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REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE JAMES K. STEWART
DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

TO THE

FBI NATIONAL ACADEMY

QUANTICO, VIRGINIA

APRIL 19, 1988

NCJRS

OCT 14 1988

ACQUISITIONS

THANK YOU, [TOM COLUMBELL], I'D ALSO LIKE TO THANK

[] FOR THE INVITATION TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE ALL OF YOU HERE FOR YOUR ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE POLICE FORCES OF THIS COUNTRY, AND FOR MAKING IT TO THE ACADEMY, WHOSE PRESTIGE HAS MADE IT THE "WEST POINT" FOR POLICE -- EVEN IF IT DOESN'T HAVE A FOOTBALL TEAM, YET. THE FBI NATIONAL ACADEMY GOES BACK 53 YEARS, ^(since 1935) -- TRAINING AND EDUCATING THE LEADERS OF OUR STATE AND LOCAL POLICE FORCES.

NINE YEARS AGO, I SAT WHERE YOU ALL ARE SITTING, AS COMMANDER OF THE CRIMINAL DIVISION OF THE OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT. WE ARE ALL PART OF A TRADITION OF SOME 20,000 POLICE OFFICIALS WHO HAVE COME TO QUANTICO TO EXPAND THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF POLICING.

TODAY, I'D LIKE TO TALK ABOUT TRADITION AND POLICING.

I KNOW "TRADITION" GETS TO BE A BUZZWORD DURING AN ELECTION YEAR. BUT I'M NOT USING IT TO EVOKE VIOLINS PLAYING AND THE FLAG WAVING AND NICE WARM BLURRY PICTURES.

I WANT TO TAKE A CRITICAL, OBJECTIVE LOOK AT OUR TRADITIONS -- A SCIENTIFIC LOOK, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. TRADITION, OBVIOUSLY,

CAN HAVE SOME UNDESIRABLE IMPACTS ON OUR BEHAVIOR. IF WE NEVER QUESTIONED IT, DOCTORS WOULD STILL BE USING WHISKEY AS AN ANESTHETIC AND FOOTBALL PLAYERS WOULD STILL HESITATE TO THROW A FORWARD PASS.

OUR OWN PROFESSION HAS FOLLOWED SOME POWERFUL TRADITIONS, THERE HAVE BEEN TWO IMPORTANT AXIOMS IN POLICING THAT I ESPECIALLY WANT TO FOCUS ON TODAY, NUMBER ONE, RANDOM PATROL DETERS CRIME, BASED ON THAT TRADITIONAL BELIEF, OVER THE YEARS POLICE DEPARTMENTS INVESTED HEAVILY IN BIG FLEETS OF PATROL CARS, AND PERSONNEL INCREASES TO STAFF THEM, THE SECOND AXIOM THAT ALL OF US LIVED BY WAS THAT RAPID RESPONSE IS ESSENTIAL -- BOTH TO FIGHT CRIME AND TO BUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT, THAT IS THE MAIN REASON WE WENT TO THE 911 SYSTEM.

THESE TWO AXIOMS -- THE IMPORTANCE OF RANDOM PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE -- HAD NEVER BEEN TESTED, IT SEEMED SELF-EVIDENT THAT THEY WERE IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES OF GOOD POLICING, THEY WERE TRADITIONS, THAT WAS HOW WE OPERATED, THAT WAS WHAT POLICING WAS.

BUT DO THEY ACTUALLY WORK? WITH THAT SIMPLE QUESTION,
AND A SERIES OF EXPERIMENTS SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF JUSTICE, AN EVOLUTION BEGAN.

