicated partners are required to undertake such an initiative. Early in the process in Lexington, the Lexington Police Department Chief and Command Staff were committed, but even in a hierarchical, or chain-of-command organization, change can be slow. One of the early challenges was not only to train officers about OFDVI, but to engage in discussions about "change" and "buy-in". Those with responsibilities to respond to IPDV calls, had to not only understand their role, but the larger impact on offenders, victims, and partner agencies. Even when creating policy and general orders / changes in standard operating procedures, constant communication, training, and reinforcement is critical to build the strategy. LPD Command Staff worked with LPD personnel to explain "why" OFDVI was important, and "how" it would take all officers to make a difference. LPD Command Staff spent time working with personnel to explain "what" OFDVI is, and "who" was involved (offenders, victims, and partner agencies). It took time, and the expectations regarding the pace of

various stages of implementation had to be reexamined, as it became clear that more time was needed to educate personnel and partners.

Another key lesson regarding implementation of OFDVI is the understanding of the complexities of partner agencies. Elected officials, appointed officials, agency employees, and community partners all have unique responsibilities and capabilities. OFDVI is a partnership, and thus decisions about use of personnel and resources can invite conflict. While LPD was the “lead” agency in the development of the strategy, LPD does not control the resources of other agencies, including the court proceedings, judges, magistrates, probation/parole officers, victim advocates, child welfare personnel, community resource partners, etc. Lexington did not have the advantage of a long term focused deterrence implementation history, as was the case in High Point. As a result, LPD and partner agencies had to work through issues of jurisdiction and process. One of the most significant early challenges was to build the partnership with all the necessary leaders of agencies, and define roles and responsibilities. Even with so much benefit from working together, the transition to doing things differently can be slow. Leadership personnel from different agencies in Lexington worked together to understand “how” to work together with this new strategy. Lt. Carter was a key and stable figure constantly communicating with partner agencies to help build the structure around the OFDVI process. Any city or site interested in replicating OFDVI must be willing and able to engage in frank and sometimes, uncomfortable discussions about how to work together in a different capacity.

Chief Marty Sumner, High Point Police Department, is regularly contacted by law enforcement agencies from all over the world about focused deterrence strategies, and over recent years, OFDVI. Chief Sumner shared some of his thoughts on OFDVI replication:

“I think it's very easy to replicate if you understand how simple it can be. My advice is, and I've been trying to think about how to describe this to other police chiefs to get them to understand what we do, because sometimes you can get off into, well it's that this has many levels and it's really so much simpler than that, and we describe it in great detail when somebody has trouble grasping it. So it really is as simple as, first of all, believe that you can do something about that problem. You have got to get past that. You have got to not think that it's different, and therefore the offender can't be controlled. You have got to look at your own offender population, and their records, and see for yourself, that a lot of your chronic domestic violence could easily be identified by arrest records, and that they are, they have other offenses besides DV. That's not all they do is DV, they have got to see that for themselves, and then they have got to track their own calls separately. Then they can take that model policy that we wrote, and they can implement that model policy, and everybody in the agency doesn't have

to understand everything that went into everything, like for example, the D-List letter, we both know that that was a result of that Killingbeck study from England back in 1990's.

You go back another time, and you put them on written notice, and you tell them they're on the watch list. The officers don't need to know that, they don't even know where that comes from. You just have to do it like we've laid it out in there. So you take the model, and you adhere strictly to the implementation, you use the model policy, you do training upfront, make sure everybody knows what their parts are, and their responsibility is, and it can be easily replicated just that way. It's just a matter of steps, because the big piece that everybody's hung up on when they are trying to do deterrence work, is how do you put all this community group together and all that. That is a small component of this. It's more about A-List prosecutions, D-Notice, notice on the first arrest for C's [C-level offenders].

We've been doing this for 2 to 2 and 1/2 years, and we've only had four full face-to-face notifications. That's a small part of this population. I can guarantee you if you start this, and you start working on it, and you pull the people together who need to be involved, either like the prosecutor's office and probation, you're not going to have any trouble putting together a face-to-face community and prosecution call-in by the time you need to do one of those. So I would, I would start out downplaying that part of this, so they don't get scared away by having to put a big coalitions together. Chiefs, all they have to do is make up their mind, they're going to do this, and read that general order, and see if that they can implement that general order just like anything else we do..."

