

TOLEDO POLICE DEPARTMENT



Photo by Scott Grau

Annual Pursuit Analysis Report 2021

February 28, 2022

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Subject: Annual Pursuit Analysis – 2021

The following is a pursuit analysis, which is required by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) on an annual basis. This report takes an in-depth look into all pursuits that occurred in 2021, with focus given to the reasons pursuits were initiated, terminated, and any violations of the pursuit policy that may have occurred. The main purpose of this analysis is to reveal patterns or trends that indicate training needs and/or policy changes. After the data is analyzed, recommendations will be made to the chief of police on ways to improve or enhance our current pursuit policy.

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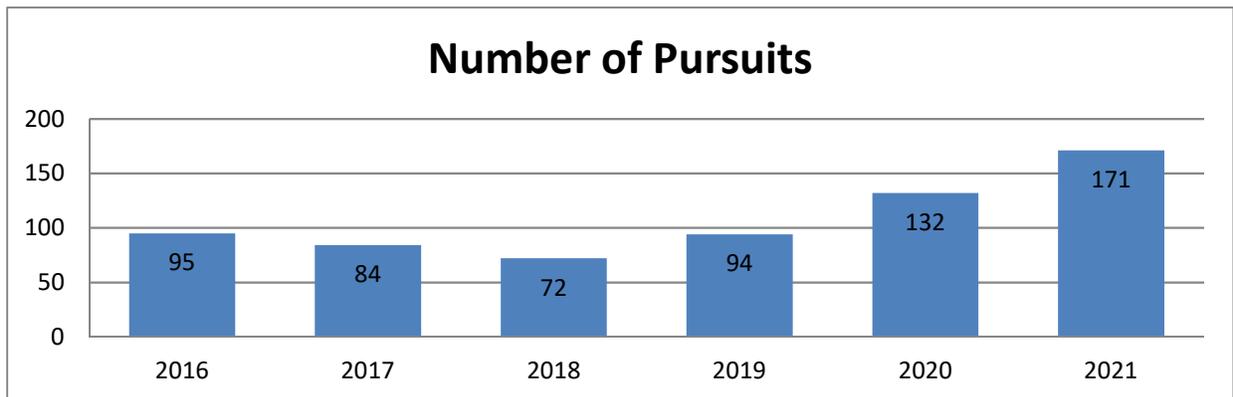
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Introduction

The Toledo Police Department recognizes the fact that pursuits can be inherently dangerous. For that reason, pursuits go through multiple layers of review to ensure that protocol is being followed and to identify officer safety issues, potential risks to the public, training needs and liability issues. All pursuits are subject to an after-action review which is completed by the pursuing officer's immediate supervisor and includes all officers involved. This is a crucial part of the review process for a couple of reasons. It typically happens shortly after the pursuit, leaving it fresh in the minds of all involved. It also allows the officers a chance to be involved in the review process, giving them a better understanding of what is expected.

Pursuit reports are completed in the Benchmark Analytics system by supervisors. Completion of pursuit reports using this method began in October of 2020. Benchmark is able to collect the data from each pursuit report and funnel it into an "analytics viewer." This data is vital to the accuracy of this annual analysis report and is useful in identifying any trends and patterns regarding pursuits.

The first section of this analysis will begin by examining the total number of vehicle pursuits that occurred in 2021. The research will look to compare the number of pursuits from the previous year with the goal being to explain any data trends.



The above chart displays the number of pursuits that have occurred over the past six years. A total of 171 pursuits occurred in 2021 compared to 132 in 2020. The 29.5% increase in pursuits from 2020 to 2021 is the second largest increase in pursuits we have seen over the course of the last six years (2019 to 2020 was 40.4%). An increase such as this is difficult to quantify, especially when one considers for the second straight year, the total number of traffic stops conducted by Toledo Police Officers decreased.

2021 saw 16,713 traffic stops compared to 2020 which had 17,713 (5.6% decrease). For reference, traffic stops also decreased by 39.6% from 2019 to 2020 (29,341 traffic stops in 2019). To explain why this trend has continued for the second straight year, we must first examine two things: The first is the manpower of the police department and the second is the crime rate. The total number of Toledo Police Officers decreased 4.3% from 2020 to 2021. While at first that may not seem like a significant drop, it is important to realize just how meaningful that number could be. There is a 26 officer difference between 2021 and 2020 (578 compared to 604). When the total number of officers the department has had each of the last two years is compared to the

total number of traffic stops conducted by officers over the last two years, a single officer could average approximately 29.2 traffic stops per year. It should be noted that this number does not include officers who were considered “academy trainees” during any portion of either year.

