

2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GOVERNANCE, CRIME AND JUSTICE STATISTICS

- ✕ JUNE 18-JUNE 20
- ✕ MEXICO CITY MEXICO

THE CRIME NUMBERS GAME: ✕MANAGEMENT BY MANIPULATION

**ELI B. SILVERMAN, PH.D
PROFESSOR EMERITUS,
JOHN JAY COLLEGE and GRADUATE CENTER, CITY
UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK**

NEW YORK

\$2.95 • SEPTEMBER 28, 1992

GETTING AWAY WITH MURDER

THE COPS CAN'T CATCH HALF THE CITY'S KILLERS

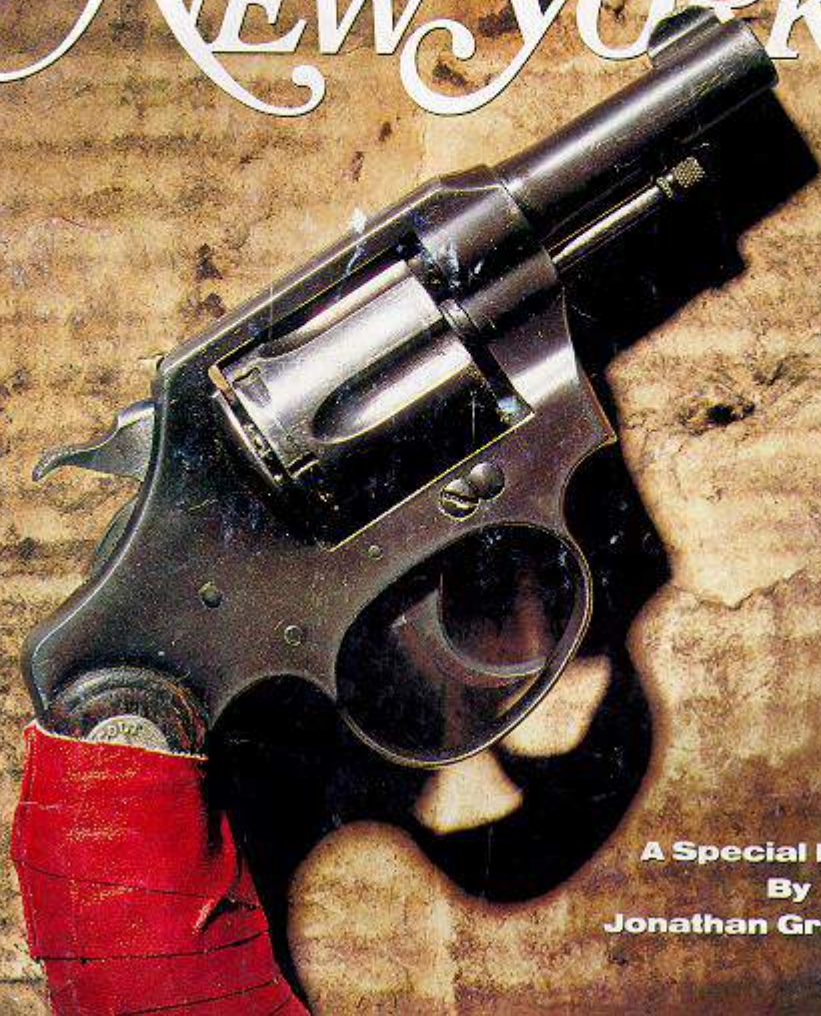
BY ERIC POOLEY

ALL ABOUT CRIME

Is It Worse Than Ever? How Safe Is Your Neighborhood?
Who Kills Whom • How New York Ranks • The Race Factor
The Drug Connection • The Most Dangerous Subway Stations

\$2.25 • SEPTEMBER 3, 1990

NEW YORK



A Special Report
By
Jonathan Greenberg

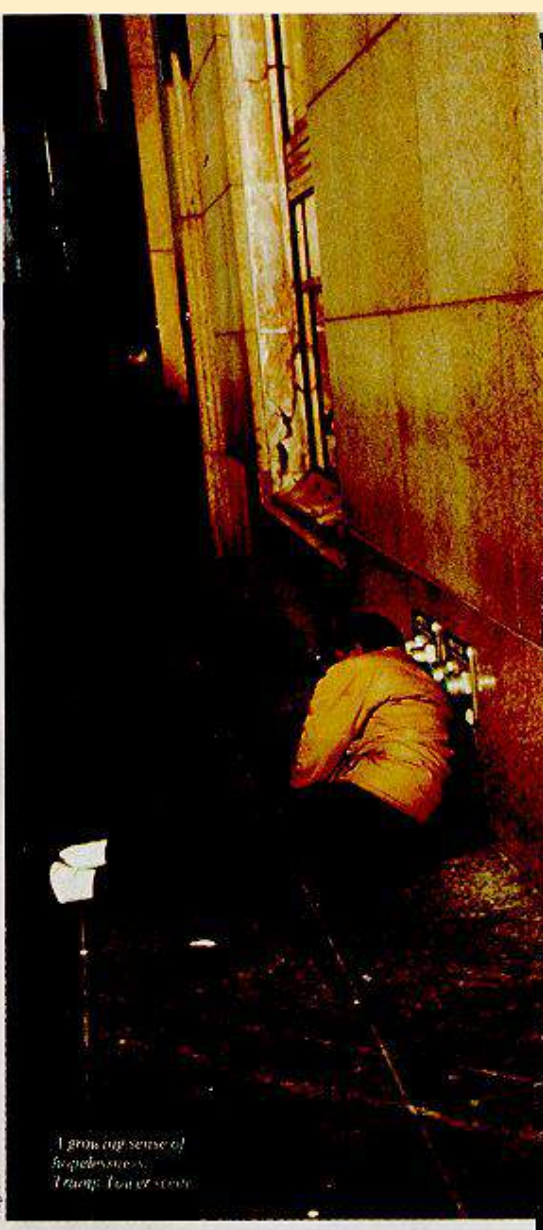
HOW BAD

The city's
sinking quality of
life is one of the
hottest topics in
town. Will we
become Detroit
on the Hudson?