At the outset of any focused deterrence initiative, partners have to commit to the initiative and commit personnel to carry out the day-to-day functions of the initiative. The OFDVI strategy is labor-intensive at the beginning with the long-term payback being a decreased workload through decreased calls for domestic violence service, decreased arrests, smaller court dockets, and fewer victims. Partners must agree to have representatives present at workgroup meetings on a regular basis where key decisions are made and information about offenders and victims is shared. Constant information sharing is necessary and all partners have to be open to feedback and be willing to amend their procedures to benefit the goal of the overall strategy. Community support and a resource delivery system are needed as with any focused deterrence initiative. However, with OFDVI, new resource partners were needed that had not been involved in High Point's previous focused deterrence efforts. For example, the Department of Social Services and Family Service of the Piedmont were recruited to work with victims. Also, some resources and services specific to domestic violence offenders required new partnerships. While many domestic violence offenders will benefit from the same resources that other types of violent offenders will need, such as job training, education,

and housing, programs specific to domestic violence may be needed. Such domestic-focused treatment programs for offenders that are effective may be few and far between in some communities and before allowing programs to become part of the OFDVI strategy, they should be vetted for best practices and efficacy. According to experts on domestic violence treatment programs, effective programs should be long-term and include respectful, sharing peer groups that hold offenders accountable.

Chief Fealy, now retired, and successive Chief Marty Sumner were responsible for developing, maintaining, and nourishing the relationships that were going to be needed with new partners and also helping overcome obstacles that were presented by those new partnerships. Chief Fealy described his role in the OFDVI strategy development as, “cheerleader and relationship builder,” and attributed success in gaining community support to the Department’s track record of using focus deterrence since 1997. The partnerships the Police Department established with community and resource partners had lasted over that 15 year history because the results had lasted that long.

High Point and Lexington have realized that the civil system is a tool to be utilized in identifying domestic violence offenders and victims, as advised by the National Institute of Justice (Klein, 2009). Both High Point and Lexington are taking advantage of the civil system as an identifier and are initiating contact with victims in some cases. This can help identify uncharged crimes and as evidence for violations for probationary sentences.

From a research and evaluation perspective, accessing accurate *intimate partner* domestic violence data was challenging. When it comes to data, garbage in equals garbage out. The results from data analysis are only valid if the data that went into the analysis were accurate and appropriately represented the problem under investigation. Any agency seeking to replicate OFDVI must first look at how they are tracking the domestic violence data and make a determination of how to track intimate partner domestic violence as separate from more general domestic violence. Operational and frontline processes for responding to intimate partner domestic violence must be uniform throughout the agency along with the coding of intimate partner calls and arrests. We also discovered that quality control to review the data to make sure that all IPDV-related calls and arrests were being tracked and accounted for was very important. To be successful, the OFDVI strategy, as with any focused deterrence strategy requires immediate, certain, and sometimes severe law enforcement response for domestic violence offenders (and especially reoffenders). If offenders are not being closely tracked, ensuring that no one slips through without a notification message or without a swift, certain, and severe law enforcement response to re-offense, the strategy will fail because it loses its deterrence effect. Through the quality assurance process the researcher implemented, we encountered several instances where offenders were not notified or tracked accordingly. We had to ask the question: Is there

a glitch in the process that is allowing offenders to slip by without notification or being tracked as a reoffender? What we learned was that sometimes the notifying detective was not available because they were in training, on vacation, etc. The lesson learned is that an agency has to have someone trained and ready to fill in in situations where the usual notification personnel are unavailable. Also, we learned that sometimes magistrates were not marking records appropriately, so offenders would be jailed for IPDV, but the police department would not know about it due to the incorrect coding by the magistrate or the offender would be released before the detective could get to the jail to notify them—especially in same sex DV cases. Sometimes arrests would happen over the weekend and the offender would be released (often on a Sunday) before a detective could notify them. In these cases where IPDV offenders are not being notified, the OFDVI workgroup had to ask: What can we do to address these issues to ensure that this does not happen again?

Based on an interim report prepared by the researcher using data from notified offenders in High Point, (Sechrist & Weil, 2014), it was found that certain offenders are more likely than others to recidivate regardless of the notification at the C and D levels. For example, if an offender had a prior domestic violence history before notification, they were more likely to reoffend after C and D notification than offenders who had no prior domestic violence arrests. This finding suggests that before notifying an offender, the officer doing the notification should know the offender's domestic violence history and perhaps there are ways to adapt the notification messaging to be more effective in deterring future violence for offenders who already have a history of domestic violence. The C-level messaging works in most cases for true first time offenders. We also found that if an offender quickly reoffends after a D-level notification (just a call for service to the house, but no arrest) to an arrest, the offender is very likely to commit another IPDV offense after C-notification. These quick recidivists appear to commit a new IPDV crime within 180 day of their initial notification. Is there a way for law enforcement to take advantage of this predictor of chronic likelihood to reoffend to make the strategy more effective for offenders who have been identified as quick recidivists, thereby making an effort to deter future acts of violence which otherwise would be nearly inevitable? Other predictors of recidivism after notification included being male and being younger at age of first domestic violence arrest. Can this information from the data be applied to the process to improve it and increase the deterrent effect for high-risk offenders?

