DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SUBURBAN • SAN DIEGO

A YEAR'S RESEARCH

Norman W. Storer
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San Diego County Sheriff's Department
Jim Roache, Sheriff

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by

Norman W. Storer, Ph.D.
(Professor Emeritus of Sociology,
Baruch College, C.U.N.Y)

Captain William D. Flores
(Commanding Officer,
Lemon Grove Sheriff's Station)

SAN DIEGO COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT
JIM ROACHE, SHERIFF

Lemon Grove Station
3240 Main Street
Lemon Grove, CA 91945-1705

July 1994

CONIMAR PRESS
San Diego

CONIMAR PRESS
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

Published by Conimar Press
1417 Van Buren Avenue
San Diego, CA 92103-2339

Camera-ready copy produced with WordStar 7.0
and an Epson AP-3250 printer.

Printed by the East Mesa Detention Facility-MED
Print Shop, San Diego County Sheriff's Department

Cover design by Eugene Robert Martin

First 1000 copies free to interested parties;
subsequent copies to be distributed at cost.

ISBN 0-9642250-0-X

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors take this opportunity to thank their collaborators, Karen Zaustinsky and Lance Segars, for counsel and encouragement throughout the entire project. Their participation in presentations of these materials on several occasions has been deeply appreciated.

Thanks are due also to the personnel of the Lemon Grove Station for moral and technical support, to volunteer Eugene Robert Martin for the cover design, and to Sheriff Jim Roache for encouraging this research. Special acknowledgement is due the Sheriff's Crime Analysis Unit for maps and for the statistics documenting the increase in domestic violence in San Diego County over the past few years, and to the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) for the beat-related Census figures. In particular, Carla Roddy of Crime Analysis and Susan Pennel of SANDAG have been very helpful.

Our wives, Connie Flores and Mary Hiatt, have been wonderfully forebearing during the development of this report, and Mary has provided critical editorial skills as well. We thank them sincerely.

Finally, our gratitude goes to the Deputies of the Lemon Grove Station, the men and women who, in addition facing the sometimes-explosive potential of domestic violence cases, filled out our questionnaires so patiently and diligently over the course of an entire year. Without their assistance, obviously, this project could not have been conducted. We salute you!

Norm Storer and Bill Flores
June 1994: Lemon Grove, CA

Chapter I:
INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

We are shocked when violence erupts between the adult members of a household. We deplore violence in general, but violence in the household disrupts the mutual trust upon which this quintessentially intimate relationship must rest. If the family is the basic unit of society, whatever threatens it must be viewed with alarm.

In addition, domestic violence also represents a challenge to our beliefs about what the sexes owe each other; it is thus directly pertinent to our continuing concerns about the proper definition of sex-roles in our society. So long as a person of one sex is defined as dependent on a person of the other, of course, or even as the property of the other, domestic violence is less threatening to one's view of social life. But when the sexes are defined as equals, then neither has the right to employ physical violence against the other.

Throughout San Diego County, including both the City and those areas for which the Sheriff is responsible, cases of domestic violence increased 85 percent between 1989 and 1993, according to the San Diego Association of Governments.[1]

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1. Crime in the San Diego Region, 1993 (San Diego: San Diego Association of Governments, Criminal Justice Research Division, 1994), p. 46.

Information provided by the San Diego Sheriff's Crime Analysis Unit tells us that calls involving domestic violence increased from 6.1 percent of the 53,611 calls recorded in 1991 to 9.6 percent of the 55,715 calls recorded in 1993 -- a 62 percent increase over three years.

And between November 1992 and November 1993, the period covered by this research, domestic violence incidents accounted for nearly ten percent of all calls handled by the Department. While frequencies ranged from 13 percent in the Vista command down to 3.6 percent in the Encinitas command, ten of the 12 commands reported that at least nine percent of their calls were occasioned by actual or potential domestic violence.

Further, a recent nation-wide study by the Department of Defense has found that spouse-abuse cases involving military personnel have increased from 12 cases per 1000 in 1988 to 18.1 cases in 1993.[1], a fifty percent increase. And these apparently include only married couples, thus ignoring couples who are simply living together.

An increase by half, or two-thirds, or even more over the past five years thus seems to be a national experience rather than being confined simply to San Diego County.

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1. "Military Battling a Rise in Domestic Violence," by Eric Schmitt (New York Times News Service), *San Diego Union-Tribune, May 23, 1994.*

Although some of these increases may have been due to improvements in police training and reporting procedures, they cannot be explained simply by population growth. The startling growth of domestic violence cases alerts us to the growing threat that such civil misbehavior poses to our society and raises the need to address it promptly.

Domestic violence therefore constitutes a particularly meaningful focus of interest to everyone, even though dealing with it has been largely delegated to officers of the law and to social agencies. Because it is a central threat to our very definition of civilized life, its frequency, causes, and details certainly deserve our detailed attention.

How widespread is domestic violence? The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports does not treat domestic violence as a distinct category, and so we have no "official" information on its current frequency or changes in its frequency over the years. (As will be discussed in Chapter 2, it does not constitute a *specific* crime, but is based rather on the relationship between victim and perpetrator, and includes a wide range of particular misdemeanors and felonies.) Thus we are left with reports of private national surveys and a handful of local studies, which often vary in their definitions of the topic and in other details.[1]

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1. See, for instance, Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1976); Terry Davison, Conjugal Crime (NY: Hawthorn Books, 1978); Murray A. Straus, Richard J. Gelles, and Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family (Garden City, NY:

One fact, however, is clear: violence between cohabiting adults occurs much more often than law enforcement figures would indicate. Calls for police intervention come from between one and two percent of the households in a given area over a single year, but these represent only a fraction of all incidents, probably only ten or fifteen percent of them.

Straus, for instance, estimates that "the true rate [of adults who have *ever* assaulted a domestic partner] is closer to 50 or 60 per cent of all couples..."[1] And in reporting a 1985 survey, Gelles and Straus suggest that even the Victimization Survey understates its frequency, probably because most people do not define most forms of violence within the family as "crimes."[2] Instead, they find that some form of physical assault actually occurred in sixteen percent of American families during 1985, or in one of every six families.

To refer briefly to our findings, we can report that domestic violence known to the Sheriff's Station where this research was conducted occurred in roughly two percent of the 41,280

Continued...

Anchor/Doubleday, 1980); Richard J. Gelles and Murray A. Straus, Physical Violence in American Families (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1990); and Lawrence W. Sherman, Policing Domestic Violence: Experiments and Dilemmas (NY: Free Press, 1992).

1. In Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

2. Gelles and Straus, *op. cit*, p. 99.

households located in the area covered by our research. This figure, of course, is based on those incidents to which law enforcement personnel were alerted and to which they responded. But, as suggested, these cases are surely only a fraction of the actual incidents of physical violence.

REACTING TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Public policy with respect to domestic violence concerns both preventing it and attending to its consequences. In terms of prevention, the government is limited largely to defining specific acts--concrete forms of behavior that can be described and thus formally identified--as criminal and therefore deserving of formal punishment.

These acts of course include violence itself, but may also include acts that are agreed to lead up to or *contribute* to domestic violence. Just as the sale of handguns to minors is banned because it is likely to *lead to* violent consequences, so actions likely to result in domestic violence can be prohibited. Laws that proscribe assault and battery deal with actual violence, while a Temporary Restraining Order, given in response to someone's request for protection from another person, is an attempt to prevent the development of domestic violence.

But domestic violence is generally impulsive rather than deliberately planned ahead of time, and thus antecedent acts are difficult to identify. One act which has been thought to contribute to domestic violence, though, is the consumption of alcoholic beverages. It is this presumed connection that led to the present study.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND ALCOHOL

Alcohol has been known for millenia as a disinhibitor, a drug which loosens the internal restraints that otherwise hold most people's behavior within acceptable limits. It is known to be associated with physical violence in general as well as other serious problems like traffic fatalities, and there is a widespread public belief that it is responsible for a substantial amount of domestic violence.

The fact that states have assumed responsibility for controlling its availability is evidence that a causal link between alcohol and undesirable social behavior is widely assumed. And to the extent that alcohol consumption *does* lead to domestic violence, controlling the availability of alcohol offers a promising focus of preventive action.

But those who enjoy alcohol, as well as those who manufacture and sell it, insist upon their rights as well. Since the repeal of Prohibition in this country in 1933, the question has always been the conditions under which we allow alcohol to be sold—and to whom—rather than one of total denial. These conditions entail the forms in which alcohol may be sold, the location of sales, and the characteristics of those who may consume it.

At the local level, the specific question to be resolved is always whether a license should be granted to someone so that he or she can sell certain alcoholic beverages at a particular location and during particular hours. Local authorities apply state and local laws to these decisions, and as a matter of course invite input from law enforcement officials.

The study reported here originated in a desire to develop the best possible information on the role of alcohol in domestic violence. Such information is of obvious interest to law enforcement, but as will become apparent, we have much to say about the broader aspects of the problem as well.

In subsequent chapters, we will describe the setting of the study and how it was carried out, our major findings about domestic violence and the roles played by alcohol and other drugs, and the factors that influenced how offenders ("suspects") were dealt with. In the concluding chapter, we consider the implications of these findings for law enforcement, public health, and overall community concerns.

Chapter II:
PHYSICAL AND LEGAL SETTINGS

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

This study was conducted in a central part of the County of San Diego, California, which covers the extreme southwestern corner of the United States. Just south of the county lies Mexico and there are several ports of entry along its sixty-mile border with that nation. The Pacific Ocean forms the county's 70-mile western border. The eastern part of the county, which abuts Imperial County, is mainly desert and consequently is sparsely populated. To the north are Orange County and Riverside County, both of which are largely extensions of the state's heavily populated Los Angeles County.

San Diego County has an estimated population of 2.6 million, although this figure does not take into account the thousands of persons in the county who have entered the country illegally and do not appear in any Census records. Not quite half of these 2.6 million people reside in the City of San Diego, which occupies the southwestern portion of the county. Our study is centered in an area just to the east of the City of San Diego, a part of the Sheriff's jurisdiction known as the Lemon Grove Sheriff's Station.

LAW ENFORCEMENT: THE LEMON GROVE STATION

As in most states, local law enforcement in the unincorporated areas of San Diego County is provided by the Sheriff and his or her deputies. Incorporated cities normally provide for their

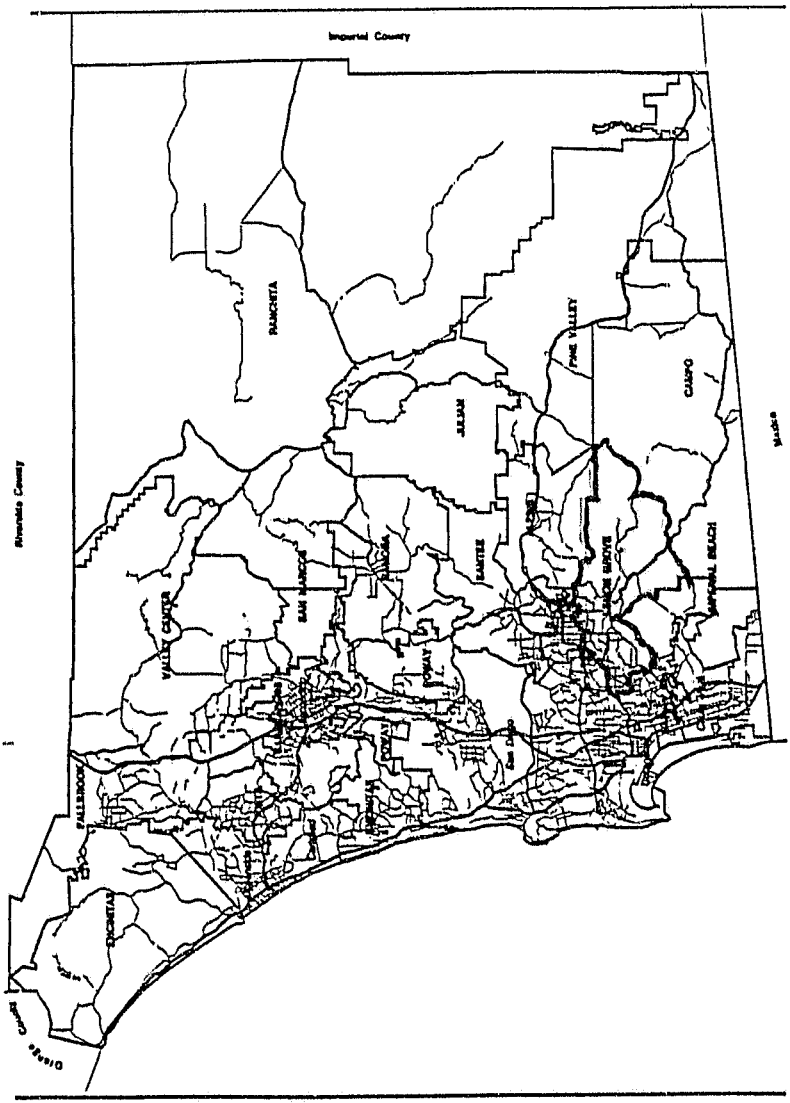
law enforcement needs by having their own police departments dedicated to that service. In California, however, cities have another option. Some have chosen to contract with the County Sheriff's Department for law enforcement services.

Cities can "purchase" the level of law enforcement they deem necessary without having to assume at the same time the overhead costs of hiring, training, and other administrative considerations associated with running a police department. In San Diego County, nine cities have chosen this option and have contracted for law enforcement services with the Sheriff's Department. One such city, Lemon Grove, is included in the larger Lemon Grove Command.