By
Craig
Horowitz

IS IT?

Mugshot



*I grow up sense of
hopelessness.
I trap. I am a victim.*

RICKY P. IS A DANGEROUS CRIMINAL. HE DOESN'T CARRY A 9-MM., A Glock, a Mac-10, or any of the other high-tech weapons of death popular on the street. He is not a drug dealer, a murderer, a rapist, an armed robber, or a child molester. According to his rap sheet, he has never committed an act of violence, and not a single one of his crimes is worthy of a hysterical tabloid headline or, for that

ork Times

, DECEMBER 31, 1995

New York Sees Steepest Decline In Violent Crime Rate Since '72

Analysts Begin to Credit New Police Strategies

COMPSTAT- BASICS

- ✖ HOW THIS IS HAPPENING: POLICIES ENFORCED THROUGH COMPSTAT
- ✖ WEEKLY MEETINGS HQ
- ✖ UPPER ECHELON DIRECTS MEETINGS
- ✖ PRECINCT COMMANDERS PRESENT
- ✖ ACCOUNTABILITY
- ✖ FOCUS ON CRIME CONTROL
- ✖ USE OF COMPUTER – MAPPING

COMPSTAT:



A Performance Management Tool

ENORMOUS CRIME REDUCTION



Michael R. Bloomberg
Mayor

Police Department City of New York



Raymond W. Kelly
Police Commissioner

Volume 16 Number 4

CompStat

Citywide

Report Covering the Week 1/19/2009 Through 1/25/2009

Crime Complaints

	Week to Date			28 Day			Year to Date*			2 Year	5Year	16Year
	2009	2008	% Chg	2009	2008	% Chg	2009	2008	% Chg	% Chg	% Chg (2001)	% Chg (1993)
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Rape	29	21	38.1	89	102	-12.7	81	94	-13.8	0.0	-41.7	-59.7
Robbery	371	425	-12.7	1,504	1,765	-14.8	1,299	1,552	-16.3	-16.5	-35.7	-79.5
Fel. Assault	257	230	11.7	1,052	1,146	-8.2	939	1,013	-7.3	-3.5	-36.4	-63.1
Burglary	304	372	-18.3	1,364	1,650	-17.3	1,173	1,457	-19.5	-24.0	-50.8	-83.9
Gr. Larceny	686	826	-16.9	2,854	3,398	-16.0	2,435	3,016	-19.3	-19.7	-19.0	-55.4
G.L.A.	242	241	0.4	956	955	0.1	821	844	-2.7	-9.5	-58.8	-90.2
TOTAL	1,894	2,124	-10.83	7,847	9,054	-13.33	6,769	8,008	-15.47	-16.56	-38.87	-77.73

Historical Perspective

(Historical perspective is a complete calendar year of data.)

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G.L.A.	146,925	71,798	43,315	29,607	12,493	-57.8	-71.2	-82.6	-91.5	G.L.A.
TOTAL	527,257	312,332	212,913	162,064	117,317	-27.61	-44.90	-62.44	-77.75	TOTAL

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Prepared by
NYFPD CompStat Unit

CompStat

BUT QUESTIONABLE:
CRIME DOWN IN
NEARLY EVERY
INDEX CRIME
CATEGORY EVERY
YEAR FOR 15
STRAIGHT YEARS
WITH LOSS OF
THOUSANDS OF
OFFICERS

-77.75%

PRECINCT COMMANDER PROFILE

Rank: DEPUTY INSPECTOR C.O. Prev Commands: 017 PCT
 Years in Rank: 1yrs 9mts Current Eval: 06/93-WAS Date Assigned C.O.: 12/04/95
 Appointment Date: 10/01/73 Date of Promotion: 08/04/95
 Education: BS Resident Pct: 72 PCT
 Other Training: PMI

018 PRECINCT

COMMANDING OFFICER



BRUCE SMOLKA

Executive Officer



FRANK CANGRO

Precinct Demographics

Total: 41201
 White: 65.72%
 Black: 7.14%
 Hispanic: 19.88%
 Asian: 6.70%
 Amer Ind.: 0.21%
 Other: 0.31%

Precinct Personnel

	pre-safe	1996	1997	%Change
Uniform	255	310	315	1.61%
Civilian	41	36	35	-2.78%
RAM	Yes	***	***	***
Dom Viol	***	2	3	-100.0%
Youth Off	***	4	3	-100.0%
SNEU	***	3	0	-100.0%
AvTime Cmc	4 yrs 4 mons		CW 4 yrs 3 mons	
AvAge Cmd	30 yrs 7 mons		CW 31 yrs 2 mons	

Precinct Non-Crime

	1996	1997	%Change	%CW
RMP Acc	10	8	-20.00	-28.32
Arr O/T	\$43372	\$56878	-21.28	2.00
Oper O/T	\$10346	\$10933	-49.32	-15.06
Total O/T	\$148008	\$111678	-24.55	-3.15
Park Sum.	34220	17159	-23.24	-43.76
Mov Sum.	8790	5284	-52.18	-38.12
Crim Sum.	457	896	96.05	28.10
ECB Sum.	435	1464	238.55	-88.35

Integrity Monitoring

	1996	1997	%Change	%C/W	96ratio	97ratio
Bribery Arrests	1	1	0.00	-20.3	1: 310.0	1: 315.0
Tot CCIB	15	6	-46.67	-24.1	1: 20.67	1: 39.38
Force	8	3	-62.50	***	***	***
Abuse	6	5	-16.67	***	***	***
Discourtesy	10	5	-50.00	***	***	***
Off. Lang.	4	1	-75.00	***	***	***

