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

TO THE

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINOLOGY MEETING
"PRIORITIES IN POLICING"

HAMBURG, GERMANY

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1988

(Linster helped a great deal with speech)

NOTE:

Because Mr. Stewart often speaks from notes, the speech as delivered may vary from the text. However, he stands behind this speech as printed.

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OCT 14 1988

ACQUISITIONS

THANK YOU, _____.

IT'S A PLEASURE TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE LIKE THIS WITH EXPERTS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE FROM SO MANY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

THERE'S A JAPANESE PROVERB THAT SAYS THERE ARE NO NATIONAL FRONTIERS TO LEARNING. WE HAVE LEARNED A LOT FROM EACH OTHER THROUGH EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION AND TECHNOLOGY AND PEOPLE AND WE HAVE A LOT TO SHARE AS WE TALK ABOUT OUR COMMON PROBLEMS AND EXPERIENCES.

THE SUBJECT OF OUR SESSION TODAY IS "PRIORITIES IN POLICING." I CAN THINK OF NO HIGHER PRIORITY THAN TO IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN POLICING--PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO TERRORISM, WHICH IS A PROBLEM COMMON TO ALL OF US. THAT'S NOT THE MAIN TOPIC OF MY REMARKS TODAY, BUT I DO WANT TO SPEND A FEW MINUTES TALKING ABOUT IT BECAUSE IT'S SO IMPORTANT TO ALL OF US--

THE NEED FOR IMPROVED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE MATTERS HAS BECOME SHARPLY APPARENT IN RECENT YEARS.

MANY CRIMINAL OFFENSES HAVE A SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL

DIMENSION, AND TERRORISM CERTAINLY IS AMONG THEM. IT'S A GLOBAL PROBLEM AND IT DEMANDS AN INTERNATIONAL, COORDINATED RESPONSE.

BUT WHEN OFFENSES ARE CARRIED OUT ACROSS INTERNATIONAL BORDERS, MAJOR PROBLEMS DEVELOP--IN EXTRADITING SUSPECTS, COLLECTING EVIDENCE, STANDARDIZING RULES OF EVIDENCE, AND IMPLEMENTING FORFEITURES OF PROPERTY AND GOODS.

HOW TO OVERCOME THESE PROBLEMS WAS THE SUBJECT OF AN EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE THAT MY AGENCY--THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE--HELPED TO SPONSOR THIS PAST JUNE AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY. IT BROUGHT TOGETHER A DISTINGUISHED ROSTER OF SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FROM THE UNITED STATES, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS IN AN INFORMAL SETTING, AND SEEK POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS.

A MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE WAS TO TRY TO CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS FOR THE EXCHANGE OF CAPTURED TERRORIST SUBJECTS, NOTWITHSTANDING DIFFERENCES IN LEGAL SYSTEMS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. JUST TALKING ABOUT IT WAS A BIG STEP

FORWARD IN TRYING TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS AMONG WESTERN NATIONS ON HOW TO DEAL WITH TERRORISM--TO CLOSE THE INTERNATIONAL UMBRELLA OF SECURITY FOR TERRORISTS. THAT'S A BIG KEY TO CONTROLLING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM--AND, AS I SAID, IT SHOULD BE ONE OF THE MAJOR PRIORITIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLICING TODAY.

WELL, WE COULD DEVOTE AN ENTIRE CONFERENCE TO THIS SUBJECT ALONE. AS A MATTER OF FACT, I SPOKE AT JUST A CONFERENCE TWO WEEKS AGO, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF MANY OF YOUR COUNTRIES WERE THERE.

MY MAIN SUBJECT TODAY IS ANOTHER AREA OF PRIORITY FOR POLICE MANAGERS--THE CHANGING NATURE OF POLICE SERVICES IN LARGER COMMUNITIES, AND WHAT RESEARCH HAS SHOWN TO BE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE OPERATIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND MANAGEMENT.