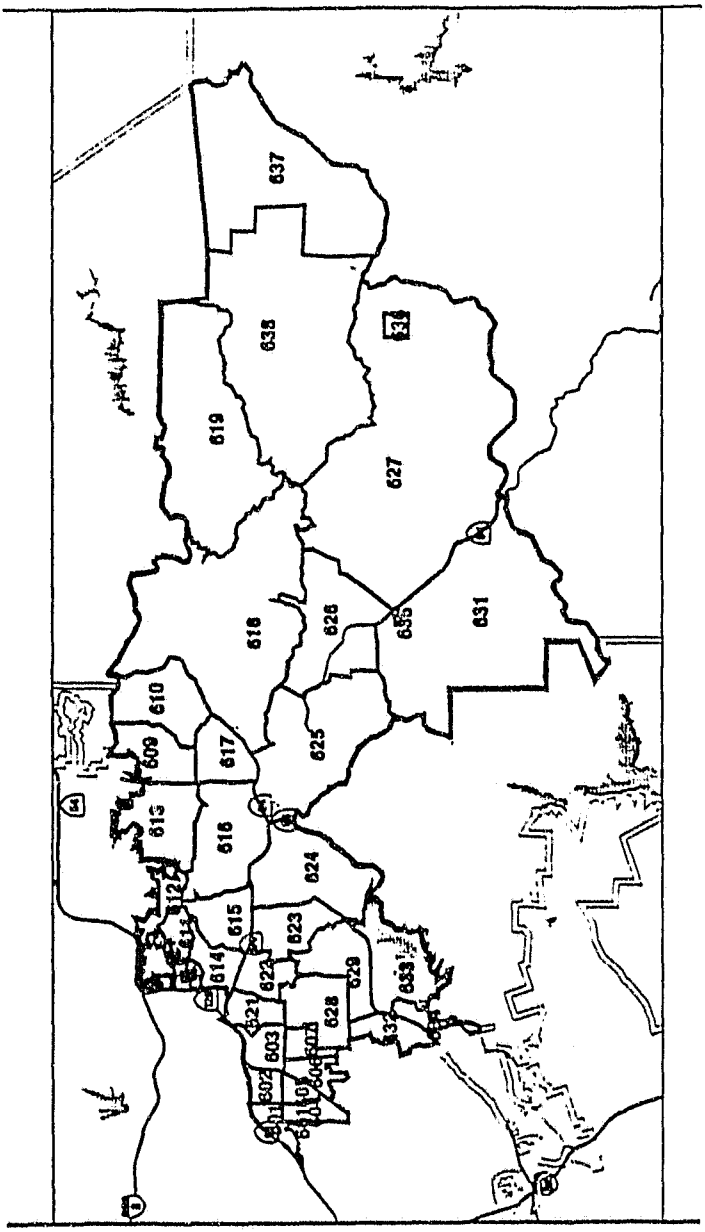
The map of San Diego County on the next page shows those areas where the Sheriff's Department provides law enforcement services. Each area is labelled with the name of the field station that serves as its headquarters. This study took place in the area highlighted, the Lemon Grove Sheriff's Station. However, the City of Lemon Grove covers only four square miles of the 110 square miles that make up the service area. Lemon Grove's population is approximately 25,000, according to the 1990 Census, while the population of the entire command area is close to 135,000.

The second map provides more detail, showing how the Command is divided into smaller report areas, commonly referred to as "beats." Dividing the command into these smaller sections makes it easier to assess crime trends, facilitates the assignment of deputies, and is useful in other management efforts to create an efficient and effective law enforcment operation.

SAN DIEGO COUNTY, SHOWING THE AREAS COVERED BY THE SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT



THE LEMON GROVE STATION COMMAND, SAN DIEGO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA



The Lemon Grove Command contains thirty-four beats from which data were collected for this study. The beats are numbered in the 600 series, with 601 through 607 located in the City of Lemon Grove. The other beats cover the remainder of the command, including the communities of Mount Helix, Casa de Oro, Spring Valley, Rancho San Diego, Jamul, and the unincorporated parts of the cities of El Cajon and La Mesa.

Although each of these communities has its own distinct needs and problems in terms of law enforcement, all are in the unincorporated area of the county and have no definitive political boundaries. Hence, beat boundaries have been drawn by the Sheriff's Department using a blend of street, geographic, and census tract considerations.

During the period of this study the Lemon Grove Sheriff's Station had 55 deputies assigned to the patrol contingent of the command, along with 11 detectives and five traffic investigators. Each day, a minimum of 27 patrol cars were fielded to handle the law enforcement needs of the population.

Detectives are assigned to conduct follow-up investigations on crimes reported to the patrol deputies, who are the primary responders. The deputies assigned to the Traffic Division are primarily responsible for handling accident investigations and other traffic-related problems, normally within the Lemon Grove city limits. The California Highway Patrol provides traffic enforcement to the unincorporated areas of the county.

With their responsibility as first responders to calls for help within the command, the deputy sheriffs proved to be accurate and unbiased collectors of information for this study. The normal course of their duties includes documenting the occurrence of crimes in the form of Crime Reports. Each incident generates an individual Crime Report that contains a description of the crime, information about the victim, the suspect's identity and description (if known), and any witness information. It also includes the deputy's narration of what had occurred and his or her actions while investigating it.

For the purpose of this study, deputies were asked to complete a short questionnaire that would accompany each crime report written when the case was classified as involving domestic violence. The research procedures are described in greater detail in the following chapter.

THE LEGAL SETTING: DEFINING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

California Penal Code section 13700 defines "domestic violence" as abuse committed against an adult or emancipated minor who is a spouse, former spouse, cohabitant, former cohabitant, a person with whom the suspect has had a child, or with whom he or she has had a dating or engagement relationship. The Sheriff's deputy, therefore, must establish that the relationship between the victim and suspect falls within at least one of the circumstances enumerated in this law before the incident is defined as an instance of domestic violence.

It should be noted here that there is no *specific* crime of "domestic violence." Rather, this is a category of crimes that is marked out by the relationship between suspect and victim. With this in mind, it should be remembered that domestic violence cases are by no means limited to cases of spousal abuse. Since the classification includes all of the relationships between suspect and victim listed above, many different crimes that involve violence can be included in this category.

The study reported here, covering all of the domestic violence incidents recorded during an entire year, thus includes a number of specific crimes that range from threats to simple battery to murder. The accompanying chart shows the different types of crimes cited under the rubric of domestic violence and their frequencies as recorded during the year.

California Penal Code Section 13700 further requires that all law enforcement agencies in the state record every call for assistance made to the department that involves domestic violence. The San Diego County Sheriff's Department meets this requirement by incorporating a check-box on the Crime Report form that indicates when the crime or incident is domestic violence-related.

Further, department policy requires that all domestic violence calls for assistance be recorded on the Crime/Incident Report form *even if no actual violence has occurred.* This policy states that a report will be written if there has been a reasonable likelihood of imminent bodily injury. Hence, threats of violence or bodily injury to the victim or another person (such as a child), as perceived by the victim, are included in this study as domestic violence crimes.

CALIFORNIA PENAL CODE INFRACTIONS USED IN CONNECTION WITH DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CASES, AND THEIR FREQUENCIES

MAJOR CATEGORIES

Number	*Frequency*	*Description*
273.5	334	Injury to spouse.
242	332	Battery.
13700	97	Definitions of domestic violence; used when no other number appropriate.
273.6	46	Violation of a Temporary Restraining Order.
245	35	Assault with a deadly weapon.
422	20	Terroristic threats.
594	16	Vandalism.
591	15	Malicious removal of telephone line.
243	13	Battery of a peace officer, former spouse, or dating partner.
417	11	Brandishing a weapon in a threatening manner.
653(m)	5	Threatening or annoying telephone calls.

CALIFORNIA PENAL CODE INFRACTIONS, cont.

Lesser Categories (3 incidents or fewer)

136.1	Preventing or dissuading victim from testifying.
148	Resisting peace officers performing their duties.
148.9	False personation.
182	Criminal conspiracy.
187	Murder.
207	Kidnapping.
211	Robbery.
220	Assault with intent to commit rape.
246	Discharge of a firearm at an inhabited dwelling.
246.3	Discharge of a firearm in a negligent manner.
246	Discharge of a firearm at a motor vehicle.
261(a)(2)	Rape by force.
262	Spousal rape.
286	Sodomy.
459	Burglary.
487	Grand theft.
488	Petty theft.
594(b)(4)	Miscellaneous vandalism.
646.9	Stalking.
664-187	Attempted murder.
10851	Auto theft.
23110	Throwing substances at a vehicle.

Data for the study thus came from information provided by deputies who responded to calls for assistance whenever the relationship between suspect and victim fell within the legal definition of domestic violence and/or Department policy covering potential violence.

Given current legal and departmental requirements, cases written (that is, officially recorded) concerning domestic violence are becoming more frequent, as discussed in Chapter 1. Law enforcement agencies are thus faced today with the question of how to respond to this "new" type of crime. An obvious avenue for action is prevention.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, ALCOHOL, AND OTHER DRUGS

Many officers believe that alcohol and other drugs are a contributing factor in many of these incidents. But until now there have been no factual data to support this belief. Prior to the inception of this study, deputies at the Lemon Grove Station were questioned on their assumptions about the frequency with which alcohol and other drugs play a role in domestic violence.

With respect to alcohol, their estimates about the frequency of alcohol-involvement ranged from 35 to 95 percent of the time, averaging about 70 percent; for other drugs, the officers estimated that they played a role in between ten to 70 percent of the incidents, with the average being 33 percent. The actual facts, as gathered by this study, are presented in Chapter 4.

Whenever application for a new liquor license is made to sell alcohol beverages, or to serve alcoholic drinks in connection with a food business, the offical responsible for local law enforcement is consulted. Naturally, his or her advice should be supported by valid information.

Given, then, the twin pressures of a rising tide of domestic violence and a need for information about what has been assumed to be a major contributor to this problem, there was clearcut need for the present study.

The remainder of this report covers basic information about the incidents themselves--their frequency, the level of violence involved, where, and when--and about the participants. It then goes on to examine the role of alcohol and other drugs in domestic violence, and the factors associated with arrests in these cases. The report concludes with an assessment of the study's implications for the several concerns whose interests converge on domestic violence: law enforcement, public health, and local action groups.

CHAPTER III:
THE RESEARCH PROJECT; BASIC ASPECTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The research reported here grew out of a meeting between a law enforcement officer and a retired sociologist. The former, Captain William D. Flores, Commander of the Lemon Grove (CA) Sheriff's Station, needed information about the role of alcohol in domestic violence; the latter, Professor Emeritus Norman W. Storer, was working one day a week at the Lemon Grove Station as a civilian volunteer. Flores happened to mention his need to Storer in September 1992, and this research project got underway shortly thereafter.

While Flores could direct his deputies to collect information, it was clear that additional expertise would be required to determine just what information should be obtained. Flores thus recruited Lance Segars, Ph.D., of the San Diego County Public Health Department's Alcohol and Drug Services, and Karen Zaustinsky, M.S.W., Executive Director of the Lemon Grove Project (a community alcohol-awareness program), and together the four sat down to develop a set of questions for the project.

The result was a one-page questionnaire that would accompany each Crime Report of a domestic violence incident. Care was taken to keep it brief and convenient to fill out (mostly by check-marks), and then it was reproduced and made available in the Station.

Copies of the questionnaire and the Crime/Incident Report will be found on the next pages of this chapter.

The Station's clerical staff was directed to make an extra photocopy of each "DV" crime report, to attach the questionnaire to it, and to save it for the project. Storer undertook responsibility for recording the data and for much of the analysis.

As data-collection continued, Storer kept the others up to date on both the developing picture of domestic violence and on topics that seemed to require further investigation. One result of this was to begin gathering information in March on the time the deputies spent on these calls.

It should be recorded here that cooperation by the men and women of the Station who actually responded to the domestic violence calls was wholehearted, and that no difficulties at all were encountered in the data-collection process.

To handle this information, the project used "Epi Info" (Version 5), a data-base, word processing, and statistics system in the public domain developed by the Centers for Disease Control, Atlanta, and the World Health Organization, Geneva. While intended primarily for epidemiological studies, the program is readily adapted to survey analysis purposes and has been invaluable to the research team.

To cover possible seasonal variations in the frequency of domestic violence incidents, as well as to develop a database large enough for detailed statistical analyses, the research team agreed that information should be collected for a full year. Collection began on November 9, 1992.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN CONNECTION WITH THE CRIME/INCIDENT REPORTS

-DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INCIDENT-

CRIME SHEET CASE #: __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ - L DATE: _____

1. THE VIOLENCE WAS: ___ ACTUAL, ___ POTENTIAL. *TIME SPENT ON CASE ____HRS ____ MIN

   IF ACTUAL...WAS THERE:

   A. PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF INJURY? ___ Yes, ___ No, ___ Unknown

   B. MEDICAL ATTENTION REQUIRED? ___ Yes, ___ No, ___ Unknown

   C. PROPERTY DAMAGED? ___ Yes, ___ No, ___ Unknown

2. THE SUSPECT WAS: ___ Present, ___ Absent, WHILE I WAS AT THE SCENE.

3. HAVE THERE BEEN PREVIOUS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INCIDENTS INVOLVING THESE PEOPLE?

   ___ No ___ Once, ___ More than once, ___ No information

4. WAS THERE EVIDENCE OF ALCOHOL INVOLVEMENT? (If suspect is absent, use victim's statements)

	NO INVOLVEMENT	HBD	INTOXICATED	IF INVOLVED, ALCOHOL CONSUMED: AT SCENE	ELSEWHERE	NO INFO.
SUSPECT:	____	____	____	____	____	____
VICTIM:	____	____	____	____	____	____

5. IF ANY ALCOHOL INVOLVEMENT: (Check as many as apply)

   A. WHERE WAS IT OBTAINED? ___ Liquor store, ___ Grocery store, ___ Convenience store, ___ Gas station/minimart, ___ Bar, ___ Party, ___ Friends, ___ Other, ___ No info.

   B. IF PURCHASED, WERE OTHER ITEMS PURCHASED TOO? ___ Yes, ___ No, ___ No info.

   C. WHEN WAS THE ALCOHOL OBTAINED? ___ Just before/during incident, ___ Earlier in day, ___ One day or more previously, ___ No info.

   D. WHERE WAS ALCOHOL CONSUMED? ___ Residence, ___ Bar/restaurant, ___ Party ___ At friends', ___ Vehicle, ___ Street/parking lot, ___ Other, ___ No info.

6. WAS THERE EVIDENCE OF ILLEGAL DRUG INVOLVEMENT? (If suspect is absent, use victim's statements)

	NO INVOLVEMENT	USE REPORTED	INTOXICATED	IF INVOLVED, DRUGS USED: AT SCENE	ELSEWHERE	NO INFO.
SUSPECT:	____	____	____	____	____	____
VICTIM:	____	____	____	____	____	____

7. IF ANY DRUG INVOLVEMENT: (Check as many as apply)

   A. WHEN WERE DRUGS USED? ___ Just before/during incident, ___ Earlier in the day, ___ No info.

   B. WHERE WERE DRUGS USED? ___ Residence, ___ Friend's place, ___ Party, ___ Vehicle, ___ Street/parking lot, ___ Other, ___ No info.