Uniform Absence (Avg. Days YTD)

	1996	cw96	1997	cw97	LOD96	cwLOD96	LOD97	cwLOD97
	1.59	1.85	0.56	1.65	0.85	0.86	1.65	0.56

Domestic Violence (1997)

Radio Runs	DIR's	%Compliance
134	173	129.10

Unfounded Radio Runs

	1996	1997	%Change	%CW97	%boro97	%Tot 97	%Tot 96	%T CW97	%T Boro97
Tot.Runs	19679	15106	-23.24	-25.74	-21.28	2090	13.02	14.38	12.92
Unf.Runs	4113	1967	-52.18	-55.42	-49.32				

10/94 Compliance

Pct	Boro	C/W
61.41%	87.08%	38.80%

Avg. Response Time

Pct	Boro	C/W
9.00	7.47	9.28

Housing

PSA: 5
 C.O.: CAPTAIN VANGCSTEIN

Facilities

HARBORVIEW TERRACE

Transit

District: 01
 C.O.: DEP. INSP. DEMARNO

Facilities:

MTA HQ-485 MADISON AV
 SUBSTATION: 126 W 53RD ST

City Council Members:

T. DUANE(D.3); A.ERISTOFF(D.4)
 R.ELDRIDGE(D.6)

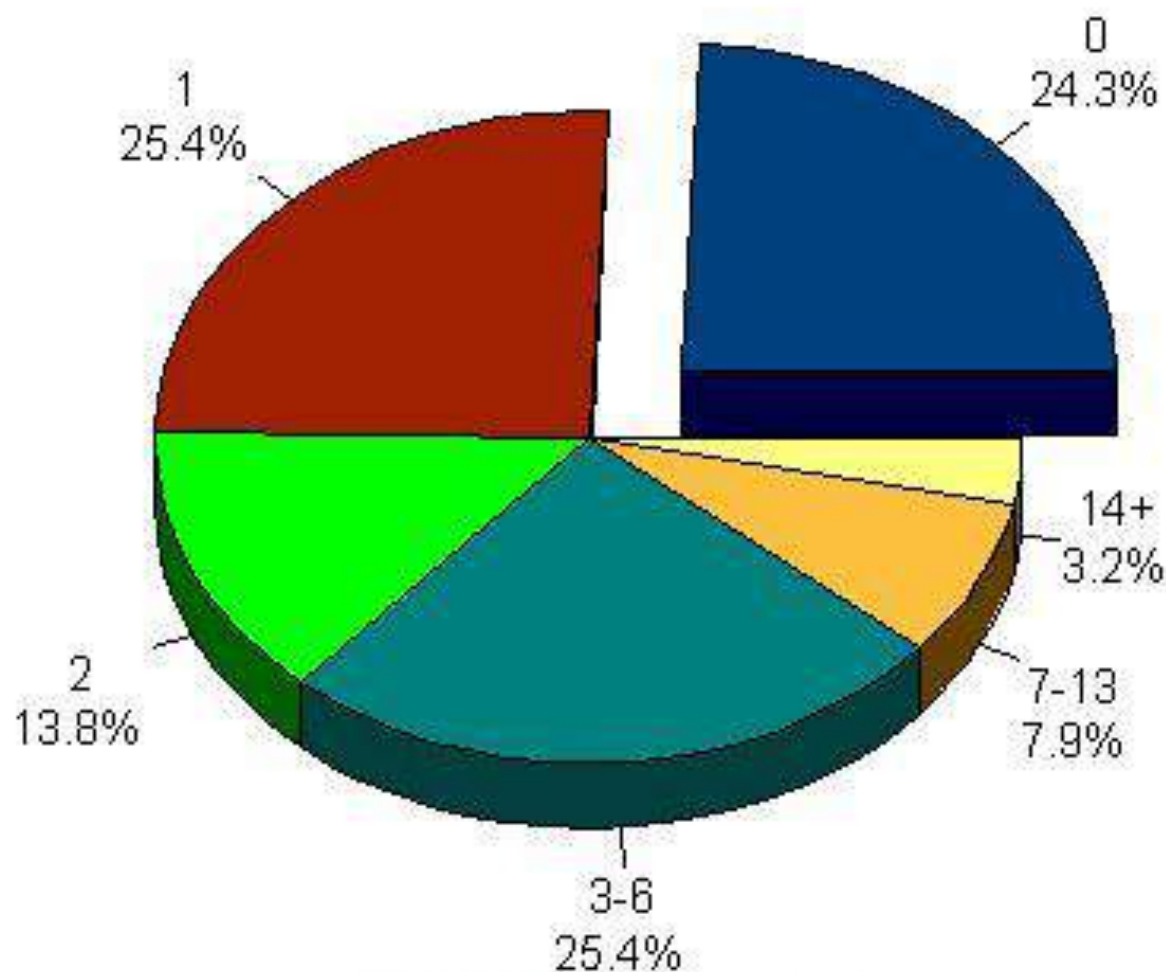
State Senator(s):

C. ABATE(D.27); F. LEICHTER(D.30)

Legend: All Data through 04/30/97 except Overtime, paid thru 04/25/97
 Summons thru 05/04/97; Bribery thru 03/97; CCB, Absence,
 10/94, Resp Time, and Unfounded RR thru 03/97.

