

Problem Oriented Policing and Compstat: Complement or Conflict?

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"The Measure of a Life is Its Service."

Approaches to Responsiveness

- ▶ Professional Efficiency Model



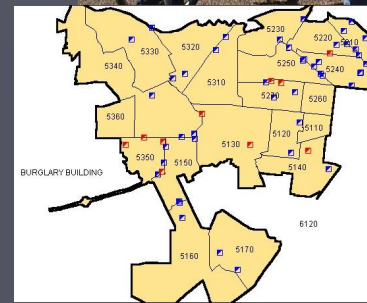
- ▶ Problem-Oriented Policing



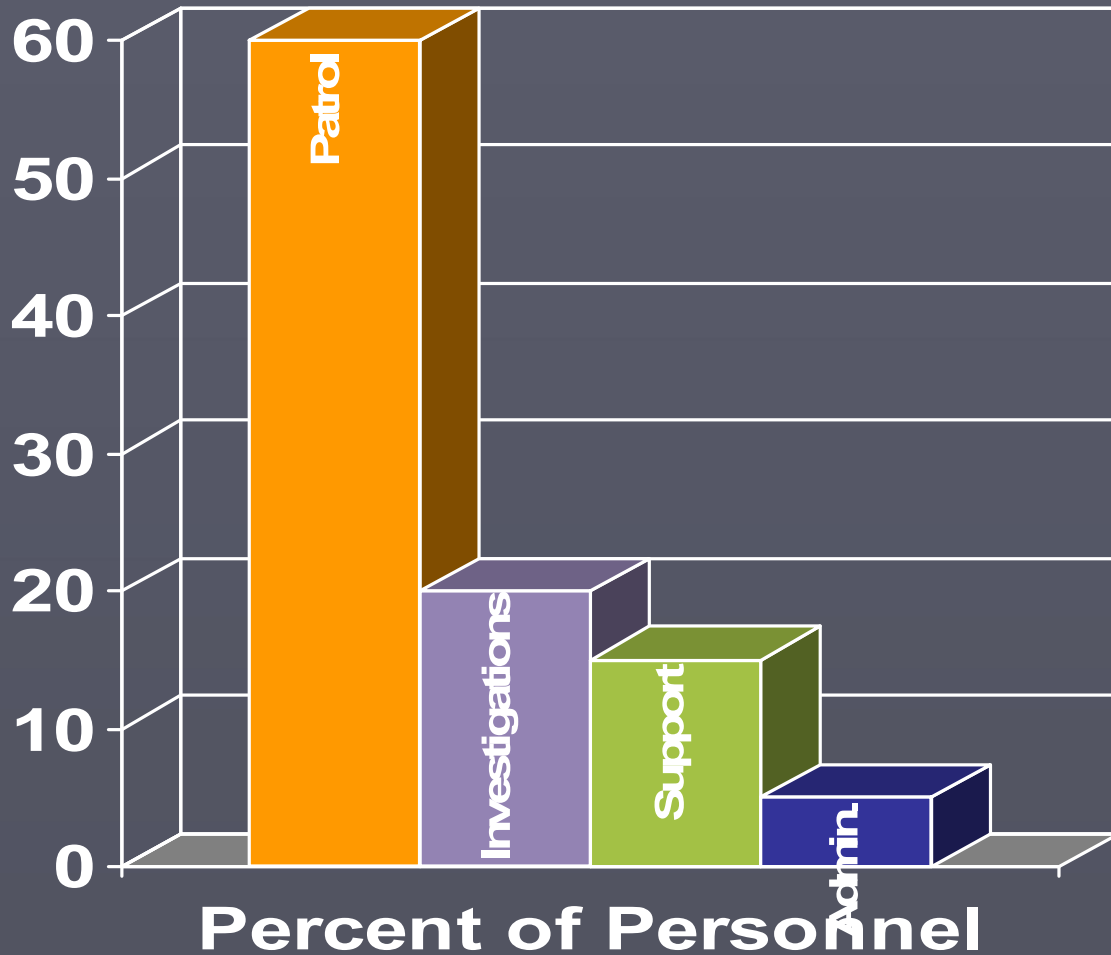
- ▶ Community-Oriented Policing



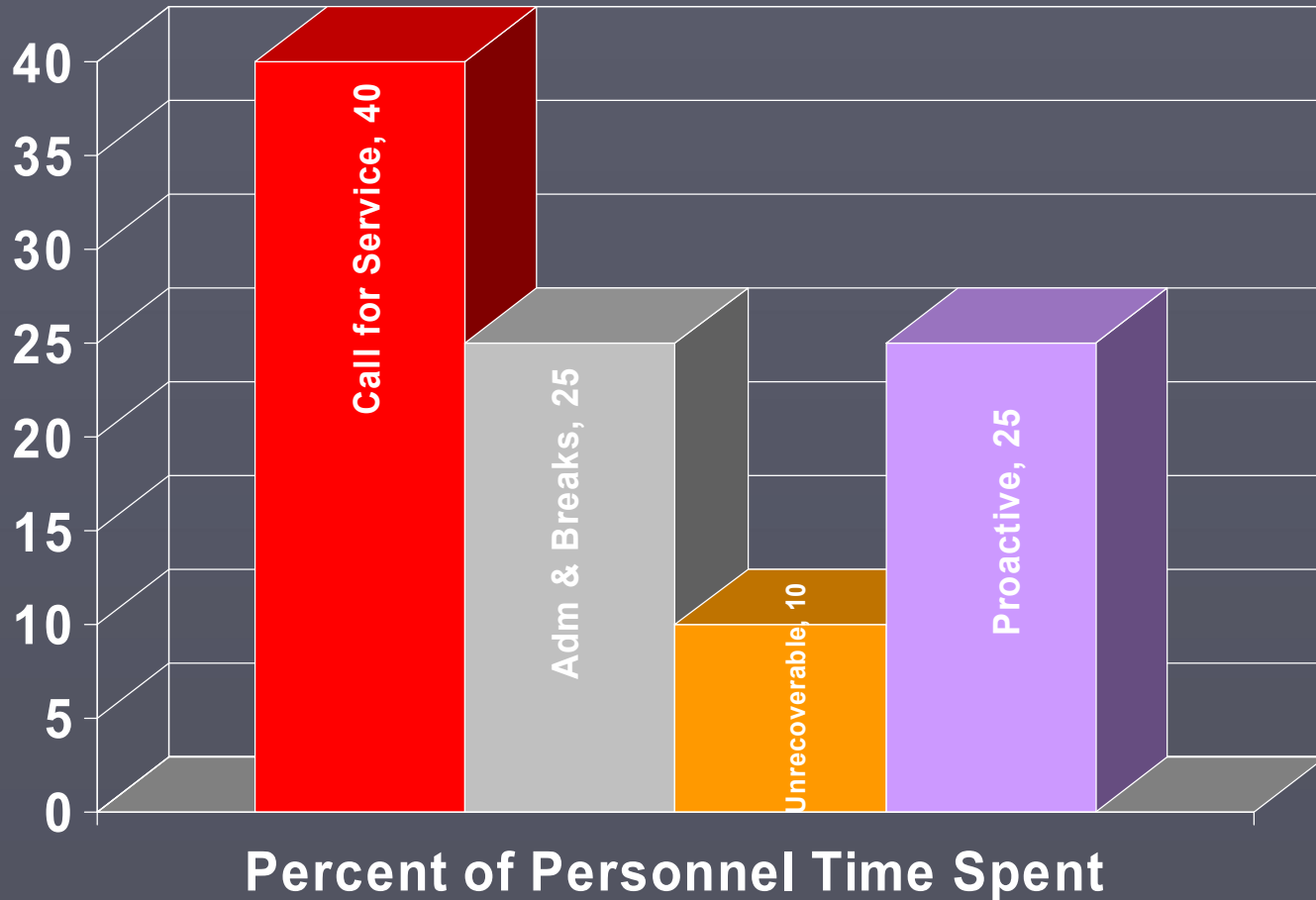
- ▶ Crime Focused Policing – or - Compstat