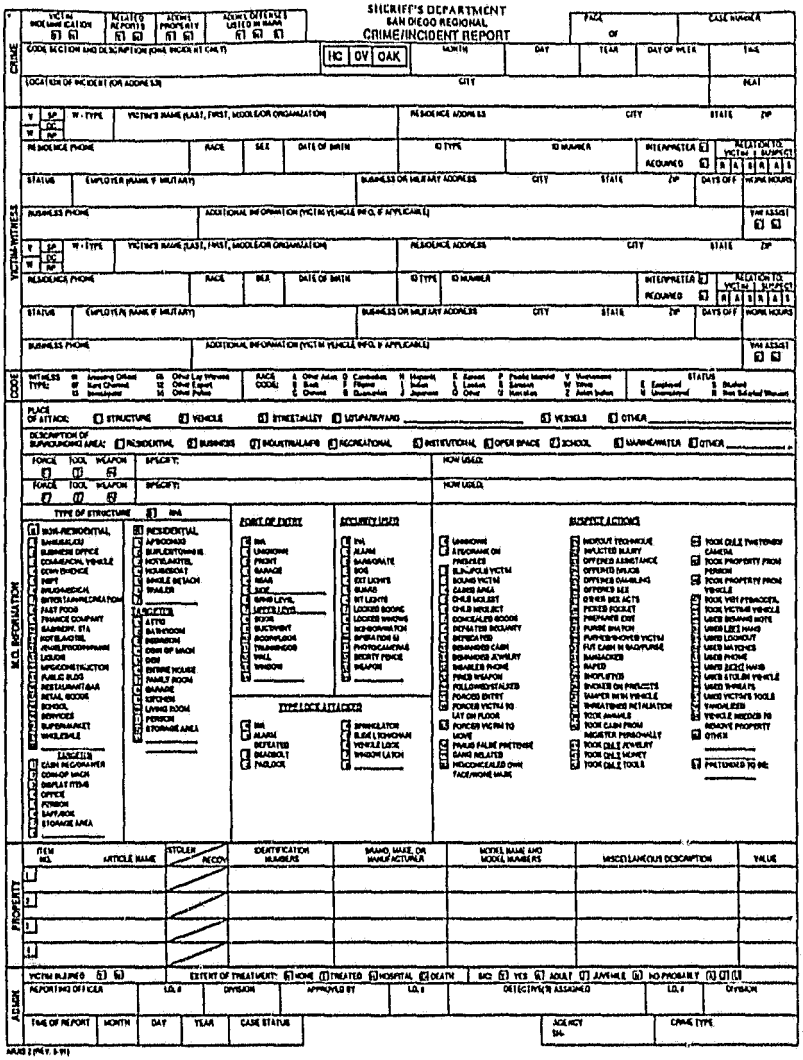
8. OTHER RELEVANT INFORMATION: _____

_____

_____

11/83 _____ _____ _____

THE CRIME/INCIDENT REPORT, FRONT



THE CRIME/INCIDENT REPORT, BACK

(additional pages were added as needed)

officer assault: OAK 22

- ☐ One-Officer Vehicle
- ☐ Two-Officer Vehicle
- ☐ Detective or Special Assignment
- ☐ Alone
- ☐ Assisted

Number Officers with personal injury ________

Number Officers without personal injury ________

Activity when assault occurred:

- ☐ 415
- ☐ 459
- ☐ 211
- ☐ OTHER ARREST
- ☐ CIVIL DISORDER
- ☐ SUSP CIR/PERSON
- ☐ TRANSPORTING
- ☐ TRAFFIC STOP
- ☐ PURSUIT
- ☐ AMBUSH
- ☐ 5150
- ☐ ALL OTHER

ARSON TYPE: SINGLE RESIDENTIAL, COMMUNITY/PUBLIC, OTHER RESIDENTIAL, ALL OTHER STRUCTURE, STORAGE, MOTOR VEHICLES, INDUSTRIAL/MANUFACTURING, OTHER MOBILE PROPERTY, OTHER COMMERCIAL, CROPS, TIMBER, FENCES SIGNS, ETC.

DESCRIPTION | CONTENT LOSS | STRUCT LOSS | ABANDONED | CONTINUED

BASIC FINDINGS: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ITSELF

Since a crime report is written whenever deputies are summoned to handle a problem, including one that has been initially *defined* as involving domestic violence, it is natural that not all the incidents covered by this study involved *actual* violence. Some were based on fear of impending violence, some on neighbors' simply hearing an argument, and some involved the violation of a T.R.O. (temporary restraining order) when the offender had only driven past the residence. But all were recorded as "DV" and all consumed law enforcement time and resources.

A total of 928 incidents of domestic violence were recorded during the year, five of which did not involve altercations between cohabiting partners (there was one father-son conflict, two brother-sister conflicts, and two cases of violence between men competing for a woman's attention). This report is thus based on 923 incidents of "traditional" domestic violence. With 41,852 households within the Command (1990 Census figures), "DV" calls came from in a little over two percent of them--and when we take into account "repeat" couples (see below), the figure is reduced to just about two percent.

Levels of Violence

The term "violence" has so many emotional connotations that trying to define it in concrete terms may seem to belittle or deny its meaning. Yet if we are to treat it objectively, definition is necessary.

Essentially, violence involves motion and impact--in particular, the impact of one thing on another with sufficient force to cause damage or

injury. Imminent violence would thus be the threat or prediction of such damage or injury. Actual violence between human beings thus ranges from vigorous pushing or shoving to the use of "deadly force," and potential violence would involve the threat or fear of such actions. Given this range of examples, it is clear that violence can be divided into as many gradations of "seriousness" as the observer wishes to make.

Gelles and Straus, prominent students of domestic violence, have developed a 19-point scale[1] that distinguishes among such things as pushing, slapping, shoving, etc. For our purposes, however, a simpler scale will be more useful. This report will employ only four levels of interpersonal violence, ranging from none at all to injury that required medical attention. It has not seemed useful to treat property damage alone as a point on this scale since it is almost random with respect to the other levels.

Table 3-A shows the frequencies of these different levels of violence. In 28 incidents there was not sufficient information to allow assigning them a position on this scale.

TABLE 3-A: Violence to the point of visible injury to the victim was seen in nearly half the incidents.

VIOLENCE SCALE LEVEL:		Frequency	
1.	No violence reported:	155	17%
2.	Violence but no injury:	328	37%
3.	Injury observed:	312	35%
4.	Medical attention required:	100	11%
		895	100%

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1. Physical Violence in American Families (*op. cit.*), 33.

Eighty-three percent of the incidents covered by this research involved actual violence, even though it did not necessarily result in visible injury to the victim; in another three percent of the cases (not singled out here) there was property damage but no interpersonal violence. In 100 cases, medical attention was required, representing 11 percent of the entire sample and 24 percent of the incidents in which personal injury was observed.

At the extreme of domestic violence, and included under "Medical attention required," there were three murders and two suicides (both of them in connection with the murders) that were classified as domestic violence.

WHERE Did Violence Occur?

Within the area covered by the Command, domestic violence was concentrated in the less affluent beats. Using 1990 Census data keyed to these beats, the frequency of such incidents per 1000 households has been calculated. We then relate this to a measure of each of the 34 beats' relative economic circumstances. For the latter, the percentage of households with annual incomes over $35,000 has been used, although virtually the same relationships appear when the beats are grouped according to median household income or to the percent of housing units that are owner-occupied (another index of relative affluence).

Table 3-B on the next page shows the frequencies of different levels of violence in areas of differing affluence.

TABLE 3-8: **The frequency of domestic violence was sharply higher in the less-affluent beats, but the *levels* of violence did not vary with affluence.**

	RELATIVE WEALTH OF BEATS		
	Percentage of Households with Incomes Above $35,000		
	Poorer 11 (29.1-55.6%)	*Middling 12* (56.5-72.1%)	*Wealthier 11* (73.1-81.9%)
VIOLENCE LEVEL:	*Rate per 1,000 Households*		
1	6.1	2.3	1.3
2	11.6	6.8	2.9
3	11.9	5.5	2.3
4	3.6	1.8	1.0
Totals:	33.2	16.4	7.5
(Households:	*18,562*	*11,909*	*11,318)*

It is obvious from these figures that domestic violence was much more frequent in the less affluent parts of the Command, even though the distribution of *levels* of violence did not vary with relative affluence. In other words, poorer neighborhoods experienced *more* violence in general than more affluent neighborhoods, but not a higher proportion of *serious* violence. Roughly the same results were found when beats were divided by population density, median household income, and the percentage of owner-occupied residences.

The type of residence where the incident occurred made no difference in the amount of violence involved. Whether it occurred in an apartment, a detached residence, or elswhere (in a trailer, a motel, an automobile, or on the street), the frequency of serious violence did not vary significantly: injury, whether or not medical attention was needed, occurred 47 percent of the time in both apartments and detached homes, and 43 percent of the time elsewhere.

It is evident that domestic aggression has little to do with the physical setting within which it takes place.

WHEN Did Violence Occur?

Overall, domestic violence occurred most frequently in the evening, when almost 40 percent of the incidents were recorded, and was least frequent in the early morning hours (19 percent occurred between midnight and six a.m.). At the same time, the likelihood of *serious* violence rose slightly but steadily from 6:00 a.m. through the day until the next morning, as shown in Table 3-C.

TABLE 3-C: The level of violence was lowest in the morning and highest at night.

	H O U R S				
	0600-1200	1200-1800	1800-2400	2400-0600	
LEVEL:					*Total*
1	16%	17%	15%	21%	17%
2	44%	37%	36%	30%	37%
3	35%	36%	36%	31%	35%
4	5%	9%	13%	18%	11%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N:	*173*	*230*	*341*	*143*	*887)*

The day of the week, however, made little systematic difference in the chance of serious violence (victim injury), which ranged from 35 percent on Mondays to 52 percent on Thursdays. The likelihood that these differences would occur by chance alone is 3 in ten, or .300[1]: Table 3-D.

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1. For a discussion of the statistical test used in this report, see the Appendix on Statistical Significance.

Table 3-D: Levels of violence varied inconsistently over the days of the week.

	WEEKDAY							
Level	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN	*Average*
1.	24%	16%	24%	14%	17%	18%	10%	17%
2.	42%	34%	33%	33%	38%	33%	42%	37%
3.	26%	37%	34%	38%	34%	37%	37%	35%
4.	8%	13%	9%	14%	11%	12%	11%	11%
	100%	100%	100%	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N:	*113*	*128*	*105*	*105*	*133*	*156*	*153*	*893)*

The likelihood of domestic violence did increase on weekends, although perhaps not so markedly as one would expect: 44 percent of the cases occurred between 1800 on Friday and 0600 the following Monday, as compared to the 36 percent one would expect if weekends had no influence at all. Aside from this relatively minor difference in overall frequency, there was no difference at all between weekends and weekdays in terms of violence. Table 3-E gives the data.

TABLE 3-E: The seriousness of domestic violence was highest at night on the weekends.

	WEEKEND AND WEEKDAY BY DAY AND NIGHT				
	DAY (0600-1800)		NIGHT (1800-0600)		
Violence Level:	Weekday	Weekend	Weekday	Weekend	*Totals*
1 - 2	57%	57%	53%	49%	54%
3 - 4	43%	43%	47%	51%	46%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N:	*138*	*264*	*249*	*235*	*886)*

It has also been assumed that domestic violence rises on holidays, whether they are "official" or not. The data, however, suggest that it increased only on *some* holidays, namely,

those generally defined as "family-oriented" occasions like Thanksgiving and Christmas. Eight such occasions averaged almost three times the number of incidents as the days immediately before and after them, as shown in Table 3-F.

TABLE 3-F: Family-oriented holidays had a higher rate of domestic violence than did "public" holidays.

	DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND HOLIDAYS, 1992-93		
	THREE PREVIOUS DAYS (AVERAGE)	*THE HOLIDAY*	*THREE FOLLOWING DAYS (AVERAGE)*
FAMILY-ORIENTED			
Thanksgiving (Thur 11 Nov)	2.00	4	2.00
Christmas (Fri 25 Dec)	1.67	3	2.67
Valentine's (S/M 14-15 Feb)	2.33	4.5	2.33
Easter (Sun 11 Apr)	2.33	6	1.33
Mother's Day (Sun 9 May)	1.67	7	2.33
Memorial Day (S/M 30-1 Jun)	2.67	3.0	2.33
Father's Day (Sun 20 Jun)	1.33	8	3.00
4th of July (Sun 4 Jul)	1.00	5	3.00
TOTALS	*15.00*	*40.50*	*19.00*
AVERAGE	*1.88*	*5.06*	*2.38*
"PUBLIC" HOLIDAYS			
Veteran's Day (Wed 11 Nov)	2.00	4	2.67
New Years (F/S 31-1 Jan)	2.00	1.5	3.00
M.L.King,Jr. Day (Mon 18 Jan)	5.33	4	3.00
SuperBowl (Sun 31 Jan)	3.33	3	2.33
St.Patrick's (Wed 17 Mar)	2.00	1	3.00
Armed Forces Day (Sat 15 May)	2.67	4	2.67
Labor Day (Mon 6 Sep)	2.00	4	0.33
Columbus Day (Mon 11 Oct)	3.00	4	0.67
TOTALS	*22.33*	*25.50*	*17.67*
AVERAGE	*2.79*	*3.19*	*2.21*

Only four of eight "public-oriented" holidays like New Years Day and Superbowl Sunday had more incidents than the days before and after them, and overall these holidays averaged less than half again as many incidents as the "adjacent" days.

It is to be expected that there will be more aggression on occasions when family ties are highlighted by those who occasionally find these ties a source of frustration. But the lower frequencies that marked the other holidays, particularly when those days were marked by high-spirited festivities, suggest that domestic violence is not simply a feature of celebrations in general.

Previous Violence

Deputies indicated on the questionnaire whether a couple had experienced previous violence "never," "once," or "more than once," usually relying on the victim's testimony. By this evidence, there had been no *prior* violence in 22 percent of the 735 incidents for which information was available; in another 15 percent there had been one previous violent episode, and in the remaining 63 percent violence had occurred more than once in the past.

We find that not only is previous violence more widespread than we had assumed, it is also associated significantly with higher levels of violence. While 39 percent of the 153 first-time victims were injured, 48 percent of the 574 victims who had experienced previous violence at least once were injured in the incidents recorded here. (Whether there had been violence only once or more than once made no difference in the injury rate.)

While two-thirds of the presumed aggressors[1] who were female (59 of 87) had been involved in previous violence, the comparable figure for male suspects was four-fifths (493 of 616). But since information was not obtained on whether a suspect had also initiated the previous violence, this difference is not entirely reliable. Taking the data at face value, however, the difference is significant—it would happen by chance only once in 100 trials—and thus supports the suspicion that violence is probably a more common pattern for males.

As Table 3-G shows, except for the very youngest participants, the frequencies of previous violence remained roughly the same, regardless of the suspect's or the victim's age.

TABLE 3-G: Experience with previous violence did not vary with either subjects' or victims' ages.

