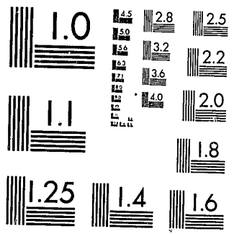

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EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE USES OF PATROL OFFICER DISCRETION

John P. McIver

and

Roger B. Parks

Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis
Indiana University
814 East Third
Bloomington, Indiana 47405

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Indiana University
814 East Third
Bloomington, IN 47405

Abstract

The perspective we take in this paper is that almost all police work involves discretion. Consequently, we choose to study police actions as empirical manifestations of the discretionary behavior of patrol officers. After identifying the types of police actions that occur in response to four problems -- interpersonal conflicts, property crime, disturbances, and domestic crises -- we offer three measures of patrol officer effectiveness. The relationships between police actions and effectiveness is explored in the second half of the paper.

Introduction to Police Discretion

Police officers exercise discretion. Once this was a point of debate. Police were required and expected to enforce all laws against all violators. Goldstein (1963) quite rightly noted, however, that such expections were inappropriate and that the reality was very different. We now acknowledge that selective enforcement is all that is possible in a world of scarce resources.

Having admitted that police officers have the capacity to enforce or not enforce laws as they see fit, several important questions arise. How often do police use their discretionary powers? Do different types of discretion exist? Are different choice made by police officers in different situations? Do officers behave impartially in selectively enforcing the law? What are the effects of police discretion?

Discretion -- A Broad Definition

But what is discretion? To some it is synonymous with selective enforcement of the law. Such a definition implies to others that discretionary behavior is biased, partial or discriminatory. While discretionary behavior may have consequences that are so judged, outcomes do not necessarily identify such actions. The complete enforcement of socially, economically, or culturally biased laws will doubtless also be described as prejudicial behavior on the part of enforcers.

Selective enforcement of the law implies that choices among alternative behaviors are available to law enforcement officials. But police officer discretion involves much more than the choice of deciding whether a citizen has violated the law. As has become quite obvious during the last decade, police officers do quite a bit more than simply "take care that the laws are faithfully executed." They have become our cities only round-the-clock social workers assisting individuals and families in many ways that have little direct relationship to the enforcement of legislative statutes and city ordinances. Furthermore, with their discretionary powers they preside over the boundary between law enforcement problems and social service problems. Consider the public drunk. The patrol officer may arrest him for disturbing the peace or for simply being drunk (the assumption behind this legal prescription being the drunk's potential for becoming a public nuisance). However, in many instances the officer has either the formal or informal option of taking the inebriated individual to a detoxication center where he can either dry out or apply to receive counseling to deal with his alcoholism problem. Alternatively, the office may leave the man to walk the street, sleep on a bench in the parks or in an alleyway, or he may take him home. As this example demonstrates, patrol officers have the choice not only of whether to enforce the law but even to define whether or not the law applied, i.e., they have the power of problem definition.

The hypothetical interaction between officer and drunk also illustrates some of the range of alternatives open to the officer. Discretionary power involves not simply the option to arrest or not but more generally is defined by the possibilities available in any

situation. Discretion is not defined by an arrest no-arrest behavioral dichotomy. Rather, it is a function of action-no action choices over the entire repetoire of options available to the police officer.

To summarize, discretion exists whenever the possibility of choice exists. This implies that options or alternative actions (or nonactions) are available to the police officer and that some choice, even if it is a decision to do nothing, will be made. Both problem definition as well as the method of problem resolution are usually options open to the police officer. Discretionary behavior includes more than police arrest and ticketing decisions.

While selective <u>enforcement</u> has been the focus of most research on police discretionary powers, discretion is manifest in all situations that permit selective <u>problem resolution</u>.[1] Thus, police exercise discretion both in nonenforcement situations and when statutes have been violated.

<u>Operationalizing Discretion</u>

While it is certainly true that all officials within a police department have some input into the processing of individuals and thus may be said to exercise discretionary powers, we will focus on the patrol officer as the principal agent of the department. Michael Brown provides an eloquent justification for this decision:

> To say that the police, through their discretionary choice, determine the meaning of law and order, is largely to say that <u>patrolmen</u> determine the meaning of law and order. It falls to <u>patrolmen</u> to decide when to take action, how to apply vague legal standards to specific circumstances in a heterogeneous society while adapting to changing social mores and values, and how to fashion a working set of

> priorities. For better or worse, the societal goals to which police action is directed are served by the intelligence, whims, caprice, desires, and craftsmanship of patrolmen (Brown, 1981b: 6).

Patrolmen have substantial freedom of movement and action as they travel their beats from day-to-day. While no one would deny that many factors -- among them, the law, supervisory personnel, peers, training, citizens, community culture -- place some constraints on their behavior, these officers retain a remarkable range of available actions for handling problems that might arise during their tour of duty.

Because almost all police work involves some choice among alternatives, we will argue that almost all policework involves discretion.[2] A discretionary action has occurred when the officer arrests the suspect or lets him go. Choice is involved in a decision to take a drunk home, to become embroiled in a domestic dispute, and to write a burglary report for the detective squad. Very simply, our study of discretion is a study of police actions.

This focus on officer activity in the study of discretion may strike many readers as too extensive. If every officer arrested every suspect one might hesitate to insist that arrest was a discretionary action. While the officer might have "free will" in some philosophical sense and thus can be said to have made a choice in arresting every suspect, constraints on his actions were such as to preclude observation of any alternative to arrest. Lacking observable alternatives it might be argued that suspects, if identified, must be arrested and consequently that such behavior was automatic not selective or optional. We willingly accept the qualification that some variation in officer behavior (in response to particular

situations) should be visible if such actions are to be judged discretionary. Acceptance of this position prevents philosophical arguments over "free will" which we have no real desire to enter. Furthermore, as we will see shortly, such qualifications have no effect on our operational definitions of discretion. There are no definitive actions taken by patrol officers in response to four particular problems that they face daily. That is, no action will be performed by patrol officer in 100 percent of the encounters dealing with a particular problem.

One other qualification is necessary, however, if we are concerned about the "free will" of patrol officers. While no action is performed at all encounters, some actions are performed at no encounters. For example, traffic citations are not written at the scene of domestic disputes (although one can conceive of a situation where this might occur). In terms of the above argument, failure to observe any variation in activity level is a sign of no discretion. This is not an argument we wish to put forth. Tickets are not written at domestic encounters not because officers lack discretion but because this action simply isn't relevant to the problem. Thus, to summarize, our operational definition of discretionary behavior depends upon relevant officer actions taken in response to particular problems.[3]

Our study on officer activity involves the analysis of police activities in a variety of situations. Some of these involve crimes and others do not.[4] We concentrate on officer response to four general problems: part I property crimes, disturbances, domestic problems, and interpersonal conflict other than domestic. The

specific types of problems that fall under these four categories are described in the Appendix.

The data analyzed here were collected as part of the Police Services Study, a joint project undertaken by researchers at Indiana University and the University of North Carolina. Trained observers rode with patrol officers on 900 tours of duty (approximately 7,400 hours). These officers were members of 24 departments that serve the St. Louis, Rochester, and Tampa-St. Petersburg metropolitan areas. During the observation period, we viewed 5,688 encounters between police officers and citizens. For each of these encounters, observers filled out a Patrol Encounter Form (described in detail by Caldwell, 1978).

Of these 5,688 encounters, 29.4 percent (1,675) fall into one of our four general problems. Eleven percent are property crime problems while 8 percent are disturbances. Both domestic and nondomestic conflicts are the subject of 5 percent of all encounters.

Next we describe the officers' reactions to each of these problems.

Officer Activity -- A First Look

A large portion of the patrol encounter form served as a checklist of specific actions taken by police officers. Some 22 actions not directed toward any individual citizen were tallied. These included such actions as conducting a search (with or without a warrant), calling for assistance (from other officers, medical and fire personnel, or auto maintenance crews), and report writing. The complete list of such actions is described in Table 1. For simplicity

of presentation these 22 activities are combined into 10 actions.

[Table 1 About Here]

A number of items of interest appear in Table 1. For those interested in police firearms policy, it appears rather obvious that the appearance of police weapons is a rather rare occurence. (Even rarer is the dischange of a firearm -- during the 7,400 hours we rode with police officers, only one gun was fired. Officers killed a rattlesnake in a Tampa junkyard.) Supervisory activity is limited. Such contact, however, was more likely in situations predicted to be most difficult -- conflicts among both strangers and spouses. In these situations, the officer was also much more likely to request backup support than for property crime or disturbance calls.

The important points to be drawn from Table 1, however, relate to our discussion of discretion. None of the undirected police actions reported in Table 1 can be considered a definitive police response to any or all of the problems we have examined. No activity is performed by patrol officers in a majority of all encounters. The only actions that occur more than 50 percent of the time are searches of the scene, note taking, and report writing. But this is true only of property crime encounters. Such activities occur much less frequently during interpersonal conflict situations, be they domestic crises or problems between strangers, and disturbance encounters.

The failure of any response to be the overwhelming choice of officers facing particular problems is one bit of evidence identifying the use of discretionary options available to these street-level bureaucrats. A second observation about Table 1 provides further evidence. These data imply that a large variety of combinations of

actions are selected by the officers we observed. We presume that these choices are in part a function of individual officer characteristcs. Again the variation of action profiles suggest the availability of choice by patrol officers.