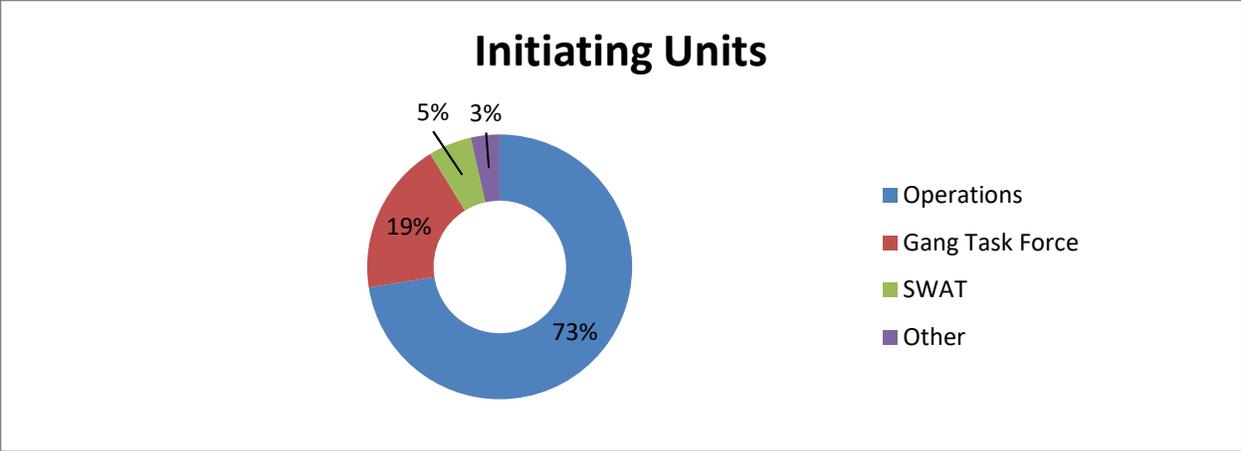
Now for the sake of transparency, there are many important variables that could effect this number. The most important being the fact that not every officer on the department has a role where traffic stops are a routine part of their duties and responsibilities. Another factor is that some officers work in pairs, which would logically skew this average. With that aside, the reason it is important to look at this average of 29.2 traffic stops per officer as a whole is to show that at a minimum, a decrease of 26 officers could theoretically result in a reduction of approximately 759 traffic stops per year. This is a substantial number and one that might shed some light on why traffic stops have gone down for the second consecutive year.

The next question to consider is “if traffic stops are steadily decreasing, why are pursuits continuing to increase?” To begin to answer that question, we will first look at total crime that occurred in Toledo for 2021. Data provided by the Toledo Police Criminal Intelligence Section shows that 6,978 total tracked crimes occurred in 2021 (tracked crimes includes Homicides, Shootings, Robberies, Burglaries, Auto Thefts, and Thefts from a Motor Vehicle). This is a 3.7% increase in crime from 2020 (6,731 total tracked crimes). It is only logical to assume that if crime is increasing, there is a higher probability that a vehicle pursuit may occur when an officer attempts to conduct a traffic stop, based on the fact that the fleeing driver has an increased likelihood of potentially being involved in one of the previously mentioned crime categories.

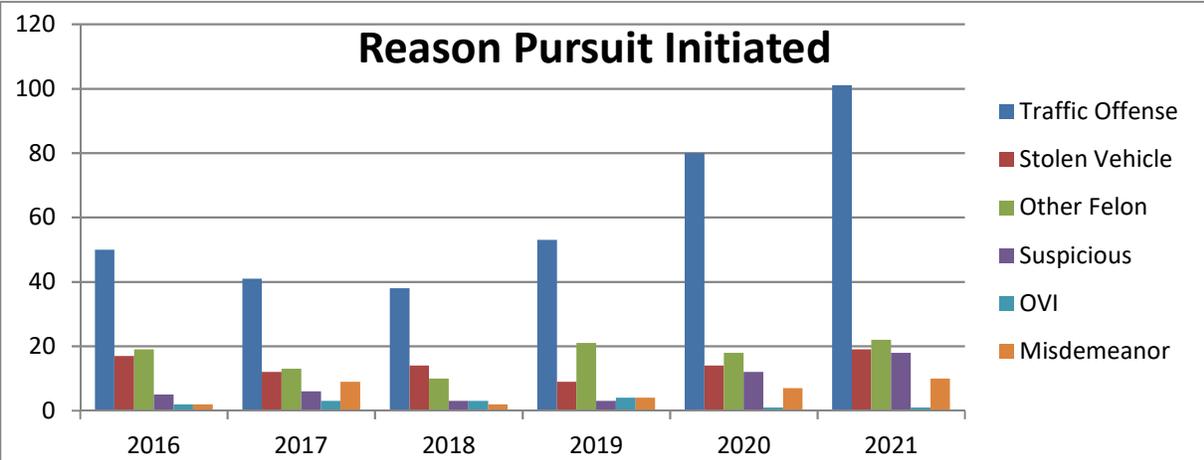
The final factor to consider when trying to determine why pursuits are continuing to increase is this: Of the 171 pursuits that occurred in 2021, 23 of the pursuits involved a juvenile driver (13.4% of all pursuits). There is potential for this number to be even higher due to the fact that there were numerous pursuits during the year where the suspected driver of the pursued vehicle was never located. The youngest driver of a pursued vehicle in 2021 was 12 years old with the average age of a fleeing juvenile suspect being 15.04 years old. A recent study titled *Heightened Adolescent Risk Taking? Insights from Lab Studies on Age Differences in Decision-Making* regarding adolescent risk taking (which defines adolescents as ages 11-19) concluded that “adolescents take more risks than adults in general, and especially on tasks with immediate outcome feedback on rewards and losses” (Defoe, Semon, Romer, 2019, pp. 56-63).

What this study helps to show in relation to vehicle pursuits is that if a juvenile is being pulled over by the police, and this juvenile is involved in a crime or some sort of criminal activity, their decision making to pull over and stop for the police may be impaired by their increased likelihood to take a risk and flee, especially compared to other age groups. Of the 23 pursuits with juvenile drivers, 15 involved a stolen vehicle, five involved reckless driving/traffic offenses, one involved the suspect fleeing after shooting at officers, one involved a felony vandalism, and one involved an unauthorized use of a motor vehicle.