Typical Allocation of Police Resources

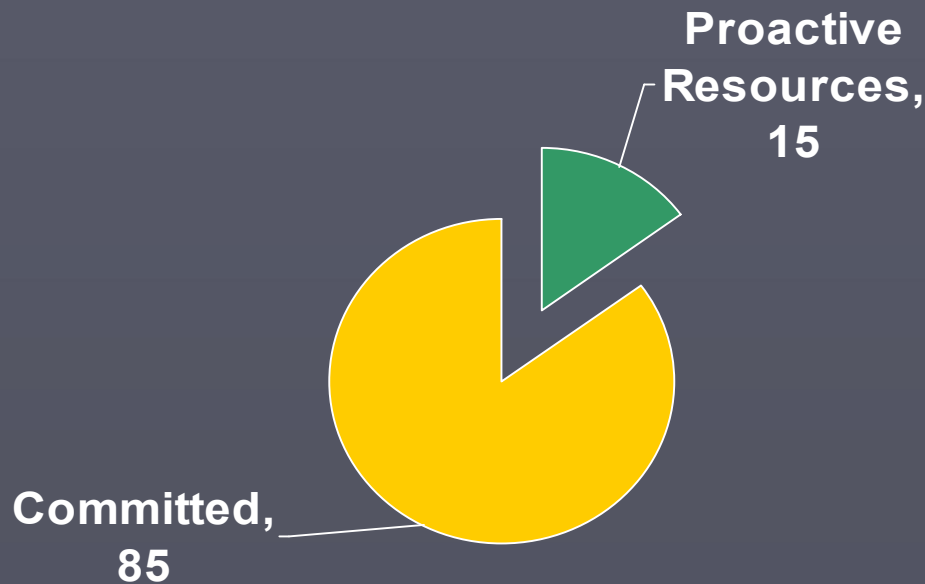


Typical Allocation of Patrol Resources



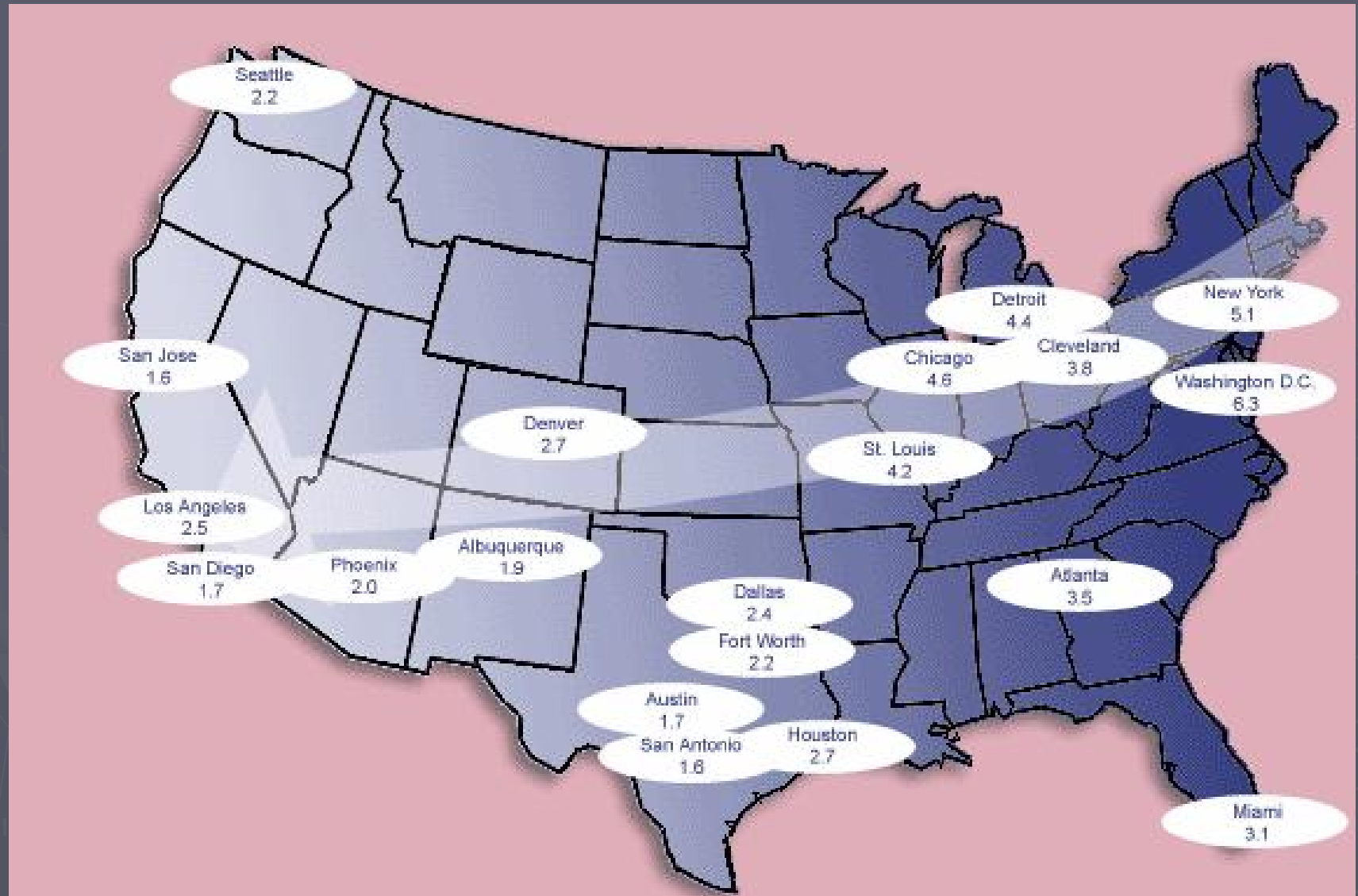
As A Percent of All Resources:

- ▶ 25% of 60% of Police Personnel = 15% of Police Resources Available for Proactive Effort



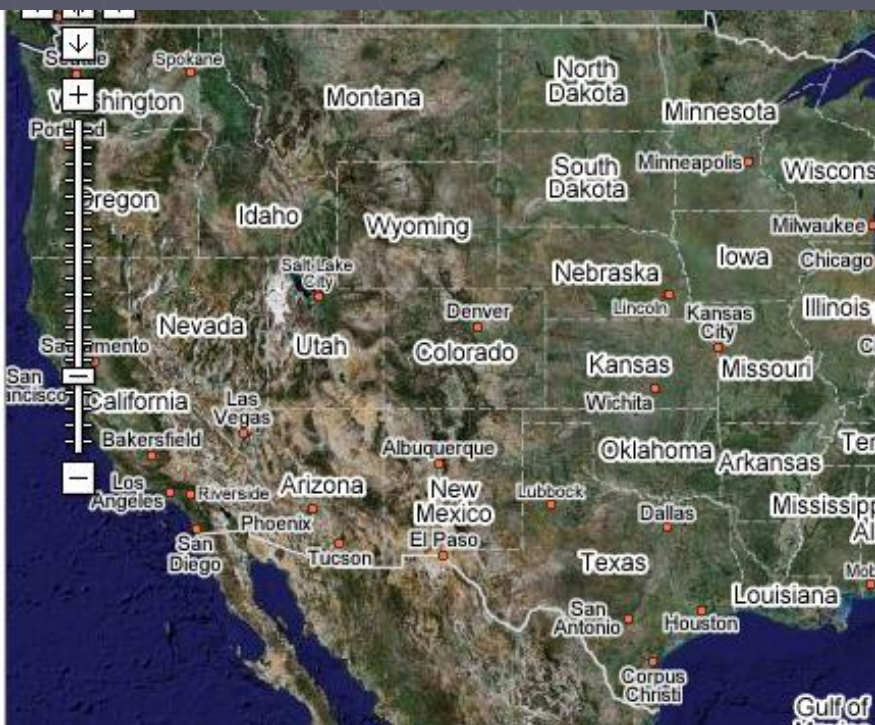
Options for Proactive Resources?

National Pattern of Police Citizen Ratios



***If Houston had the same police
citizen ratio as Chicago,
4.65/1,000, it would have 9,100
sworn officers instead of the
4,800 it does have.***

Can Agencies West of the Mississippi Afford To Engage in Tangential Quality of Life Endeavors?



“Community Policing” Options for Proactive Resources

- ▶ **School Resource Officers and/or DARE**
- ▶ **Foot Patrol and/or Stop & Walk**
- ▶ **Store Fronts**
- ▶ **Mounted and/or Bicycle**
 - **and/or**
- ▶ **Community Resource Officers**

Traditional Activity Options for Community Resource Officers

- ▶ Attending Community Meetings
- ▶ Assisting Neighborhood Associations
- ▶ Coordinating Crime Prevention Efforts
- ▶ Coordinating Family Assistance
- ▶ Assisting Persons with Special Problems
- ▶ Coordination with Social and Mental Health Agencies
- ▶ Helping Youths With Their Lives
- ▶ Conducting Neighborhood Clean-Ups
- ▶ Demolishing Abandoned Structures
- ▶ Assisting the Homeless
- ▶ And, cynically, Taking Kids to the Zoo

The Response Time Issue

- ▶ One can divert 15% of resources from patrol, but only by dramatically decreasing response time and/or unit availability
- ▶ Response time does matter, despite commentary from some academics to the contrary
- ▶ Citizens will tolerate reasonable delays if informed by Communications, but not hours of delay.