Police actions were also directed at each citizen in the encounter. Forty-five separate activities were coded by our patrol observers. These range from arresting an individual to physically or verbally threatening the citizen to offering comfort and assistance or referring the problem to someone who might help. The complete list of such actions is presented in Table 2. Again, for simplicity, these 45 activities are presented as 23 patrol actions.

[Table 2 About Here]

A subtle shift in our analysis occurs in Table 2 that is worth noting. Each of the actions listed here is intended to affect a particular citizen. Consequently, a more legitimate count of officer actions will be the number of citizens at whom an officer directs a particular action. Our counts, therefore, are not based on the number of encounters. Rather, the proportions reported in Table 2 are now based on the number of citizens that appear in the encounter. Our unit of analysis in effect has changed from the encounter (police-citizens) to the police-citizen dyad. Throughout the remainder of the analysis this dyad remains the focus of our research.

Are actions directed at citizens discretionary? The evidence presented in Table 2 certainly suggests that they are. It is true officers will usually ask about a problem if they don't know what's going on.[5] However, beyond this rather trivial action, no other action occurs with any substantial frequency. Police obviously play a

significant role as information providers (21 percent of police-citizen contacts involve general or police related information, 13 percent involve alternative solutions, and 5 percent are direct referrals). The use of explicit legal authority occurs in relatively few situations (less than 4 percent of all citizens are arrested), although police powers are evident more frequently (force is used in 5 percent of interactions, explicit threats in 11 percent and lecturing in 17 percent).

The problem that necessitates police-citizen interaction has some impact on the choices made by patrol officers. A number of percentages vary considerably across the rows of Table 2, indicating the relative popularity of an action for handling a given problem. These inter-problem differences do not distract from the variation within problems of multiple choices of directed actions. Inter-problem variation simply strengthens the argument that officers are capable of choosing from among alternatives to respond to the situations they face.

Taken together Tables 1 and 2 permit two broad generalizations. First, a vast number of different activities are undertaken by patrol officers in the three metropolitan areas we studied. Furthermore, no activity seemed to be nondiscretionary, i.e., required of officers in all instances (at least in response to the problems studied). Police do engage in a significant amount of questioning activity and do generate considerable paper in terms of report writing or note taking. Secondly, great variation in officer response esists across problems for many types of activity. Police officers do not react to all situations as automatons blindly following the same procedure no

matter what problem arises. Rather it appears that some attempt is made to respond to the exigencies of the particular situation.

Yet, the reaction one must have to the first two tables is "so what?" Whether we examine police behavior in terms of activity levels or the more perjorative term "discretionary actions," we have said very little of importance. The crucial question is: Does what patrol officers do on the street have any impact? Given that we know officers respond differently to diverse problems we want to know if they make the right choices. The remainder of this paper presents our preliminary attempt to evaluate officers' actions in handling problems arising from interpersonal conflicts, disturbances, property crime, and domestic crises.

Patrol Officer Effectiveness

One approach to evaluating police officer actions is to "pass the buck." Rather than applying our own criteria to each officer's ability to deal with the problems he or she faces on the street, we will permit those served by the officer to signal their judgments of the services police provide. During the observation of each police-citizen exchange, our fieldworkers coded several items designed to indicate citizen reaction to the officer. This information has been used to create three indicators of officer effectiveness: ability to reduce tension in the encounter, command of citizen respect, and expression of citizen satisfaction.

Operationalizations of Effectiveness

The Citizen's Perspective I - Emotional State

Citizens exhibit a variety of emotions during their encounters with police. They may be quite violent or they may appear peaceful and serene. Problems that result in citizens' calls to the police may leave individuals upset or angered. The police may have to interact with apparently befuddled individuals or they come into contact with unconscious persons, the victims of violent crimes or medical emergencies. Furthermore, citizens will often exhibit more than one emotion during the course of an encounter.

The police officer, by his actions and attitudes, may change the citizens' state of mind. We propose that one indicator of officer effectiveness is his ability to reduce emotional tension. That is, we will judge an officer effective if he is able to induce emotional change during the course of the encounter so that the citizen is calm at its conclusion. On the other hand, we would consider an officer's behavior to be ineffective if the citizen began the encounter in an approximately calm state and became angry, violent, or upset (as a consequence of the officer's actions).[6]

We can apply weaker evaluations of officer actions if citizen emotions do not change during the encounter. The effectiveness indicator suggested above implies that we wish officers to reduce tension by the end of the encounter, i.e., we value a calm citizenry. Yet if the citizen appeared calm at the beginning of the encounter, we can hardly attribute this positive state of mind to the officer's actions. The only inference that we might draw is that the policeman has not been ineffective, that is, he hasn't done any emotional damage

if a calm citizen remains so during the encounter. Alternatively, the officer has not been effective if the citizen began and ended the encounter angry or upset. Thus, all citizens who exhibit relative calm at the conclusion of an encounter have been served by either "effective" or "not ineffective" officers. The difference between these two evaluations depends on whether any change in emotional state was noticed by our trained observers. Angry or upset individuals, on the other hand, have been served by "ineffective" or "not effective" officers. Again the different judgments of the officers depend on observed changes of the citizens' emotions. Our judgments of patrol officers can be summarized as follows:

Emotional States (Beginning-End)	Evaluation I	Evaluation II
Angry-Calm	"effective"	"probably effective"
Calm-Calm	"not ineffective"	"possibly effective"
Angry-Angry	"not effective"	"possibly ineffective"
Calm-Angry	"ineffective"	"probably ineffective"

The Citizen's Perspective II - Demeanor Toward the Officer

Officer effectiveness may also be gauged in terms of the attitudes toward the officer that citizen's express during the course of the encounter. Patrolmen are usually accorded considerable respect by most citizens. Yet a wide variety of demeanors are observed during police-citizens interactions. Individuals may be friendly or apologetic. They may be frightened or they may be sarcastic and hostile. Citizens may react to the officer in a very businesslike manner or they may be detached, aloof or unconcerned.

Changes in citizen demeanor will be used to discriminate between effective and ineffective officers in the same way that change in

emotional state is used to identify good and bad patrolmen. As in the case of citizen's emotions, the officer (usually) is not directly responsible for the initial attitudes expressed at his arrival.

Often officers experience stereotypic reactions to their appearance at the scene, reactions based on either the citizen's past experience with the police or the experiences with the police of the social group to whom he or she belongs. For example, every ghetto kid grows up knowing all about "The Man" and what he can or might do. The officer, however, does have the ability to change the way citizens interact with him during the encounter. His capacity to do so will be examined in this study. If hostile, detached or sarcastic citizens can be induced to treat the officer with some respect by the end of the encounter, the patrolman will be judged effective. (Of course, there are many ways for an officer to gain "respect." Thus, we will consider means as well as results.) If, on the other hand, citizens react to the officer's intrusion by becoming disrepsectful or unconcerned, the officer will be rated ineffective.

As in the case of effectiveness based on citizen emotions, no change in attitudes expressed toward the police will provide a second measure differentiating officers. Judgments will be based on the demeanor maintained by the citizen over the course of the encounter. Friendly or businesslike individuals who remain so have been served by officers who will be judged "not ineffective". Sarcastic or hostile persons who do not change have met patrolmen who are "not effective".

The Citizen's Perspective III - Perceived Satisfaction

A third measure of officer responsiveness is provided by our observer's judgment of the citizen's evaluation of the service(s) provided by the officer:

> "Does the citizen give any evidence of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the officer's actions?"

Expressions of satisfaction redound to the officer's credit. Citizen's expressions of unhappiness with the services provided are considered to be indicative of poor performance by the officer.

Each of the three operationalizations proposed above is based on the perceptions of neutral 3rd party observers. Parks (1981) has compared the perceptions of our observers and the citizens who took part in the encounters. He found few differences in the reconstructions of events from the two perspectives.

Police Actions and Effectiveness: Zero-order Relationship

In this section of the paper we present a series of tables listing the zero-order correlations between patrol officer actions and the three measures of effectiveness defined previously. These variables are coded such that a positive correlation between an action and effectiveness may be interpreted to mean that performing the action is associated with a higher evaluation than not performing the action. A negative correlation on the other hand is associated with lower ratings of police activity.[7]

The correlations between officer actions and effectiveness appear in Tables 3a and 3b. Actions directed at the citizen are presented in Tables 4a and 4b for single-citizen encounters and in Tables 5a and 5b for multiple-citizen encounters. Actions directed at other citizens

in the encounter are presented in Tables 6a and 6b. Each of these tables is divided into four section. The first section depicting the relationships between actions and evaluations for interpersonal encounters. The next three sections describe these associations for property crimes, disturbances, and domestic conflicts, respectively.