THERE'S AN EVOLUTION IN POLICING UNDER WAY IN MY COUNTRY AND IN MANY OF YOURS--AN EVOLUTION IN POLICE MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICE--AND THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN

THAT EVOLUTION. OVER THE YEARS RESEARCH SPONSORED BY NIJ HAS SPURRED AN EVOLUTION OF UNDERSTANDING OF CRIME AND ITS IMPACT-- AND THAT NEW UNDERSTANDING IS BEING MANIFESTED TODAY IN CHANGES IN THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF POLICING.

IT'S SEEN BEST FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TWO POWERFUL, TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS THAT HAVE LONG GUIDED OUR PROFESSION. THE FIRST IS THAT RANDOM PATROL DETERS CRIME. AND THE SECOND IS THAT RAPID RESPONSE IS ESSENTIAL, BOTH TO FIGHT CRIME AND BUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT. THAT'S THE MAIN REASON WE WENT TO THE 911 SYSTEM FOR EMERGENCY CALLS.

RANDOM PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE. IT SEEMED SELF-EVIDENT THAT THEY WERE IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES OF GOOD POLICING. AFTER ALL, THEY WERE TRADITIONS.

BUT DO THEY ACTUALLY WORK?

WITH THAT SIMPLE QUESTION AND A SERIES OF EXPERIMENTS THE EVOLUTION BEGAN. I DON'T CALL IT A REVOLUTION, BECAUSE THE CHANGES HAVE NOT YET PENETRATED THOROUGHLY INTO POLICE

DEPARTMENTS IN MY COUNTRY. BUT CERTAINLY AN EVOLUTION HAS BEGUN IN POLICE MANAGEMENT.

POLICING IS NOW INCREASINGLY KNOWLEDGE-DRIVEN. POLICE MANAGERS ARE SEEKING TO RUN THEIR AGENCIES AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS 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 FIFTEEN YEARS.

WE BEGAN BACK IN THE 1970S WITH A SERIES OF INVESTIGATIONS INTO TRADITIONAL POLICE PATROL OPERATIONS, STARTING WITH THE ACTIVITY THAT EATS UP THE LARGEST PORTION OF MOST POLICE BUDGETS--PREVENTIVE PATROL. DOES RANDOM PATROLLING WORK? DOES IT, IN FACT, PREVENT CRIMES? DOES IT MAKE CITIZENS FEEL MORE SECURE?

IN AN EXPERIMENT IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI--CONDUCTED BY THE POLICE FOUNDATION--THE PRACTICE OF PREVENTIVE PATROL WAS TESTED. THE CITY WAS DIVIDED INTO THREE BEATS. ONE HAD NO PREVENTIVE PATROL, AND POLICE ENTERED THAT AREA ONLY TO ANSWER SPECIFIC

CALLS. THE SECOND HAD THE CUSTOMARY AMOUNT OF PATROL. AND THE THIRD HAD INCREASED PREVENTIVE PATROL.

THIS ARRANGEMENT LASTED FOR ONE YEAR, AND AT THE END OF THAT TIME, GUESS WHAT WAS FOUND. NOBODY NOTICED. NOT ONLY THAT BUT THESE CHANGES HAD MADE NO MEASURABLE DIFFERENCE. THE PUBLIC'S PERCEPTION OF SAFETY WASN'T AFFECTED AND NEITHER WAS THE CRIME RATE.

WE GOT SIMILAR RESULTS FROM SIMILAR EXPERIMENTS IN TWO OTHER CITIES--ST. LOUIS AND MINNEAPOLIS. IN FACT, WE FOUND THAT AS MUCH AS SIXTY PERCENT OF THE TIME OFFICERS SPENT ON PATROL 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 PERCEPTION, SURELY, IT WAS THOUGHT, 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 THE SCENE,
AND THE GREATER THE CITIZENS' SATISFACTION.

A LOT OF MONEY WAS BEING SPENT IN POLICE DEPARTMENTS 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
AFFECTED THE OUTCOME OF POLICE ACTIVITIES.

