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REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE JAMES K. STEWART

DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

TO THE

FBI NATIONAL ACADEMY

158TH GRADUATING CLASS

QUANTICO, VIRGINIA

AUGUST 1, 1989

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.

NCJRS

OCT 20 1989

ACQUISITIONS

THANK YOU, TOM COLUMBELL FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY. AL BOCCACCIO AND I USED TO WORK TOGETHER WHEN WE WERE BOTH OFFICERS FOR THE OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA POLICE DEPARTMENT.

[INSERT ADDITIONAL COMMENTS]

LIKE YOU, I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE SOME TIME AWAY FROM THE DAY TO DAY PRESSURES OF POLICE WORK AND COME TO THE NATIONAL ACADEMY. I'VE ALWAYS APPRECIATED THAT CHANCE TO GET SOME PERSPECTIVE ON MY PROFESSION AND TO LEARN FROM THE EXCELLENT ACADEMIC PROGRAM HERE.

THE ACADEMY HAS BUILT A STRONG TRADITION OVER THE LAST 53 YEARS -- TRAINING AND EDUCATING THE LEADERS AND FUTURE LEADERS OF OUR STATE AND LOCAL POLICE FORCES. MORE THAN 20,000 NATIONAL ACADEMY GRADUATES HAVE HELPED TO ADVANCE THE LAW ENFORCEMENT PROFESSION.

THAT ADVANCE IN OUR PROFESSION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN PART BECAUSE POLICE OFFICIALS AND RESEARCHERS HAVE BEEN WILLING TO DEVELOP AND TEST NEW KNOWLEDGE ABOUT POLICE WORK.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE HAS PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT
ROLE IN THAT PROCESS, RESPONDING TO THE NEEDS OF POLICE MANAGERS
AND AIDING THEM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW KNOWLEDGE. AT NIJ, WE
HAVE FUNDED RESEARCH IN THE HARD SCIENCES THAT HAS LED TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SOFT BODY ARMOR, VOICEPRINTS, AND THE EXCITING NEW
POSSIBILITIES OF DNA IDENTIFICATION.

OTHER NIJ EFFORTS HAVE LOOKED AT TRADITIONAL POLICE
POLICIES. AND THAT IS WHAT I WANT TO ZERO IN ON TODAY.

THE POLICE HAVE MANY PROUD AND IMPORTANT TRADITIONS --
TRADITIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CENTRAL TO OUR ROLE AS PEACEKEEPERS IN
THE COMMUNITY.

BUT TRADITION IS NOT A FAIL-SAFE GUIDE TO THE BEST COURSE OF
ACTION. IF WE WEREN'T WILLING TO TEST TRADITIONS, DOCTORS WOULD
STILL BE USING WHISKEY AS AN ANESTHETIC AND FOOTBALL PLAYERS
WOULD STILL HESITATE TO THROW A FORWARD PASS.

BUT WHILE IT MAY SOUND LIKE A GREAT IDEA, IN THEORY, TO QUESTION TRADITION, AS WE ALL KNOW IT CAN TURN OUT TO BE NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE IN PRACTICE. IT'S HERE THAT RESEARCH IS ESSENTIAL. WE NEED RESEARCH TO PROVIDE THE HARD EVIDENCE ABOUT WHAT WORKS AND WHAT DOESN'T WORK -- EVIDENCE WHICH GIVES POLICE MANAGERS THE AUTHORITY TO MAKE CHANGES IN THEIR OPERATIONS.

THERE HAVE BEEN TWO IMPORTANT TRADITIONAL BELIEFS IN POLICING THAT I ESPECIALLY WANT TO FOCUS ON TODAY. NUMBER ONE, RANDOM PATROL DETERS CRIME. BASED ON THAT BELIEF, OVER THE YEARS POLICE DEPARTMENTS INVESTED IN BIG FLEETS OF PATROL CARS, AND PERSONNEL INCREASES TO STAFF THEM. THE SECOND AXIOM THAT GUIDED POLICE 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 SERVED US WELL IN SOME RESPECTS. OFFICERS AND CITIZENS BOTH AGREED THEY WERE APPROPRIATE. THE JOB HAD ALWAYS BEEN DONE THAT WAY.

BUT WAS IT THE BEST WAY? COULD WE DO BETTER? THESE TWO AXIOMS -- THE IMPORTANCE OF RANDOM PATROL AND RAPID RESPONSE -- HAD NEVER BEEN TESTED. ONCE WE BEGAN TO ASK IF THIS WAS THE BEST WAY OF OPERATING, AN EVOLUTION IN OUR KNOWLEDGE BEGAN.

I DON'T CALL IT A REVOLUTION BECAUSE THE CHANGES HAVE NOT YET PENETRATED THOROUGHLY INTO POLICE DEPARTMENTS AROUND THE COUNTRY. AND THAT'S ONE REASON 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 INCREASINGLY RELYING ON THE EXTENSIVE RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION IN POLICING OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NEW KNOWLEDGE WERE LAID BACK IN THE 1970S BY A SERIES OF INVESTIGATIONS INTO TRADITIONAL POLICE PATROL OPERATIONS. IN AN EXPERIMENT IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, THAT MANY OF YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT, WE TESTED THE IDEA THAT PREVENTIVE PATROL REDUCES CRIME. A FIFTEEN-BEAT AREA WAS DIVIDED INTO THREE SECTIONS: ONE AREA WAS NOT PATROLLED AT ALL, OFFICERS ENTERED ONLY IN RESPONSE TO CALLS. THE SECOND AREA WAS PATROLLED AS USUAL, AND THE THIRD RECEIVED GREATLY INCREASED PATROL.