[Tables 3a and 3b About Here]

Even a cursory examination of Tables 3a and 3b will provide the reader with two pieces of information. First, our three indicators of officer effectiveness do not measure the same thing. There is little consistency in the correlations across the rows of the tables. (In fact, the inter-item correlations between the effectiveness variables range from -.04 to .46 across the four types of problems.) In some instances all correlations are negative or all are positive, but often officer action will correlate with one effectiveness measure positively and another negatively. This is not a criticism of our effectiveness measures, however. One would not expect that easing tension must be correlated with citizen satisfaction. Consider the violent individual who becomes sedate after being arrested. In terms of our first criterion, the officer is judged to have reduced tension effectively in this situation. On the other hand, the arrested citizen is not likely to show appreciation for this decision.

A second feature of Tables 3a and 3b is the relatively small absolute size of the correlation. No correlation is more negative than -.20 or more positive than .20. Yet one would not expect most of the actions listed in these tables to have an overwhelming impact on effectiveness. In some cases, the citizen has no knowledge of these officer activities. A technical comment is also in order. Most of

the variables in our analyses are highly skewed. This skewness prevents Pearson's r from attaining its theoretical maximum of 1.0 and in some instances restricts the range of possible values of r quite dramatically. (This comment is also appropriate to the Tables that follow.)

Rather than discuss the relationships between each undirected action and each effectiveness variable here, a discussion of the most and least effective police behaviors will be considered in a multiple regression framework later in this paper. Tables 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, and 6b will be considered briefly in turn.

[Tables 4a and 4b About Here]

In Tables 4a and 4b, the correlations between directed officer actions and effectiveness for <u>single-citizen encounters</u> are presented. Directed actions appear much more strongly related to our evaluation criteria than were undirected officer acts. The Pearson product-moment correlations in Tables 4a and 4b range from -.54 to .45. Certainly, more substantively (and statistically) significant correlations are listed here in contrast to Tables 3a and 3b.

Tables 4a and 4b are consistent with Tables 3a and 3b in at least two respects. Again, a police action is not necessarily related to all three of the effectiveness measures in the same way. For example, the arrest of a citizen is unrelated to changes in emotions or demeanor in interpersonal conflict encounters. However, arrest is likely to reduce citizen satisfaction with the police (r = -.29). Secondly, police actions do not necessarily have the same effect in different situations. Focusing on the arrested individual again, citizens behave more respectfully after an arrest in property crime

encounters (r = .22), but much less respectfully in domestic conflict situations (r = -.54).

A more complex situation for the patrol officer to deal with is the multiple-citizen encounter. In Tables 5a and 5b we examine the relationships between directed actions and effectiveness when the officer is forced to interact with more than one citizen. The most obvious conclusion drawn from examining these tables is that directed officer actions are less highly correlated with effectiveness in multi-citizen encounters than in situations in which only one citizen was present. The range of Pearson's r for Tables 5a and 5b is -.32 to .19, magnitudes approximately half that of the relationships reported in Tables 4a and 4b.

[Tables 5a and 5b About Here]

The strength of relationships is not the only aspect that distinguishes Tables 5a and 5b from Tables 4a and 4b. While there are few instances of actions having negative relationships with effectiveness in single-citizen encounters and positive relationships with effectiveness in multi-citizen encounters or vice versa, there are many instances in which a relationship exists in one type of encounter but the action-effectiveness correlation approaches zero in the other type. Indeed, certain directed actions are performed in either single-citizen or multi-citizen encounters, but not both.

Another characteristic that distinguishes single-citizen from multi-citizen encounters is an additional set of officer actions in the latter case. Officer actions may also be directed <u>at other citizens</u> in a multiple citizen incident. The relationship between these actions and effectiveness ratings are presented in Tables 6a and 6b.

[Tables 6a and 6b About Here]

Many other-directed actions are related to changes in emotional states and demeanor toward the officer and satisfaction levels although these associations appear to be slightly weaker than the relationships between directed actions and effectiveness. The correlations listed in Tables 6a and 6b range from -.23 to .18. As we noted in comparing directed actions in single and multiple citizen encounters, the differences between the correlations of Tables 6a and 6b and Tables 5a and 5b involve more than simply the magnitude of the correlations. For example, arrest is negatively correlated with evaluations of police in most instances. Arrest of another, on the other hand, becomes a positively valued action under certain circumstances. Thus, these tables suggest that the subject or target of police concern is an important consideration in evaluating police activity.

Police Actions and Effectiveness: A Multivariate Approach

Relative Influence of Different Types of Actions

Having examined the numerous bivariate relationships between patrol officer actions and effectiveness ratings in the previous section of this paper, we now present a very preliminary look at the conditional impacts of officer actions on our evaluation measures. First, we attempt to identify the unique contributions of each type of patrol action -- undirected, directed, and other-directed -- to the variance of the effectiveness measures. Then, we turn to an investigation of which specific actions are rated most effective and most ineffective.

"Commonality analysis" is one method for separating the explained variance of a dependent variable into variances uniquely attributable to each independent variable and those common to the set of independent variables. In commonality analysis, the unique contribution of a variable (or set of variables) is the variance attributed to it when it is entered last into a regression equation. For example, in the one dependent, two independent variable case, suppose we first enter variable X_1 into our regression equation and compute the coefficient of determination ($R^2_{Y.1}$). Next we re-estimate the equation including both explanatory variables to compute $R^2_{Y.12}$. The increase in the coefficient of determination is attributed to variable X_2, i.e.,

$$R^2_{Y(2.1)} = R^2_{Y.12} - R^2_{Y.1}$$

The unique contibution of X_2 is the squared semipartial (or sometimes called part) correlation between dependent variable Y and X_2 controlling for all other independent variables, in this case only X_1.

Likewise, we can compute the unique contribution of X_1 to the variance of Y by simply reversing the order in which X_1 and X_2 are added to the regression equation. First, estimate the regression of Y on X_2 and compute $R^2_{Y.2}$. Having already estimated the complete equation all that needs to be done is to subtract $R^2_{Y.2}$ from $R^2_{Y.12}$ to get $R^2_{Y(1.2)}$.

In most situations the sum of the unique contributions of X_1 and X_2 will not equal their combined contribution to the variance of the dependent variable. That is, $R^2_{Y.12} \neq R^2_{Y(1.2)} + R^2_{Y(2.1)}$. In addition, the unique contribution of either independent variable will usually not equal its total contribution. The reason for these results is simple. In the real world we seldom have uncorrelated

(orthogonal) independent variables in our regression equations. A major research question becomes: If X_1 and X_2 are correlated, what proportion do we attribute to X_1 and what proportion to X_2? Some might attempt to apportion all explained variance between X_1 and X_2. Commonality analysis, however, takes a very conservative approach to this problem. It does not attribute variance to either X_1 or X_2. Rather, it places variance shared by X_1 and X_2 in the separate category of common variance (CV). Thus, we get the following results:

$$CV_{12} = R^2_{Y.12} - R^2_{Y(1.2)} - R^2_{Y(2.1)}$$

or

$$R^2_{Y.12} = R^2_{Y(1.2)} + R^2_{Y(2.1)} + CV_{12}$$

Commonality analysis thus partitions the variance of Y into variances solely attributable to each explanatory variable and variance common to the set of independent variables. When this set contains three or more members it is possible to further divide the common variance into variance components due to each of the proper subsets of variables. (Further discussion of commonality analysis and related techniques are found in Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973; Mood, 1971).

In Table 7, we apply this methodology to the analysis of the relative impact of officer actions in encounters with only one citizen. In such encounters, other-directed actions obviously do not occur. Consequently, we focus only on the relative importance of undirected and directed actions performed by the patrol officer. Column 1 of this table contains the unique variance due to undirected actions while the squared part correlations between directed actions and effectiveness are found in Column 2. Beneath each of these estimates of the uniquenesses of patrol actions are the squared

multiple correlations between the set of actions and effectiveness computed without considering the other set of action variables. Finally, in Column 4 of this table, the variance of effectiveness that is shared by undirected and directed actions is reported and the total impact of both sets of actions is found in Column 5.

[Table 7 About Here]

Effectiveness ratings are well explained by police officer actions (with the exception of the relationships between changes in emotional state and actions, and between citizen satisfaction and actions for property crime encounters). Nevertheless, there is some substantial variation in the impact of police actions in response to different problems. Police actions appear to have greater effect in interpersonal and domestic conflict problems. However, there are relatively few single citizen encounters that involve these problems. Thus, the high coefficients of determination reflect, in part, the limited degrees of freedom available in these data.

Directed actions appear to be the predominant factor influencing effectiveness. For all measures and all problems, the squared part correlation between directed actions and effectiveness was higher than that between undirected actions and effectiveness. However, in single citizen encounters that involve interpersonal conflict, undirected actions have an impact that approaches the effect due to directed actions. But for the other problems, the impact ratio of undirected to directed actions tends to be on the order of 1 to 4 or 1 to 5.

By and large there is little variance in effectiveness that may be jointly attributed to undirected and directed actions. With a few exceptions, the common variance estimates are quite low.[8] All the

common variances are of such magnitude that even if we attribute all common variance to undirected police actions, directed police actions would still stand as the dominant determinant of effectiveness ratings.