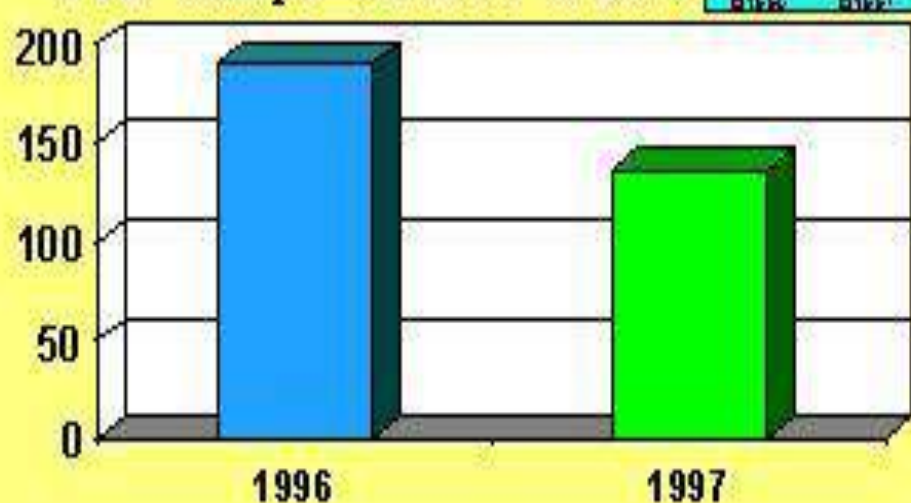
23RD PRECINCT

Arrest Breakdown by Total Arrests



Jan 1, 1997 - Mar. 31, 1997

YTD Complaints 1996 vs 1997



NEW YORK CITY
POLICE
DEPARTMENT



CHIEF OF DEPARTMENT



Robbery

108 PRECINCT

Last 26 Weeks



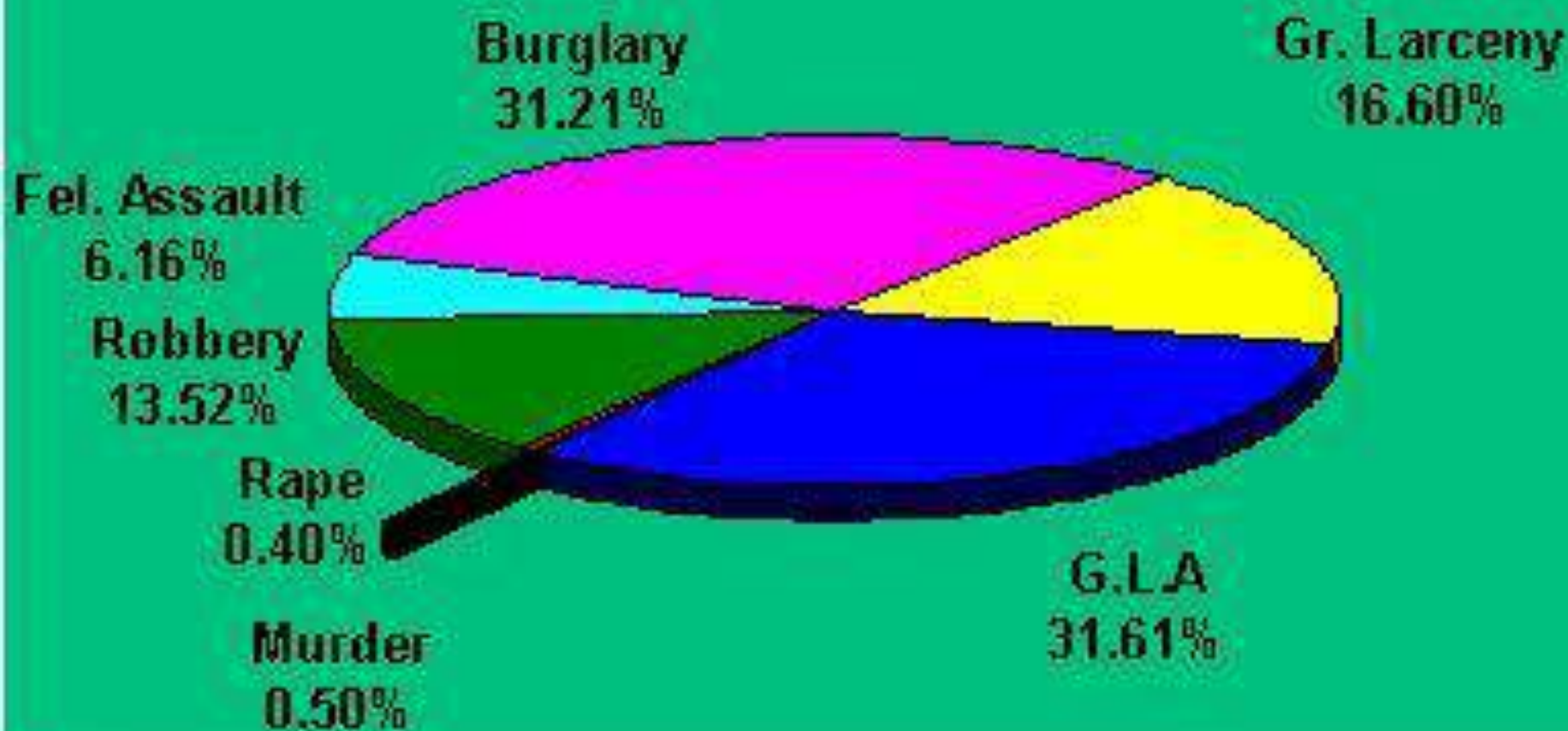


NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

CHIEF OF DEPARTMENT ★★★★★

108 PRECINCT - YTD

7 MAJOR INDEX CRIMES



A TYPICAL COMPSTAT MEETING



4 STEPS TO REDUCING CRIME

- ✖ ACCURATE AND TIMELY INTELLIGENCE
- ✖ EFFECTIVE TACTICS
- ✖ RAPID DEPLOYMENT
- ✖ RELENTLESS FOLLOW-UP AND ASSESSMENT

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ANECDOTAL EVIDENCE MOUNTS



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The Trouble with Compstat

It was a great idea that has been corrupted by human nature. The Compstat program that made NYPD commanders accountable for controlling crime has degenerated into a situation where the police leadership presses subordinates to keep numbers low by any means necessary. The department's middle managers will do anything to avoid being dragged onto the carpet at the weekly Compstat meetings. They are, by nature, ambitious people who lust for promotions, and rising crime rates won't help anybody's career.

