Problem Oriented Policing
and Compstat:
Complement or Conflict?

Dr. Larry Hoover
Approaches to Responsiveness

► Professional Efficiency Model

► Problem-Oriented Policing

► Community-Oriented Policing

► Crime Focused Policing – or - Compstat
Typical Allocation of Police Resources

- Patrol: 60%
- Investigations
- Support
- Admin.

Percent of Personnel
Typical Allocation of Patrol Resources

- Call for Service: 40%
- Adm & Breaks: 25%
- Unrecoverable: 10%
- Proactive: 25%

Percent of Personnel Time Spent
25% of 60% of Police Personnel = 15% of Police Resources Available for Proactive Effort

Committed, 85

Proactive Resources, 15

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.
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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>New York City</th>
<th>U.S. &gt;100,000</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto Theft</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Index Total</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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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

- 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
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.
"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) Esserman .....instituted 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 .....”
## Problem Oriented Policing and Compstat

### Consistencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Oriented Policing</th>
<th>Compstat</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Focuses police agency management upon external goals</td>
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<td>- Replaces reactivity with proactivity</td>
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<td>- Should engage top command staff</td>
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<td>- Forces analysis</td>
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# Problem Oriented Policing and Compstat

## Conflict

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<th>Problem Oriented Policing</th>
<th>Compstat</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Analytic base emphasizes cross sectional data</td>
<td>Analytic base emphasizes longitudinal data</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long term perspective – months or years</td>
<td>Short term perspective – days or weeks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emphasizes disorder reduction</td>
<td>Emphasizes Part I crime reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Includes some quality of life concerns</td>
<td>Eliminates quality of life from police agenda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tends to become responsibility of specialists</td>
<td>Tends to employ only uniformed patrol and tactical units</td>
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<td>Collaboration with other agencies &amp; community</td>
<td>Response by police department only</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deflection of effort to “non-police” issues a risk</td>
<td>Fixation upon Part I offenses a risk</td>
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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