In Table 8 we apply the same methodology to the analysis of multiple citizen encounters. Note that the variance uniquely attributable to other-directed actions is now presented in Column 3. The common variance reported in Column 4 is equal to the difference between the total explained variance and the sum of the three unique variances.[9]

[Table 8 About Here]

We do not do quite as good a job of explaining effectiveness ratings of police with their actions when more than one citizen is involved in an encounter with a patrol officer. This is true despite the fact that we now add a series of other-directed actions to the officer's arsenal of options in such situations. Yet, we did not expect to do a better job. The encounter situation is much more complex. Not only does the officer now have to deal with a second, third, fourth, or fifth citizen, but also the interactions between citizens. Furthermore, while each citizen has but one focus of attention in the single citizen-officer encounter, in the multiple citizen encounter each citizen has many foci. Other citizens may distract the citizen's attention to the officer or the officer's attention to the citizen. In either case, these other citizens may influence both the officer's actions toward the citizen and the variables that make up the effectiveness measures. Therefore, a simple model relating officer actions to evaluation measures that does

not incorporate the influence of other citizens will likely be insufficient in complex encounters.

Directed actions do not stand out quite so obviously as the most important actions in multi-citizen encounters. While directed actions do have a greater impact in a majority of instances than do undirected or other-directed patrol officer actions, one of the latter two types of actions predominates in 5 of the 12 problem-effectiveness combinations. And, in 9 of these 12, these actions have a combined influence that is greater than the influence of directed officer acts.

Officer actions directed at the citizen do appear to be most important when citizen's expressed satisfaction in the effectiveness criteria. For each of the four problems the variance of citizen satisfaction uniquely attributable to directed acts is greater than the unique variance components associated with undirected or other-directed actions. Directed actions are also consistently the strongest influence on effectiveness in multi-citizen disturbances.

The relative importance of other-directed actions is greatest in conflict situations. Changes in emotional state and demeanor toward the officer are substantially influenced by what the officer does to others present at the encounter.

Finally, all of this is not to say undirected actions have no effect on officer effectiveness. Such activities appear to have only trivially less influence on effectiveness than directed or other-directed actions in many situations. In addition, given the magnitudes of the common variance and the uniquenesses, the relative ranking of the three types of actions is often problematic.

Effective and Ineffective Actions

Tables 7 and 8 are based on a series of regression equations in which each of the three effectiveness measures is regressed on some subset of 13 undirected actions, 23 directed actions, and 23 other-directed actions. In this section we switch from an examination of the variance explained by these sets of variables to a closer look at the impact of each action on effectiveness. Table 9 presents a summary of the "sizeable" unstandardized regression coefficients that relate patrol officer actions to citizen satisfaction in single-citizen encounter. Table 10 contains identical information on multi-citizen encounters. All actions are coded as: (1) officer performed this act, or (0) officer did not perform this act. Citizen satisfaction is coded such that a high value is associated with greater satisfaction. Thus, a positive coefficient between an action and satisfaction would suggest that the action increased satisfaction and should therefore be judged effective. A negative coefficient, on the other hand, implies that action is associated with decreased satisfaction. Any action that reduces citizen satisfaction is considered ineffective here.

We do not intend to repeat the contents of these tables in the text. Rather we will point out some of the noticeable trends and leave the reader to peruse the tables at greater length if desired.

[Table 9 About Here]

What actions are ineffective in single citizen encounters? Very generally, and as one might expect, sanctioning behavior by law enforcement officials was likely to elicit lowered satisfaction. Arrests, threats, the use of force, and ticketing all reduced citizen

judgments of their police services. Several actions with large negative coefficients may appear puzzling. For example, one wonders why medical assistance in disturbance situations should have such a negative effect on satisfaction. What is likely happening in these encounters is that the transportation of inebriates to formal or informal detoxification facilities is considered (at the time of the incident) to be functionally equivalent to the detention or arrest of the citizen, that is, the drunk feels his civil rights have been violated. Similarly, the process of asking the citizen to sign a complaint may be a request the citizen does not wish to comply with. Often, in interpersonal conflict or disturbance situations especially, citizens will request the informal use of police authority to quiet a streetcorner or restrain combantants, but do not wish to invoke any formal process.

If sanctioning behavior is ineffective (from the citizen's perspective) what actions are judged positively? Basically, effective police responses to the four problems we examined include expressions of concern (such as promises of special attention, provision of information on crime or alternative services produced, and comfort and solice), attention to the problem (i.e., the officer questioned the citizen about the problem, searched the premises, conducted additional investigation away from the scene of the encounter, and took an official report of the problem), and service activities and informal sanctions (lectures or warnings).

These are, or course, generalizations about the positive and negative effects of officer actions. Note, for example, that asking the citizen to sign a complaint is judged an effective act in domestic

situations and an ineffective act in disturbances. A battered wife may want the opportunity to sign a complaint against her husband even if she decides not to or withdraws her signature later. Most disturbances, on the other hand, are not considered serious enough to warrant such sanctioning. As a second example, referral is positively rated as a response to disturbances while it is considered an ineffective response to a domestic crisis. Referral to a detoxification center may provide the alcoholic with an immediate response to his drinking problem. Referral to a social service agency to deal with marital problems will probably not satisfy an individual concerned with the immediate confrontation.

In multiple citizen encounters, as suggested above, the interaction patterns are quite different. Consequently, we would expect the relationships between the actions taken by police participants and the rating of these actions by citizens to vary from those operative in the single-citizen encounter. A summary of the effective and ineffective actions is presented in Table 10.

[Table 10 About Here]

As was the case in single-citizen encounters, each citizen does not like to be personally sanctioned by patrol officers. Arrest, ticketing, detention, or the use of force (particularly nonarrest force) lowered citizen satisfaction levels. Yet, sanctioning activity is more diversified in multi-citizen encounters, i.e., there are more targets to sanction. And, from each citizens point of view the target of the sanction is critical. While no one likes to be the subject of police authority, it appears that many do like to see someone else receive this treatment. The ticketing, detention, and arrest of other

citizens appears to increase a citizen's approval of the police in certain situations. Obviously, the victim should be pleased if the burglar is caught and the complaintant should be gratified if the disturbance is quieted. However, some of the coefficients almost imply a vindictiveness on the part of citizens. In property crimes, for example, the use of nonarrest related force against another citizen has a greater impact on satisfaction than the arrest of another.

In addition to actions against other citizens, positively valued police actions in multi-citizen encounters hinged on the officers ability to defuse the situation and to aid any victims. Referral again appears as a positively valued activity in both disturbances and domestic conflict situations.

One ineffective officer activity deserves special attention. The use of nonarrest force by patrol officers is the combination of two of observed actions. The first is the officer hitting the citizen with a weapon, either his gun, nightstick, or heavy flashlight sometimes carried in place of a nightstick. The second is the use of force against the citizen of a sort not typically associated with arrest, that is, it did not involve handcuffing the citizen or the traditional taking by the arm to make the citizen move in the required direction. Three comments are in order. We do not, without examination of the narratives of the encounters, classify such behavior as "police brutality" although such implications might be drawn from the data with further study. Second, such behavior is extremely rare (and we do not believe that to be a function of officer reactivity to patrol observation). Third, while extremely infrequent, this type of

force has very significant negative impact on citizen judgments. Arrest oriented force, in contrast, was evaluated much less harshly.

Having just concluded an extended discussion of eight regression equations summarized in Tables 9 and 10, a caveat is in order. A number of officer actions are both logically and empirically interrelated (although the latter condition varies by problem). As a consequence, some of the individual parameter estimates may be misleading. We intend to examine the extent of this problem in our future work.

Conclusion

Kojak collars a crazed murderer on the streets of New York. McGarret corners an escaped convict in Honolulu, and crys "Book him, Danno!" Elliot Ness destroys a warehouse full of stills and arrests a gang of bootleggers. These are images of our ideal policemen -- the effective cops on the street. But are they representative of "real" police work? We submit that Adam-12 was one of the most realistic police shows ever viewed by the American public. Police work is often fruitless. Crime scenes are minutes-, hours-, and sometimes days-cold before police arrive. In the absence of witnesses there is often little police can do (or have the time to do) to solve the crime. The glamour of TV is a stark contrast to the reality faced by the beat cop.

Nor are cold crimes the only problems faced on the street. A wide variety of disturbances and interpersonal conflicts require the officer to serve not as a law enforcer but as a order-maintainer.

Furthermore, the officer has myriad other jobs -- from dispensing information about all sorts of governmental and nongovernmental institutions to dealing with traffic or medical problems. The officer is also a social worker handling the problems of juveniles and families as well as the homeless.

If the police cannot make the big collar, is there anything they can do? Certainly by the number of demands we place on our police agencies we expect something of them. In this paper we have presented a first attempt to identify what behaviors will be effective in response to several of our demands.

Our future research will attempt to identify the factors that result in an officer's choice of effective behaviors rather than ineffective behaviors.

Footnotes

[1]Studies of discretion tend to focus on selective enforcement because of the quantifiable and definitive nature of the arrest decision. These studies also tend to have a particularly narrow focus on police work as law enforcement. We are attempting to move beyond such a focus with this research.

[2]Obviously in certain situations an officer is required to do specific things either by his conscience, his supervisor, citizens, peers, or legal criteria. Police discovery of a murder or bank robbery would probably result in a defined police response. Yet all of these constraints while operative to some degree, do not structure police response to most situations in such a way as to preclude choice.