The Compstat program was started when crime was at an all-time high, with



By

Robert **Zink**
PBA Recording Secretary

So how do you fake a crime decrease? It's pretty simple. Don't file reports, misclassify crimes from felonies to misdemeanors, under-value the property lost to crime so it's not a felony, and report a series of crimes as a single event.

A particularly insidious way to fudge the numbers is to make it difficult or impossible for people to report crimes—in other words, make the victims feel like criminals so they walk away just to spare themselves further pain and suffering.

Some commanders even persecute the victims so they stop reporting crimes. In one case, it is alleged that a precinct commander shut down a fast food joint because the manager reported a grand

MANAGEMENT BY FEAR

- ✗ SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AWARE OF WEAKNESS WITH FEAR APPROACH – E.G., HAWTHORNE EXPERIMENTS:
 - + WORKERS PLACED UNDER FEAR OF MANAGEMENT CREATE THEIR OWN SET OF RULES
- ✗ NYPD MANAGEMENT CREATES ENORMOUS FEAR AND CONSEQUENCES ARE OBVIOUS
 - + MESSAGE FROM COMPSTAT –IF YOUR “NUMBERS” GO UP IN YOUR COMMAND, SAY ‘GOOD-BYE’ TO YOUR CAREER
 - + WHAT WOULD A RATIONAL PERSON DO IF THIS MESSAGE IS SENT?

MANAGEMENT FAILURE – TRANSPARENCY

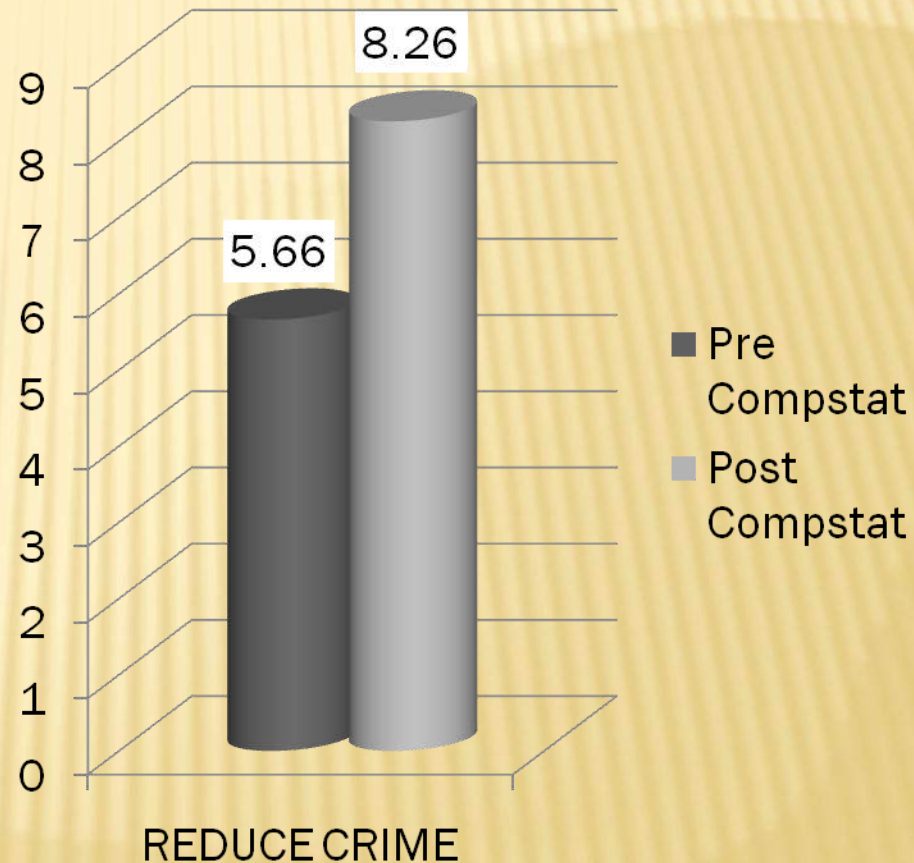
- ✗ INDEPENDENT COMMISSION – MAYORAL AGENCY– RESPECTED FEDERAL PROSECUTOR DENIED ACCESS
- ✗ NO LONGER ALLOWED TO ATTEND COMPSTAT
- ✗ NYPD SUGGESTS SMITH & PURTELL REPORT IS INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE OF QUALITY
 - + HOWEVER, HIDDEN IN FN2 , “OUR CONCLUSIONS ARE BASED ON CONVERSTIONS WITH SENIOR COMMAND STAFF...WE ONLY INFER HOW WRITTEN PROCEDURES WERE IMPLEMENTED...”

ENORMOUS NEED TO STUDY, BUT HOW?

- ✗ LIMITED ACCESS – NEED INNOVATIVE METHOD
- ✗ OUR METHODOLOGY
 - + QUANTITATIVE – ANONYMOUS, RETIREE SURVEY OF CAPTAINS AND ABOVE
 - ✗ 491 COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES
 - ✗ 323 RETIRED AFTER 1994
 - ✗ 166 RETIRED 1994 AND EARLIER (2 DO NOT ANSWER)
 - + QUALITATIVE –
 - ✗ UNSOLICITED STATEMENTS FROM SURVEY
 - ✗ 30 IN DEPTH INTERVIEWS