	PERCENTAGES WITH PREVIOUS VIOLENCE *Participant's Age*						
	<21	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-50	>50
SUSPECTS:							
Males	60%	79%	77%	79%	79%	86%	94%
Females	0%	77%	73%	65%	71%	89%	100%
N: (M/F)	*26/4*	*129/13*	*133/26*	*148/20*	*90/7*	*54/9*	*19/2*
VICTIMS:							
Males	50%	54%	58%	79%	100%	64%	75%
Females	76%	79%	85%	75%	77%	83%	87%
N: (M/F)	*2/66*	*13/117*	*19/163*	*28/123*	*8/81*	*11/54*	*4/8*

1. In keeping with standard law enforcement usage, we will hereafter refer to the presumed aggressor as the *suspect*.

The next chapter deals with the participants in domestic violence, including the repeaters—those who were responsible for more than one of the incidents analyzed here. Chapter 6, on Arrests, covers the impact that previous violence had on officers' responses to domestic violence.

CHAPTER IV:
THE PARTICIPANTS

DEMOGRAPHICS

In this section we will cover the basic characteristics of both suspects and victims in domestic violence. We will treat gender, age, marital status, and ethnicity separately at first, and then look into some of the interrelations among these factors. Then the question of whether repeaters differed from non-repeaters, or those who had experienced previous violence differed from those who had not, will be explored. To conclude the chapter, information bearing on socioeconomic status will provide additional perspective on the background of domestic violence.

Gender

Discounting 49 incidents of "mutual combat," females made up 86 percent of the victims in the remaining 875 cases, and males 14 percent. Female victims were also more likely to have been involved in previous violence than male victims--80 percent of 616 female victims for whom this information is available, as constrasted with 68 percent of the 87 male victims; this is a statistically significant difference.

Age

From all angles, the males involved in domestic violence tended to be older than the females. The male suspects averaged about a year and a half older than their victims, 31.6 years of age compared to their female victims' 30.0.

When the roles were reversed and *females* were the suspects, they also averaged one and a half years *younger*, 30.7 to their male victims' 32.3. In nine percent of the couples, regardless of which sex was the victim, the participants were less than a year apart in age.

Put a different way, 57 percent of the female victims were 30 years or age or younger, compared to 45 percent of the male victims. Of females suspects, 54 percent of them were younger than 31, as were 49 percent of the male suspects.

In more than one-third of the couples, the victim was at least one year *older* than the suspect. In 55 percent of the couples the suspect was at least a year older, and in the remaining nine percent, as noted above, victim and suspect were less than a year apart.

Their relative ages, however, did not seem to be related to ethnicity or to any other aspects of domestic violence such as alcohol-use, frequency of injury, or frequency of arrest.

In general, then, about two-thirds of the people involved in domestic violence were between the ages of 21 and 35, regardless of their roles: 66 percent of the female victims and 68 percent of the male victims, 72 percent of the female suspects and 69 percent of the male suspects. And when both were at fault ("mutual combat"), 67 percent were within this age range.

Relating the suspect's age to our domestic violence scale produces Table 4-A on the next page and suggests that males become somewhat less violent with age and females somewhat more violent. These differences, however, are too small to be statistically significant.

TABLE 4-A: The level of violence declined slightly with age for male suspects, but increased slightly for female suspects.

	MALE SUSPECTS			
	16-20	21-30	31-40	41 and up
Violence Level:				
1-2	47%	52%	53%	57%
3-4	53%	48%	47%	43%
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(Number)	*34*	*315*	*274*	*86*

	FEMALE SUSPECTS			
	16-20	21-30	31-40	41 and up
Violence Level:				
1-2	70%	60%	54%	54%
3-4	30%	40%	46%	46%
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(Number)	*10*	*50*	*37*	*13*

Domestic Relationship

While 32 percent of the couples included in this study were married, 31 percent were living together; another 15 percent were separated or divorced, and 16 percent were in the process of leaving or had left living-together relationships. The remaining six percent were classified as "dating" or no information on their relationship was obtained.

Although the 1990 Census does not have a separate category for "living together," only six percent of the households within the Lemon Grove Command are identified as "non-family households," while 63 percent are classified as "married." So it must be assumed that because there were about as many "living-together" couples as there were "married" couples in the data, the live-togethers were substantially over-represented among our domestic violence couples.

The relationship between the two parties was significantly related to the likelihood of the victim's being injured. As Table 4-B shows, this occurred in 57 percent of the living-together couples, 45 percent of the currently-married couples, 38 percent of those who had formerly lived together, and 30 percent of the separated and divorced couples.

TABLE 4-B: Domestic arrangements were clearly related to the level of violence.

	RELATIONSHIP			
	Living Together	Currently Married	Formerly Lived Together	Separated or Divorced
Level of Violence:				
1-2	123 (44%)	156 (55%)	91 (63%)	94 (70%)
3-4	158 (56%)	131 (45%)	54 (37%)	41 (30%)
	281 (100%)	287 (100%)	145 (100%)	135 (100%)

p = .000

An attempt to understand this difference will be offered in Chapter 5, on the role of alcohol in domestic violence.

Ethnicity

The two major minority groups are over-represented in the data. While Afro-Americans make up six percent of the population covered by the Lemon Grove Command, they were involved (counting both victims and suspects) in 21 percent of the incidents; Latinos, 16 percent of the population, were involved in 20 percent of the incidents; and Anglos, 72 percent, were involved in 55 percent of the incidents. Other ethnic groups, mainly from Asia and the Pacific, make up six percent of the population and were involved in four percent of the cases.

Although there were slight differences among suspects' ethnic groups in the chance that their victims would sustain injury, these differences (Table 4-C) were not statistically significant.

TABLE 4-C: There were only insignificant differences among ethnic groups in terms of violence levels.

	SUSPECTS' ETHNIC GROUPS							
	Afro-Amer.		Latino		Anglo			
Level of Violence:							*Totals*	
1-2	107	(53%)	94	(48%)	253	(56%)	454	(54%)
3-4	96	(47%)	101	(52%)	195	(44%)	392	(46%)
	203	(100%)	195	(100%)	448	(100%)	846	(100%)

p = .148

Disregarding the "mutual combat" couples, the ethnic groups differed significantly in terms of age, with Latino suspects and victims the youngest and Anglo suspects and victims the oldest: Table 4-D, next page.

Socioeconomic Indicators

Socioeconomic data on the participants in domestic violence (family income, employment, etc.) are sparse. Crime reports do not ask for personal or family income, so we must depend on census data for aggregate economic information on specific beats, and simply assume that these figures apply to "average" individuals in those beats.

TABLE 4-D: Latino suspects and victims were typically younger, and Anglo suspects and victims tended to be older.

	SUSPECTS' ETHNIC GROUP						
	Afro-Amer.		Latino		Anglo		
Suspects' Age							*Totals*
16 - 30	106	(51%)	126	(64%)	191	(42%)	423(49%)
31 - 78	100	(49%)	71	(36%)	265	(58%)	436(51%)
	206	(100%)	197	(100%)	456	(100%)	859(100%)
p = .000							
	VICTIMS' ETHNIC GROUP						
	Afro-Amer.		Latino		Anglo		
Victims' Age							*Totals*
14 - 30	96	(56%)	110	(65%)	282	(53%)	488(56%)
31 - 79	74	(44%)	60	(35%)	246	(47%)	380(44%)
	170	(100%)	170	(100%)	528	(100%)	868(100%)
p = .034							

And while we have some information on whether a participant was employed or not, it is not entirely reliable. For one thing, a Crime Report routinely records whether or not the *victim* was employed, but for the *suspect* such information could be found only on an arrest sheet or through an incidental reference in the deputy's narrative (statements like "on his way to work," or "when she came back from her job").

Thus information on employment is not only sparse, it is also biased because arrestees were overrepresented. And a suspect was recorded as "employed" even when the arrest sheet noted that he or she was "self-employed," so that the regularity of suspects' employment was probably less than the data suggest.

Nevertheless, there was no meaningful difference among those for whom employment information was available and those for whom it was not

in terms of ethnicity, age, the residential location of the incident, or the economic category of the beat in which it occurred. The two groups did differ greatly, as expected, in terms of the frequency of arrest, simply because the arrest sheets constituted one of the major sources of information about suspects' employment. (A more detailed analysis of arrests will be given in Chapter 6.

Keeping these *caveats* in mind, a few tentative findings can be noted. First, there was apparently a higher rate of unemployment among our subjects than was true for the overall population during the 1992-93 period. Despite heavy defense layoffs, unemployment in Southern California was less than 20 percent during the research, but among the 375 suspects for whom employment information is available, 40 percent were unemployed. This is another indication that relative poverty was a fundamental factor in domestic violence.

The importance of poverty is further underscored when we see that the suspects' employment status did *not* vary significantly with the relative affluence of the beats. In the eleven *least* affluent beats, 41 percent of the suspects were unemployed; this figure dropped to 34 percent in the 12 "middle" beats, but was 41 percent again in the eleven *most* affluent beats.

It is of further interest to note that the rate of unemployment did not vary significantly among suspects' ethnic groups, and varied surprisingly little with their ages. While 57 percent of the 14 suspects younger than 21 were unemployed, the figure ranged only between 36 and 41 percent for all subsequent five-year cohorts, regardless of their ages.

There was, further, no meaningful difference between the employed and unemployed suspects in terms of the frequency with which their victims were injured (60 percent of the victims of 115 unemployed suspects were injured, as compared to 63 percent of the victims of 178 employed suspects). And in terms of previous violence, while the unemployed suspects were slightly more likely to have been violent in the past (85 percent, compared to 79 percent of those who were employed), this is not a significant difference.

Of the 351 couples for whom we have complete employment information, both parties were employed in 28 percent of the cases and neither in 30 percent. In another 32 percent of the cases, the suspect was employed and the victim not, and in the remaining ten percent the victim was employed and the suspect had no job. Thus in 70 percent of the cases, at least one of the parties was employed. The employment circumstances made no significant difference in the likelihood that the victim would sustain visible injury.

Although information on domestic violence participants' incomes could not be collected, and information on suspects' employment status was frequently unavailable, census figures for the 34 individual beats provide an opportunity to relate the frequency of domestic violence to these beats' collective economic circumstances.

The 1990 Census gives the median household income for each beat, the percentage of households in different income-ranges, and the percentage of owner-occupied housing units. These measures are very closely related. It also gives the number of households in each beat, so we can determine for each one the frequency of domestic violence incidents per 1000 households.

Confirming the information provided in Chapter 3 (Table 3-B), we find a strong correlation between relative affluence and the overall frequency of domestic violence. This is shown by dividing the beats among the *least affluent* eleven (those where more than 44 percent of the households received less than $35,000 per year), the *"middle"* twelve (27 to 44 percent got less than $35,000 per year), and the *"better off"* eleven beats (where only 18 to 27 percent were below this line).

We also assign the beats to one of three groups on the basis of the frequency of domestic violence per 1,000 households. As arrayed in Table 4-E, the two measures are strongly related.

TABLE 4-E: The less affluent beats had higher rates of domestic violence than did the more affluent beats.

	BEATS WHERE THE PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WAS ABOVE $35,000 PER YEAR:		
	"Poor" (29.1-55.6%)	*"Middle"* (56.5-72.1%)	*"Better Off"* (73.1-81.9%)
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PER 1000 HOUSEHOLDS PER YEAR:			
0.0 - 7.1	0	5	6
7.8 - 21.7	2	6	4
22.1 - 52.5	9	1	1
	11	12	11

The same figures appear when we divide beats in terms of median household incomes. These data represent a slightly different approach to the material covered in Table 3-B, which relates the frequency of different violence-levels to economic circumstances, and support the assertion that relative poverty is a major factor in domestic violence.

Minority groups, too, are concentrated in these less-affluent beats: Table 4-F.

TABLE 4-F: **Just as domestic violence is concentrated in the less-affluent areas, so are the members of minority groups.**

	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOMES ABOVE $35,000 PER YEAR		
	"Poorer" 29.1-55.6%	"Middle" 56.5-72.1%	"Better Off" 73.1-81.9%
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION THAT IS AFRO-AMERICAN:			
0.0 - 1.0%	0	6	6
1.3 - 4.7%	4	2	5
5.0 - 13.2%	7	4	0
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION THAT IS LATINO:			
4.8 - 11.6%	0	3	8
11.9 - 17.4%	4	6	2
18.0 - 26.5%	7	3	1

The lack of socioeconomic data for individual cases, such as family income, means that we cannot do a direct test of the extent to which deprivation accounts for the overrepresentation of minority group members in domestic violence. However, when collective measures related to beats yield such strong connections among economic measures, the representation of minority group members, and the relative frequency of domestic violence, we can be confident that socioeconomic factors account for a substantial part of this overrepresentation.

REPEATERS

Of 924 domestic violence incidents, 785 calls were to residential addresses; the remaining 139

incidents took place on the street or sidewalk, or in motels or vehicles. About 28 percent of the calls were to addresses that attracted at least two calls. But since most of these locations were multiple-dwelling structures, certainly fewer than 28 percent represented repeating *couples*.

Upon inspecting these residential calls, we determined that 88 couples had been responsible for at least two calls apiece--for a total of 200 calls altogether. There was one couple who required five calls, and another who required six. This total includes two women whose double calls involved different males, one who had two calls with one man and a third with another, and one male whose two incidents involved different women. The frequencies are given in Table 4-G.

It is of interest that the "suspect" was not always the same person in 28 of these couples. Either it was a male on one occasion and a female on the next, or a male one time and "mutual combat" the next. Repeating couples, then, seem to have been especially prone to violence.

TABLE 4-G: Only a few couples accounted for two calls, and very few for more than two calls.

MULTIPLE-CALL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE COUPLES

Number of Calls	*Number of Couples*	*Total Calls*
2	73	146
3	9	27
4	4	16
5	1	5
6	1	6
	88	200

There was thus an average of 2.27 calls per "repeat couple." If these couples had accounted for only one call each, there would have been 112 fewer calls (200 - 88), and so we can say that a total of 673 individual couples (785 - 112) were involved in the residential domestic violence incidents.

Thus the repeat couples represent 13 percent of all couples, and the excess calls for which they were responsible made up 14 percent of all the residential domestic violence calls. But since some of these couple's "repeat calls" would have occurred before the research began, and some would have occurred after its conclusion, we must estimate how many *more* of our 785 residential calls are likely to have come from repeaters.

There were 112 "gaps" between repeat couples' incidents, and the length of time between calls to the same couple averaged 68.17 days, or 9.74 weeks. (Only one couple accounted for two calls on the same day, and one couple went 324 days between calls; about half of the couples had gaps of more than five weeks.) This average gap represents 18.6 percent of the year, so the number of repeating couples must be multiplied by 1.186 to reach a valid estimate of the total number of repeaters.

This yields a total of 107 repeating couples, but of course does not include any additional couples who might have moved into or out of the area or to a different address within the area. Against the baseline numer of 673 couples, repeaters thus constituted 13 percent of the total, or just about one-seventh of all couples covered by the research.