[3]In this report we simple intend to present a first look at these data on officer activity levels. Two critical variables that are not examined here but must be before any definitive statement on officer discretionary behavior is made are intra-departmental variation and intra-officer variation. Such variation, if any, is hidden in an analysis that focuses on patrol officers of 24 departments. Whether we are looking at the impact of department or individual characteristics, the potential problem is the same. Suppose, for example, we observe an action (X) performed 50 percent of the time by two officers (or in two departments). This might mean each officer performs X 50 percent of the time or officer 1 might do it 100 percent of the time while it is not an action in officer 2's repertoire of responses. In the former case, we might be disposed to say the officers exercise some discretion in performing X, while in the latter case X may be a discretionary option if both officers are in the same department or behavioral differences may be due to constraints which eliminate discretion.

[4]There is, of course, some question about observational definitions of crime: Who defines it? If one allows the police to define the law, Black argues that one must conclude that enforcement is total. Acceptance of such a definition of crime precludes the study of discretion. Observer or citizen definitions of crime, on the other hand, suggest professional judgments by nonprofessionals. In our research, we prefer to study problems presented to the police rather than crimes.

[5]When officers know or assume they know what is going on, they dispense with such questioning. This usually occurs in proactive situations. The reason 15 percent fewer citizens are questioned in disturbance encounters is because of the greater tendency for such situations to involve a proactive involvement by police.

[6]The officer might be responsible for a hostile reaction that was prompted by the citizen's anger about a delayed police response if the officer failed to proceed to the scene as quickly as possible due to

nonpolice business. We might also attribute the citizen's initial reaction to the officer if the officer had contacted this person previously. We can tentatively examine whether prior experience had some impact on the encounter through both our patrol observation and debriefing data.

[7]Each correlation in Tables 3-6 is a Pearson product-moment correlation. While of questionable appropriateness to the limited measurement characteristics of these data, available alternatives offered only marginal improvements while not permitting the multivariate analyses that follw. Polychoric correlations will be examined when software becomes available.

[8]Note that unlike unique variances, common variances may be negative. Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973: 305) argue that negative commonalities may be interpreted as negative correlations between independent variables or as one independent variable acting as a "supressor" variable on the relationship between another independent variable and the dependent variable. Thus, a part correlation may be larger than a zero-order correlation.

[9]Interested readers who wish to partition this common variance into amounts due to each subset of action clusters may do so with the information reported in Table 8.

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APPENDIX

An Elaboration of Problems Faced by Patrol Officers

Each problem that brought police and citizens together was identified with as many as three of 236 unique problem codes at the beginning of each encounter, at the height of citizen-officer interaction, and at the conclusion of this meeting. This coding scheme permits great flexibility for identifying complex problems with as many as 55,460 combinations of two codes and almost 13 million triple codes of one problem. We did make a serious effort, however, to limit multiple codes. Most problems faced by the officers we observed were identifiable with single codes. Of 5,688 encounters, 88 percent were coded into one of our 236 categories, 11 percent required a second code to adequately distinguish the problem and only 1 percent needed a third code.

Of all the myriad problems observed, we selected four clusters for analysis: major property crimes, disturbances, domestic crises, and interpersonal (stranger) conflict. Individual problem codes that fall under each of these clusters are listed below.

INTERPERSONAL (STRANGER) CONFICT (N = 305)

ARGUMENT, PARTICIPANTS UNSPECIFIED -- any verbal disagreement that stops short of violent physical contact with persons or property where type of participants is unknown.

NONDOMESTIC-ARGUMENT -- Any verbal disagreement between nonrelated individuals that stops short of violent physical contact with persons or property.

PHYSICAL-INJURY-INFLICTED-BY-PERSONS -- Use for a general reference to some physical harm inflicted by one person on another where information is not sufficient to code more specifically.

THREATENED-PHYSICAL-INJURY -- Code when someone has threatened to harm someone else. (I'm going to break your arm. I'm going to beat you up.)

SIMPLE-ASSAULT -- The physical attack by one person upon another not accompanied by the use of a weapon.

FIGHT-(PHYSICAL) -- Any disagreement that includes violent physical contact with persons or property.

NONDOMESTIC-FIGHT -- A disagreement that includes violent physical contact with persons or property between nonrelated individuals.

NONDOMESTIC-ASSAULT -- The physical attack by one person upon another not accompanied by the use of a weapon when it is known that the participants are not related family members.

AGGRAVATED-ASSAULT -- Physical attack by one person upon another accompanied by the use of a weapon or other means likely to produce death or serious bodily harm.

NONDOMESTIC-AGGRAVATED-ASSAULTS -- Code when it is known that the aggravated assault is not between related family members.

MAJOR PROPERTY CRIMES (N = 6^5)

THEFT,-UNSPECIFIED -- Use for a generalized reference to stolen property.

ATTEMPTED-THEFT,-UNSPECIFIED

MOTOR-VEHICLE-THEFT -- Involves stealing or unauthorized (without owner consent) removal of an automobile, motorcycle, snowmobile, motor boat, or other power vehicle.

ATTEMPTED-MOTOR-VEHICLE-THEFT

THEFT-FROM-RESIDENCE -- The successful stealing of property from a residence where no indication of unlawful entry is present. It is the crime of stealth that leads only to the loss (or threatened loss) of property or cash within the confines of an individual's private dwelling unit or ancillary building such as a garage, shed, or barn.

ATTEMPTEMED-THEFT-FROM-RESIDENCE

THEFT-FROM-COMMERCIAL -- The successful stealing of property from a commercial or industrial establishment where no indication of unlawful entry is present. This does not include Shoplifting. For example, items may be taken from the area within a security fence or by a person remaining in the store after hours.

ATTEMPTED-THEFT-FROM-COMMERCIAL

THEFT-FROM-MOTOR-VEHICLE -- The stealing of articles from a motor vehicle (e.g., stolen motor vehicle parts and accessories, stolen audio equipment, etc.)

ATTEMPTED-THEFT-FROM-MOTOR-VEHICLE

PURSE-SNATCHED/POCKET-PICKED -- Theft of either purse or wallet where no more force than is necessary to remove the property from the individual is exhibited. If excessive force is used, code as Robbery of Private Citizen.

ATTEMPTED-PURSE-SNATCH/POCKET-PICKED

BURGLARY -- Use when a generalized reference to a burglary without specific information to use one of the more detailed codes.

BURGLARY,-RESIDENTIAL -- The successful theft that involves the unlawful entry of residence or related residential building such as a garage, shed or barn. Thefts committed by persons that have a right to be on the property (e.g., personal guest and service workers) should be coded as Theft from Residence. If an unsuccessful attempt, code as Break-In, Residential.

BUGLARY,-COMMERCIAL -- The successful theft that involves the unlawful entry of a commercial or industrial establishment (e.g., breaking into a store after closing or breaking through security fence and taking items). If an unsuccessful attempt, code as Break-In, Commercial.

BREAK-IN -- Use for a generalized reference to a break-in.

ATTEMPTED-BREAK-IN/INCLUDING-ALARMS -- Use when cannot discern whether locaton is commercial or residential. Also use when location is public/governmental property such as a school.

BREAK-IN,-RESIDENTIAL -- The unlawful entry of a residence or related residential building where no property is removed from the premise.

ATTEMPTED-BREAK-IN,-RESIDENTIAL/INCLUDING-ALARMS

BREAK-IN,-COMMERCIAL -- The unlawful entry of a commercial premise or related commercial building where no property is removed from the premise. For this category entry will almost always be by force or stealth.

ATTEMPTED-BREAK-IN,-COMMERCIAL/INCLUDING-ALARMS

BREAK-IN,-MOTOR-VEHICLE -- The unlawful entry of a motor veicle such as a car, truck, or boat where no property is removed from the vehicle. This category will involve entry by force or stealth.

ATTEMPTED-BREAK-IN,-MOTOR-VEHICLE/INCLUDING-ALARMS

DISTURBANCES (N = 454)

PUBLIC-NUISANCE -- Any person(s) or circumstance alleged to be annoying, unpleasant, or obnoxious to an individual or the public welfare (e.g., general complaint about rowdy party, firecrackers, peace disturbance). Whenever possible, use more specific codes.

DRUNK -- Person is inebriated or alleged to be inebriated.

DISORDERLY -- Person is excessively loud, rowdy, annoying to others or is alleged to be disordered by a citizen or officer.

VAGRANCY -- No visible means of support. Do not code as vagrancy when drunk.

LOITERING -- Person(s) lingering in public place (e.g., youths hanging out on corner). Appropriate for encounter that begins with police officer saying "move along."

OBSCENE-ACTIVITY -- Lewd, unchaste, indecent activity (e.g., indecent exposure, Peeping Tom).

NOISE-DISTURBANCE -- Use when someone complains about or officer investigates a loud party or gathering where they have been disturbed by the excessive noise (e.g., "That barking dog next door keeps me from getting my sleep." "They're playing their stereo for the whole neighborhood.")

PEDDLING,-BEGGING -- A person selling pencils or other wares on the street without a permit or begging for money.

KEEP-THE-PEACE -- PREVENT-POTENTIAL-ARGUMENT -- Use this code, for example, when a woman requests police protection while picking up her clothes from her house in a situation where she is leaving her husband. The officer is requested to be present so as to prevent any problem from developing.