Results from the evaluation taught us that an agency beginning OFDVI implementation will likely see an initial spike in arrests because the agency is now focused on IPDV and hopefully is more accurately classifying/coding these arrests now than ever in the past. An increase at the outset may be a good thing in terms of the process because the agency may be getting better at recognizing IPDV, classifying it accordingly, and responding to and making arrests for this type of crime. Initial recidivism may appear to

be high for the same reasons. As the strategy begins, repeat offenders are now having their crimes accurately coded as intimate partner violence. Officers may be more likely to enforce conditions of pretrial release such as no-contact orders now because they are paying attention to IPDV crimes and particular offenders. Probation officers may be more likely to enforce conditions of probation related to IPDV crimes and therefore more likely to revoke offenders for those sorts of crimes. Judges may be more likely to issue pre-trial release conditions such as no-contact orders because they are now taking domestic violence more seriously. If a condition is in place, it then becomes an additional offense that a domestic violence offender may be arrested for thereby making IPDV arrest more likely now that the strategy is in place than before. In the case of High Point, such conditions began to be entered into the agency's records management system by HPPD's court liaison officer so that officers on the street could see them. Therefore, officers may have been more likely to enforce (equating to a new arrest) those conditions than ever before. So, a spike in arrests or recidivism at the outset of the strategy may be a good sign indicating that internal agency processes are aligning and working appropriately and partners are buying into the strategy and are doing their part. Decreases in arrest and recidivism will come with time, so it is important not to be discouraged by initial increase. If an agency and partners is true to the process, the results will come.

In setting up the OFDVI strategy, every effort should be made at the beginning to collect information on victims of notified offenders. Victim advocates are going to want to know (and with good reason) if the violence has truly stopped. In other words, they want to be sure that the offender's behavior has changed (the violence has stopped being perpetrated against the victim) and NOT that the victim's behavior that has changed (she no longer calls police in the event of domestic violence). In other words, they want to make sure that the victim has NOT simply stopped calling the police for fear of greater consequences for the offender or exacerbated fear put upon the victim due in part to the strategy. While there are confidentiality issues, there needs to be an attempt to share victim data with researchers. Researchers can sign a confidentiality agreement and the victim service provider can share only deidentified data with the researcher. Victim service providers may need to make attempts to follow up with victims after their offenders have been notified to determine what the offender's response was to the notification and try to maintain follow up contact with victims on a regular schedule so long as victim safety is not compromised. It is important not to wait until a site is too far into the initiative to implement victim tracking. Victim service providers need to get used to additional tracking processes/activities at the outset and understand that collection of victim information is vital.

Barriers in the OFDVI Process

A few barriers were identified that the workgroups in both High Point and Lexington have continued to work through. System issues needed to be addressed to make the strategy effective and the right people needed to be involved in regular workgroup meetings to make this happen. The OFDVI workgroup has continued to invite partners as needed and has taken the initiative to approach partners to educate them about the strategy. Education about the strategy will be an ongoing effort as the strategy continues to unfold in each site. At the outset of implementation, the idea was that domestic violence cases could be prosecuted almost as a victimless prosecution. However, the reality has been that it is difficult to prosecute without victim cooperation. It is not unusual for victims of domestic violence to not testify against the offender. This is a barrier that will be an ongoing challenge for the strategy and any site that seeks to replicate. Development and initial implementation of the OFDVI strategy has been labor intensive from both the offender and victim sides. The strategy requires follow-up and monitoring of both offenders and victims and information has to be exchanged regularly between workgroup partners. The OFDVI workgroup has facilitated the exchange of information via regular bi-weekly workgroup meetings. The workgroup intends to continue to get input from victims about what they feel are important issues relating to the strategy and their safety.

There have been some difficulties with contacting victims. Sometimes the difficulty is with the quality of the contact information. Patrol officers have been encouraged to gather new contact information from victims even if contact information already exists in the system. Another issue with victim contact is trust. Most victims do not have a pre-established relationship with the victim service provider. Gaining trust from victims takes time and often victims are hesitant to take calls from someone they do not know. However, as the OFDVI strategy continues to grow in High Point, it is hoped that word will spread within the community and victims will be more aware of why they are being contacted. Finally, there are some victims who simply want to get past the violent event and do not want to relive the incident by talking about it. The good news is that the victim service provider has reported that more victims are taking advantage of services now as compared to six months ago when the strategy first began.

Adjustments to Processes over Time

OFDVI implementation has to include the key ingredients to make the strategy successful. However, the strategy also has to be flexible enough for adjustments to be made where necessary over time. One of the main benefits of the strategy is that the partners in the workgroup identify issues with systems and processes that are barriers to the OFDVI strategy's goals. When barriers are identified, adjustments in processes are often made to address the barriers. Several adjustments in processes have been made along the way in both High Point and Lexington to make the OFDVI strategy more

efficient once problem areas were identified. For example, it was discovered that the clerk of court's office in High Point did not have a procedure in place for the delivery of 50B (protective order) renewals. Renewals are not delivered by Sheriff's deputies as are original 50B protective orders. Without knowing if renewals actually make it into the hands of offenders, prosecutors and law enforcement have no case against offenders who continue to harass or aggress against victims. Therefore, the workgroup has made it a priority to address this issue and have judges specify who should serve renewal notices.