THIS TWO-YEAR STUDY 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 IN THE FIRST PLACE.
FOR EXAMPLE, A HOMEOWNER RETURNS FROM VACATION AND DISCOVERS THAT
HIS HOUSE HAS BEEN BURGLARIZED, PERHAPS HOURS OR EVEN DAYS AGO.
DOES POLICE RESPONSE TIME REALLY MATTER? WHAT ARE THE POLICE
GOING TO FIND WHEN THEY GET THERE? FURTHERMORE, RAPID RESPONSE
HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH PUBLIC SATISFACTION.

WE WONDERED, THEN, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF POLICE

DIFFERENTIATED AMONG CALLS--PROVIDING RAPID RESPONSE FOR THE SMALL PERCENTAGE OF CALLS THAT WERE CRITICAL AND SLOWER RATES OF RESPONSE FOR NON-EMERGENCY CALLS. WE TRIED A SYSTEM LIKE THAT IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE AND OTHER CITIES, INCLUDING SUCH NEW PRACTICES AS SCHEDULING APPOINTMENTS FOR VISITS TO CRIME SCENES, OR INVITING COMPLAINANTS TO COME INTO THE POLICE STATION TO MAKE THEIR REPORTS.

THE RESULTS? THERE WAS NO INCREASE IN CRIME RATES. THE CITIZENS WERE SATISFIED. AND THE POLICE HAD MORE MANPOWER AVAILABLE TO USE IN OTHER WAYS.

SO, OUR TWO MOST DEEPLY-ROOTED PATROL PRACTICES HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE INVALID, OR EVEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE--AT LEAST WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THESE EXPERIMENTS. IT'S IRONIC. WE HAD ALWAYS ASSUMED THAT RANDOM PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE DETERRED CRIME. BUT THEY CAN SOMETIMES HAVE EXACTLY THE REVERSE EFFECT, BECAUSE OF THE DRAIN ON MANPOWER.

IF YOUR OFFICERS ARE OUT ON PATROL ALL THE TIME, FEWER OF

THEM ARE AVAILABLE WHEN AND WHERE THEY'RE REALLY NEEDED, AND IT CAN MEAN LONGER RESPONSE TIME IN EMERGENCIES. WHEN A REAL EMERGENCY CALL COMES IN OVER THE 911 LINE, POLICE MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO RESPOND QUICKLY IF THEY ARE OUT ANSWERING OTHER NON-EMERGENCY CALLS.

WELL, 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.

A (RECENT) PROJECT CONDUCTED FOR NIJ BY THE POLICE FOUNDATION IN NEWARK, NEW JERSEY AND HOUSTON, TEXAS DEMONSTRATED ONE POSSIBILITY. IT SHOWED 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 THEY CAN DO THIS WITHOUT SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASING PERSONNEL OR SPENDING -- THROUGH SUCH STRATEGIES AS ESTABLISHING POLICE MINICENTERS IN SOME AREAS, OR DOOR-TO-DOOR CONTACTS WITH

RESIDENTS OR BUSINESSES TO IDENTIFY LOCAL PROBLEMS.

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 CONCEPT THAT WE CALL PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING. IT'S A PHILOSOPHY OF POLICING AS WELL AS A SET OF TECHNIQUES AND IT CAN BE APPLIED TO WHATEVER TYPE OF PROBLEM IS CONSUMING POLICE TIME AND RESOURCES.

WHILE TRADITIONAL POLICING REGARDS CALLS FOR HELP OR SERVICE AS SEPARATE INCIDENTS OR EVENTS TO BE PROCESSED BY TRADITIONAL METHODS, PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING ANALYZES GROUPS OF INCIDENTS. THEN, OFFICERS DRAW UPON A WIDE VARIETY OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES TO HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

(EXAMPLES - NEWPORT NEWS - ROLLER RINK; TRANSVESTITES)

THE PROBLEM-ORIENTED APPROACH GIVES POLICE MORE SCOPE TO USE THEIR EXPERIENCE AND CREATIVITY IN SOLVING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS. AND IT IS TRULY PREVENTIVE POLICING, IN CONTRAST TO THE SO-CALLED

"PREVENTIVE" PATROL.