Clearly, this frequency is sharply at odds with the finding discussed in Chapter 3 that three out of four couples covered by this research had experienced violence in the past, the majority of them more than once. The implications of such widespread previous violence are discussed in Chapter 7.

Although we have no information on how frequently these victims had sought intervention by law enforcment officers in the past, it seems likely that most of the discrepancy between their experience and our data on repeat couples (three-quarters versus one-seventh) can be traced to the victims' reluctance to seek outside assistance. Lacking more information, however, we can only treat this as an untestable hypothesis.

In the next chapter we will examine the roles played by alcohol and by other drugs in domestic violence.

CHAPTER V:
THE ROLE OF ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUGS

OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

This research originated in a need for accurate information about the role that alcohol plays in domestic violence. Although most deputies, and probably the public as well, believe that alcohol accounts for a good deal of domestic violence, this conviction could not in and of itself support reasoned policy recommendations. Hard data were needed.

Accordingly, the questionnaire that accompanied each Crime Report of a domestic violence call asked the officer to indicate whether, in his or her estimation on the basis of immediate evidence, the suspect had *not* used alcohol, "*had* been drinking," or was "*intoxicated.*" The same information was sought for the victim. Since the second and third categories shade into each other, we have combined them for our analyses so that attention is focused simply on whether or not one or both parties had consumed alcohol just prior to the incident.

If alcohol was involved, the deputy was asked to indicate *when* it had been consumed, *where* it had been consumed, and where it had been *obtained.* Naturally, this information could not be obtained in all cases, but it is available for 194 incidents.

Comparable questions were asked about other drugs.

ALCOHOL USE

Table 5-A shows that in the 890 incidents for which information is available on both parties, alcohol was a factor in 38 percent of them. Only the suspect had used alcohol in 22 percent of the incidents, both parties in 14 percent, and the victim alone had used alcohol in two percent of the cases. In the remaining 62 percent of the incidents, neither party was reported to have used alcohol.

TABLE 5-A: Alcohol was used in 38 percent of the incidents.

ALCOHOL USED BY:			
	Neither	555	62%
	Suspect	196	22%
	Victim	19	2%
	Both	120	14%
		890	100%

Suspects, whether male or female, were more likely to have used alcohol than victims, and males in either role were more likely to have used it than females. Table 5-B shows these differences.

TABLE 5-B: Males used alcohol more than females, and suspects more than victims.

	GENDER			
	Male		Female	
Role:	*Suspect*	*Victim*	*Suspect*	*Victim*
USED ALCOHOL:				
YES	276 (38%)	22 (19%)	27 (23%)	119 (16%)
NO	458 (62%)	96 (81%)	88 (77%)	634 (84%)
	734(100%)	118(100%)	115(100%)	743(100%)
	p = .000		*p = .020*	

(In 35 percent of the 49 "mutual combat" incidents, one or both participants had used alcohol.)

The frequency with which alcohol was involved in domestic violence incidents rose steadily with increases in both the suspect's and the victim's ages. One explanation for the data in Table 5-C is that inhibitions against violence increase with age, so that only when this this obstacle has been weakened by alcohol is it more likely to occur.

TABLE 5-C: Alcohol use increased with age for both suspects and victims.

	PERCENTAGE WHO USED ALCOHOL			
	Suspect	*(N)*	*Victim*	*(N)*
AGE:				
20/younger	21%	(47)	3%	(95)
21-25	27%	(179)	11%	(174)
26-30	35%	(201)	15%	(233)
31-35	39%	(216)	19%	(190)
36-40	44%	(116)	21%	(112)
41-50	42%	(80)	19%	(79)
51/older	50%	(28)	44%	(18)
		(867)		(901)

Alcohol use was also influenced by the stability of the partners' relationship. The suspect was more likely to have used alcohol when the two people were married or currently living together than when they were in the process of ending or actually had ended their relationship.

Table 5-D on the next page shows that the apparent stability of the relationship, rather than the legality of the bond, was associated with more frequent use of alcohol. The possible import of this finding, and of that relating age and alcohol, is taken up later in this chaper in the section on "Alcohol, Aggression, and the Risk of Loss."

TABLE 5-D: Alcohol as a factor in domestic violence was seen more frequently in stable relationships than in those that were breaking up or had dissolved.

	CURRENT DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENT			
	Married	*Living together*	*Divorced, divorcing*	*Leaving or had left*
SUSPECT USED ALCOHOL:				
Yes	40%	39%	28%	24%
(N:	*297*	*287*	*133*	*135)*
	p = .864		*p = .624*	

As Tables 5-E and 5-F show, however, there were no significant differences in alcohol-use by type of residence or by the participants' ethnicity.

TABLE 5-E: Alcohol use did not vary by type of residence.

	LOCATION OF INCIDENT						
	Apartment		*Detached*		*Outside*		
USED BY:							
Neither	256	(64%)	205	(60%)	60	(71%)	
One party	92	(23%)	94	(27%)	13	(15%)	
Both	54	(13%)	43	(13%)	12	(14%)	
	402	(100%)	342	(100%)	85	(100%)	829

p = .193

TABLE 5-F: Alcohol use did not vary with ethnicity.

	SUSPECT'S ETHNICITY						
	Afro-American		*Latino*		*Anglo*		
USED BY:							
Neither	126	(63%)	113	(58%)	281	(62%)	
One party	47	(24%)	57	(23%)	104	(23%)	
Both	27	(13%)	25	(13%)	66	(15%)	
	200	(100%)	195	(100%)	451	(100%)	846

p = .540

TABLE 5-F, cont.

	VICTIM'S ETHNICITY						
	Afro-American		*Latino*		*Anglo*		
USED BY:							
Neither	108	(65%)	101	(60%)	316	(61%)	
One party	40	(24%)	44	(26%)	121	(25%)	
Both	19	(11%)	23	(14%)	78	(15%)	
	167	(100%)	168	(100%)	515	(100%)	850

p = .737

But as shown in Table 5-G, alcohol use increased significantly throughout the day, beginning with 6:00 a.m. In the morning hours, alcohol use was seen in only eight percent of the incidents; this rose to 26 percent for afternoon hours, 52 percent for evening hours, and 61 percent of the hours between midnight and six a.m.

The frequency of use by suspects alone and by both parties increased also as the day wore on. Only victim-only drinking showed no meaningful change over time, and this may be simply because there were so few of these incidents.

TABLE 5-G: **Alcohol use increased steadily after 6:00 A.M.**

	HOURS OF THE DAY							
	0600-1159		*1200-1759*		*1800-2400*		*0001-0559*	
USED BY:								
Neither	152	(92%)	174	(74%)	167	(48%)	54	(39%)
One party	10	(6%)	46	(20%)	107	(31%)	52	(37%)
Both	4	(2%)	15	(6%)	71	(21%)	33	(24%)
	166	(100%)	235	(100%)	345	(100%)	139	(100%)

p = .000

The suspect's employment status, even when sex was taken into account, made no significant difference in the likelihood that he or she had used alcohol, as shown in Table 5-H, next page.

TABLE 5-H: The suspect's employment status did not influence his or her tendency to use alcohol.

	SUSPECT'S GENDER			
	Male		**Female**	
	Employed	*Unempl.*	*Employed*	*Unempl.*
USED ALCOHOL:				
YES	82 (44%)	53 (45%)	4 (31%)	5 (22%)
NO	106 (56%)	66 (55%)	9 (69%)	18 (78%)
	188 (100%)	119 (100%)	13 (100%)	23 (100%)

p = .874

It was noted in Chapter 3 that the frequency of domestic violence was significantly higher in the less-affluent beats. However, this crude measure of socioeconomic circumstances was not related to the frequencies of different levels of violence in these incidents. Further, there was no relationship between relative affluence and the frequency with which alcohol was involved. Table 5-J illustrates this finding.

TABLE 5-J: The suspect's use of alcohol did not vary with the relative affluence of the beat in which an incident occurred.

	RELATIVE AFFLUENCE OF BEAT (Percentage of Households Above $35000/year)			
	Low (29.1-55.6)	*Medium* (56.5-72.3)	*High* (73.1-81.9)	
USED ALCOHOL:				
YES	222 (36%)	67 (34%)	31 (38%)	
NO	399 (64%)	129 (66%)	50 (62%)	
	621 (100%)	196 (100%)	81 (100%)	898

p = .807

ALCOHOL AND VIOLENCE

But alcohol did make a major difference in the level of violence that occurred in any one incident. As shown in Table 5-K, when neither party had been drinking, the victim was injured in 40 percent of the incidents and required medical attention in about one-fifth of these cases. This figure rose to 54 percent when one or the other had used alcohol, with about one-quarter of these cases needing medical assistance, and it was 71 percent when both had been drinking, of whom almost one-third required medical aid. These differences are statistically significant.

TABLE 5-K: The level of violence increased with alcohol use.

	ALCOHOL USED BY			
	Neither	*One Party*	*Both parties*	
LEVEL OF VIOLENCE:				
No viol.	104 (19%)	33 (14%)	7 (6%)	
No injury	222 (41%)	75 (32%)	27 (23%)	
Injury	168 (31%)	95 (41%)	57 (49%)	
Med Req.	46 (9%)	30 (13%)	26 (22%)	
	540 (100%)	233 (100%)	117 (100%)	890

p = .000

The chance of a victim's being visibly injured increased by almost fifty percent when the suspect had used alcohol, regardless of whether the suspect was male or female: Table 5-L, next page.

The suspect's ethnicity was not related to the likelihood of using alcohol or to the likelihood that his or her victim would be injured, as shown on the next page in Table 5-M. While, as noted above, the use of alcohol made a signifi-

TABLE 5-L: The suspect's use of alcohol increased the chance of victim injury substantially.

	SUSPECT'S GENDER*			
	MALE		*FEMALE*	
	Used alcohol		*Used alcohol*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
VICTIM INJURED:				
Yes	157 (58%)	186 (41%)	16 (59%)	33 (38%)
No	112 (42%)	267 (59%)	11 (41%)	55 (62%)
	269 (100%)	453 (100%)	27 (100%)	88 (100%
	p = .000		*p = .04*	

* *In 49 cases of mutual combat, injury occurred 50 percent of the time whether or not alcohol was involved.*

TABLE 5-M: The relationship between alcohol use and injury did not vary with the suspect's ethnicity.

	USED ALCOHOL							
	No				Yes			
Eth:	*Af-Am.*	*Lat.*	*Ang.*	*Oth.*	*Af-Am.*	*Lat.*	*Ang.*	*Oth.*
% VICTIMS INJURED:	41%	45%	40%	34%	65%	65%	52%	54%
(N:	*128*	*119*	*291*	*35*	*69*	*75*	*156*	*17)*
	p = .624				*p = .133*			

cant difference in the chance that the victim would be injured, regardless of the suspect's ethnicity, there were no significant differences among the three groups in this respect.

We find further that age had no effect on the relationship between alcohol and victim injury. As shown in Table 5-N, next page, the injury-rate varied between 56 and 63 percent for the suspects in four major age groups who had used alcohol, and between 37 and 46 percent for those who had not. These differences are not significant.

TABLE 5-N: The relationship between alcohol and victim injury did not vary with age.

	SUSPECT'S USE OF ALCOHOL							
	No Use				HBD & Intoxicated			
Age:	*16-20*	*21-30*	*31-40*	*41+*	*16-20*	*21-30*	*31-40*	*41+*
PERCENT INJURED:	46%	41%	44%	37%	60%	64%	59%	54%
(N:	*37*	*259*	*194*	*60*	*10*	*117*	*132*	*46)*
		p = .662				*p = .558*		

Finally, it is clear that the likelihood of victim injury did not seem to be related to the relative affluence of the beat in which the incident occurred. Forty-eight percent of the victims were injured in the less-affluent beats, 43 percent in the middle-range beats, and 48 percent in the more-affluent beats; these differences are not statistically significant.

While information on the source of alcohol may not be fully reliable, the figures suggest that it was purchased in the bottle or can for consumption elsewhere more often than it was consumed immediately in convivial circumstances (a bar, a party, or with friends). The data are given in Table 5-P.

TABLE 5-P: Less than half of the alcohol involved in domestic violence was consumed immediately.

	Number	*Percentage*
WHERE OBTAINED:		
Liquor store	60	32%
Grocery store	32	17
Convenience store	13	7
Gas/Minimart	3	2
Bar/restaurant	38	20
Party	15	8
Friends	25	14
	186	100%

(there were 8 "Other" and 149 "No info" responses as well)

Combining the first four sources (where alcohol was obtained in containers rather than by the drink), and the last three (where, we assume, alcohol was immediately available in drink form), we find that this distinction did not vary by time-of-day or type of residence. By ethnicity, however, the Latino suspects stood out as being more likely to consume their alcohol "socially": while 23 percent of the 40 Afro-Americans and 36 percent of the 86 Anglos consumed their alcohol at social occasions, this figure was 59 percent for the 44 Latinos. These differences are statistically significant.

The problem of whether the *location* of alcohol outlets is related to a higher frequency of alcohol-related domestic violence will be taken up in Chapter 7, "Implications of the Research."

ALCOHOL, AGGRESSION, AND THE RISK OF LOSS

Many writers have suggested that alcohol leads to domestic violence because it weakens the sense that violence is a bad thing. If it weakens this internal prohibition, the hypothesis goes, violence is more likely to errupt, and will probably be more intense as well. As noted earlier in this chapter, its use *is* related to more serious violence regardless of the suspect's gender, ethnicity, employment status, or age, so the argument deserves further consideration.

We can use the data collected for this study to explore the "dis-inhibition" hypothesis in more detail, and will suggest that a more specific process may be involved as well.

If alcohol does no more than free one's aggressive impulses, its appearance in domestic

violence incidents should be related only to those circumstances which encourage the use of alcohol in general. In other words, the categories of people who drink more frequently should have a higher frequency of alcohol-related domestic violence. Yet we failed to find that lower-socioeconomic beats had a higher frequency of alcohol use, or that more violence occurred on "public-oriented" holidays. A different hypothesis is in order.

Clearly at stake in domestic matters is the risk that aggression towards the partner may break up the relationship. This would force the aggressor out of this intimate two-person group, the couple, and into a state of comparative isolation and loneliness.

We can suppose that the seriousness of this risk is essentially the product of two calculations: how much it would "hurt" one to lose this relationship, and how weak the relationship is at present (and thus how vulnerable to disruption). The more important the relationship is, the more pressure one should feel to suppress behavior that might disrupt it; similarly, the more fragile it is felt to be already, the stronger this pressure should be.

By this reasoning, domestic violence in relationships where a breakup would entail a major loss should be accompanied by the use of alcohol more often than in relationships where the loss would be less painful, since in the *absence* of alcohol the pressures to suppress aggression would be more effective and violence would be less likely. And of course those instances in which violence or the threat of violence did *not* occur will not be found in our data.