Another problem identified by officers responding to domestic calls for service in High Point was that they quickly learned that it would be helpful to have an informational packet from victim services to distribute to victims at the scene of the incident. The victim service provider began working with police command staff to present information to patrol at command staff meetings. Patrol learned how entrance to domestic violence shelters works and received information about the victim crisis line and how to go through the victim intake portal. The crisis hotline can let officers know right away if there are openings at a shelter. By helping patrol officers better understand the victim process side, patrol officers were better able to assist victims they serve at the scene.

Another issue was identified by victim service providers. Victim service providers reported word from victims indicating that they were having problems with the 50B (protective order) system. Victims felt they were treated poorly when going through the process, victims often did not know what information to include, and sometimes 50Bs were not in the system when victims appeared in court. The workgroup suggested that someone from legal services should attend the workgroup meetings and perhaps a pilot program should be implemented to assist victims through the process. The pilot program could be administered by a local law school using interns, thereby not creating additional costs for personnel. Also, it was suggested that a tip sheet be created for victims to use in the 50B application process so that they would know what information needs to be included. In some cases, judges were not granting 50B protective orders even in cases where they appeared warranted. While the workgroup cannot address this issue directly, media attention or formal complaints from victims and the community could potentially influence some of these decisions. Victims have also reported difficulties with knowing when 50B court hearings will be held. Some have shown up for hearings only to learn that they were not there at the right time. The district attorney's office suggested that the victim service provider document all cases where victims have encountered difficulties with the 50B system and with documented evidence, the workgroup can begin to address the problem areas with key partners.

Sometimes it was difficult for responding officers to identify who the aggressor was in an intimate partner violence situation. In some cases, reports were sent to detectives from patrol without a clear determination. In these situations, it was decided that if both

parties were arrested, both parties would be treated as offenders for purposes of the OFDVI notification strategy. The victim service provider has a policy that they cannot work with a party who is both a victim and an offender. As such, officers were cautioned to take extra care in identifying aggressors and victims because once identified and charged as an aggressor, a person will not be eligible for victim services. In the case of same-sex intimate partner domestic violence, care needs to be taken to code these incidents correctly as intimate partner incidents. In one situation, a magistrate did not correctly code the incident and the offender was able to get out of jail immediately and the detectives were not alerted that an OFDVI notification was needed.

Shortly after implementation of the OFDVI strategy in High Point, officers began to see a need for materials to be printed in Spanish for Spanish-speaking victims. The workgroup quickly decided to invite the Spanish-speaking service provider from victim services to the regular workgroup meetings. All letters to victims were then translated into Spanish and made available to officers responding to domestic violence calls. It was an advantage that the victim service provider already had a Spanish-speaking professional employed thereby allowing the police department to use her as a resource instead of having to hire an interpreter or depend on someone who did not have access to the full context of the OFDVI initiative.

In terms of the group face-to-face notifications in High Point, the OFDVI offenders had a lower attendance rate than typical focused deterrence notification meetings. There could have been several reasons for that. First, domestic violence offenders have been taught that the system is a joke and it can be manipulated very easily. Very rarely have they ever suffered real consequences as a result of their domestic violence actions. Therefore, offenders may have decided that the notification meeting was simply unimportant. Second, many of the offenders were on probation for misdemeanors which means that if they violate a condition of their probation by missing the notification meeting, then the repercussions would not be severe. This is in comparison to offenders in other focused deterrence strategies who were more often on probation for felonies. However, by having probation officers “dip” no-show offenders from the second notification, this will make a statement to offenders that the notification meeting is serious and attendance is mandatory or else face consequences.

Sustaining the OFDVI Strategy

Capitalize on Strengths

There have been many identified strengths that has helped the OFDVI strategy succeed in both High Point and Lexington. Community involvement through the High Point Community Against Violence has made a tremendous impact. As Detective Jerry Thompson explained:

“I showed up for first appearance bond hearing and I turn around and look and there are 8 people from the community sitting outside for a bond hearing on a domestic violence case. You never even hear of that, you know. That strategy of having them there for a judge to look and see people from the community that want to see this guy locked up for a domestic violence case is very rewarding to say the least.”