I DON'T CALL IT A REVOLUTION BECAUSE THE CHANGES HAVE NOT
YET PENETRATED THOROUGHLY INTO POLICE DEPARTMENTS AROUND THE
COUNTRY. THAT'S WHY I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THEM TODAY. BUT
CERTAINLY AN EVOLUTION HAS BEGUN IN POLICE MANAGEMENT. POLICING
IS NOW INCREASINGLY KNOWLEDGE-DRIVEN. POLICE ADMINISTRATORS ARE
SEEKING TO RUN THEIR DEPARTMENTS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF
EFFECTIVENESS. THAT MEANS OPERATING ACCORDING TO THE RULE
OF EVIDENCE, RATHER THAN THE RULE OF THUMB -- EVIDENCE THAT HAS
BEEN ACCUMULATING FROM EXTENSIVE RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION
OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS.

MY GOAL TODAY IS TO CONVINCING YOU THAT POLICE RESEARCH IS
IMPORTANT TO YOU, TO YOUR CAREER, TO YOUR COMMUNITY, AND TO YOUR
PROFESSION. AND IT'S NOT JUST AN IDEA FOR THE CLASSROOM. IT'S
SOMETHING YOU CAN USE WHEN YOU GO BACK HOME.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NEW KNOWLEDGE ABOUT POLICING WERE

LAI D BACK IN THE 1970s BY A SERIES OF INVESTIGATIONS INTO TRADITIONAL POLICE PATROL OPERATIONS. WE BEGAN BY LOOKING AT THE ACTIVITY THAT EATS UP THE LARGEST PORTION OF MOST POLICE BUDGETS: PREVENTIVE PATROL. DOES RANDOM PATROLLING WORK? DOES IT IN FACT PREVENT CRIME? DOES IT MAKE CITIZENS FEEL MORE SECURE? IN AN NIJ-FUNDED EXPERIMENT IN KANSAS CITY MISSOURI, CONDUCTED BY THE POLICE FOUNDATION, WE TESTED THE PRACTICE OF PREVENTIVE PATROL. THE CITY WAS DIVIDED INTO THREE BEATS: ONE HAD NO PREVENTIVE PATROL, AND POLICE ONLY ENTERED THE AREA TO ANSWER SPECIFIC CALLS. THE SECOND HAD THE CUSTOMARY AMOUNT OF PATROL. THE THIRD HAD INCREASED PREVENTIVE PATROL. THIS ARRANGEMENT LASTED FOR ONE YEAR. AND AT THE END OF THAT TIME -- WE FOUND THAT NOBODY NOTICED! NOBODY NOTICED THESE CHANGES IN OPERATIONS BECAUSE THEY HAD MADE NO DIFFERENCE, THE PUBLIC'S PERCEPTION OF SAFETY WASN'T AFFECTED, THE CRIME RATE WASN'T AFFECTED. SIMILAR EXPERIMENTS WERE CONDUCTED WITH SIMILAR RESULTS IN ST. LOUIS AND MINNEAPOLIS. THESE EXPERIMENTS SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS AS MUCH AS 60% OF THE TIME OFFICERS SPENT ON PATROL DUTIES COULD BE SPENT ON

OTHER POLICING ACTIVITIES -- OBVIOUSLY A TREMENDOUS SAVING OF POLICE ENERGY AND RESOURCES.

EVEN IF PREVENTIVE PATROLLING TURNED OUT NOT TO AFFECT CRIME RATES OR PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS, SURELY RAPID RESPONSE TIME WAS CRITICAL? SURELY THAT BIG FLEET OF PATROL CARS WAS NEEDED TO GET TO THE SCENE QUICKLY. IT HAS BEEN AXIOMATIC IN POLICING POLICY THAT THE FASTER THE RESPONSE TO A CALL, THE BETTER YOUR CHANCES OF APPREHENDING THE CRIMINAL AT OR NEAR THE SCENE -- AND THE GREATER THE CITIZEN'S SATISFACTION.