AT THE END OF ONE YEAR, WE LEARNED THAT THE EFFECT OF THESE DIFFERENT DEPLOYMENT STRATEGIES WAS ZERO. THE PUBLIC'S SAFETY WASN'T AFFECTED. THE CRIME RATE WASN'T AFFECTED. FOLLOW-UP EXPERIMENTS IN ST. LOUIS AND MINNEAPOLIS HAD SIMILAR RESULTS. WHILE WE HAVE ALL MADE GOOD ARRESTS AS THE RESULT OF BEING ON RANDOM PATROL, OUR STUDIES SHOWED THAT OVERALL, MUCH RANDOM PATROL TIME (MAYBE AS MUCH AS 60%) COULD BE BETTER SPENT ON OTHER POLICE ACTIVITIES. THE PAYOFF JUST WASN'T THERE.

IN A SECOND STUDY IN KANSAS CITY, WE LOOKED AT RAPID RESPONSE TO CALLS FOR SERVICE. MOST DEPARTMENTS STRESS RAPID RESPONSE, AND IN REAL EMERGENCIES, OF COURSE, THE FASTER WE GET THERE, THE BETTER. BUT WHAT BENEFIT DOES RAPID RESPONSE HAVE IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES WHICH AREN'T EMERGENCIES?

OUR STUDY SHOWED 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, IT TURNED OUT THAT RAPID RESPONSE HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH PUBLIC SATISFACTION.

HAVING DEVELOPED SOME IMPORTANT KNOWLEDGE ABOUT RESPONSE TIME, WE WENT A STEP FURTHER. WHAT IF POLICE PRIORITIZED RESPONSE BASED ON THE NATURE OF THE CALL? IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE, WE TRIED SUCH A SYSTEM. WE SLOWED THE RESPONSE RATE DOWN FOR NON-EMERGENCY CALLS. WE DEVELOPED A SYSTEM THAT INCLUDED THIRTY-MINUTE DELAYED RESPONSE, TELEPHONE REPORTING, WALK-IN REPORTING AND SCHEDULED APPOINTMENTS.

CRIME DID NOT INCREASE. CITIZENS WERE SATISFIED. AND THE POLICE HAD MORE MANPOWER AVAILABLE FOR OTHER SERVICES -- FOR INSTANCE, MORE OFFICERS WERE AVAILABLE TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO TRUE EMERGENCIES.

THE POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH FORUM BUILT ON THE RESULTS OF THIS TEST AND 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, WE FOUND THERE IS A BETTER WAY TO OPERATE. TWO OF OUR TRADITIONAL PATROL PRACTICES TURNED OUT TO BE INVALID -- EVEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN SOME CASES. IF YOUR OFFICERS ARE ON PATROL OR ON CALL ALL THE TIME, FEWER OF THEM ARE AVAILABLE WHERE THEY'RE ACTUALLY NEEDED.

POLICE DECISIONMAKERS WHO ARE ARMED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THESE STUDIES PROVIDE CAN MAKE BETTER USE OF SCARCE RESOURCES.

A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS HAVE CHANGED THEIR PATROL OPERATIONS IN WAYS THAT REFLECT THIS RESEARCH. YET MANY HAVE NOT. I'D LIKE TO QUOTE SOMEONE WHO HAS MADE CHANGES -- CHIEF NEIL BEHAN OF 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 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. 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 DARREL 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
TO USING RESEARCH TO TEST OLD AND NEW POLICIES. THE POLICE
FOUNDATION AND PERF HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN THESE ADVANCES.
WHEN WE REMEMBER THAT SYSTEMATIC RESEARCH ON POLICING BEGAN LESS
THAN 15 YEARS AGO, OUR PROGRESS IS EVEN MORE IMPRESSIVE.

[IT'S LIKE THE SITUATION WINSTON CHURCHILL WAS FACED WITH
ONE DAY. A VERY PASSIONATE TEMPERANCE CRUSADER WAS VISITING THE
PRIME MINISTER IN HIS OFFICE. SHE POINTED TO A SPOT ON THE WALL
AT ABOUT SHOULDER HEIGHT AND SAID TO HIM: "MR. CHURCHILL, I HAVE
BEEN TOLD THAT IF ALL THE WHISKEY YOU HAVE DRUNK IN YOUR LIFE
WERE Poured INTO THIS ROOM, IT WOULD COME UP TO HERE!" CHURCHILL
LOOKED, GAZED AROUND THE ROOM, AND NODDED IN AGREEMENT. "MADAM,
YOU'RE RIGHT," HE SAID. "WE HAVE COME SO FAR -- AND WE HAVE SO
FAR TO GO."]

THANK YOU.