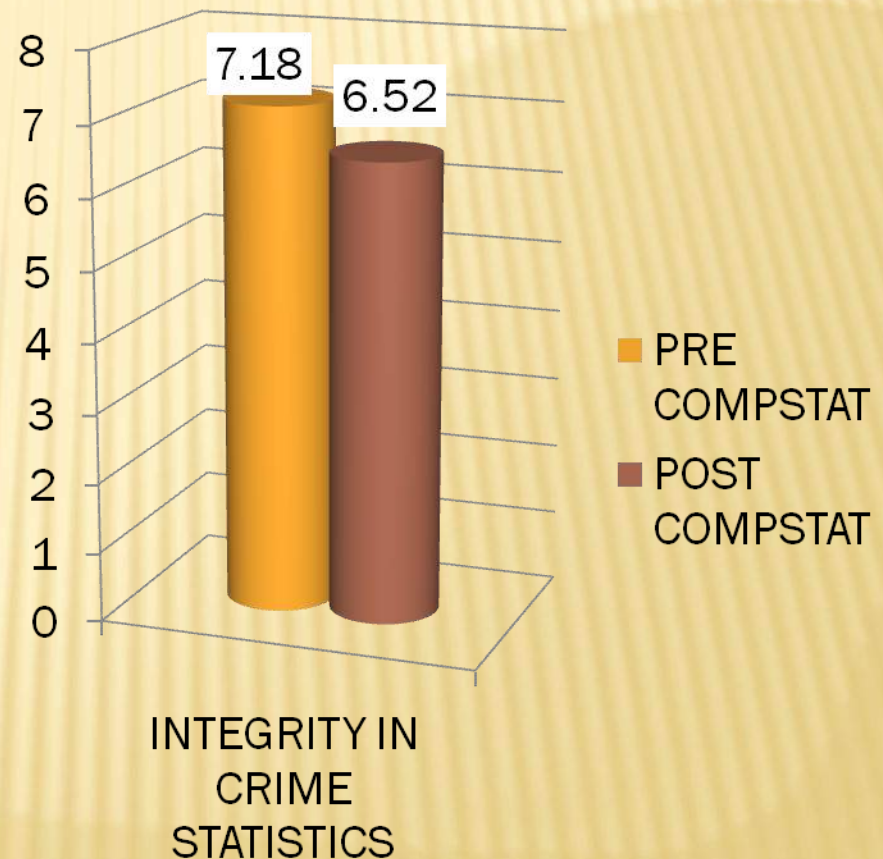
PRE V. POST COMPSTAT ERA PRESSURES

- ✗ ENORMOUS PRESSURE TO DECREASE INDEX CRIME IN COMPSTAT ERA
- ✗ STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT
- ✗ GREATEST MEAN DIFFERENCE IN SAMPLE (2.6)



PRE V. POST COMPSTAT ERA PRESSURES

- × PRESSURE GREATER IN *NON-COMPSTAT* ERA FOR INTEGRITY
- × STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
- × MEAN DIFFERENCE OF .66



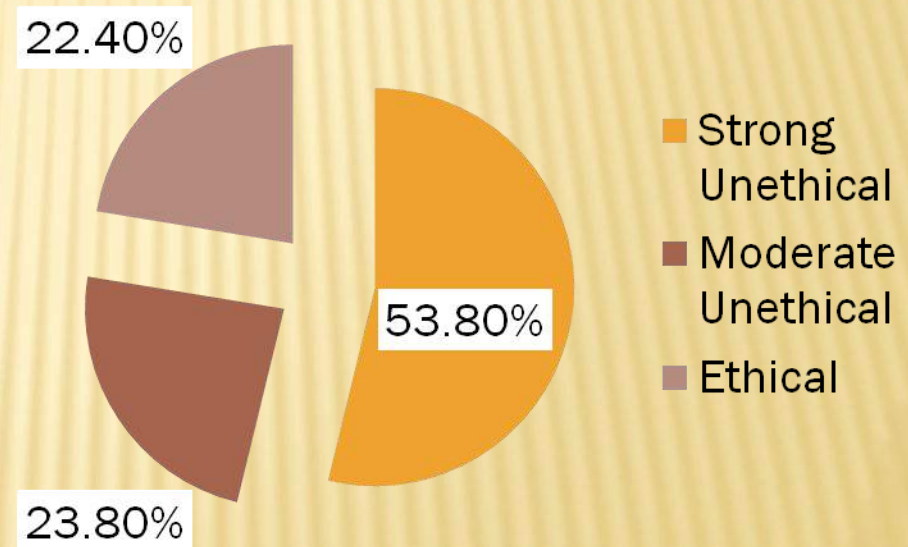
AWARENESS OF CHANGES TO CRIME REPORTS

- ✘ OF THE 309 RESPONDENTS WHO WORKED DURING THE COMPSTAT ERA, 51% WERE AWARE OF CHANGES TO COMPLAINT REPORTS DUE TO COMPSTAT**
- ✘ 49% UNAWARE OF ANY CHANGES (ETHICAL OR NOT)**
- ✘ CHANGES ARE COMMON – ASSIGNMENT LIKELY NOT A PRECINCT**

UNETHICAL MANIPULATION

- ✗ Of the 160 aware of changes,
 - + 53.8% strongly felt the change was ethically inappropriate;
 - + 23.8% felt moderately that the change was ethically inappropriate;
 - + Remainder felt strongly that change was appropriate