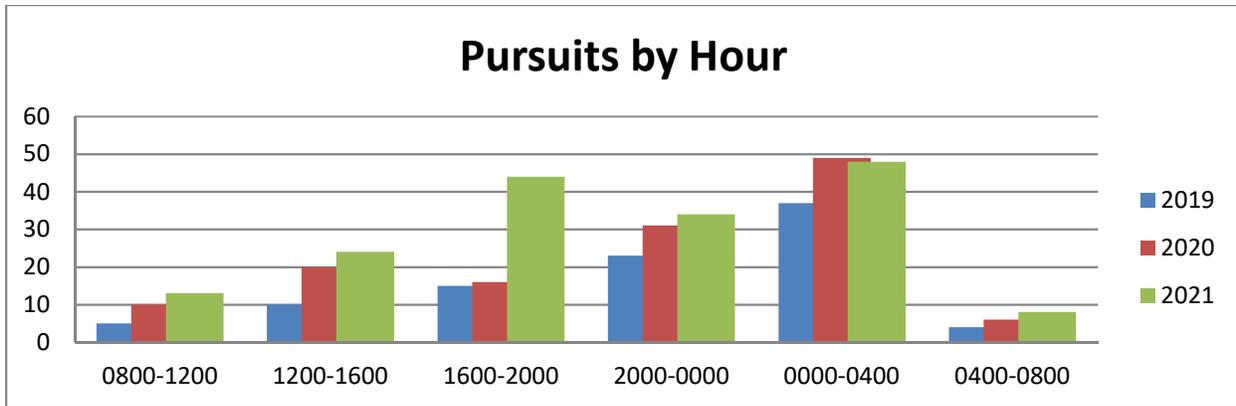
When one looks at the totality of the circumstances and examines the fact that crime increased in 2021 and a significant portion of pursuits involved juvenile suspects, it is reasonable to have predicted that there would be a potential for pursuits to increase from 2020 to 2021.



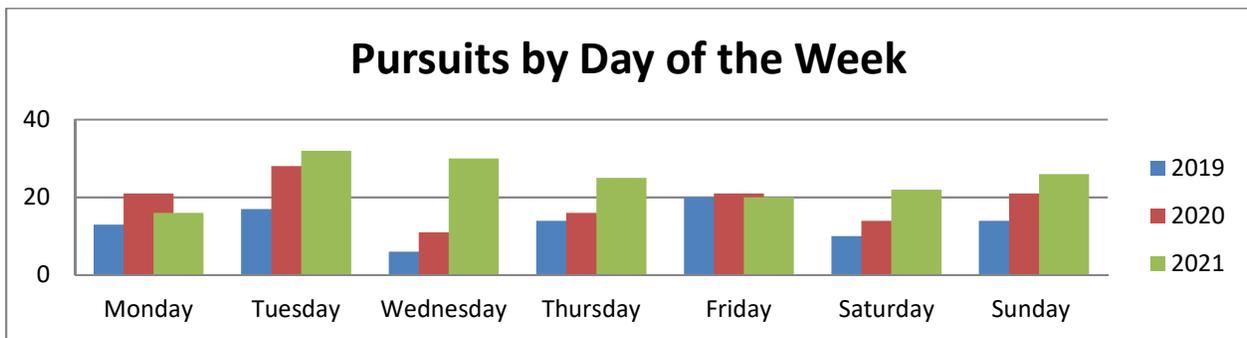
The above chart represents which function of the Toledo Police Department was responsible for initiating each pursuit: Operations officers initiated 124 pursuits, the Gang Task Force Section initiated 32, the SWAT Section initiated nine, and there were six pursuits that were initiated from the “other” category. In that category, three pursuits were initiated by the Canine Unit and three from the Traffic Section.



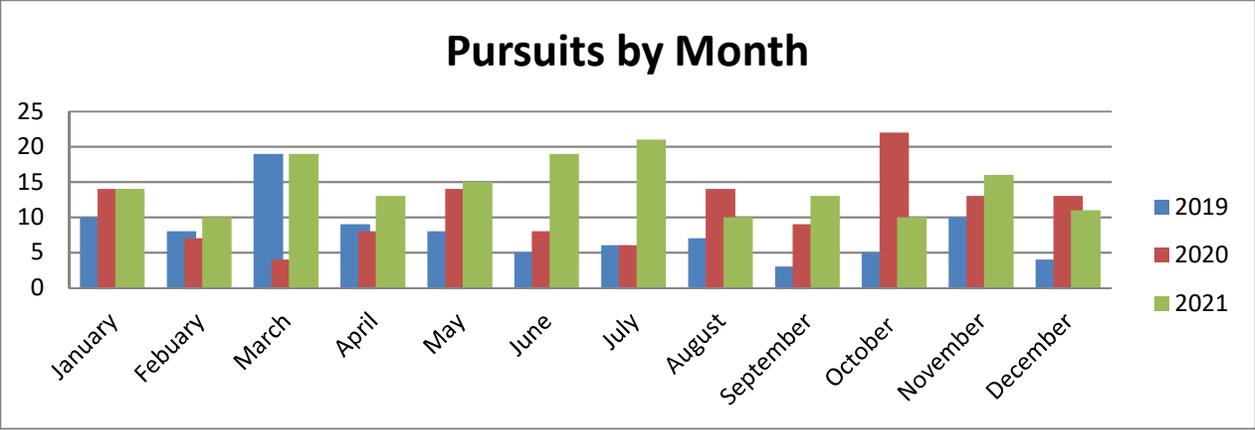
Suspects avoid apprehension for a multitude of reasons and given that numerous police contacts are initiated through traffic stops, it is clear to see why vehicle pursuits can transpire. For the purpose of this analysis, only the initial reason for the pursuit was tracked. Traffic violations were the most frequent reason for the initiation, accounting for roughly 59.1% (slightly down from 60.6% in 2020) of the total number of pursuits. This was followed by felony violations at 12.9% (13.6% in 2020), stolen vehicles at 11.1% (10.6% in 2020), and finally misdemeanor violations, suspicious vehicles and OVI violations accounting for the remaining 16.9 % (slightly up from 15.2% in 2020).