A LOT OF MONEY WAS BEING SPENT IN POLICE DEPARTMENTS ALL AROUND THE COUNTRY TO ENSURE RAPID RESPONSE. BUT THE UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS HAD NEVER BEEN TESTED. SO NIJ AWARDED ANOTHER GRANT TO THE KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI POLICE DEPARTMENT TO ANALYZE HOW RESPONSE TIME ACTUALLY AFFECTS THE OUTCOME OF POLICE ACTIVITIES. THIS WAS A TWO YEAR STUDY. IT FOUND THAT POLICE RESPONSE TIME WAS UNRELATED TO THE PROBABILITY OF MAKING AN ARREST OR LOCATING A WITNESS. IT WASN'T POLICE RESPONSE TIME THAT MATTERED -- IT WAS THE TIME IT TOOK CITIZENS TO REPORT A

CRIME, FURTHERMORE, RAPID RESPONSE HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH PUBLIC SATISFACTION.

OBVIOUSLY, RAPID RESPONSE IS ESSENTIAL IN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS. BUT WE WONDERED, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF POLICE DIFFERENTIATED AMONG CALLS? -- PROVIDING RAPID RESPONSE FOR THE SMALL PERCENTAGE OF CALLS THAT ARE CRITICAL, AND SLOWER RATES OF RESPONSE FOR NON-EMERGENCY CALLS? WHAT IF WE DEVELOPED A WHOLE RANGE OF RESPONSES -- FROM 30 MINUTE DELAY ON-SCENE RESPONSE, TO TELEPHONE REPORTING, TO WALK-IN REPORTING, TO SCHEDULED APPOINTMENTS.

WE TRIED THAT SYSTEM IN WILMINGTON. CRIME DID NOT INCREASE. RESIDENTS WERE SATISFIED. AND POLICE HAD MUCH MORE MANPOWER AVAILABLE FOR OTHER SERVICES. SO PERF DEVELOPED A DIFFERENTIAL POLICE RESPONSE MODEL WHICH WAS FIELD-TESTED. EVALUATIONS SHOWED A SUBSTANTIAL SAVINGS IN RESOURCES WITH NO DECREASE IN PUBLIC SATISFACTION.

IN SHORT, OUR TWO MOST DEEPLY ROOTED PATROL PRACTICES HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE INVALID -- EVEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. WE HAD

ALWAYS ASSUMED RANDOM PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE DETERRED CRIME, BUT THEY CAN HAVE EXACTLY THE REVERSE EFFECT BECAUSE OF THE DRAIN ON MANPOWER. IF YOUR OFFICERS ARE ON PATROL OR ON CALL ALL THE TIME, FEWER OF THEM ARE AVAILABLE WHERE THEY'RE NEEDED, AND IT CAN MEAN LONGER RESPONSE TIME IN TRUE EMERGENCIES.

IT'S INTERESTING THAT THESE TWO TACTICS -- PREVENTIVE PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE -- REQUIRED LITTLE MANAGEMENT EXPERTISE. THEY WERE BASICALLY AUTOMATIC. THERE WASN'T MUCH NEED FOR DECISION-MAKING, FOR PRIORITIZING, OR FOR PROBLEM-ANALYSIS. SO THESE OPERATIONS WERE NOT ONLY WASTING TIME AND MONEY, THEY WERE ALSO WASTING POLICE SKILLS AND MANAGERIAL POTENTIAL.

I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS MESSAGE TODAY BECAUSE ALTHOUGH A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS HAVE CHANGED THEIR PATROL OPERATIONS IN WAYS SUGGESTED BY THIS RESEARCH -- MANY HAVE NOT. RAPID RESPONSE, FOR EXAMPLE, IS STILL THE POLICY IN MANY DEPARTMENTS.