We can identify three aspects of the domestic situation that can be used to suggest the relative strength of this pressure in individual cases:

1. The relationship with the partner: if it is apparently stable, indicating a continuing source of satisfaction, throwing it into jeopardy would be more "costly" than if it has already been weakened by separation or divorce;

2. Age: the older one is, presumably the more important is one's partner, so that the prospect of losing that partner is more threatening; and

3. The presence of children: if a relationship has produced children, their presence should strengthen the connection between the partners in an ongoing relationship. If so, the expresssion of aggresssive feelings should be less likely to disrupt the relationship. On the other hand, if there is a child present who is the offspring of only one *of the partners, the relationship is probably more fragile, either because of the partner's previous relationship with someone else or because the child has no clear interest in the maintenance of* this *relationship; the presence of a step-child should thus render the relationship even more fragile.*

Given a sample made up of incidents in which domestic violence has actually occurred, we are unable to compare them with incidents where it might have but did *not* occur. But we can look at the frequency with which the suspect has used alcohol in different circumstances, and it is the *relative* frequency with which we find alcohol in

connection with domestic violence that allows a preliminary test of the hypotheses outlined above.

In brief, we reason that the greater the risk that aggression will disrupt a relationship, because that relationship is important and/or because it is already fragile, the more likely we are to find that the suspect has used alcohol, for otherwise the hostility would not have appeared and the incident would not have been recorded.

First, we should examine each factor separately for its possible connection with alcohol use. To the extent that each measure of "vulnerability" is related as predicted to alcohol use, we can have some confidence that our hypothesis is correct. The data are presented in Tables 5-Q, 5-R, and 5-S, and include both male and female suspects.

TABLE 5-Q: Alcohol use increased with the suspect's age.

SUSPECT USED ALCOHOL:	SUSPECT'S AGE 18-30	31-78	TOTAL
YES	128 (30%)	184 (42%)	312
NO	298 (70%)	256 (58%)	554
	426 (100%)	440 (100%)	866

p = .0003

TABLE 5-R: Alcohol was used more frequently when the relationship with the partner was stable.

SUSPECT USED ALCOHOL:	MARITAL RELATIONSHIP *Separated, Divorced, Formerly lived together*	*Married or Living together*	TOTAL
YES	70 (26%)	232 (40%)	302
NO	198 (74%)	352 (60%)	550
	268 (100%)	584 (100%)	852

p = .0001

TABLE 5-S: Suspects used alcohol more frequently when the couple had no children, and even more when there was a stepchild.

	CHILDREN		
	One or more by both parties	*No Children*	*By only one of the parties*
SUSPECT USED ALCOHOL:			TOTAL
YES	86 (29%)	151 (36%)	52 (54%)	289
NO	209 (71%)	267 (64%)	45 (46%)	520
	295 (100%)	418 (100%)	97 (100%)	810
	$p = .04$	$p = .000$		

Each of the factors examined here produces a significant difference in the suspect's use of alcohol, in line with our expectations and statistically significant. If, then, each one is related *independently* to the risk that overt aggression would endanger the relationship, so that aggression would not appear without the "assistance" of alcohol (thus keeping incidents of unexpressed aggression out of the study altogether), we should find that the frequency of suspects' alcohol use increases further as these factors are combined. Table 5-T on the next page shows the result.

The data thus largely support the hypothesis, *except* that in "broken" relationships the composition of the family seems to make no difference. The *combined* influence of the three factors, however, does increase the likelihood that we will find alcohol use in connection with domestic violence.

It should be noted that several possibly-relevant factors seemed to have no influence upon the frequency with which alcohol was associated with domestic violence. The *relative* age of the

two parties made no difference, nor did the issue of ethnicity (whether the parties belonged to the same or different ethnic groups). There was, further, no difference in the frequency of alcohol use between couples who had a history of previous violence and those for whom the present incident was the first incident of violence.

TABLE 5-T: **Domestic stability (DMS), greater age (AGE), and family composition (KID) combined to increase the frequency of alcohol use.**

Factors*			Percentage of Suspects Who Used Alcohol (0% – 50% – 100%)	
DMS	AGE	KID		TOTAL
+	O	S	55%	22
+	O	N	49%	135
+	O	B	41%	79
+	Y	S	49%	51
+	Y	N	35%	133
+	Y	B	28%	95
-	O	S	(too few to rely on) 55%	(11)
-	O	N	29%	58
-	O	B	26%	50
-	Y	S	(too few to rely on) 57%	(7)
-	Y	N	17%	54
-	Y	B	22%	55
				750

*DMS: + = married, currently living together;
- = separated, divorced, no longer living together.
AGE: O = Old (31-78);
Y = Young (16-30).
KID: S = Step-child(ren);
N = No children;
B = Child(ren) by both parties.

It is possible, then, that the importance of the relationship and its relative fragility together determine the potential cost to the suspect of displaying open aggression, and that the presence of alcohol works to diminish his or her assessment or awareness of this cost.

Conclusions About Alcohol

The most striking statement we can make about the role of alcohol in domestic violence is not that it *caused* most of it (the suspect had used alcohol in about one-third of all incidents), but that when used it contributed substantially to its seriousness. In general, as shown in Table 5-K above, the victims covered by this study were almost half again as likely to suffer injury when the suspect had been drinking or was intoxicated, as when the suspect was completely sober.

It was found also that alcohol use did not vary with economic factors, nor with age or ethnicity, but was related to the apparent stability of the domestic arrangement. This raised the question of the role played by alcohol, and we have offered the idea that alcohol weakens the awareness that violence may disrupt the relationship. When one is angry or frustrated, then, but the cost of expressing rage is relatively high, alcohol seems to blind one to this cost and thus makes it easier to engage in domestic violence.

OTHER DRUGS

In this study, drugs other than alcohol played a much smaller role in domestic violence. Deputies, using their own observations together with testimony by the participants, recorded whether or not the suspect and/or the victim had

used drugs. No distinction was made as to whether the drug was crack cocaine, methamphetamine, marijuana, or some other substance.

It should be noted that a crime report occasionally mentioned that one of the participants *was* a drug user, even though drugs were not immediately involved in the incident; in such cases, drug use was not recorded. On this basis we can say that drugs other than alcohol appeared in no more than 12 percent of the 924 incidents. Table 5-U shows the frequency of drug use.

TABLE 5-U: Drugs other than alcohol played a small role in domestic violence.

DRUGS USED BY:	Neither	797	88%
	Suspect	82	9%
	Victim	6	1%
	Both	20	2%
		905	100%

As was the case with alcohol, suspects were significantly more likely to use drugs than victims, regardless of gender: Table 4-V.

TABLE 5-V: Suspects were more likely to use drugs than victims, but gender made no significant difference.

	GENDER			
	Male		*Female*	
Role:	*Suspect*	*Victim*	*Suspect*	*Victim*
USED DRUGS:				
YES	87 (12%)	2 (2%)	9 (8%)	21 (3%)
NO	654 (88%)	116 (98%)	107 (92%)	729 (97%)
	741 (100%)	118 (100%)	116 (100%)	750 (100%)

(In 16 percent of the 49 "mutual combat" incidents, one or both participants had used drugs.)

Although the differences among ethnic groups were not significant when we looked at suspects' use of alcohol, our data on drug use shows that Anglos were significantly more likely to have used drugs just prior to domestic violence incidents. The rate was seven percent for Afro-Americans, ten percent for Latinos, and 14 percent for the Anglo suspects.

Another difference between alcohol and other drugs was that drug use did not vary significantly with the participants' ages. For all five-year spans up until 40, use by suspects ranged between 11 and 13 percent, declining to about six percent thereafter, and for victims it ranged between two and six percent for the same five-year groups and dropped to just one case out of 97 among victims over the age of 40.

Drug use over the course of the day varied inconsistently: while one or both parties had used it in 15 percent of the incidents between 0600 and 1200, the comparable figure for noon to 6:00 p.m. was 10 percent; it was 13 percent for the evening hours, and just nine percent for the wee hours between midnight and 6:00 a.m. Why use was highest in the morning is unclear.

In terms of residence, drugs were used in 13 percent of the incidents that occurred in apartments, 11 percent of those in private residences, and nine percent of the incidents that took place outside. These differences are not significant.

Unemployed male suspects were almost twice as likely to have used drugs as those who were employed (17 percent to nine percent), and this difference is statistically significant. There was no meaningful difference between the employed and unemployed female suspects.

More interesting is the fact that drug use, like alcohol use, did *not* vary with the relative affluence of the beat in which the domestic violence occurred. The data are given in Table 5-W.

TABLE 5-W: Relative affluence of beat was not related to drug use.

	RELATIVE AFFLUENCE OF BEAT (Percentage of Households Above $35000/year)		
	Low	*Medium*	*High*
SUSPECT USED DRUGS:	(29.1-55.6)	(56.5-72.3)	(73.1-81.9)
YES	79 (13%)	16 (8%)	8 (10%)
NO	547 (87%)	181 (92%)	36 (90%)
	626 (100%)	197 (100%)	44 (100%)

p = .10

Unlike alcohol, however, drug use was not associated with a higher likelihood of injury; the rate was actually lower, but not significantly. While 54 percent of the victims in non-drug cases were injured, the rate was 50 percent for the victims of those suspects who had used drugs.

Drugs and Alcohol

The participants in domestic violence (both suspects and victims) showed little tendency to use a combination of alcohol and drugs. Although alcohol and/or drugs were used by one or both parties in 45 percent of the incidents, only four percent of the suspects used both, and less than one percent of the victims. One or both participants had used alcohol only in one-third of the incidents, while one or both used drugs only in seven percent. This lack of correlation is shown in Table 5-X, next page.

TABLE 5-X: Alcohol use did not predict drug use, nor did drug use predict alcohol use.

	ALCOHOL USED BY:		
	Neither party	*One or both*	
DRUGS USED BY:			
Neither	490 (89%)	293 (87%)	
One or both	62 (11%)	43 (13%)	
	552 (100%)	336 (100%)	888

p = .464

The combination of drugs and alcohol, finally, did not seem to produce any more victim injuries than did alcohol alone, even though the addition of drugs resulted in a slight (but insignificant) increase: Table 5-Y.

TABLE 5-Y: Drug use did not seem to increase the risk of victim injury after alcohol use was controlled.

	SUSPECT USED ALCOHOL			
	YES		NO	
	Suspect used drugs			
VICTIM INJURED:	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
YES	23 (61%)	158 (58%)	28 (46%)	205 (40%)
NO	15 (39%)	116 (42%)	33 (54%)	304 (60%)
	38 (100%)	274 (100%)	61 (100%)	509 (100%)
	p = .738		p = .399	

Conclusions About Other Drugs

It is difficult to deny the negative effects of drugs other than alcohol in general, but where domestic violence is concerned we cannot point to their having played a major role. We should note, though, that in the overall experience of law-enforcement officers, different drugs tend to

produce different behavioral consequences: while marijuana intoxication, for instance, is unlikely to lead to violence, methamphetamine and cocaine intoxication may well contribute to violent behavior.

In general, non-alcohol drugs were used much less frequently than alcohol, contributed insignificantly to victim injury, and their use seemed quite unrelated to measures of relative affluence other than current employment.

CHAPTER VI: ARRESTS IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CASES

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ARRESTS

The arrest is a basic dimension of law enforcement. Not only do arrest statistics measure relative success in responding to crime, they also indicate the relative seriousness of the incidents handled by a law enforcement agency. Further, information about the locations of arrests for a particular type of crime, and the characteristics of the people who are arrested, can help officers anticipate what they are likely to face when answering a call. Developing a broad picture of arrests is thus essential to understanding any particular type of crime.

Actually, the arrest is almost the only action officers of the law can take in response to wrongdoing, largely because in most cases the law concentrates on what people should *not* do rather than what they *should* do. When a prohibited act is committed, the principal response available to an officer is to stop the suspect and place him or her under control whenever possible, thus preventing additional harm and holding him or her for further procedures by other parts of the criminal justice system.

An officer cannot use the power of arrest to force a person to be "good," but instead must rely on the threat to use this power to deter those who would commit specifically "bad" acts. In addition to dealing with the suspect, of

course, he or she will ordinarily offer help in dealing with the immediate consequences of a criminal act. But in domestic violence this is generally limited to the provision of medical aid or summoning medical personnel, and advice about obtaining a temporary restraining order. The officer certainly does not repair smashed furniture or replace broken windows--nor is he or she expected to--and the recovery of stolen property is largely irrelevant.

Nor does the officer have the time or training to administer therapy to the victim, much less to the suspect. Therefore, he or she can do little more than halt further harm through restrictive control of the suspect when the suspect is present.

Under what circumstances is an officer likely to use this specific power? He or she is required to make an arrest if at all possible when there is obvious evidence of a crime: visible injury to a victim, the clearcut violation of probation or of a restraining order issued by the court, and/or the commission of another crime not intrinsically related to the domestic relationship.

Over and above these circumstances, the officer has some freedom to decide whether an arrest is warranted. This comes into play when other aspects of the situation suggest that further violation of the law may be forthcoming: when the officer has knowledge of previous violence by this individual, and/or evidence that the suspect may be irrational or not in full control of his or her impulses. Drunkenness, certainly, can be interpreted as an indicator of the latter.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the freedom to exercise this limited degree of individual judgement also provides an opportunity for bias and prejudice to influence the treatment of a suspect. Any analysis of responses to domestic violence must thus look into this possibility.

In the pages that follow, we shall see how our data can help us understand the place of arrests in a larger picture of domestic violence.

ARRESTS IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INCIDENTS

Who Is Arrested?

To begin with, about one-third of the suspects covered by this research were arrested at the scene of the incident. When the suspect was absent, the victim stated his or her willingness to prosecute in another one-sixth of the incidents. Thus real and potential arrests characterized almost exactly half of all the incidents analyzed here. Table 6-A gives the details.

TABLE 6-A: The likelihood that NO arrest would be made or wanted was not influenced by the suspect's absence.

	SUSPECT'S LOCATION		
	Present	*Absent*	
DISPOSAL OF CASE:			
Suspect arrested	250 (52%)	60* (14%)	
Victim wanted pros.	1** (<1%)	147 (35%)	
Neither	233 (48%)	218 (51%)	
	484 (100%)	425 (100%)	909

**All of these suspects either returned to the scene later or were arrested elsewhere within a short time.*

***In this incident, the victim decided to seek prosecution several hours later.*

(For "Arrested/Wanted" vs. "Neither," p = .343)

In analyzing most of these data, it has seemed reasonable to combine the first two categories, since both indicate a more serious level of offense than when an arrest was neither made nor wanted. When we look later at the amount of time required by an incident, however, it will make more sense to distinguish actual arrests from the other two categories.