AS I SAID, PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING CAN BE APPLIED TO JUST ABOUT ANY KIND OF 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 SIXTY-FOUR PERCENT OF THE CALLS TO THE POLICE CAME FROM JUST FIVE PERCENT OF THE ADDRESSES IN THE CITY. IN ONE CASE, A BURGLAR ALARM AT ONE ADDRESS WENT OFF ABOUT SEVENTY-FIVE TIMES DURING THE YEAR. WHENEVER POLICE APPEARED 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 OR 5:45 A.M. THE WOULD-BE BURGLAR TURNED OUT TO BE A BUNDLE OF NEWSPAPERS THAT WAS BEING THROWN AGAINST THE FRONT DOOR AT THAT TIME.

THE FINDINGS OF THIS MINNEAPOLIS REPEAT CALLS STUDY DEMONSTRATE THE REAL NEED FOR POLICE MANAGERS TO ANALYZE THEIR WORKLOADS MORE CAREFULLY AND IDENTIFY THE CHRONIC CALLERS THAT

TIE-UP A LARGE PROPORTION OF THEIR RESOURCES.

AND AS THE EVOLUTION IN POLICE MANAGEMENT GOES FORWARD, MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES MAY HAVE TO CHANGE ALONG WITH POLICING PRACTICES. WE'RE TRYING NEW APPROACHES RIGHT NOW IN HOUSTON, TEXAS AND MADISON, WISCONSIN. POLICE MAY HAVE TO ESTABLISH DIFFERENT KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS; DIFFERENT WAYS OF COMMUNICATING; DIFFERENT ACCOUNTABILITIES.

BUT THE BASIC MESSAGE OF POLICE RESEARCH IS CLEAR. WE NEED TO BE WILLING TO TEST TRADITION AND BREAK FROM IT, IF NECESSARY, TO MAINTAIN EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE POLICE OPERATIONS.

RESEARCH PROVIDES NEW IDEAS FOR POLICE ADMINISTRATORS. IT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR MANAGERS AND CHIEFS TO MAKE DECISIONS BASED ON ACCURATE, OBJECTIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE STATE OF POLICING AND POLICE TACTICS. IT PRODUCES NEW INSIGHTS THAT CAN BOLSTER LAW ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS TO INCREASE PROFESSIONALISM, ENHANCE MANAGEMENT AND EXPAND EFFECTIVENESS. IT HELPS POLICE WORK SMARTER, NOT HARDER.

WELL, SO MUCH FOR MY FORMAL REMARKS. THERE'S A LOT MORE I
COULD SAY, BUT I'LL LOOK FORWARD TO THE DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWS.

THANK YOU.

Talking Points - "Priorities in Policing"

- o Importance of international conference - Japanese Proverb:
no national frontiers to learning.
- o No higher priority in policing than to improve international
cooperation in policing - terrorism.
- o My subject today - changing nature of police services in
larger communities and what research has shown to be
implications for police operations, organizations and
management.
- o Evolution underway in police management, organization,
practice.
- o NIJ role in evolution - results of research being applied
today to changes in traditional concepts of policing.
Policing now knowledge-driven.
- o Evolution began in 1970s with testing of two traditional
policing concepts.
- o Random patrol - Kansas City experiment.

- o Rapid responses - Kansas City.
- o Differentiating among calls.
- o If not random patrol and rapid response, what should police do? Opportunities for more constructive policing.
- o Newark and Houston studies - reduce fear of crime by closer bonds with neighborhoods and communities.
- o Problem-oriented policing - a philosophy and set of techniques. Examples - Newport News - roller rink; transvestites)
- o Minneapolis - repeat calls
- o As evolution in police management goes forward, management structures may have to change along with policing practices.
- o Trying new approaches in Houston; Madison, Wisconsin
- o Basic message of police research is clear - be willing to test tradition and break from it if necessary to maintain efficient and effective police operations.

- o Research provides new ideas, insight. Helps police work smarter, not harder.
- o Could go on; will stop here; look forward to discussion that follows.