The community’s support of the police department and the strategy speaks volumes to those who are doing the work. The officers who work within the High Point Police Department often stated during interviews about the OFDVI strategy that community support was a huge factor in the Department’s success with focused deterrence policing. Many officers made comments such as the following from Detective Janelle Kuchler that really epitomizes the level of support that the Department feels from the community. Police officers really see the value of having supportive community members who educate other community members on the positive contributions that the Department is making to the community. Detective Kuchler’s comment also alludes to the power that the community will have in touting the success of the OFDVI strategy and its effectiveness in an effort garner further community support moving forward:

“There is, a lot of times the community, they don’t like the police. They don’t understand us. But I think when you have people out there talking about all the good things we are doing, it changes their minds. And then they come to believe, ‘Well the police are not so bad after all. This is what they are doing. They are doing this to help our community. They are not out here trying to put everyone in jail, like everyone thinks anyway’... I think that we have been lucky with continuing to have community members come to our [OFDVI workgroup] meetings. I think that it is really good that we have such a good relationship with the ones that have been very involved from the very beginning because I think they want us to succeed. They want to say, ‘Oh, my gosh! Look. This is what the police department is doing. This is incredible and I think that is helping a lot’.”

Both Lexington and High Point Police Department’s willingness to take a risk on an initiative they felt would be successful was a huge step. Only a department with an open-minded administration and attention to precision and detail would be able to logistically develop the plan and adjust based on feedback along the way. High Point’s leadership staff is very unique in this regard and their partners were equally as willing to critically examine their own operations and make changes for the sake of the greater good of the strategy. In a partnership effort such as this, enough cannot be said for the influence of personalities to gel and work together and for the motivation of personnel to make the process better. Intangibles go a long way in driving the success of focused deterrence strategies, particularly with the novelty and complexity of the OFDVI model. The following statement from the High Point Community Against Violence President,

Gretta Bush, best summarizes the reasoning behind the OFDVI strategy's and other focused deterrence partnership's success in High Point:

“Success comes from the relationships and respect we have for each other [law enforcement and community]. You have to have it, and that is in anything that you do, I don't care who you are. If there is no respect among each other and the persons involved you, just can't move anywhere so we just carry that over in the work that we do. The ones that don't want to adhere to that and believe in what we do kind of fall by the wayside automatically because they see that you are on a team and that it's tight.”

Each law enforcement in both sites and their partnering agencies in have demonstrated a willingness to go the extra mile and adapt their processes and think creatively to better focus on domestic violence offenders. As suggested by the National Institute of Justice (Klein, 2009), arrest is only the first step in stopping abuse. Countermeasures must begin immediately once the suspect is released pending trial or as in the cases of Lexington and High Point even in the jail as the offender is awaiting trial. In Lexington and High Point, offender jail calls are monitored and if the offender violates a no-contact order, he is charged and this is applied as a lever to keep him from continuing to contact, harass, and intimidate his victim. Prosecutors must be willing to pursue conditions of pre-trial release to protect victims and set conditions of no-contact.

A case example of how everyone worked together to pull levers to focus on a domestic violence offender in Lexington was presented by the researchers at a conference (Sechrist & Weil, 2015). In this example, an offender arrested for assault on female. LPD began to monitoring jail calls. It was discovered that the offender was continuing to call his victim in violation of a no-contact order set by the judge. The offender was then charged by LPD with contempt of court for every jail call made to the victim violating his court order of no-contact. The offender then had to serve five days for each of his 15 jail calls, which he had to serve prior to his trial for the original assault on female charge. Probation stepped in and noted that the offender was on probation for a previous assault. Probation then pulled their lever and arrested him for a probation violation and the offender had to serve an additional 80 days prior to facing his assault charge. Meanwhile, the prosecutor's office began to review the case and the incident in question was captured on video surveillance outside of a convenience store. After viewing the assault footage, the district attorney indicted offender for kidnapping in addition to the assault charge because the offender was preventing the victim from leaving the scene. Lexington has gone a step further, by creating certain, predictable consequences through partner buy-in. In Lexington, nearly every guilty defendant gets 18 months of supervised probation which includes abuser treatment program and conditions not to threaten, harass, or assault the victim, plus any other conditions such as Alco-Sensor monitoring. The case examples in Lexington demonstrate how each partner does their

part and plays a vital role in making the criminal justice system focus on domestic violence offenders and work against them in ways the offenders have never experienced before.

All successes should be celebrated by partners and broadcast to the larger community. By demonstrating success and showing the value of the OFDVI strategy, it is likely to garner more support and will come to be thought of as an unexpendable asset to the community.

Research and Evaluation

Ongoing research and evaluation of the OFDVI strategy can help sustain it. If the partners and the community are able to see desired results, including a decrease in intimate partner domestic violence calls for service, a decrease in repeat calls for service to the same location, and a decline in serious injuries and deaths to victims, then the OFDVI strategy will carry forward. Police officers want to see measureable results and if they can see that the OFDVI strategy is producing results, especially those that reduce officer workload required to respond to domestic violence, then they will buy into the strategy. The community will do the same.

Organizational Restructuring

Structural and organizational changes within the police department and other participating agencies have taken place in both Lexington and High Point to sustain the strategy over time. HPPD has created a Domestic Violence unit and LPD has set aside money to sustain officer positions dedicated to OFDVI even while the Department as a whole is downsizing.