ANNOYING/HARASSING-TELEPHONE-CALLS -- Use for any sort of harassment via telephone. If an obscene telephone call, code as annoying/harassing telephone calls in first slot and obscene activity in second slot. If clearly threatening call, code annoying/harassing telephone calls first and threatened physical injury second.

HARASSMENT (non-specific) -- Use this code when a person complains that another person is harrassing them, but does not specify any additional information that would allow you to code a specific problem type (e.g., "my brother-in-law keeps coming around and harassing my wife and I.")

DOMESTIC CONFLICT (N = 291)

DOMESTIC-ARGUMENT -- Any verbal disagreement between related family members (including couples "living together") that stops short of violent physical contact with persons or property.

FAMILY-TROUBLE (unspecified) -- Use this code "for a report of "family trouble" where the nature of the trouble is unspecified ("We've got a family trouble at 12th and Walnut"). Do no use this code when a more specific one applies (i.e., Domestic Argument, Domestic Fight, etc.)

DOMESTIC-FIGHT -- A disagreement that includes violent physical contact with persons or property between related family members (including couples "living together").

DOMESTIC-ASSAULT -- The physical attack by one person upon another not accompanied by the use of a weapon when it is known that the participants are related family members (including couples living together).

DOMESTIC-AGGRAVATED-ASSAULT -- Code when it is know that the aggravated assault is between related family members (including couples living together).

Among the problems chosen for analysis are several which are multiple coded. If the second or third code reflects a problem that does not fall under any of the four categories listed above, these codes are ignored. If an encounter falls into two or more of our four categories it is classified according to the following priorities:

1. Domestic conflict
2. Interpersonal conflict
3. Property crime
4. Disturbance

For example, several domestic arguments were also coded as a peace-keeping problem for the officer (i.e., a disturbance). The principal problem from our perspective is the officer's need to react to the domestic dispute. Whether he chooses to treat this problem as a peace-keeping situation or a counseling one will depend on the citizen participants, departmental policy, and the officer's personal characteristics.

Table 1

General Patrol-Officer Actions Toward Four Problems

Activity[1]	Interpersonal Conflict	Property Crime	Disturbance	Domestic Conflict	Totals
Drew Weapon[2]	9 3.0	18 2.9	10 2.2	9 3.1	46 2.7
Searched Location	57 18.7	333 53.3	85 18.7	40 13.7	515 30.7
Service Activity	10 3.3	11 1.8	11 2.4	8 2.7	40 2.4
Contact with Supervisor	28 9.2	55 8.8	26 5.7	30 10.3	139 8.3
Communication with Department	64 21.0	162 25.9	91 20.0	53 18.2	370 22.1
Investigation	49 16.1	102 16.3	34 7.5	16 5.5	201 12.0
Wrote Official Report	103 33.8	387 61.9	72 15.9	82 28.2	644 38.4
Took Notes	149 48.9	372 59.5	154 33.9	109 37.5	784 46.8
Called for Assistance	11 3.6	5 .8	5 1.1	10 3.4	31 1.9
Other Actions	15 4.9	40 6.4	15 3.3	12 4.1	82 4.9
Number of Encounters	(305)	(625)	(454)	(291)	(1,675)

Note 1: The coding of a number of activities were combined to ease presentation and to eliminate possible measurement uncertainties. Thus "drew weapons" includes both the drawing of a gun or another type of weapon. "Search location" includes three specific actions: Search the premises with a warrant, searching without a warrant, or simply taking a cursory look around the scene. "Service activities" include calling an ambulance, the fire department, a tow truck, removing some physical obstruction, or directing traffic. Calling for additional orders or advice, contacting the supervisor, or indicating a need to bring a problem to the supervisor's attention are classified under the general heading "contact with supervisor." Investigative actions not directed to any individual in the encounter include protecting the crime scene and questioning persons away from the scene. "Communications with the department" included radio contact to get information (e.g., license and registration check) and provision of information to the station or another officer.

Note 2: The first number in each cell is the number of encounters that a patrol officer was observed performing this action. The second number is the percentage of encounters that this action was taken. Thus, the first cell of the table tells us that a weapon (i.e., pistol, shotgun, or nightstick) was drawn in nine encounters involving interpersonal conflict and these nine encounters were 3.0 percent of the 305 stranger conflict encounters observed.

Table 2

Patrol Offficer Actions Directed At Citizens

Activity[1]	Interpersonal Conflict	Property Crime	Disturbance	Domestic Conflict	Totals
Arrest[2]	34 5.0	21 2.2	25 3.5	32 5.2	112 3.8
Questioning: Of Individual	151 22.2	139 14.7	188 26.0	113 18.3	591 19.9
Questioning: About Problem	561 82.4	772 81.9	468 65.7	488 79.0	2,289 77.2
Providing Information: General	145 21.3	218 23.1	132 18.3	130 21.0	625 21.1
Providing Information: Alternative	68 10.0	160 17.0	68 9.4	82 13.3	378 12.7
Referral	20 2.9	64 6.8	25 3.5	27 4.4	136 4.6
Medical Service	12 1.8	1 .1	2 .3	11 1.8	26 .9
Ticketing	3 .4	1 .1	4 .6	3 .5	11 .4
Traffic Alternatives	0 0.0	0 0.0	7 1.0	0 0.0	7 .2
Additional Services	83 12.2	122 12.9	84 11.6	47 7.6	336 11.3
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	43 6.3	25 2.7	32 4.4	41 6.6	141 4.8
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	7 1.0	3 .3	5 .7	3 .6	18 .6

Table 2 (continued)

Patrol Offficer Actions Directed At Citizens

Activity	Interpersonal Conflict	Property Crime	Disturbance	Domestic Conflict	Totals
Threats	117	21	92	97	327
	17.2	2.2	12.7	15.7	11.0
Searched Persons	31	20	33	25	109
	4.6	2.1	4.6	4.0	3.7
Read Rights	8	10	5	5	28
	1.2	1.1	.7	.8	.9
Detained Citizen	49	23	36	27	135
	7.2	2.4	5.0	4.4	4.6
Took to Station	20	25	25	23	93
	2.9	2.7	3.5	3.7	3.1
Lectured	174	58	141	138	511
	25.6	6.2	19.5	22.3	17.2
Settled Argument	109	7	31	131	278
	16.0	.7	4.3	21.2	9.4
Comforted or Reassured	53	52	64	76	245
	7.8	5.5	8.9	12.3	8.3
Talked Person Into Leaving	71	6	105	84	266
	10.4	.6	14.5	13.6	8.3
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	55	40	29	46	170
	8.1	4.2	4.0	7.4	5.7
Transported to Another Location	35	32	48	33	148
	5.1	3.4	6.6	5.3	5.0
Number of Encounters	(681)	(943)	(723)	(618)	(2,965)

Note 1: As in Table 1, a number of police actions were combined into more general categories. These categories and the activities subsumed by them are listed below:

Arrest

Arrested at the scene with a warrant
Arrested at the scene without a warrant
Arrested at the station

Questioning: Individual

Asked for reason at the scene
Asked for identification

Questioning: Problem

Asked for information about problem
Asked for name/description of suspect

Provide Information: General

Gave information citizen asked for
Promised to provide additional information

Provide Information: Alternatives

Gave crime prevention information
Suggested use of another unit or agency

Medical Service

Took to doctor or hospital
Gave first aid

Ticketing

Gave traffic ticket
Gave other ticket

Traffic Alternatives

Written traffic warning
Verbal traffic warning

Additional Service

Offered special police attention
Gave other physical assistance

Physical Force: Arrest-oriented

Took by the arm
Made citizen come along
Handcuffed

Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented

Hit with a weapon
Used force against

Threats

Threatened to hit
Threatened with gun
Threatened arrest
Threatened surveillance
Other threats
Shouted at

Search citizen

Thorough search of person
Frisk of person

Note 2: The first number in each cell is the number of citizens who were the subject of a patrol officer action in encounters involving a specific problem. The second entry is the percentage of citizens who were the subject of police actions. Note that the base for these percentages is not the number of encounters about a specific problem, but the total number of citizens involved in such encounters.