Fort Worth's Experience

- ▶ NPO's – from 40 to 86 (7% of sworn personnel)
- ▶ One to each of 76 patrol beats, 10 others to parks, universities, special areas
- ▶ Enormous public support for the program
- ▶ However, response time suffered
- ▶ Observation in communications indicated that 25% of the time no patrol unit was free for dispatch
- ▶ Quality of NPO personnel was widely observed to decrease with expansion
- ▶ Full workload in many beats was an issue
- ▶ Recommendation was a reduction to 60 NPOs.

The Emergence of Compstat

- ▶ In the New York City **Transit** Police Department in 1991 under Chief William Bratton.
- ▶ Led to Bratton's appointment to NYPD Chief in 1993.
- ▶ Matured and evolved to an "administrative paradigm" in NYPD.
- ▶ Characterized as an "alternative" to community policing.

Crime in the Subways

- ▶ Homeless were expelled, aggressive beggars arrested, fare jumpers arrested, and graffiti cleaned up.
- ▶ Crime plummeted:
 - Robbery fell in one year by 64%
 - All felonies by 75%.

Comparative Crime Drop in New York and Other Large Cities

Crime Decrease Between 1993 and 1999:

	<u>New York City</u>	<u>U.S. >100,000</u>
Murder:	66%	37%
Robbery:	58%	35%
Auto Theft:	65%	24%
Burglary:	59%	26%
Index Total:	50%	17%

Evaluations Non-Objective (The Advocacy Books)

- ▶ Bratton and Knobler: The Turnaround: How America's Top Cop Reversed the Crime Epidemic
- ▶ Henry, V.E.: The Compstat Paradigm
- ▶ Maple and Mitchell: The Crime Fighter
- ▶ Silverman, E.B.: NYPD Battles Crime

Evaluations: Objective

- ▶ Weisburd, D. et al.: Reforming to Preserve: Compstat and Strategic Problem Solving in American Policing. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 2(3): 421-456.
- ▶ Firman, J.R. Reaction Paper
- ▶ Moore, M.H. Reaction Paper

Related Assessments

- ▶ Conklin, J.E. Why Crime Rates Fell
- ▶ Blumstein and Wallman: The Crime Drop in America
- ▶ Kelling and Coles: Fixing Broken Windows
- ▶ Kelling and Sousa: Do Police Matter? An Analysis of the Impact of New York City's Police Reforms.

What Is Compstat?

- ▶ Real Time Crime Analysis
- ▶ Targeted Crime Interdiction
- ▶ Broken Windows Enforcement
- ▶ Directed Patrol
- ▶ Crime Response Teams, both regular & ad hoc
- ▶ Unit Commander Accountability
 - and/or
- ▶ A Police Version of Organizational Development: MBO, TQM, Results Oriented Management
- ▶ Reorientation of Community Policing to Crime Specific Policing
- ▶ Organizational Invigoration

What Is Compstat?

- ▶ Difference between Compstat meetings and the Compstat paradigm
- ▶ Actual name of Compstat meetings in New York are Crime Control Strategy Meetings
- ▶ Crime Specific Strategies may be a better descriptor.

Conflict with Community Policing

- Community Policing as a “rhetorical sponge” (per Peter Manning)
- Vincent Henry asserts that it is “absurd” to put 22 year olds in charge of a beat. True?
- Community Policing and Crime Specific Strategies have dramatically different emphasis.