With regard to the question of how large a role is played in domestic violence arrests by irrelevant factors, we can eliminate a number of things that did *not* influence the likelihood of arrest. Specifically, arrests were *not* significantly related to:

1. *The suspect's ethnic group;*
2. *The suspect's age;*
3. *The suspect's employment status;*
4. *The relative affluence of the beat in which the incident occurred;*
5. *The weekday or hour of the incident; and*
6. *The specific location of the incident.*

For the record, these data are given in the following tables, 6-B through 6-H.

TABLE 6-B: The ethnic identity of male and female suspects had only an insignificant influence on the likelihood of their being arrested.

	SUSPECT'S ETHNIC GROUP:			
	Afro-Amer.	*Latino*	*Anglo*	*(Other)*
ARRESTED:				
Yes/Wanted	106 (54%)	118 (57%)	207 (48%)	*19 (40%)*
No	91 (46%)	83 (43%)	227 (52%)	*29 (60%)*
	197 (100%)	191 (100%)	434 (100%)	*48 (100%)*

for 3 major groups, p = .09

TABLE 6-C: The suspect's age had virtually no influence on the likelihood of arrest.

	SUSPECT'S AGE			
	16-20	*21-30*	*31-40*	*41-78*
ARRESTED:				
Yes/Wanted	22 (47%)	204 (53%)	176 (52%)	57 (52%)
No	25 (53%)	184 (47%)	165 (48%)	52 (48%)
	47 (100%)	388 (100%)	341 (100%)	109 (100%)

p = .98

TABLE 6-D: Employment status had no influence on whether or not the suspect was arrested.*

	SUSPECT'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS	
	Employed	*Unemployed*
ARRESTED:		
Yes/Wanted	175 (80%)	124 (84%)
No	44 (20%)	24 (16%)
	219 (100%)	148 (100%)

p = .35

**Allowance should be made for the fact that employment data came disproportionately from arrest records.*

TABLE 6-E: The relative affluence of the beat in which the incident occurred had only an insignificant influence on the likelihood of arrest.

	RELATIVE AFFLUENCE OF BEAT (Percentage of households above $35,000/year)		
	Low 11 (29.1-55.8%)	*Medium 12* (56.5-72.3%)	*High 11* (73.1-81.9%)
ARRESTED:			
Yes/Wanted	301 (52%)	103 (51%)	58 (43%)
No	277 (48%)	98 (49%)	78 (57%)
	578 (100%)	201 (100%)	136 (100%)

p = .14

TABLE 6-F: The day of the week was unrelated to the likelihood of arrest.

	WEEKDAY						
	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
ARRESTED:							
Yes/Wanted	48%	58%	47%	50%	53%	46%	52%
No	52%	42%	53%	50%	47%	54%	48%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N:	115	129	107	108	136	160	157 912

p = .44

TABLE 6-G: The hour of the day was unrelated to the likelihood of arrest.

	HOURS			
	0600-1159	1200-1759	1800-2359	2400-0559
ARRESTED:				
Yes/Wanted	85 (49%)	118 (50%)	175 (50%)	79 (54%)
No	88 (51%)	117 (50%)	178 (50%)	66 (46%)
	173 (100%	235 (100%)	353 (100%)	145 (100%)

p = .76

TABLE 6-H: The specific site of the incident was unrelated to the likelihood of arrest.

	LOCATION			
	Apartment	Detached Res.	Outside	
ARRESTED:				
Yes/Wanted	208 (51%)	175 (50%)	46 (52%)	
No	202 (49%)	175 (50%)	43 (48%)	
	410 (100%)	350 (100%)	89 (100%)	849

p = .96

With these questions out of the way, we can turn to those factors that definitely *were* related to arrest. As one would expect, visible injury to the victim--*prima facie* evidence of assault--was the strongest single predictor of an arrest's being made or wanted. Table 6-J shows that victim injury almost doubled the likelihood of arrest.

TABLE 6-J: Visible injury to the victim resulted in nearly twice the number of arrests made or wanted.

	VISIBLE INJURY TO VICTIM		
	Yes	No	
ARREST:			
Yes/Wanted	280 (66%)	176 (37%)	
No	142 (34%)	306 (63%)	
	422 (100%)	482 (100%)	904

p = .000

It was noted above that the suspect's use of alcohol is often reason for an officer to believe that further violence may be in the offing, due to alcohol's effect on inhibitions. The data given in Table 6-K support this assumption, and we will see later that alcohol plays an independent role in arrests even after injury has been taken account of.

TABLE 6-K: The suspect's use of alcohol led to a ten percent higher frequency of arrest.

	SUSPECT USED ALCOHOL Yes	No	
ARRESTED:			
Yes/Wanted	182 (57%)	270 (47%)	
No	135 (43%)	302 (53%)	
	317 (100%)	572 (100%	889

p = .004

One additional factor that strongly predicted arrest, unexpected when the research began, turned out to be the fact that there had been *previous* violence between the participants. Table 6-L shows that when the officer's report indicated that this couple had experienced previous violence one or more times in the past, there was a much stronger chance that the suspect would be arrested.

TABLE 6-L: Previous violence in the household increased the likelihood of arrest substantially.

	HAD THIS COUPLE EXPERIENCED PREVIOUS VIOLENCE?* Yes	No	
ARRESTED:			
Yes/Wanted	333 (58%)	49 (32%)	
No	242 (42%)	103 (68%)	
	575 (100%)	152 (100%)	717

p = .000

** Information on previous violence was not obtained in 186 incidents, thus reducing the total number of cases.*

There was no significant connection between a couple's having experienced previous violence and whether the suspect had used alcohol prior to the present incident ($p = .42$). Further, previous violence was associated with only a slight (albeit significant) increase in victim injury (39 percent of the victims were injured when no previous violence was recorded, as compared with 48 percent when the couple had experienced previous violence; $p = .05$). Previous violence, therefore, had an independent influence on the likelihood of arrest.

Injury, previous violence, and alcohol, of course, did not always co-occur, but when they did, the chance that the suspect would be arrested increased. Table 6-M shows how these three factors combined to raise the likelihood of arrest.

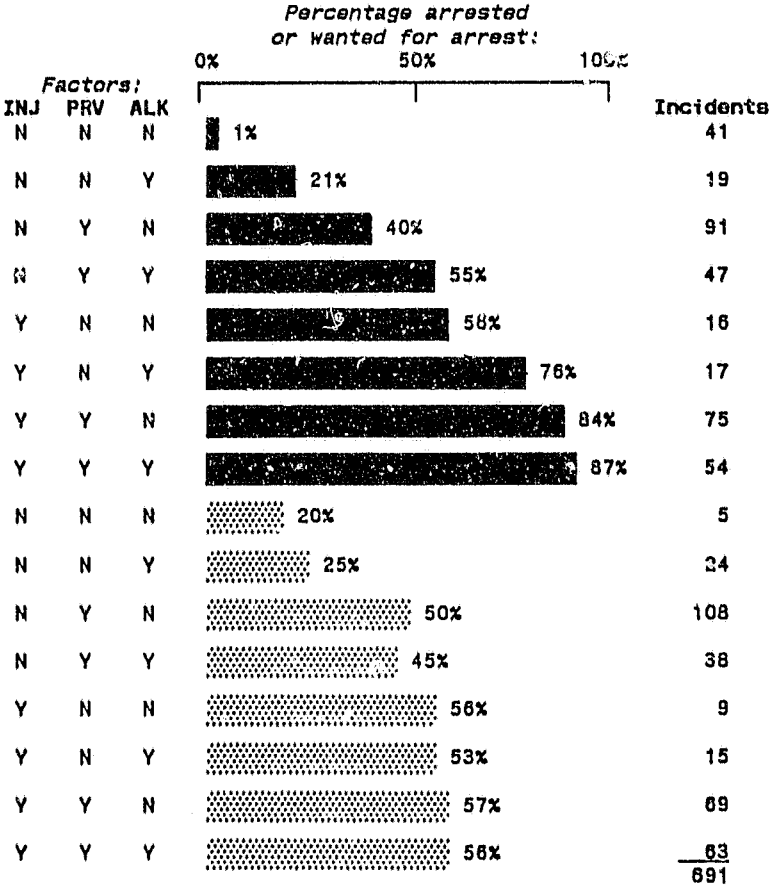
TABLE 6-M: Victim injury (INJ), previous violence between the participants (PRV), and the suspect's use of alcohol (ALK) each contributed independently to the likelihood of arrest.

Factors: INJ	PRV	ALK	*Percentage arrested or wanted for arrest:* 0% 50% 100%	Incidents
N	N	N	12%	66
N	N	Y	21%	24
N	Y	N	45%	199
N	Y	Y	51%	85
Y	N	N	55%	31
Y	N	Y	69%	26
Y	Y	N	71%	146
Y	Y	Y	70%	118
				695

The effects of these three factors are seen much more clearly when we contrast those situations where the suspect was present with those where he or she had already departed. Table 6-N shows the difference.

TABLE 6-N: When the suspect was *present* (SPR), the influences of injury (INJ), previous violence (PRV), and alcohol (ALK) on the likelihood of arrest were clarified.

■ = *Suspect present: Average 55% arrest or wanted.*
▒ = *Suspect absent: Average 50% arrest or wanted.*



This finding provides further support for the contention that officers were influenced by their knowledge of previous violence as well as evidence of the suspect's use of alcohol in deciding to make an arrest. Quite clearly, these two factors were ignored when, in the absence of visible injury, a request for prosecution came from the victim.

THE HOURS REQUIRED

Another aspect of these arrests, not related directly to the problem itself but to the load that domestic violence imposes on law enforcement agencies, is the amount of time devoted to it. Arrests obviously increase the amount of time that law enforcement personnel spend on cases. In assessing the impact of domestic violence, then, the workload that it imposes deserves careful attention.

Beginning four months after the research began, when the need for this information became apparent, officers were asked to record the total amount of time that they spent in handling each domestic violence incident. Therefore this information is available for only 520 incidents.

Overall, each domestic violence incident required an average of 116 minutes of an officer's time, or almost two hours. Assuming that this average would hold true for all 924 incidents, we can argue that domestic violence required a total of 107,184 minutes of the primary responding officer's time, or 1,786 hours. This is about 223 8-hour shifts, and thus represents a substantial cost to the community even before the hours required of other personnel are added.

It should be noted that these figures do not include the time required of a *second* officer (two officers are sent to cover every domestic violence call, with the second leaving only after it is clear that his or her presence is no longer needed). Nor do the figures cover the time required of other personnel at the station and/or jail when a suspect is arrested. The amounts of time analyzed here, then, are quite conservative in view of these additional considerations.

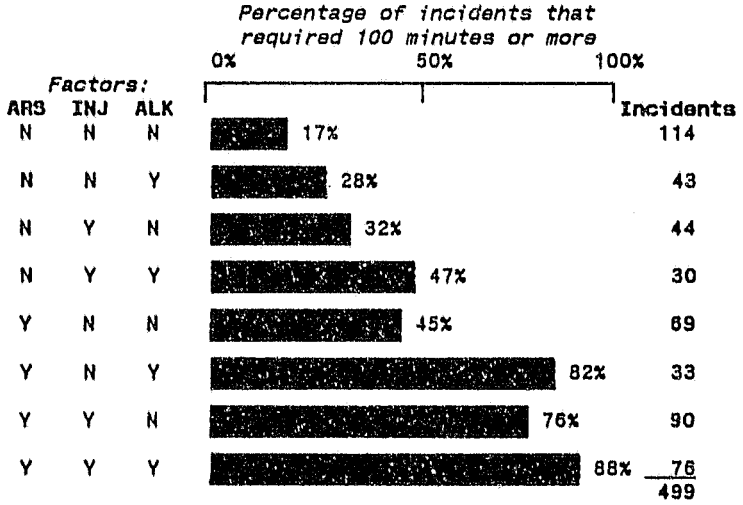
Roughly thirty percent of the incidents required one hour or less, another 40 percent needed between one and two hours, about 15 percent two to three hours, and the remaining 15 percent consumed more than three hours of the officer's time.

The single most important determinant of how much time an incident required was whether or not the suspect was arrested. For the 243 cases where no arrest was made and no prosecution was desired, an average of 79 minutes was required. For 98 incidents where the suspect was not present but the victim desired prosecution, the officer spent an average of 101 minutes. And when an arrest was made, the average time required by those 179 cases was 175 minutes. The fact of arrest itself, then, added more than 90 minutes to the time spent on an incident.

The data also reveal that the other factors which increased the arrest rate also raised the average "time-cost." In addition to the time required simply to effect an arrest, both victim injury and the suspect's use of alcohol combined to increase the time spent on a case. On the following page, Table 6-P on the next page shows their effects, ignoring cases where an arrest was wanted but the suspect was absent from the scene.

It is clear that while victim injury played a more important role, the suspect's use of alcohol also had an independent effect on the time needed to handle an incident. And it should be stressed again that here we are looking only at the primary responding officer's time--not the time required of his or her backup and of the other officers who became involved because of arrest or victim injury.

TABLE 6-P: Together with actual arrest (ARS), the presence of victim injury (INJ) and the suspect's use of alcohol (ALK) also increased the amount of time spent on a domestic violence incident.



We can only assume, as argued previously, that when the history of previous violence was brought to the officer's attention, it influenced his or her decision to make an arrest. Indeed, occasionally this was already known; in a few cases the officer's narrative indicated something like, "I had made previous calls to this residence and was familiar with the participants."

CONCLUSIONS

Injury to the victim was clearly the single most important determinant of the officer's response to domestic violence. As noted in Chapter 2, a wide range of other crimes was also found in connection with domestic violence, and no doubt accounted for arrests when there had been no injury. In general, however, it was the presence or absence of physical injury that was central to the decision to make an arrest.

Although the "restorative" powers of law enforcement officers are few, the data suggest that in domestic violence cases officers made effective use of the discretion available to them in trying to minimize the chance of further violence. They appeared to take reasonable account of both previous violence and alcohol in determining whether an arrest should be made, and yet did not allow irrelevant factors to intervene.

With regard to time, in addition to the fact that domestic violence accounted for about ten percent of all calls handled by the Station, we know that it consumed a substantial amount of time--and that the "irrationality" associated with alcohol increased both the likelihood of arrest and the hours required by domestic violence.

In the concluding chapter, we will consider the specific implications of these findings.

CHAPTER VII:

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

FACTS AND IMPLICATIONS

Any form of behavior that negatively affects more than one family in fifty per year, and at the same time accounts for close to ten percent of the load on law enforcement agencies, deserves our careful attention. More than this, it requires intelligent responses based on objective knowledge of the situation. But facts alone do not generate effective responses.

For one thing, *many* facts bear on the same concrete situation, and each in isolation can highlight a different aspect of it. Not all facts are equally relevant to the problem, nor do they point to equally practical courses of action. Finally, of course, facts do not in themselves contain directives for specific actions. Yet it would be foolish not to examine our findings for what they can suggest in the way of responses to domestic violence.