Table 3a

Correlations Between Undirected Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings
(Pearson's r)

Undirected Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Drew Weapon	-.10	-.10	-.09	.06	.11	-.08
Searched Location	.03	.06	-.01	-.03	-.04	-.02
Service Activity	.05	-.06	-.05	.00	.20	-.14
Contact with Supervisor	-.06	-.02	.08	.02	-.11	-.09
Communication with Department	-.01	-.04	.16	.02	-.01	.03
Investigation	.02	-.01	.00	.03	.01	-.12
Wrote Official Report	.03	.03	.09	-.01	-.04	.03
Took Notes	-.01	-.05	.11	.02	.03	.03
Called for Assistance	-.01	.00	-.02	.08	.00	-.16
Other Activity	-.04	-.14	-.04	.07	.14	.01
Number of Encounters	(614)	(610)	(649)	(863)	(864)	(906)

Table 3b

Correlations Between Undirected Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r)

Undirected Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Drew Weapon	.05	-.08	.04	.04	.06	-.06
Searched Location	.03	.04	-.12	.09	.05	.01
Service Activity	-.06	-.16	-.07	-.03	-.07	.05
Contact with Supervisor	-.01	-.08	-.02	-.02	-.20	.00
Communication with Department	.02	.02	.02	-.03	-.12	-.01
Investigation	-.11	.07	-.05	.04	-.11	.01
Wrote Official Report	.08	.01	.02	.13	-.04	.03
Took Notes	.19	.03	.09	.02	.03	-.03
Called for Assistance	.01	.02	-.06	.01	-.04	-.03
Other Activity	.05	.12	.07	-.15	-.13	.03
Number of Encounters	(597)	(602)	(678)	(554)	(552)	(570)

Table 4a

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Single Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Arrest	.00	.03	-.29	.09	.22	-.12
Questioning: Of Individual	.25	.08	.08	-.05	-.07	.11
Questioning: About Problem	-.01	.20	.28	-.03	-.05	.06
Providing Information: General	.01	.12	.09	.03	.04	.26
Providing Information: Alternative	.06	.09	.05	.02	-.01	.09
Referral	-.18	-.49	-.05	-.04	-.01	-.08
Medical Service	.15	.03	.03	--	--	--
Ticketing	--	--	--	-.01	.00	-.03
Traffic Alternatives	--	--	--	--	--	--
Additional Services	.11	-.02	-.06	.12	-.01	.17
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	--	--	--	-.02	.00	-.08
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	--	--	--	.21	.45	-.14

Table 4a (continued)

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Single Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Threats	.00	.04	-.19	-.02	-.20	-.12
Searched Persons	.00	.02	--	-.02	.00	-.12
Read Rights	--	--	--	-.01	.00	-.05
Detained Citizen	.00	.02	-.29	-.12	-.41	-.08
Took to Station	.00	.02	--	-.02	.00	-.06
Lectured	-.13	.07	.03	.00	-.19	-.11
Settled Argument	.15	.03	-.02	--	--	--
Comforted or Reassured	.07	-.09	-.08	.16	-.01	.15
Talked Person into Leaving	.15	.03	-.22	.24	.00	.00
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	.01	.07	.01	.02	.00	-.04
Transported to Another Location	-.16	-.20	.07	-.02	-.19	-.12
Number of Encounters	(86)	(87)	(82)	(388)	(389)	(388)

Table 4b

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Single Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Arrest	-.06	-0.38	-.18	-.49	-.54	-.39
Questioning: Of Individual	-.04	-.08	-.14	.31	.16	-.15
Questioning: About Problem	.01	.12	.17	-.04	-.19	.00
Providing Information: General	.17	.05	.15	.18	.23	.08
Providing Information: Alternative	.01	.06	.14	.11	.09	.20
Referral	-.15	-.05	.11	-.12	-.16	.03
Medical Service	-.16	-.24	-.13	--	--	--
Ticketing	.00	-.24	-.13	--	--	--
Traffic Alternatives	.10	.02	-.02	--	--	--
Additional Services	.12	.12	.34	.21	.07	.27
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	-.21	-.30	-.17	-.01	-.01	-.44
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	-.16	-.24	-.13	--	--	--

Table 4b (continued)

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Single Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Threats	-.10	-.17	-.25	-.25	-.36	-.39
Searched Persons	-.08	-.27	-.19	-.30	-.22	-.25
Read Rights	-.16	-.24	-.13	--	--	--
Detained Citizen	-.22	-.32	-.09	-.21	-.31	-.05
Took to Station	.01	-.22	-.17	-.14	-.19	-.39
Lectured	.02	-.10	-.22	-.26	-.24	-.16
Settled Argument	.00	.01	.10	.19	.00	-.05
Comforted or Reassured	-.02	.06	.32	.06	.14	.34
Talked Person into Leaving	.02	.04	-.16	-.02	-.01	-.12
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	-.07	.02	-.09	.13	.11	.16
Transported to Another Location	-.25	-.24	-.09	-.02	-.01	-.09
Number of Encounters	(250)	(252)	(250)	(65)	(65)	(61)

Table 5a

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Multiple Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Arrest	-.09	-.12	-.26	-.03	.04	-.26
Questioning: Of Individual	.13	-.01	-.03	.14	.07	-.06
Questioning: About Problem	-.08	.02	.17	-.06	.04	.08
Providing Information: General	-.02	.02	.03	.00	.00	.12
Providing Information: Alternative	.05	.02	.10	-.05	-.03	.03
Referral	-.05	.07	.04	.01	-.04	-.03
Medical Service	-.06	.06	-.02	.13	-.15	-.11
Ticketing	.02	.00	-.06	--	--	--
Traffic Alternatives	--	--	--	--	--	--
Additional Services	-.04	.14	.10	.04	-.01	.05
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	-.04	-.11	-.24	-.07	-.11	-.21
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	-.11	-.03	-.14	.09	-.10	-.09

Table 5a (continued)

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Multiple Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Threats	.00	-.01	-.10	.01	-.04	-.09
Searched Persons	-.03	-.07	-.19	.01	.00	-.16
Read Rights	.02	.00	-.02	-.02	.00	-.08
Detained Citizen	.10	-.04	-.12	-.03	.00	-.02
Took to Station	.01	.02	-.09	-.03	.08	-.25
Lectured	.10	.19	-.11	.03	.04	.03
Settled Argument	.04	.02	-.02	-.02	.00	-.01
Comforted or Reassured	.00	-.03	.14	.14	.04	.16
Talked Person into Leaving	.09	.05	-.04	.09	.00	.03
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	.04	.06	.02	.03	.07	.12
Transported to Another Location	-.09	-.06	-.05	.03	.01	-.04
Number of Encounters	(528)	(523)	(567)	(475)	(475)	(518)

Table 5b

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Multiple Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Arrest	.05	-.11	-.30	.00	.02	-.22
Questioning: Of Individual	.09	.16	-.12	-.01	-.10	-.10
Questioning: About Problem	.08	.06	.10	.01	-.06	.16
Providing Information: General	.01	.09	.13	.07	.10	.17
Providing Information: Alternative	.02	-.01	-.02	.00	.03	.01
Referral	-.01	-.04	.05	-.10	-.07	.03
Medical Service	--	--	-.01	-.03	-.10	.03
Ticketing	.01	.02	-.08	.01	.01	-.05
Traffic Alternatives	.01	-.05	-.07	--	--	--
Additional Services	-.09	.10	.15	.05	.02	-.02
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	.05	-.06	-.22	.00	-.04	-.19
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	-.12	-.32	-.08	.01	.10	-.15

Table 5b (continued)

Correlations Between Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r): Multiple Citizen Encounters

Directed Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Threats	-.02	-.11	-.17	-.08	.04	-.25
Searched Persons	.02	-.02	-.27	-.03	.05	-.14
Read Rights	.10	.08	-.18	-.02	-.03	-.08
Detained Citizen	.02	-.05	-.18	.08	.02	-.13
Took to Station	.07	-.07	-.22	.00	-.03	-.13
Lectured	-.01	-.12	-.18	-.01	-.07	-.07
Settled Argument	-.02	.12	.05	.00	.02	.08
Comforted or Reassured	-.08	.00	.09	.13	.02	.15
Talked Person into Leaving	-.01	-.02	-.14	.07	.05	-.06
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	.07	.04	.14	.02	-.03	-.02
Transported to Another Location	-.06	-.03	-.07	.00	.00	-.09
Number of Encounters	(347)	(350)	(428)	(489)	(487)	(509)

Table 6a

Correlations Between Other-Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings
(Pearson's r)

Other-Directed Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Arrest	.01	-.12	-.05	-.07	.08	-.11
Questioning: Of Individual	.16	-.01	.07	.04	.05	-.06
Questioning: About Problem	.08	.02	-.05	-.03	.05	.05
Providing Information: General	.00	.01	-.05	.00	.03	.03
Providing Information: Alternative	.09	.03	.06	-.01	.01	.00
Referral	-.07	.12	-.03	.04	.04	-.06
Medical Service	-.04	.06	-.02	--	--	--
Ticketing	.02	.00	.03	--	--	--
Traffic Alternatives	--	--	--	--	--	--
Additional Services	-.01	.17	.00	.05	.01	.03
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	.06	-.12	-.03	-.12	-.09	-.06
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	-.11	-.09	-.10	-.01	.00	.08

Table 6a (continued)

Correlations Between Other-Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings
(Pearson's r)

Other-Directed Actions	Interpersonal Conflict			Property Crime		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Threats	.06	.01	-.02	-.03	.00	-.04
Searched Persons	.08	-.07	-.03	-.04	.08	-.10
Read Rights	.08	.03	-.02	-.02	.00	-.04
Detained Citizen	.13	-.02	.01	-.04	.01	.00
Took to Station	.04	.06	.05	-.04	.12	-.10
Lectured	.14	.16	.03	.01	.01	.02
Settled Argument	.08	.02	-.03	-.02	.00	-.01
Comforted or Reassured	.02	-.03	.10	.17	.00	.08
Talked Person into Leaving	.10	.10	.06	.15	.00	.06
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	.10	.04	-.12	.01	.04	.00
Transported to Another Location	-.05	-.06	-.01	-.04	.01	.00
Number of Encounters	(528)	(523)	(567)	(475)	(475)	(518)