I'D LIKE TO QUOTE SOMEONE WHO HAS MADE CHANGES -- NEIL

BEHAN, THE CHIEF OF POLICE IN BALTIMORE COUNTY, HE SAID:

"EVIDENCE FROM THE KANSAS CITY STUDY, AND OTHERS SINCE THEN, HAS DEFINITELY IMPACTED THE WAY IN WHICH I ALLOCATE RESOURCES HERE IN BALTIMORE. I AM NOT SAYING THAT I TOOK THE FINDINGS "LOCK, STOCK AND BARREL" AND IMPLEMENTED THEM, BUT THE RESEARCH FINDINGS CERTAINLY GOT ME FOCUSED ON LOOKING AT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MY OWN POLICIES AND MADE ME DO SOME EVALUATIONS OF MY OWN....ONCE I UNDERSTOOD THAT PREVENTIVE PATROL DOES NOT NECESSARILY REDUCE CRIME, I BECAME MORE FLEXIBLE IN USING THAT MANPOWER IN OTHER WAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, MORE PROACTIVE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS."

CHIEF BEHAN'S COMMENT BRINGS US TO THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP IN POLICING RESEARCH. IF POLICE SHOULD NOT BE ENGAGED IN RANDOM PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE TO EVERY CALL FOR SERVICE, WHAT SHOULD THEY DO? CHANGING CONVENTIONAL PATROL OPERATIONS FREES UP OFFICERS AND RESOURCES FOR MORE CONSTRUCTIVE POLICING.

I'M GOING TO DESCRIBE JUST A FEW OF THE POSSIBILITIES. A RECENT PROJECT CONDUCTED IN NEWARK AND HOUSTON FOR NIJ BY THE POLICE FOUNDATION HAS SHOWN THAT POLICE CAN SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE THE FEAR OF CRIME AND INCREASE CITIZENS' SENSE OF SECURITY BY

SEEKING A CLOSER BOND WITH THE NEIGHBORHOODS THEY SERVE. AND THIS CAN BE DONE WITHOUT SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASING PERSONNEL OR SPENDING.

WE FOUND A NUMBER OF STRATEGIES THAT WERE EFFECTIVE IN REDUCING FEAR AND INCREASING THE SENSE OF SECURITY -- INCLUDING ESTABLISHING POLICE MINICENTERS IN SOME AREAS. AT THESE OVER-THE-COUNTER POLICE "STORES," CITIZENS CAN BE CONFIDENT OF HAVING READY ACCESS TO NEIGHBORHOOD POLICE. OTHER SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES WERE DOOR-TO-DOOR CONTACTS WITH RESIDENTS TO IDENTIFY LOCAL PROBLEMS, AND ENCOURAGING POLICE OFFICERS TO HELP ORGANIZE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATIONS WHERE NONE EXIST.

BUILDING ON WHAT WE LEARNED ABOUT CLOSER INVOLVEMENT WITH THE COMMUNITY AND INCREASED OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS, POLICE RESEARCH TOOK ANOTHER IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD IN TESTING A NEW POLICY WHICH WE CALL PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING.

{ not to be confused w/ team policing }

PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING IS A PHILOSOPHY OF POLICING AS WELL AS A SET OF TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES. THIS APPROACH CAN BE APPLIED TO WHATEVER TYPE OF PROBLEM IS CONSUMING POLICE TIME AND

RESOURCES. IT IS A WAY FOR POLICE TO REDUCE THEIR OWN WORKLOAD.

[NOTE: PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING IS NOT TEAM-POLICING.]

TRADITIONAL POLICING REGARDS CALLS FOR HELP OR SERVICE AS SEPARATE INDIVIDUAL EVENTS TO BE PROCESSED BY TRADITIONAL METHODS. IN CONTRAST, PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING ANALYZES GROUPS OF INCIDENTS -- FOR INSTANCE A CONTINUING PROBLEM OF AUTO THEFTS IN ONE NEIGHBORHOOD, OR A PATTERN OF BURGLARIES IN A RESIDENTIAL COMPLEX. THEN OFFICERS DRAW UPON A WIDE VARIETY OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES TO HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM. THIS GIVES POLICE MUCH MORE SCOPE TO USE THEIR EXPERIENCE AND CREATIVITY IN SOLVING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS. IT IS ALSO TRULY PREVENTIVE POLICING -- IN CONTRAST TO SO-CALLED "PREVENTIVE" PATROL. THE NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA POLICE DEPARTMENT WHICH WAS HEADED BY DARRYL STEPHENS AT THE TIME (NOW HEAD OF PERF) VOLUNTEERED TO BE A LABORATORY FOR TESTING THIS SYSTEM OF POLICING. THE RESULTS ACHIEVED IN TERMS OF SOLVING LOCAL CRIME PROBLEMS -- AND REDUCING CRIME RATES -- WERE VERY ENCOURAGING.