Decision-Makers

A crucial component to sustaining the OFDVI strategy is in the mindset of the administration and decision makers in key roles at the Police Department and within partnering organizations. The Police Department drives the strategy and the strategy serves the purpose of reducing crime and strengthening police-community relations. Chief Marty Sumner of HPPD emphasizes the importance of making sure that the Department is continually monitoring where they are with the strategy and the need for system change in order to sustain the strategy:

“Law enforcement agencies can have such a huge impact by leading stuff like this [OFDVI strategy] in the community. They can be such a force for doing the right thing, healing, mending fences. I think it’s important to make sure that cities and communities are identifying leaders who are, I don’t want to say who are fearless or a loose cannon, but have the ability to think outside the box, are willing to take calculated risks, get out of the mold of doing the same thing we’ve always done because this is the way we’ve done it. Going back to recognizing

that we're not going to arrest our way out of these things. Offenders are rational. A lot of the problem is not the offenders, but it is us as law enforcement, and how we're interacting with them and the system we've set up for them. You know, we need to really be thinking about those things. You know, what can we change to add predictability, to interact with these folks better, to inform them, to strip away the anonymity? I think it's almost counterintuitive because a lot of it's so simple. When you're stuck in this mode of doing police work the same ole' way because you've done it that way for 80 years, you're almost head-first to these ideas right out of the gate. It doesn't take a \$500,000 grant; it doesn't take 400 more people. It really takes just a good look in the mirror about 'What am I doing here? Is what I'm doing effective? And am I willing to change what I'm doing?'"

The voice of Chief Sumner above indicates the Police Department's willingness to own the problem of domestic violence within the community. The irony is in the complete wraparound shared in High Point Community Against Violence (HPCAV) President Gretta Bush's statement below. The statement illustrates how she views HPCAV's mission to educate the community and when the community begins to own the problem of violence, the strategy will be sustained:

"The community has blamed the police for something that is not in the police department's control so we [the High Point Community Against Violence] have been able to educate the community on this. So when we do the maintenance and the self-sustaining we need to make sure each time we go out, even door to door, this is about HPCAV working with the community members to make sure that their community is safe. These things are put in place [focused deterrence efforts] and you have to be a part of the solution, not a part of creating more problems and making sure someone else takes charge of your community."

Looking Forward

When David Kennedy was asked what his overall goal of the OFDVI strategy was, he stated the following, which in conclusion encapsulates what the strategy has shown signs of doing thus far:

"There's nothing sophisticated here... We wanted to keep these women from being killed. We wanted to, to the extent possible, interfere and present the less serious abuse that they were suffering the way the intervention ended up being structured, there's at least reason to hope that it will intervene early in the repeat victimization process and lessen both the seriousness and the incidence that potential victims would be exposed to and to reform the official side of this so the criminal justice agencies and their other partners in a sustained way would act in we hope considerably more effective ways. I guess there is something even simpler to say about all that. Domestic violence has been growing in the extent to

which society and agencies take it seriously for several decades now, but when you look at the steps that have been taken, almost all of those steps have been about the victims and the situation of the victims. And a lot of it has put additional burdens on victims to take action, protect themselves and extend themselves. And very, very little has been done that is even aimed at changing the behavior of abusers and none of that has been very effective whether its enforcement or treatment or programs or fill in the blank. The domestic violence movement and domestic violence interventions have been very, very heavily and I believe disproportionately victim-centric and that's not say that victims don't need protection, services and such, because they certainly do. But, we have devoted remarkably little thought to how we change the behavior of offenders and if we can't change their behavior, how get them out of the mix and protect victims. The most fundamental thing that we were about here was to try to fix that in some meaningful way."

Through the evaluation of the OFDVI strategy and its replication, we have evidence that the strategy has been able to achieve the desired goals initially set forth. Notified offenders are being deterred as evidenced by low recidivism rates, especially when compared to recidivism rates in the literature from other types of offender interventions. Victims are not being harmed as a result of notifications and the overall percentage of domestic violence incidents that result in victim injury and intimate partner domestic violence homicides have decreased dramatically. Intimate partner domestic violence calls for service and arrests have decreased and are expected to continue to decline in coming years. Given the positive evaluation findings, it is expected that the High Point and Lexington Police Departments and their partners will ultimately sustain the strategy and those communities can expect to see a huge impact on domestic violence. It is also expected that other communities will take notice of the OFDVI strategy and seek to replicate it. If replicated with due diligence and structured guidance from HPPD, LPD, NCNSC T/TA team or other professionals knowledgeable in the work, it can be expected that those communities will also reap the benefits of the OFDVI strategy.