Compstat's Conflict with Community Policing

- Taking kids to the zoo vs. *Undercover robbery surveillance*
- Revitalizing a neighborhood park vs. *Enhanced auto theft enforcement*
- Conducting neighborhood clean-ups vs. *Creation of a Crime Response Team*



But Potential Complement with Problem Oriented Approaches

- ▶ POP is premised upon ultimately saving resources, not consuming them
- ▶ POP “properly applied” focuses upon crime and disorder – not taking over the responsibilities of Parks and Recreation or the School District
- ▶ POP “properly applied” engages multiple units in a police department (like Compstat) but expands engagement where appropriate outside of the police agency (unlike Compstat).
- ▶ Infusion of POP into Compstat Crime Strategy meetings is a counter to the short term bias and limited response mode of Compstat.

Compstat and Problem Oriented Approaches -Observations

“If you watch what goes on in Compstat, and spend time in the precincts and boroughs.....you see a lot a what would now be called community policing and problem-solving policing”

David Kennedy, John Jay

“Upon taking over (Providence, RI) Essermaninstituted the Brattonite playbook: Compstat; spinning the department off into nine districts with substations in each; walking or biking beats; re-orienting the department’s philosophy toward problem-solving and crime prevention, not reaction

.....” Gurwitt, R. (2007) “Bratton’s Brigade” Governing.com,

<http://www.governing.com/articles/8chief.htm>

Problem Oriented Policing and Compstat Consistencies

Problem Oriented Policing

Compstat

- ▶ Focuses police agency management upon external goals
- ▶ Replaces reactivity with proactivity
- ▶ Should engage top command staff
- ▶ Forces analysis

Problem Oriented Policing and Compstat Conflict

Problem Oriented Policing

- ▶ Analytic base emphasizes cross sectional data
- ▶ Long term perspective – months or years
- ▶ Emphasizes disorder reduction
- ▶ Includes some quality of life concerns
- ▶ Tends to become responsibility of specialists
- ▶ Collaboration with other agencies & community
- ▶ Deflection of effort to “non-police” issues a risk

Compstat

- ▶ Analytic base emphasizes longitudinal data
- ▶ Short term perspective – days or weeks
- ▶ Emphasizes Part I crime reduction
- ▶ Eliminates quality of life from police agenda
- ▶ Tends to employ only uniformed patrol and tactical units
- ▶ Response by police department only
- ▶ Fixation upon Part I offenses a risk

Problem Oriented Policing and Compstat

Other Issues

- ▶ Need to consider contrast between “shallow” model of each, and “ideal” or “sophisticated” model of each
- ▶ The institutionalization problem with each
- ▶ When and where a problem orientation is appropriate within Compstat (noting that a crime specific tactical intervention is not always appropriate)
- ▶ When and where a Compstat orientation is appropriate within POP (noting that POP is not always appropriate)

Compstat - Beyond Patrol Saturation - Examples

- ▶ Chicago's "Main 21" Offender Focus; "Back to School", "Spring Cleaning" and "Safe Summer" neighborhood "blitzes"
- ▶ Dallas' Mall Task Force; RALLY Program (database of services available for at risk families in high crime areas)
- ▶ Los Angeles' Case Assessment and Management Program for repeat call mental illness issues
- ▶ Miami's Problem Solving Teams – 1 to 3 sergeants and 15 to 25 officers (example project is East Little Havana "broken windows" intervention)

Yes, You Indeed Can Arrest Your Way Out of Some Problems

- ▶ Not all, but some.
- ▶ Defined Community Engagement is still a good idea
- ▶ Problem oriented approaches are an even better idea
- ▶ But intervention is crime focused, not quality of life
- ▶ And, Patrol Officers must be left on patrol.



“Crime Specific Strategy” Options for Proactive Resources

- ▶ Patrol (enhanced information & directed effort)
- ▶ Patrol special duty assignments – generally a high crime target area aggressive patrol effort
- ▶ Tactical Units (Crime Response Teams)
- ▶ Divisional Detectives –Focus Upon Target Crimes
- ▶ Gang Units –gang violence reduction
- ▶ Specialized Investigations (Auto Theft, Narcotics)
- ▶ POP Approaches to persistent offenses, disorder issues, chronic offenders and dangerous locations (including but not limited to hot spots)

Strategy First, Compstat Process Second

- ▶ Targeting and Strategy is a top command staff decision
- ▶ Compstat organization should reflect strategy – and be flexible
- ▶ Compstat accountability and productivity reporting should be linked to strategy
- ▶ Any thoughtful crime reduction strategy will include POP
- ▶ Use the POP Guides - - - routinely.

Discussion