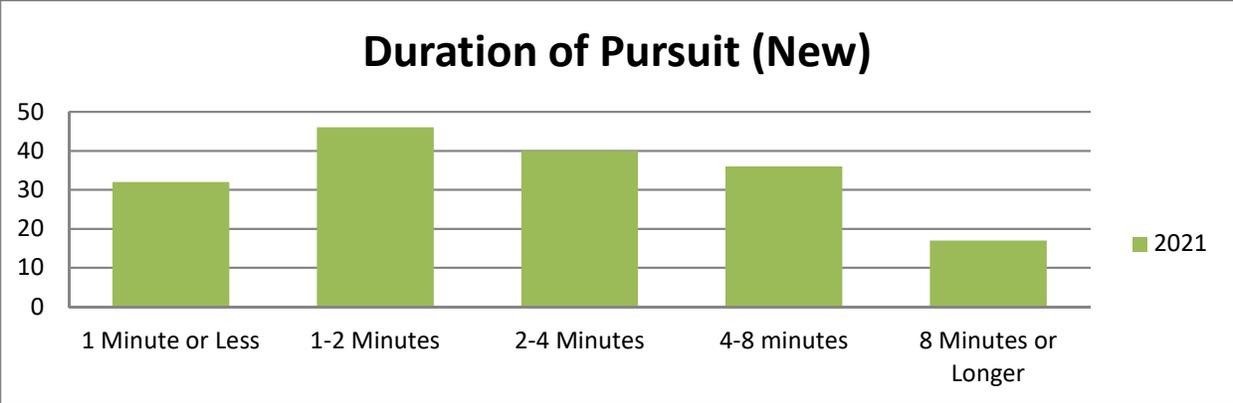
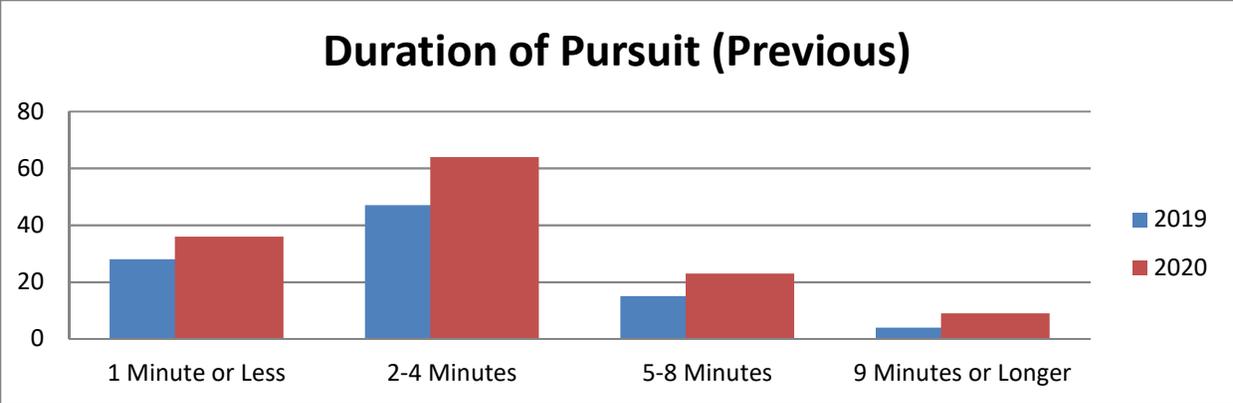
The hours between 0000 and 0400 had the highest percentage of pursuits at 28.1% (down from 37.1% in 2020). Only 4.6% of the pursuits occurred between 0400 hours and 0800 hours (similar to the 4.5% observed in 2020). Forty-eight percent of all pursuits occurred between 2000 hours and 0400 hours. This is down from an average of sixty-two percent from previous years. The category that saw the biggest increase in pursuits was the hours between 1600 and 2000. 2019 and 2020 averaged 15.5 pursuits per year for this category while 2021 had 44 (25.7% of all pursuits for a percentage increase of 13.5% from 2020).