In Closing

The Offender Focused Domestic Violence Initiative was designed to challenge traditional systemic responses to intimate partner domestic violence, which have not been consistently effective to deter offenders, by holding offenders of intimate partner domestic violence accountable for their actions through swift, certain, and potentially severe consequences. The traditional victim focused responses to IPDV have also served to re-victimize and re-traumatize victims without consistently addressing offender behaviors with meaningful or predictable consequences. It is completely illogical to expect offenders to change their behaviors when both the criminal justice system and

the community moral voice remains unchanged, and offenders are not held accountable. Intimate partner domestic violence is about power and control, and OFDVI can be a powerful vehicle in taking that power and control away from the offenders, and both empowering law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, community resource providers, community members, and most importantly, victims, to respond to intimate partner domestic violence in a safer and more effective manner. Domestic violence **IS** violent crime, and may be the worst type of violent crime because offenders know their victims, because victims love and trust the offenders, because children and families are involved, and because the consequences of intimate partner violence are so pervasive.

Victims of other types of violent crime such as drug robberies, violence related to gang “beefs”, street robberies, and aggravated assaults are certainly victims, and experience trauma. But the victims of IPDV can experience all the trauma of violent crime with additional harm as the violence is being perpetrated by someone who they love, and who they trust, and who supposedly loves and cares for them too. The effects of the IPDV on all facets of a victims life are felt through the physical pain, the loss of relationships through isolation, the loss of self-esteem, the theft of opportunity from being involved in a controlling and abusive relationship, the terrible effect and trauma on the children who live in homes with IPDV and have to witness a mother or caregiver experience violence, the feelings of helplessness and hopelessness for victims who feel betrayed and victimized by the criminal justice system, and so many more devastating consequences as a result of the behaviors of the offenders. So when people say “Oh, DV is different, it’s not the same as other violent crime”, those people are right. IPDV is different, it is arguably worse, and OFDVI was designed to respond in a different way to be offender focused, hold everyone accountable, including law enforcement, court personnel, probation officers, community members, victim advocates, prosecutors, and community service providers.

The results in both High point and Lexington are very promising. Calls for service are down, injuries are down, homicides are down, and entire cities and jurisdictions are doing things differently; intentionally working together to address offender behavior. OFDVI offers a completely different approach to IPDV, which holds the promise of accountability for offenders that has historically been absent or inconsistent. With that said, any city or jurisdiction wishing to implement OFDVI must be willing to truly change the way they work internally, the way they work with other agencies, the way they work with their community and community partners, and the way they work with victims and offenders.

Rob Lang, Project Safe Neighborhoods, Reentry, and Anti-Gang Coordinator for United States Attorney Ripley Rand in the Middle District of North Carolina, includes this quote in his e-mails:

“It is said that there is no limit to the good a person can do if he does not mind who gets the credit.” – Author unknown.

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Appendices

Appendix A. C-level offender notification letter.

OFFENDER FOCUSED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INITIATIVE

[Date of Letter]

Dear [Offender Name],

Because of your arrest in the most recent domestic related incident on [date of incident] I am writing to let you know that members of the High Point Police Department are taking a new focused approach in preventing future acts of domestic violence. This letter is your official notice that your name has been added to a watch list for "C" list offenders. The watch list will be reviewed daily by detectives assigned to the Domestic Violence Task Force who will be looking for any complaints about domestic violence related activity involving you. Domestic Violence Task Force detectives will consider complaints from any source; officers, neighbors, family members, a witness, a friend or the victim.

Your status as a "C" list offender brings you closer to a possible prison sentence. This status with the Domestic Violence Task Force means you are now being targeted for closer attention, scrutiny and/or penalties by our agency. We will continue to look systematically, for any complaints about domestic violence related activity involving you. Stop your violent actions now.

Understand that under Federal Law, individuals under a 50b (Domestic Violence Protection Order) order, or who have been convicted of a misdemeanor crime of domestic violence cannot ship, transport, receive or possess firearms. Officers who believe probable cause exists that an offense took place must arrest the offender. We consider this fair warning so you can avoid charges, court appearances and possible imprisonment.

Domestic violence related crimes are threats, trespassing, damage to property, assaults, harassment, stalking, sexual assault, assaults inflicting injury and homicide. Chief Marty Sumner has ordered that our number one priority be to focus on domestic violence offenders. Unannounced police checks on your residence may be conducted. Further incidents involving you will be documented, reviewed and acted upon. You need to know our policy is to arrest domestic violence offenders whenever possible. Officers who believe probable cause exists that an offense took place must arrest the offender.

Sincerely,

Lt. Kevin Ray
Violent Crime Unit

Appendix B. C-level victim notification letter.

Notice To: [Victim Name]

After the domestic related call involving you, I want to inform you that the members of the High Point Police Department are taking a new focused approach in preventing future acts of domestic violence. I have ordered that our number one priority be to focus on domestic violence offenders. Domestic violence related crimes include threats, trespassing, damage to property, assaults, harassment, stalking, sexual assault, assaults inflicting injury and homicide. If you would like to speak with someone at the police department about your incident or about further action you can contact Detective Kuchler at 336-887-7834. Your call will be treated as confidential.