AS I SAID, THE PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING APPROACH CAN BE

APPLIED TO ANY PROBLEM, TAKE THE PROBLEM OF REPEAT CALLS FOR SERVICE, NIJ FUNDED A STUDY IN MINNEAPOLIS THAT ANALYZED REPEAT CALLS TO SEE IF IT COULD DISCOVER PATTERNS. WE FOUND THAT 64% OF THE CALLS TO THE DEPARTMENT CAME FROM JUST FIVE PERCENT OF THE ADDRESSES IN THE CITY, THAT FINDING DEMONSTRATES THE REAL NEED FOR POLICE TO ANALYZE THEIR WORKLOADS MORE CAREFULLY AND TO IDENTIFY THE CHRONIC CALLERS THAT TIE UP A LARGE PROPORTION OF THEIR RESOURCES.

IN ONE CASE, A BURGLAR ALARM AT ONE ADDRESS WENT OFF ABOUT 75 TIMES DURING THE YEAR. WHENEVER THE OFFICER ON DUTY WOULD APPEAR ON THE SCENE, THERE WAS NEVER ANY SIGN OF TROUBLE. WHAT THE STUDY TURNED UP WAS THE FACT THAT THE ALARM WAS GOING OFF NEARLY EVERY DAY AT AROUND THE SAME TIME, 5:30 AM, 5:45 AM. THE WOULD-BE BURGLAR TURNED OUT TO BE A BUNDLE OF NEWSPAPERS THAT WAS BEING THROWN AGAINST THE FRONT DOOR.

I THINK THE MESSAGE OF POLICE RESEARCH IS CLEAR. WE NEED TO BE WILLING TO TEST TRADITION -- AND TO BREAK FROM IT, IF NECESSARY -- TO MAINTAIN AN EFFICIENT POLICE FORCE. UNTESTED

POLICIES MAY WELL BE INVALID POLICIES, BY EMPIRICALLY TESTING OUR POLICIES, WE CAN SEPARATE GOOD POLICE PRACTICE FROM BAD, AND MAKE REAL PROGRESS TOWARD TRULY PREVENTIVE MEASURES,

RESEARCH CAN HELP YOU TO WORK SMARTER, NOT HARDER, IT GIVES YOU THE AUTHORITY TO MAKE CHANGE, NIJ'S DOMESTIC VIOLENCE EXPERIMENT CONDUCTED IN MINNEAPOLIS HAS GIVEN OVER [50%] OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY THE AUTHORITY AND KNOWLEDGE TO CHANGE THEIR SPOUSE ASSAULT POLICIES, THAT WAS THE EXPERIMENT THAT TESTED OUR TRADITIONAL RESPONSES TO SPOUSE ASSAULT -- COUNSELING, OR SENDING THE ASSAILANT AWAY FROM THE HOME FOR A BRIEF PERIOD, THESE RESPONSES WERE TESTED AGAINST ARRESTING THE ASSAILANT, IN A RANDOMIZED EXPERIMENT, THE RESULTS: ARREST CUT THE PERCENTAGE OF REPEAT VIOLENCE IN HALF, AS I SAID, LARGE NUMBERS OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS HAVE ALREADY CHANGED THEIR POLICIES TO REFLECT THIS NEW KNOWLEDGE,

POLICE DESERVE A LOT OF CREDIT, I THINK, FOR THEIR ADVANCES IN RECENT YEARS, IT IS THE POLICE WHO HAVE BEEN THE MOST FORWARD-LOOKING OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS WHEN IT COMES