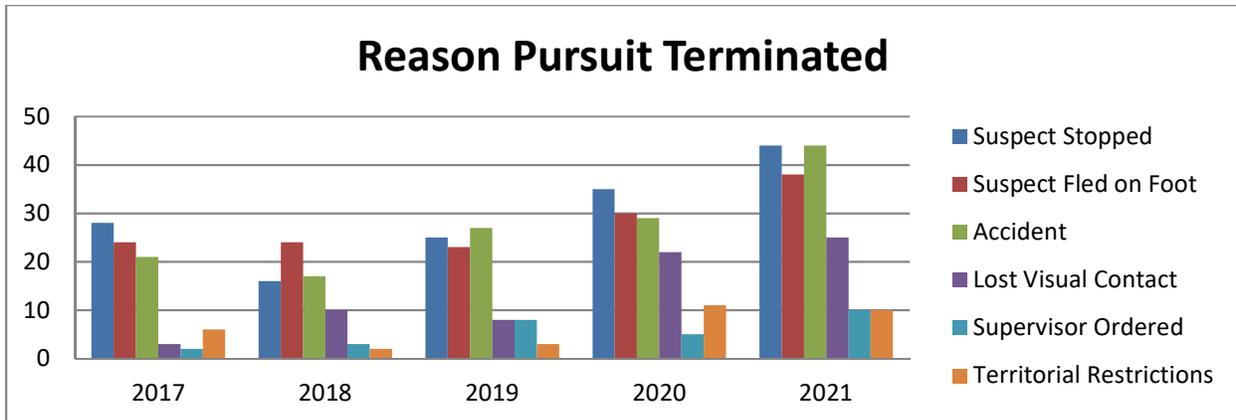
There was a large increase in pursuits on Wednesdays (30 compared to a two year average of 8.5 pursuits) and Thursdays (25 compared to an average of 15.0 pursuits the last two years). For the second consecutive year, Tuesday had the highest amount of pursuits with 32. Monday had the least amount of pursuits with 16.



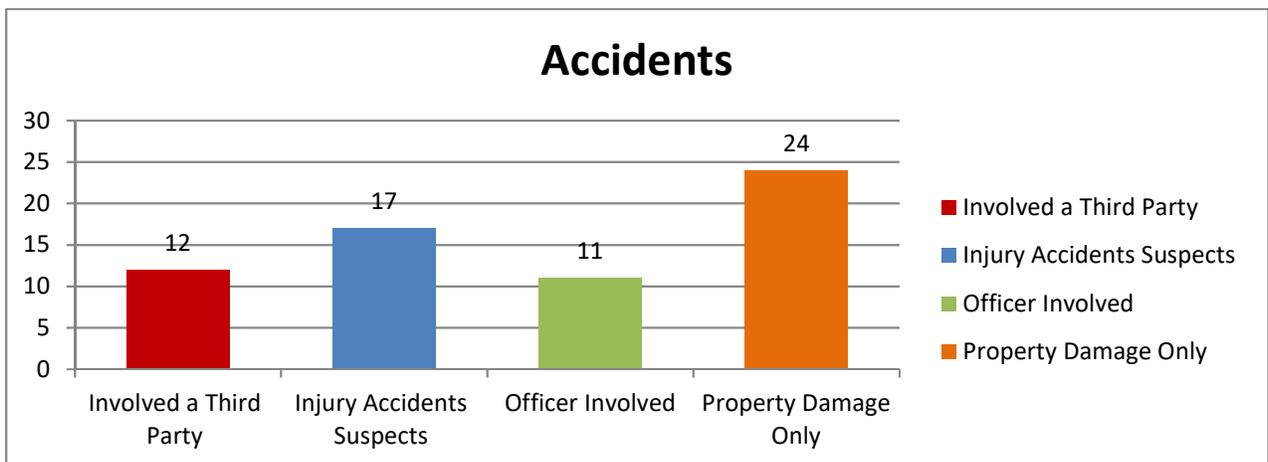
The month of July saw the highest number of pursuits with 21. For reference, the most pursuits that occurred in a month during 2020 were the 22 pursuits that took place in October of that year. June and March were tied for the second highest months with 19 pursuits each. The months of February, August, and October had the lowest number of pursuits with 10 each. It is not surprising to see June and July account for 23.4% of all pursuits. Considering that these two summer months have a more pleasant climate compared to others, there is an increased potential for more people to be outside, thus resulting in opportunities for criminal activity to be more prevalent (19.8% of all total tracked crimes for 2021 occurred during these two months).



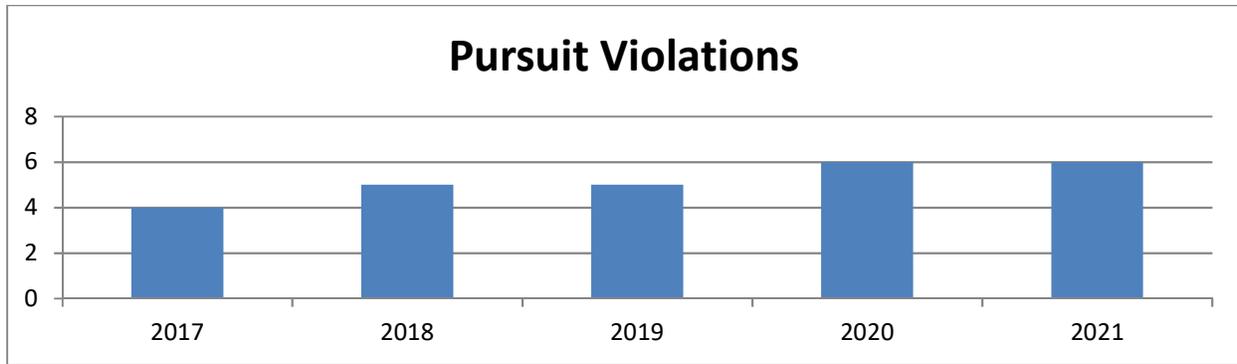
Duration of pursuit data tracked through Benchmark Analytics was re-defined in 2021 and is represented in the chart displaying 2021 data (green). The chart showing previous years data is included for reference, however, since the data categories are slightly different, the results from 2021 cannot accurately be compared to previous years. 2021 data will establish a baseline that can be referenced and compared to in future analysis reports. In 2021, 69% of vehicle pursuits initiated by a Toledo Police officer lasted less than four minutes in duration. Additionally, 18.7% of all pursuits lasted one minute or less. The longest pursuit (**VP21-12-186**) was 33 minutes in duration and is summarized later in this report.