Table 6b

Correlations Between Other-Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings (Pearson's r)

Other-Directed Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Arrest	.14	-.05	.02	.02	.04	.05
Questioning: Of Individual	.08	.15	.03	-.03	-.13	-.06
Questioning: About Problem	.11	.09	-.05	.09	.01	-.01
Providing Information: General	.00	.11	-.07	.07	.08	.07
Providing Information: Alternative	-.03	-.01	-.05	-.02	.03	.00
Referral	-.02	-.01	.04	-.08	-.05	.09
Medical Service	--	--	-.01	-.03	-.09	.05
Ticketing	.01	.02	-.08	.01	.01	.00
Traffic Alternatives	.08	.01	-.08	--	--	--
Additional Services	-.07	.10	-.02	.04	-.06	-.09
Physical Force: Arrest Oriented	.10	.00	-.07	.01	-.07	.11
Physical Force: Nonarrest Oriented	.01	-.23	-.03	.04	.13	.00

Table 6b (continued)

Correlations Between Other-Directed Patrol Officer Actions and Effectiveness Ratings
(Pearson's r)

Other-Directed Actions	Disturbances			Domestic Conflict		
	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction	Emotional State	Demeanor	Expressed Satisfaction
Threats	-.01	.00	.05	-.06	.00	.01
Searched Persons	.13	.05	-.03	-.07	.08	-.09
Read Rights	.17	.07	.01	-.02	-.03	.07
Detained Citizen	.09	.02	.09	.09	.02	-.02
Took to Station	.18	.00	-.02	.01	.00	.07
Lectured	.01	.00	.02	.01	-.09	.00
Settled Argument	-.02	.12	.03	.00	.00	.03
Comforted or Reassured	-.09	.00	-.03	.15	.03	.04
Talked Person into Leaving	-.03	.06	.05	.08	.01	.04
Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	.07	.04	.08	.01	-.04	-.10
Transported to Another Location	-.11	-.03	.00	-.02	-.06	-.02
Number of Encounters	(347)	(350)	(428)	(489)	(487)	(509)

Table 7

Impact of Patrol Actions on Effectiveness Ratings:
Estimates of Explained Variance in Single Citizen Encounters

	Undirected Actions	Directed Actions	Other-Directed Actions	Commonality	Total
Interpersonal Conflict					
Emotional State	.241 (.240)	.251 (.250)	—	-.001	.491
Demeanor	.148 (.132)	.351 (.335)	— —	-.016	.483
Satisfaction	.206 (.216)	.244 (.254)	— —	.010	.460
Property Crime					
Emotional State	.017 (.034)	.149 (.166)	— —	.017	.183
Demeanor	.094 (.171)	.362 (.439)	— —	.077	.533
Satisfaction	.052 (.043)	.190 (.181)	— —	-.009	.233
Disturbances					
Emotional State	.050 (.134)	.252 (.336)	— —	.084	.386
Demeanor	.045 (.185)	.261 (.401)	— —	.140	.446
Satisfaction	.024 (.080)	.285 (.341)	— —	.056	.365
Domestic Conflict					
Emotional State	.084 (.279)	.348 (.543)	— —	.195	.627
Demeanor	.100 (.168)	.470 (.538)	— —	.068	.638
Satisfaction	.097 (.065)	.599 (.567)	— —	-.034	.664

Table 8

Impact of Patrol Actions on Effectiveness Ratings:
Estimates of Explained Variance in Multiple Citizen Encounters

	Undirected Actions	Directed Actions	Other-Directed Actions	Commonality	Total
Interpersonal Conflict					
Emotional State	.033 (.028)	.054 (.098)	.077 (.116)	.036	.200
Demeanor	.079 (.050)	.078 (.152)	.121 (.180)	.048	.326
Satisfaction	.025 (.046)	.146 (.178)	.061 (.073)	.031	.263
Property Crime					
Emotional State	.024 (.043)	.078 (.115)	.060 (.095)	.042	.204
Demeanor	.116 (.144)	.037 (.092)	.035 (.075)	.055	.243
Satisfaction	.053 (.103)	.061 (.119)	.036 (.086)	.065	.215
Disturbances					
Emotional State	.081 (.115)	.090 (.121)	.062 (.105)	.046	.279
Demeanor	.053 (.079)	.111 (.183)	.092 (.159)	.087	.343
Satisfaction	.042 (.037)	.191 (.223)	.072 (.088)	.021	.326
Domestic Conflict					
Emotional State	.055 (.096)	.038 (.066)	.059 (.099)	.049	.201
Demeanor	.084 (.102)	.060 (.078)	.094 (.117)	.029	.267
Satisfaction	.016 (.014)	.194 (.211)	.090 (.111)	.018	.318

Table 9

Effective and Ineffective Police Actions in Single Citizen Encounters: Citizen Satisfaction

	Effective Actions		Ineffective Actions	
Interpersonal Conflict	Questioned Citizen About Problem	(.48)	Arrested	(-1.04)
	Settled Argument	(.32)	Detained Citizen	(-.57)
	Contacted Supervisor	(.28)	Provided Other General Action	(-.44)
	Contacted Department	(.26)	Talked Citizen into Leaving	(-.41)
	Transported to Another Location	(.18)	Threatened	(-.17)
	Wrote Official Report	(.17)	Medical Assistance	(-.16)
	Lectured	(.14)	Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	(-.16)
Property Crime	Service Activity	(.87)	Nonarrest Force	(-1.51)
	Read Rights to Citizen	(.48)	Called for Backup	(-.73)
	Comforted Citizen	(.29)	Transported to Another Location	(-.43)
	Provided Information	(.29)	Arrested	(-.39)
	Provided Other General Action	(.28)	Lectured	(-.33)
	Provided Additional Assistance	(.14)	Took to Station	(-.26)
	Searched Premises	(.10)	Ticketed	(-.24)
Disturbances	Settled Argument	(.73)	Medical Assistance	(-1.13)
	Traffic Alternatives	(.72)	Ticketed	(-.79)
	Referred	(.42)	Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	(-.46)
	Comforted Citizen	(.35)	Nonarrest Force	(-.43)
	Service Activity	(.25)	Arrest-Oriented Force	(-.31)
	Provided Additional Assistance	(.24)	Called for Backup	(-.31)
	Provided Information on Alternatives	(.17)	Threatened	(-.29)
Domestic Conflict	Detained	(1.00)	Arrest	(-1.18)
	Investigation	(.59)	Transported to Another Location	(-.56)
	Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	(.53)	Provided Information	(-.31)
	Contacted Supervisor	(.49)	Questioned Citizen: Asked for ID	(-.29)
	Comforted Citizen	(.48)	Referred	(-.23)
	Provided Additional Assistance	(.45)	Arrest-Oriented Force	(-.22)
	Provided Information on Alternatives	(.32)	Took Notes	(-.20)

Table 10

Effective and Ineffective Police Actions in Multiple Citizen Encounters: Citizen Satisfaction

	Effective Actions		Ineffective Actions	
Interpersonal Conflict	Ticketed Other Citizen	(.88)	Ticketed	(-1.06)
	Took Citizen to Station	(.68)	Arrested	(-.97)
	Read Rights	(.45)	Arrested Other Citizen	(-.24)
	Took Other Citizen to Station	(.30)	Nonarrest Force	(-.23)
	Medical Assistance to Another	(.29)	Lectured	(-.21)
	Medical Assistance	(.23)	Additional Assistance to Another	(-.14)
	Provided Additional Assistance	(.23)	Service Activity	(-.14)
	Comforted	(.23)		
Property Crime	Nonarrest Force Against Another	(.93)	Nonarrest Force	(-.50)
	Detained Other Citizen	(.52)	Arrest	(-.32)
	Talked Citizen into Leaving	(.40)	Transported Another Elsewhere	(-.29)
	Talked Another into Leaving	(.36)	Took to Station	(-.26)
	Comforted	(.23)	Took Another to Station	(-.25)
	Asked Citizen to Sign Complaint	(.22)	Service Activity	(-.21)
	Arrested Other Citizen	(.22)	Asked Another to Sign Complaint	(-.20)
Disturbances	Arrest of Another Citizen	(.81)	Arrest	(-1.25)
	Took Citizen to Station	(.51)	Nonarrest Force Against Another	(-.76)
	Referred	(.36)	Nonarrest Force	(-.63)
	Arrest-Oriented Force	(.35)	Read Rights	(-.46)
	Detained Other Citizen	(.35)	Arrest-Oriented Force Against Another	(-.44)
	Detained	(.25)	Ticketed Other Citizen	(-.37)
	Drew Weapon	(.24)	Searched Other Citizen	(-.36)
Domestic Conflict	Took Another to Station	(.51)	Nonarrest Force	(-.84)
	Arrest-Oriented Force Against Another	(.38)	Nonarrest Force Against Another	(-.62)
	Searched Citizen	(.35)	Detained	(-.47)
	Settled Argument	(.35)	Arrested	(-.45)
	Referred	(.24)	Ticketed Other Citizen	(-.43)
	Comforted	(.22)	Searched Other Citizen	(-.33)
	Provided Information	(.14)	Transported Another Elsewhere	(-.32)
	Threatened Others	(.14)	Threatened	(-.32)

END