*Chief Marty Sumner
High Point Police Department*

The police department has partnered more closely with Family Service of the Piedmont to reduce victimization and save the lives of DV victims. There are many ways that we can provide help to victims of domestic violence it can be in the form of resources, counseling, guidance, listening and/or risk assessment. I ask that you please talk with a victim service provider; you may contact Nikki at 336-889-6161, ext. 3331. The victim services are free to you. Please use this resource to build a new life free from abuse.

*Susan Wies, Director of Victim Services
Family Service of the Piedmont*

The aggressor in the domestic violence call will be given written notice of our policy to arrest domestic violence offenders whenever possible. Officers who believe probable cause exists that an offense took place must arrest the **offender**. This person will be added to a watch list reviewed daily looking for any complaints about domestic violence related activity involving them from any source; officers, neighbors, family members, a witness, a friend or the victim.

*Lt. Kevin Ray
Violent Crime Unit*

Appendix C. D-level offender notification letter.

OFFENDER FOCUSED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INITIATIVE

[Date of Letter]

Dear [Offender Name],

Because of the domestic related call involving you on [Date] I am writing to let you know that members of the High Point Police Department are taking a new focused approach in preventing future acts of domestic violence. This letter is your official notice that your name has been added to a watch list. The watch list will be reviewed daily by detectives assigned to the Domestic Violence Task Force who will be looking for any complaints about domestic violence related activity involving you. Domestic Violence Task Force detectives will consider complaints from any source; officers, neighbors, family members, a witness, a friend or the victim.

Domestic violence related crimes are threats, trespassing, damage to property, assaults, harassment, stalking, sexual assault, assaults inflicting injury and homicide. Chief Marty Sumner has ordered that our number one priority be to focus on domestic violence offenders. Unannounced police checks on your residence may be conducted. Further incidents involving you will be documented, reviewed and acted upon.

You need to know our policy is to arrest domestic violence offenders whenever possible. Officers who believe probable cause exists that an offense took place must arrest the offender. We consider this fair warning so you can avoid charges, court appearances and possible imprisonment.

Sincerely,

Lt. Kevin Ray
Violent Crimes Unit

Appendix D. D-level offender script when delivering notification letter.

Scripted Message When Delivering a “D” List Letter to the OFFENDER

1. Introduce yourself as a domestic violence task force officer (list task force member agencies) HPPD, Family Service of the Piedmont, GC Social Services, GC District Attorney’s Office, UNCG, United States Attorney’s Office, HPCAV, FBI, ATF, DEA, U.S. Marshall’s Office.
2. Chief Sumner declared domestic violence our number one public safety threat so our entire department is focused on reducing domestic violence
3. Domestic violence is wrong and will not be tolerated. We will investigate complaints from any source, not just the victim.
4. This is your official notice we are taking a new approach to stop domestic violence by focusing completely on the offender
5. Receiving this letter means you have been reported to the Domestic Violence Task Force for monitoring
6. Your name is on an internal HPPD watch list (flagged in the computer), any future incident involving you triggers an alert for the task force review the call or incident for follow up
7. Monitoring may also include unannounced police checks on you
8. Starting today, being charged with a domestic related offense, even for the first time, brings intense police attention. We will examine your record to see what else you can be prosecuted for, probation violations, reinvestigation of old cases that were dismissed, etc.; your pattern of violence will be used against you
9. This approach is being driven by the POLICE **not** the victim

(D List Perpetrator Script-Rev. 03-27-2012)

Appendix E. D-level victim notification letter.

NOTICE TO: [Victim Name]

After the domestic related call involving you, I want to inform you that the members of the High Point Police Department are taking a new focused approach in preventing future acts of domestic violence. I have ordered that our number one priority be to focus on domestic violence offenders. Domestic violence related crimes include threats, trespassing, damage to property, assaults, harassment, stalking, sexual assault, assaults inflicting injury and homicide. If you would like to speak with someone at the police department about your incident or about further action you can contact Detective Kuchler at 336-887-7834. Your call will be treated as confidential.

*Chief Marty Sumner
High Point Police Department*

The police department has partnered more closely with Family Service of the Piedmont to reduce victimization and save the lives of DV victims. There are many ways that we can provide help to victims of domestic violence. It can be in the form of resources, counseling, guidance, listening and/or risk assessment. I ask that you please talk with a victim service provider; you may contact Nikki at 336-889-6161, ext. 3331. The victim services are free to you. Please use this resource to build a new life, free from abuse.

*Susan Wies, Director of Victim Services
Family Service of the Piedmont*

The aggressor in the domestic violence call will be given written notice of our policy to arrest domestic violence offenders whenever possible. Officers who believe probable cause exists that an offense took place must arrest the **offender**. This person will be added to a watch list reviewed daily looking for any complaints about domestic violence related activity involving them from any source; officers, neighbors, family members, a witness, a friend or the victim.

*Lt. Jason Henderson
Violent Crime Unit*