Awareness of Manipulation



COMMENTS: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

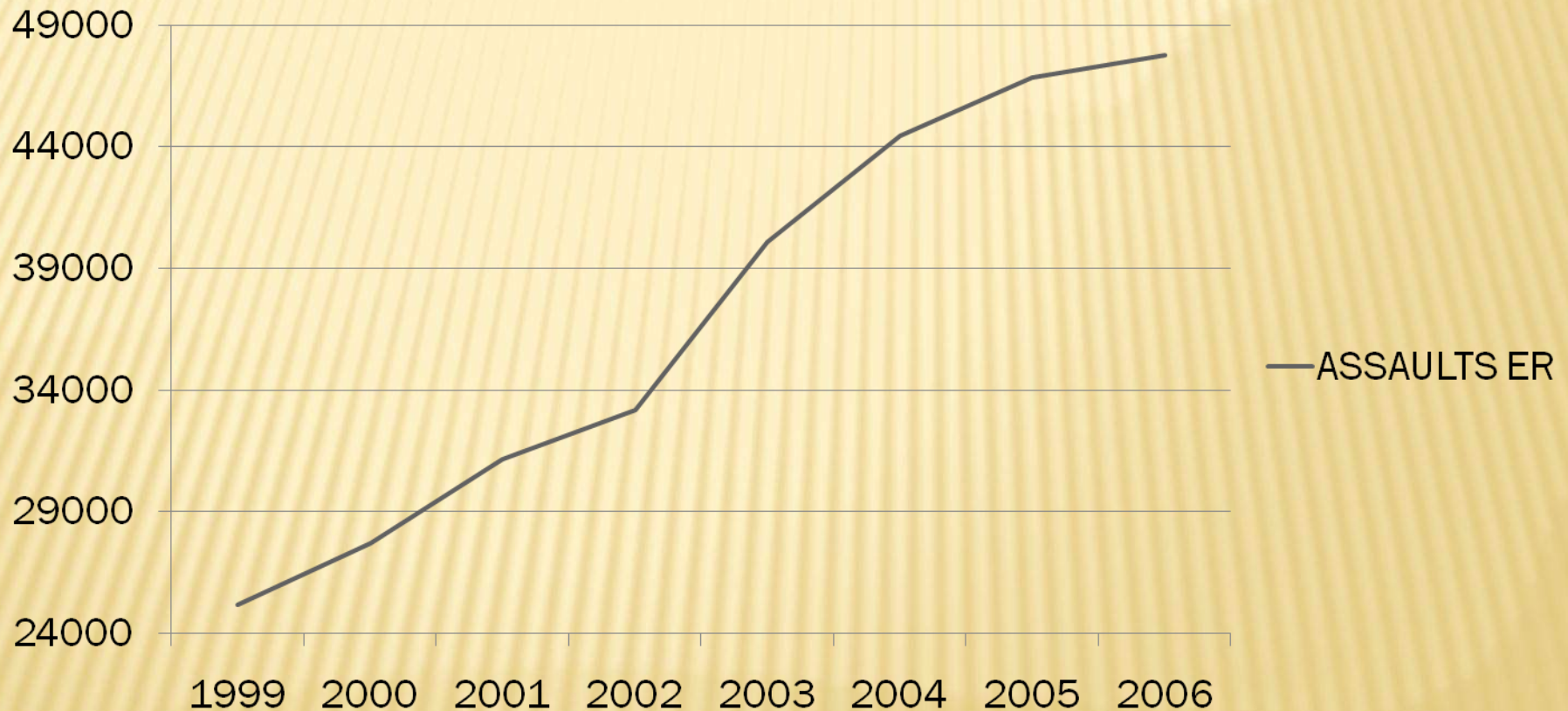
- ✗ “One C.O. would check book and catalog to look up depreciated value to make it a misdemeanor, same with car parts. That’s how desperate C.O.’s would get. [They would] go to [the] scene where index crime occurred, assess, try to get [the] complainant to change story. “

COMMENTS: AGAIN AND AGAIN

- ✗ “There was full adherence to penal law, very literal interpretations. They would surf the internet to find a bicycle price, question victims to ensure it was an index offense...CO’s were driven to reading the letter of the law.”
- ✗ “It was a matter of spiking [i.e., a sharp increase in crime] then apply the letter of the law...try to find something to legitimately knock down crimes.”