Pursuits ending due to accidents (44 total, 25.7%), were tied with pursuits that ended due to the suspect stopping on their own accord (also a total of 44 for 25.7% of all pursuits). In 22.2% of the pursuits, the suspect fled the vehicle on foot (remarkably close to the 22.8% observed in 2020). As previously mentioned, vehicle accidents accounted for ending 25.7% of all pursuits. This percentage is up approximately 3.8% from 2020. Those pursuits ending because of a loss of visual contact, territorial restrictions, and supervisor ordered amounted to 26.4% percent in total. This percentage only slightly decreased from 2020 by approximately 2.3%. The steadiness of this number can most likely be attributed to the supervisors, as well as the patrol officers, continuing to closely weigh the totality of the circumstances during a vehicle pursuit, and knowing when it is appropriate to terminate.



A total of 55 pursuits that occurred in 2021 involved an accident (32.1% of all pursuits) compared to 43 in 2020 (32.6% of all pursuits). The above graph represents the breakdown of those incidents. There were two fatal pursuit (**VP21-3-42** and **VP21-10-153**) which resulted in a suspect losing their life and both are summarized later in this report. There were an additional 15 pursuits that resulted in injury to the suspect. Most of the injuries were minor in nature. Toledo Police officers were involved in 11 accidents and there were a total of 12 accidents involving a third party. It should be noted that a total of nine accidents accounted for more than one above listed category (a total of 64 events are displayed in the above chart).



In 2021 there were a total of six pursuits where an officer or multiple officers were found to have committed a violation (2020 also had the same amount of violations). All of the violations were directly related to the pursuit policy, with five of the violations being minor in nature and one incident being major. In all of the incidents, officers were either formally counseled or given a verbal reprimand, provided instruction on proper procedure of the department's pursuit policy, and advised on how to avoid future violations.

Forcible-Stop Devices Used in 2021

Incident Number	Date	Effective
VP21-3-27	02/27/21	No
VP21-3-29	03/03/21	Yes
VP21-3-31	03/07/21	No
VP21-3-40	03/14/21	Yes
VP21-4-53	04/20/21	Yes
VP21-4-56	04/25/21	No
VP21-4-62	04/29/21	No
VP21-5-68	05/04/21	Yes
VP21-6-82	05/24/21	No
VP21-9-139	09/06/21	Yes
VP21-9-144	09/21/21	Yes
VP21-10-152	10/05/21	Yes
VP21-12-186	12/11/21	Yes

Per the Toledo Police Department Manual, the use of road spike devices (forcible-stop device) shall be permitted in order to prevent or to terminate a vehicle pursuit for a misdemeanor or felony offense, under the training guidelines established. In 2021, there were 13 instances where officers deployed a forcible stop device (road spikes) during vehicle pursuits (this is up from four deployments in 2020). Out of the 13 deployments, eight were successful. In all of the incidents there were no injuries caused to the officers, suspects or the public by deploying the forcible stop devices.

Review of 2021 Pursuits

Below is a summary of some of the pursuits that involved an accident, policy violation or had unusual circumstances.

- **VP21-3-34** – A Toledo Police Gang Task Force unit had initiated a suspect stop in the gas station parking lot at 3100 N. Detroit. As the detectives were speaking with the subject of the stop, a vehicle driving by the gas station began shooting into the parking lot, nearly striking the detectives. The detectives quickly entered into their police vehicle and began pursuing the suspect vehicle (eventually determined to be stolen). During the pursuit, the suspect vehicle traveled through numerous city streets as well as alleys, with the driver ultimately exiting the vehicle while it remained in motion, causing it to come to rest against a telephone pole in an alley. Detectives engaged the driver in a foot pursuit and eventually located the driver, finding him hiding under a truck. The driver was eventually charged with Murder (a victim was shot and killed in the gas station parking lot) and two counts of Assault on a Peace Officer.

This pursuit occurred on March 10, 2021, at 2152 hours. The pursuit traveled approximately 4.8 miles and lasted approximately 4 minutes.

- **VP21-3-42** – A Toledo Police unit along with several other vehicles were stopped at a red light located at Monroe and Collingwood. As the light was still red, a vehicle sped through the red light without stopping, passing the police unit. The police unit attempted to stop the suspect vehicle, however the vehicle refused to pull over. The pursuit traveled outbound on Monroe prior to the suspect vehicle making an outbound turn onto Bancroft. The driver of the suspect vehicle could not maintain control during the turn and ultimately struck a building. The driver of the vehicle was pronounced deceased. Two other passengers in the vehicle sustained serious injuries from the crash.

This pursuit occurred on March 20, 2021 at 2050 hours. The pursuit traveled approximately 1 mile and lasted less than a minute.

- **VP21-7-108** – Two Toledo Police Gang Task Force units had initiated a suspect stop in the parking lot of 3100 N. Detroit. During the stop, detectives observed a male suspect in the parking lot throw a firearm behind a vehicle. The detectives attempted to stop the suspect but the suspect was able to enter into a vehicle. While in the vehicle, the suspect was given several orders to exit. The suspect refused to comply and placed the vehicle in reverse, driving over a detective's foot and striking another detective with the vehicle. While attempting to flee the scene, the suspect struck a police vehicle and exited the parking lot, leading officers on a pursuit. After a short pursuit, the suspect lost control of the vehicle, going off the road and striking a utility pole. The suspect was placed into custody and was eventually charged with two counts of Assault on a Peace Officer and Failure to Comply.