We should note first that new information can be as useful in correcting misapprehensions as in suggesting specific directions for action. In other words, it can suggest where energies are or could be *mis*directed just as usefully as it can suggest where energy *should* be directed. In the following pages we shall highlight both types of implications.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT

Several aspects of law enforcement may benefit from detailed knowledge of the nature of domestic violence cases. These include decisions about when and where to have officers on duty, planning for the amount of time likely to be required by domestic violence cases, and alerting officers to the specific circumstances they are likely to face when responding to a domestic violence call. In some cases, too, the facts may offer guidance regarding which responses by the officers are more likely to discourage repetitions of the violence.

Day-to-Day Matters: Where and When

In Chapter 3 we saw that domestic violence incidents were concentrated in the less affluent beats, where the rate of 33.2 incidents per year per 1000 households was more than three times the frequency noted in the more affluent beats.

But since the frequency of other crimes is also higher in the less affluent beats, no additional advantage is likely to be gained through this information alone. If an area has a high crime rate in general, it is likely to have a high rate of domestic violence as well.

Perhaps more important, we have found also that a beat's relative affluence influenced neither the level of violence nor the frequency with which the use of alcohol or drugs accompanied domestic violence. And it is true also that differences in relative affluence among beats had no effect on when during the day or week these incidents occurred.

It is clear, then, that other than overall frequency, the basic details of domestic violence did not differ significantly from one beat to the next. Unfortunately, this finding suggests that the expectations of law enforcement officers cannot be "fine-tuned" according to beat when domestic violence is concerned.

We saw also in Chapter 3 that more than one-third of all domestic violence incidents occured between 1800 and 2400 hours, and that the likelihood of victim injury was about ten percent greater during this period than in the 0600-1200 period. And while domestic violence was somewhat more likely to occur on weekends than on weekdays, there were no clear differences among the days of the week in the chances that a victim would be injured.

It may be possible, though, to correct some errors in expectations. It should be recalled that widely observed family-oriented holidays such as Easter, Mother's Day, and Father's Day seemed to produce an increase in the number of cases, but that "public" occasions like Superbowl Sunday and New Year's Day did not. Data from one year alone are certainly not enough to prove this point, but at least there seems no pressing need to provide *extra* coverage on some of these dates.

There is thus nothing in these findings that can enhance the effectiveness of law enforcement personnel in terms of where or when they are assigned to duty. As a special category of incidents to which officers respond, domestic violence does not present a special "profile" of its own that can assist in preparing for it more effectively.

Day-to-Day Matters: The Hours Required

This topic was treated in Chapter 6 as an aspect of responses to domestic violence, where it was pointed out that arrests were actually made in 34 percent of the incidents, and on average accounted for the officer's spending an additional 90 minutes on each one. This, however, did not include the time required of other officers who responded to the call or handled the later stages of the arrest procedure, and so these estimates are quite conservative.

If one assumes that the immediate future will be much like the present, this information can be of help in estimating demands on officers' time. And if *change* in the frequency of domestic violence cases is predicted, then adjustments can be made on the basis of these figures.

CHANGING THE FUTURE: PREVENTING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Beyond simply preparing for what is expected tomorrow, human beings often do what they can to change the details of tomorrows further in the future--to prevent unwanted events and to encourage desirable events. Beyond preparing for tomorrow's domestic violence, then, we should examine our findings for assistance in helping us to minimize its occurrence.

The Efficacy of Arrest

If domestic violence were committed only after the aggressor had decided that the consequences would be minimal, it would make sense to increase the "cost" of the act--to demonstrate that society will not tolerate such behavior and

will respond to it harshly. Indeed, for some years now it has been believed that arrest--being handcuffed and booked into jail--has such a strong deterrent effect that the suspect is less likely to repeat his or her aggression.

Having identified the repeaters in this study, we were able to look at the effect of arrest on suspects. Essentially, the question is, "If the suspect was arrested the first time violence came to an officer's attention, did the arrest reduce the chance that this suspect would commit violence a second time?" Our data show no such effect.

We took all of the first contacts in our data (all non-repeaters plus the first contacts with repeaters) and divided them according to whether the suspect was *A*) not arrested and not wanted for arrest, *B*) not present but wanted for arrest, or *C*) actually arrested and booked. Then we examined our repeaters to see whether they were more likely to have been among the "no-arrest" suspects in the first-contact group.

If anything, a first contact that resulted in *no* arrest seemed to be more effective in discouraging subsequent violence than contacts resulting in the victim's wanting prosecution or the suspect's actually being arrested, although the differences are not significant. Table 7-A on the next page shows the results.

We tried further refinements. But introducing the alcohol factor--whether or not the suspect had been drinking before the first contact--and restricting the table to male suspects yielded no changes in the results.

TABLE 7-A: The outcome of the first contact with law officers had no effect on whether or not the suspect was involved in subsequent violence.

	RESULTS OF FIRST CONTACT		
	No arrest	*Wanted for arrest*	*Arrested*
TOTAL FIRST CONTACT:	406 (92%)	125 (87%)	272 (89%)
REPEATED THE OFFENSE: *	37 (8%) / 443 (100%)	18 (13%) / 143 (100%)	33 (11%) / 304 (100%)

p = .121

* *First repetition only; including second and subsequent repetitions did not change the effects of the first contact.*

One has to conclude either that arrest today carries less stigma than in the past, or that the aggressors in domestic violence cases are less sensitive today to the consequences of their acts. In either case, to increase the arrest rate in domestic violence cases seems unlikely to reduce the likelihood that they will be repeated.

Still, other efforts are possible. We found that *75* percent of the couples in this study had experienced previous violence prior to their first contact with law enforcement officers. This suggests that a counselling team, made up perhaps of an experienced detective and a social worker, might profitably accompany officers on every domestic violence call.

To be sure, not all the victims--much less their assailants—would desire such assistance right away, but in these cases it could at least be held out as a later option. The sheer magnitude of the problem of unrecognized domestic violence should make this a natural priority among various "proactive" initiatives.

Limiting Alcohol Outlets

The research has demonstrated that the use of alcohol increases the likelihood of victim injury in domestic violence, and also increases demands on the criminal justice system in terms of time. As discussed in Chapter 4, further, it quite possibly adds to the frequency of domestic violence through lowering barriers to impulsive aggression.

Other studies have found a relationship between the location of outlets and a broad range of violent crimes* so this inquiry breaks no new ground.

With absolute prohibition out of the question, the major means of controlling alcohol consumption available to local and state governments today is their authority to grant or do withhold the right to sell various types of alcoholic beverages, either for immediate consumption or for later use. When this right is granted, it specifies the location and the hours during which specific types of such beverages can be sold.

Thus it is of particular interest to see whether the *location* of alcohol outlets (bars and restaurants that serve liquor, as well as retail

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* See, for instance, Richard Scribner, James Dwyer, and David MacKinnon, "The Risk of Assaultive Violence Associated with Alcohol Outlets in Los Angeles County," (unpublished 25-page mss.), Department of Preventive Medicine, School of Medicine, Univeristy of Southern California, 18 October 1993.

stores that sell alcohol by the can and bottle) seems to be related to the frequency with which alcohol-related domestic violence occurs. If it does, then the information is relevant to decisions on granting alcoholic beverage licenses.

Using information provided by the State Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, we were able to locate all outlets within the Lemon Grove Command. This allows us to determine the overall "outlet-density-per-1000-households" for each of the Command's 34 beats. By this measure, the beats' outlet densities ranged from Zero to 27.3 outlets per 1000 households.

It has already been shown that domestic violence was higher in the less-affluent beats, and it is known also that alcohol outlets are found more often in those beats. The same low-rent areas in which bars and liquor stores tend to be located are also the areas in which lower-cost housing is to be found. The problem is to distinguish between the influence of these two factors on the frequency of domestic violence.

With so few "units" (that is, beats) to work with, our analysis must be limited to relating the *relative* number of alcohol outlets to the *relative* frequency of alcohol-related domestic violence cases while doing what we can to hold constant the influence of relative affluence.

To carry out this test of the relationships among these variables, we characterized each beat by whether it was higher or lower in terms of each one: relative affluence, density of liquor outlets, and frequency of alcohol-related domestic violence. We recognize of course that one beat with only a few outlets may adjoin a beat

with many outlets, so that our results cannot be entirely conclusive.

But even though the outcome is not conclusive, given these small numbers, Table 7-B suggests that there was indeed *some* connection between the availability of liquor and the frequency of domestic violence in which alcohol played a role. The data clearly imply that with more outlets in the immediate vicinity, making alcohol easier to obtain, alcohol-related cases of domestic violence do indeed increase.

TABLE 7-B: Both relative poverty and the density of alcohol outlets appear to be independently associated with higher frequencies of alcohol-related domestic violence.

	Percentage of Households with Incomes Below $35000 per Year			
	Poorer (35-71%)		*Richer (18-35%)*	
	Liquor licenses per 1000 households			
	1.7-11.8	*Zero-1.4*	*1.7-11.8*	*Zero-1.4*
Alcohol-related D.V./1000 Hlds:				
HIGH (5.9-27.8)	9 (90%)	5 (71%)	2 (29%)	1 (10%)
LOW (Zero-5.3)	1 (10%)	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	9 (90%)
	10 (100%)	7 (100%	7 (100%)	10 (100%)

(numbers too small for a test of statistical significance)

This finding, together with information from other studies, can strengthen the argument that the approval of new liquor licenses should be rigorously scrutinized in all cases and denied whenever possible. After all, the *ease* with which alcoholic beverages can be obtained must surely play some role in their association with many social problems, and actions that facilitate their distribution can only be counterproductive.

Beyond this sort of advice, although it is not within the purview of law enforcement agencies, an obvious strategy for reducing domestic violence (along with all other alcohol-related crimes) would be to discourage advertisements and other things that make alcoholic beverages attractive. The less that alcohol consumption is openly defined as an appropriate remedy for stress, a necessary component of celebration, and a demonstration of adulthood, the less likely it is to undermine the internal controls that every civil society requires.

CONCLUSIONS

While the psychodynamics of interpersonal aggression in families are beyond the scope of this research, we believe that the information we have obtained can be of value in attempts to reduce its frequency.

First, however, we must admit that domestic violence itself does not present a distinct profile that can be used to improve the day-to-day effectiveness of law enforcement in responding to it. It seems to occur at the times and in the locations that other crimes are likely to take place, and it must therefore be seen as an intrinsic part of the larger load which which these agencies deal every day.

Further, we could not establish that arresting the suspect is likely to discourage repetition of his or her aggression.

On the other hand, given the fact that so many couples have experienced unreported violence in the past, the assignment of counselling teams

to accompany officers on domestic violence calls might well help to reduce its repetition.

Finally, we find that the location of alcohol outlets cannot be discounted as contributing in some appreciable measure to the problem. Efforts to restrict the number of licensed outlets thus appear warranted.

Further research, of course, will be needed to reinforce these findings and perhaps to identify other avenues of action in the struggle against the growing scandal of domestic violence.

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APPENDIX:
STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Over the long run, a person with an honest pair of dice will roll a "7" six out of every 36 rolls, or one-sixth of the time. This is true because no matter what number shows on the first die, there is one chance in six that the second die will come up with the number that makes both add up to 7 (1-6, 2-5, 3-4, 4-3, 2-5, and 1-6).

Knowing this, we have every right to be suspicious of the fellow who throws *eight* "7's" in a row, for the chance that this might happen with an honest pair of dice is roughly one in 1.7 *million* rolls. That is, one-sixth times one-sixth, times one-sixth . . . eight times, which gives us exactly 1/1,679,616.

Just as this likelihood can be worked out, we can calculate the likelihood that *any* set of differences would occur by chance alone. This is what statisticians do when deciding whether it "means anything" when a sample survey shows that 45 percent of 410 young voters favor a particular candidate while 55 percent of 389 older voters favor that candidate. Given these numbers, does the candidate *really* appeal more to older voters--or is this difference just due to chance?

The laws of chance are as reliable as a steel yardstick, and like a yardstick they can be used to "measure" things. Applying the appropriate mathematics, statisticians can determine quite accurately just *how* likely it is that a given difference could be due to chance alone.

The statistical test used with data like those reported here is called "Chi-square," and these days a desktop computer can quickly work out the Chi-square measure for any table of data. The result of this test is ordinarily expressed as "p (*probability*) = .xxx," and it tells us the likelihood that the numbers in this table would have ended up like this *by chance*.

Taking a fairly conservative approach, social scientists generally use the "oh-five," or ".05" level of probability as the cut-off point in deciding the "significance" of a relationship. Only when there there is *less* than one chance in twenty that this array could be entirely due to chance, can the difference between (or among) columns be said to be "significant" so that a meaningful connection can be assumed to exist between the two (or more) variables involved.

"Significance" in this sense does not carry quite the same meaning that it does in ordinary conversation: a relationship need not be startling, portentous, or of major import to be "significant" in the statistical sense. It merely needs to be quite *un*likely to be due to chance.

In this report, we have relied on the Chi-square test to tell us if there is a "real" connection between, say, a suspect's having used alcohol and his or her being arrested. If it tells us that "p = .000," or even "p = .049," then we can go ahead to say that there *is* a connection. On the other hand, if "p = .143," we must assume that the relationship shown in this table could have occurred at least one-seventh of the time by chance alone and therefore cannot be treated as a connection that actually exists.

INDEX OF MAJOR VARIABLES

INDEX OF MAJOR VARIABLES, cont.

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A YEAR'S RECORD OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In this report, a Sheriff's Captain and a sociologist analyze all of the domestic violence cases reported to one unit of the San Diego County Sheriff's Department between November 1992 and November 1993. The project is thus based on a data-base that is unique in studies of this major social problem.

Although their 923 cases included three murders and two associated suicides, 62% of the aggressors had not used alcohol or other drugs, and fewer than half of the victims (86% of them female) suffered visible injury. And while only one-seventh of the couples showed up more than once in the records, three-quarters reported domestic violence in the past.

When alcohol *was* involved, they find a significant increase in the injury rate, the severity of injuries, the arrest rate, and the time that deputies spent on these incidents.

They also find domestic violence related to relative poverty, with the per-household frequency in the poorer beats *three* times higher than in the more-affluent beats. Minority groups were overrepresented, but most likely because they were concentrated in the poorer areas of the Command. Afro-Americans, Latinos, and Anglos did not differ in alcohol use or in the frequency of victim injury, nor were members of one group arrested significantly more often than those of any other.

The study's findings are supported by numerous tables, and their implications for law enforcement and other agencies are highlighted in the concluding chapter.

CONIMAR PRESS, SAN DIEGO ISBN 0-9642250-0-X