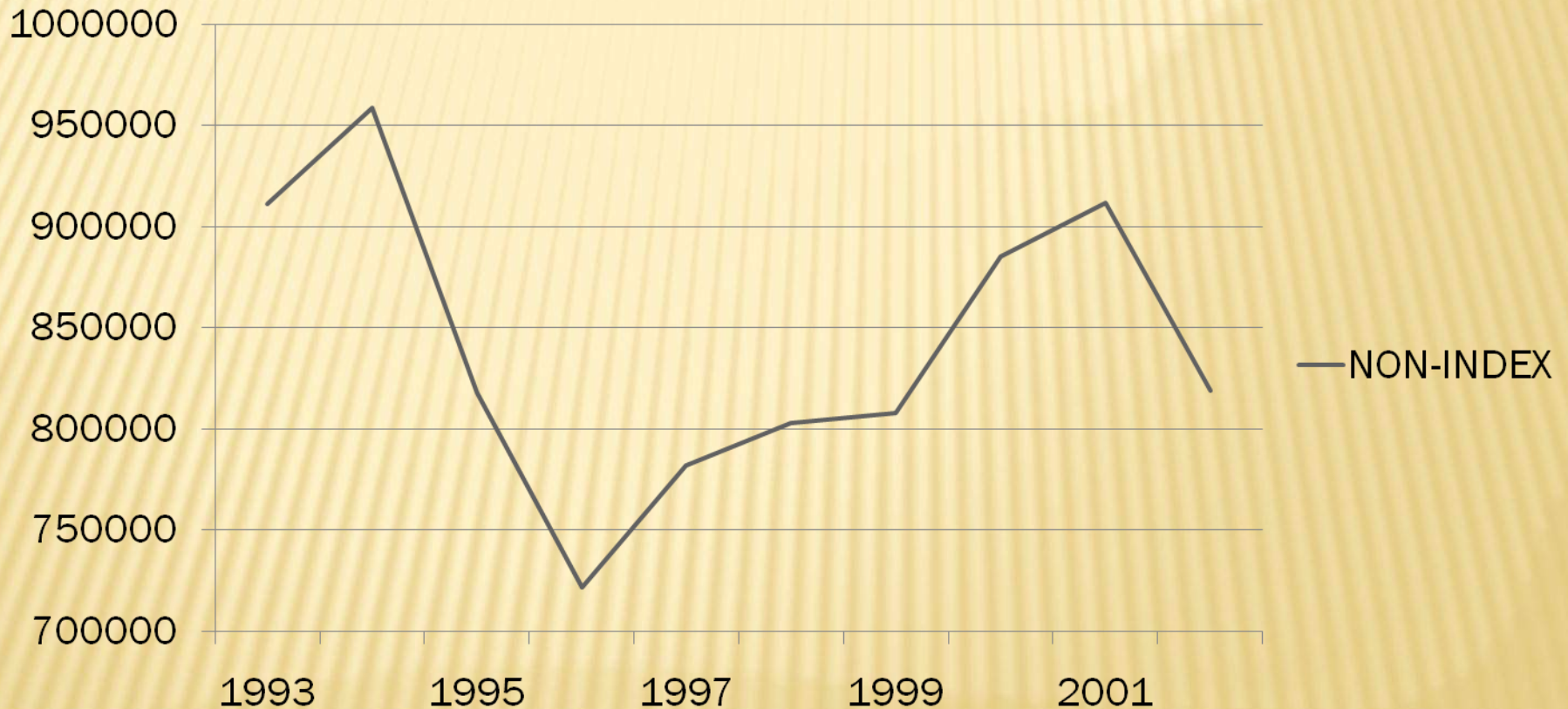
EMERGENCY ROOM ASSAULTS

ASSAULTS ER



NON-INDEX CRIMES

NON-INDEX



Source: DCJS

OTHER EVIDENCE

- ✗ ATTEMPTED RAPE VICTIM, DEBBIE NATHAN
- ✗ DETECTIVE FIRST GRADE HAROLD HERNANDEZ
- ✗ OTHER COUNTRIES USING COMPSTAT FIND MANIPULATION A PROBLEM

RECORDING OF ROLL CALLS

- ✘ OFFICERS ADVISED NOT TO TAKE REPORTS OF ROBBERIES UNLESS VICTIM WILLING TO GO TO STATION HOUSE
- ✘ NO REPORT IF NO SQUAD – AGAIN
- ✘ OFFICERS ADVISED: QUESTION VICTIMS, CALL BACKS BEING MADE BY SUPERVISORS, NOT TO TAKE REPORT IF THEY THINK DA WILL NOT PROSECUTE

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

- ✗ SURVEY DATA INDICATING:
 - + MORE PRESSURE TO DECREASE INDEX CRIME
 - + LESS PRESSURE TO MAINTAIN INTEGRITY IN CRIME STATISTICS
 - + AWARENESS OF MANIPULATION
- ✗ COMMENTS INDICATING ABOVE TRUE AND HOW IT WAS DONE
- ✗ HOSPITAL DATA
- ✗ DCJS DATA
- ✗ OTHER – TESTIMONIALS, OTHER COUNTRIES
- ✗ TAPE RECORDINGS OF ROLL CALLS

NEW SMOKING GUN EMERGES: FINDINGS OF 2012 STUDY

- ✘ INSTRUMENT SURVEY SENT TO 4,069 RETIREES WITH 1,962 RESPONSES – RETURN RATE OF 48.2 PERCENT
- ✘ RESPONDENTS RETIRED BETWEEN 1941 AND 2012
- ✘ 3 PERIODS OF RETIREMENT: BEFORE 1995; EARLY COMPSTAT YEARS (1995-2001); KELLY – BLOOMBERG YEARS (2002- 2012)

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- ✗ MAJORITY OF RETIREES (60 PERCENT) LACKED CONFIDENCE IN THE ACCURACY OF CRIME STATISTICS
- ✗ PRESSURE TO INCREASE SUMMONSES, STOP AND FRISK, ARRESTS, DECREASE INDEX CRIME AND DOWNGRADE INDEX TO NON INDEX CRIME INCREASED MARKEDLY IN THE KELLY-BLOOMBERG ERA
- ✗ STOP AND FRISK PRESSURE FROM 9 PERCENT BEFORE COMPSTAT TO OVER 35 PERCENT IN KELLY ERA
- ✗ DOWNGRADE TO NEARLY 40 PERCENT IN KELLY ERA

COMMENTS OF RETIREES

- ✘ ASSAULT BECOMES HARRASSMENT, ROBBERY BECOMES GRAND LARCENY, GRAND LARCENY BECOMES PETIT LARCENY, BURGLARY BECOMES CRIMINAL TRESPASS. ALL WITH EDITING, CREATIVE WRITING ON COMPLAINT REPORTS BY SUPERVIORS AFTER SUBMISION
- ✘ HEARD DEPUTY COMMISSION XXXXX SAY IN A PRE COMPSTAT MEETING THAT A CO SHOULD JUST CONSOLIDATE BURGLARIES THAT OCCURRED IN AN APARTMENT BUILDING AND COUNT AS ONE

RESTORING EFFECTIVE POLICING

- ✘ URGENCY OF TRANSPARENCY
- ✘ NEED FOR OUTSIDE OVERSIGHT INDEPENDENT AGENCY
- ✘ OPEN UP COMPSTAT MEETINGS
- ✘ RESTORE AUTONOMY TO COMMANDERS AND MIDDLE MANAGERS
- ✘ NECESSITY OF COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS
- ✘ HIGHLIGHT PROBLEM SOLVING

BOOK

- ✖ *THE CRIME NUMBERS GAME: MANAGEMENT BY MANIPULATION* (CRC PRESS/TAYLOR AND FRANCIS GROUP: LONDON)
- ✖ JOHN A. ETERNO, PH.D.
jeterno@molloy.edu
- ✖ ELI B. SILVERMAN, PH.D.
estcompany@optonline.net
- ✖ WWW.THECRIMENUMBERSGAME.COM

www.thecrimenumbersgame.com