This pursuit occurred on June 26, 2021, at 2202 hours. The pursuit traveled approximately 2.1 miles and lasted approximately 2 minutes.

- **VP21-9-151** – A Toledo Police supervisor attempted to stop a driver for a speeding violation. The suspect refused to pull over and a pursuit was initiated. As the pursuit continued, an additional Toledo Police unit initially joined the pursuit as the secondary unit, finally becoming the primary unit as the pursuit went on. The suspect vehicle eventually began traveling west on Promedica Pkwy, turning left onto the I-475 westbound exit ramp, traveling against traffic. Due to the suspect vehicle traveling the wrong way against rush hour traffic, the supervisor told the primary unit to stop the suspect vehicle by any means necessary.

The primary unit then sped up to the suspect vehicle and struck the left rear of the suspect vehicle with the right side of the police vehicle's push bar. This action pushed the rear of the suspect's vehicle to the right, causing the suspect vehicle to crash into the north side wall on the exit ramp, thus stopping the suspect vehicle and ending the pursuit. The suspect was then arrested and charged with Fleeing and Eluding, Having Weapons While under Disability, Tampering with Evidence, Trafficking in Drugs, and Resisting Arrest.

This pursuit occurred on September 29, 2021 at 1618 hours. The pursuit traveled approximately 2.6 miles and lasted approximately 5 minutes.

After review, it was determined that some of the officers' actions violated department policy regarding **Pursuit Operations; Wrong-Way on Expressway** and **Pursuit Operations; Ramming**. The policy states that officers shall not pursue vehicles the wrong way on the interstate, other controlled access highway, or divided roadways. The policy also states that ramming (the intentional contact of a moving police vehicle initiated against a suspect vehicle) is regarded as an extremely high-risk maneuver, the consequences of which may often be beyond those intended by officers. Thus, ramming shall not be used as a pursuit tactic under any circumstance.

As a result of the investigation, the supervisor was counseled for their actions while the officer received no discipline based on their actions being **sustained - no penalty**. While the officer's actions were against policy, they were cleared of any wrong doing because of the immediate need to save lives in other vehicles. The Toledo Police Department Manual defines **Sustained – No Penalty** as “the investigation established sufficient evidence to clearly show that the act alleged in the complaint did occur. However, the chief of police, at his/her sole discretion based on mitigating circumstances, has decided not to issue discipline.”

- **VP21-10-153** – A Toledo Police Gang Task Force unit observed a vehicle traveling at a high rate of speed, south bound on Westwood Ave. As the suspect vehicle continued, the police unit attempted to initiate a traffic stop, to which the suspect vehicle pulled over and initially stopped. As the detectives made their approach to speak with the driver, the suspect vehicle quickly began fleeing the stop. A pursuit of the suspect vehicle began, traveling through several city streets. During the course of the pursuit, the role of the primary unit changed twice, with an Operations unit initially becoming primary, prior to an additional Gang Task Force unit finally taking over as primary for the remainder of the pursuit.

The suspect vehicle eventually approached a set of railroad tracks as it continued to flee. As the vehicle drove over the tracks, the driver lost control of the vehicle,

leaving the roadway and crashing into a duplex. Two occupants were found to have been inside the vehicle. One occupant was pronounced deceased, the other sustained serious injuries.

This pursuit occurred on October 5, 2021 at 2344 hours. The pursuit traveled approximately 3.9 miles and lasted approximately 3 minutes.

- **VP21-12-186** – A Toledo Police Gang Task Force unit attempted to stop a vehicle that was operated by a suspect with numerous arrest warrants, and who allegedly had shot at a Police Officer from Bluffton Ohio the previous night. As detectives exited their vehicles to approach the suspect, the suspect placed his vehicle in reverse, striking a second Gang Task Force vehicle and momentarily pinning a detective between the police vehicle's door jamb. The suspect vehicle then began fleeing the scene, leading police on a lengthy pursuit that eventually entered into Michigan.

As the pursuit continued into Michigan, a Monroe County Sheriff's unit was able to successfully deploy stop sticks which the suspect vehicle drove over. The suspect vehicle eventually stopped on Samaria Rd. in Temperance, Michigan when the suspect exited the vehicle and was placed into custody. The suspect was charged with Fleeing and Eluding and Felonious Assault.

This pursuit occurred on December 11, 2021 at 1535 hours. The pursuit traveled approximately 43.3 miles and lasted approximately thirty three minutes, making it the longest pursuit of 2021.

Conclusions

The Toledo Police Department has consistently demonstrated a clear understanding of the risks associated with vehicle pursuits and due to this, a strict pursuit policy continues to be maintained, reviewed, and enforced. This pursuit policy incorporates numerous practical restrictions that are put into place to assist both officers and supervisors with their constant evaluation of the pursuit. These restrictions encompass categories such as the nature and seriousness of the offense, weather and roadway conditions, volume of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, speed of the pursuit, territorial restrictions, and the number of police vehicles allowed in a pursuit. Additionally, there are explicit guidelines that require the mandatory termination of the pursuit. These restrictions ensure a balance between the apprehension of the suspect and the protection of all persons from injury and unnecessary property loss. These current restrictions routinely produce a safe resolution to the vast majority of all vehicle pursuits.

It should also be noted that the department's pursuit policy clearly defines applicable code sections from the Ohio Revised Code (ORC) as well as the Toledo Municipal Code (TMC) that govern the emergency operation of a police vehicle. These codes are mentioned below:

- ORC 4511.03: Public safety vehicle to proceed cautiously past red or stop signal
- TMC 331.18: Emergency or public safety vehicles at stop signals or signs; turning movements
- ORC 4511.24: Public safety vehicle exempted from speed limits
- TMC 333.05: Speed exceptions for emergency or safety vehicles
- ORC 4511.37: Turning in roadway prohibited; exception
- ORC 4511.45: Right-of-way of public safety vehicles
- TMC 331.19: Right-of-way of public safety vehicles
- ORC 4511.45.2: Pedestrian yield right-of-way to public safety vehicle
- TMC 371.08: Yielding to public safety vehicle
- ORC 4513.21: Horns, sirens and warning devices

These ordinances place two major restrictions on police officers when operating a police vehicle under emergency or pursuit conditions: A public safety vehicle only gains the right-of-way when using both emergency lights and siren; and, the operator of the public safety vehicle must drive with due regard for the safety of all persons on or about the streets or roadways.

It is also important to mention that the Toledo Police Department's pursuit policy is also in compliance with the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) as well as the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board. These organizations recognize that vehicle pursuits pose a high risk to both officers and the community. Because of this, these organizations require an accredited agency to have explicit policies and procedures for vehicle pursuits. Furthermore, initial training and annual review of these policies and procedures is also necessary. Most recently, CALEA awarded the Toledo Police Department re-accreditation in March of 2018, with the next anticipated award coming in March of 2022. The Toledo Police Department was also most recently certified by the Ohio Collaborative in their Vehicular Pursuit standard in July of 2020.

After analyzing the data from all pursuits occurring in 2021, it is evident that the Toledo Police Department is adept at examining risks and liabilities associated with pursuits, both during the course of the pursuit, as well as the review process that follows. It is crucial that this mindset continues and that collaborations between supervisors and officers remain encouraged. The goal of this continued collaboration is to ensure that accountability for the actions of both officers and

supervisors remains in place, safe resolutions of pursuits for all involved parties continues to improve, and policy remains complied with. Based on the data, it does not appear that pursuits are projected to decline within the next coming years, meaning that it remains critical that the members of the department continue to use their best judgement and follow policy during the course of all pursuits.

Recommendations

One particular item that was observed during this review was the increase in the use of stop sticks by officers to end a pursuit. The percentage of stop sticks deployment increased by 4.6% from 2020 to 2021. It is encouraging to see that this tool is being used more frequently during the course of a pursuit but to that point, the success rate of stop sticks being effective was at 61.5%. It would be beneficial to see that number increased and the best way to accomplish this would be through additional training. While academy trainees do get initial training on how to deploy stop sticks, the last time the department completed stop stick deployment training was in the fall of 2015. Based on this, stop stick training in the Benchmark training platform has been scheduled for March of 2022.

Supervisors continue to do a great job overall of monitoring pursuits as they transpire, weighing the totality of the circumstances and terminating those pursuits when appropriate (supervisor ordered pursuit termination doubled from 2020 to 2021). Supervisors are also continuing to complete a thorough review of each pursuit that occurs. Currently, there is a hierarchical review process that most commonly involves an initial review by a sergeant, followed by reviews by a lieutenant, captain and finally a deputy chief. This review involves supervisors re-tracing the pursuit route, watching in-car and body worn camera footage, and providing a detailed synopsis of the pursuit. The review also considers environmental and external factors such as the nature and seriousness of the offense, road conditions, traffic, speed, and the likelihood of the suspect's apprehension. This detailed review by supervisors is leading officers to become better trained, more competent in their interpretation of the pursuit policy, and more confident in their abilities to resolve pursuits in a safe and appropriate manner. To this point, it is recommended that any future training for new supervisors continues to include and prioritize training on vehicle pursuit reporting and review.

It should also be mentioned that officers are also doing an exceptional job of weighing both environmental and external factors as well. In 2021, 10% of all pursuits were terminated based on the decision made by the primary officer in the pursuit. This statistic demonstrates that officers are familiar with the department's pursuit policy and are using that knowledge to make their own appropriate decisions during the course of a vehicle pursuit.

Next, it is recommended that annual motor vehicle pursuit training continues and that during this training, officers are routinely made aware of the most up to date pursuit policies as well as any new methods that can assist with the safe resolution of vehicle pursuits. In 2021, the Toledo Police Department had every sworn member of the department review the Department Manual policy for "Pursuit Operations." This task was accomplished by having personnel review the policy on the department's learning management system, after which they were required to complete and pass a quiz regarding the policy. This type of training proved to be quite beneficial and further helped to provide officers with an increased understanding of pursuit policy and procedure. In 2022, this training will be enhanced with each sworn member of the department being required to attend in-service training regarding the topic of "Standards for Law Enforcement Vehicular

Pursuits.” This four hour block of training will be conducted throughout the entire year for a total of 38 classes, thus ensuring that every sworn member of the department receives this training.

Lastly, it is recommended that the Toledo Police Department continue to research and consider the use of additional pursuit management technology. The purpose of this technology is to assist in ending high risk vehicle pursuits before they lead to human life endangerment or extreme property damage. This type of technology can also aid in the apprehension of the suspect. While the cost associated with this technology is high, it is always worth researching what sort of resources are currently available, with the primary goal being to keep both officers and members of the community safe during these pursuits.

Citations

Defoe, I., Semon Dubas, J., & Romer, D. (2019). Heightened Adolescent Risk Taking? Insights From Lab Studies on Age Differences in Decision-Making. *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences Vol. 6*, 56-63.
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