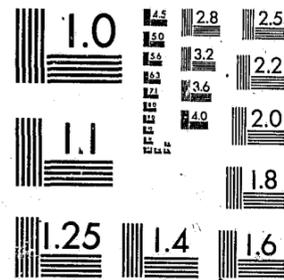


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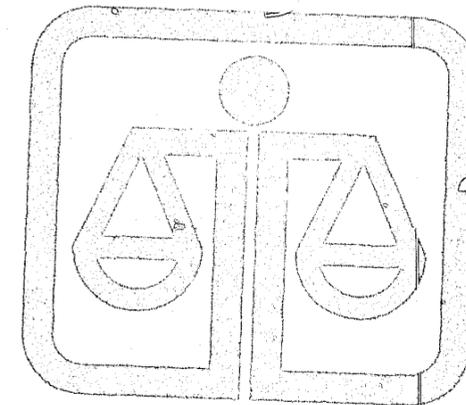
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DRAFT REPORT
ARREST CONVICTABILITY AS A MEASURE OF
POLICE PERFORMANCE
- PART TWO -
ANALYSES OF SURVEY DATA

- PART THREE -
CONCLUSIONS

AUGUST 15, 1980 (R)



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PART TWO
ANALYSES OF SURVEY DATA

IV. SURVEY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes key elements of the survey design and methodology: the goals of the surveys, questionnaire development, questionnaire content, interviewer recruitment and training, respondent selection and recruitment, interviewing, protocol, and data preparation and coding procedures. Chapter III describes the statistical process by which officers to be surveyed were selected.

A. GOALS OF THE SURVEYS

The surveys of police officers had two principal goals:

(1) To determine the attitudinal and perceptual variables that discriminate LCR officers from HCR officers. Seven sets of variables that were potential discriminators of the two types of officers were identified: (a) background and demographic characteristics, including career patterns and experience; (b) general attitudes toward job and career, including level of satisfaction and perceived improvement or deterioration in job satisfaction; (c) perceptions of the organizational context within which the officer operates and processes his or her arrests, e.g., support from the department, the prosecutor's office, the courts, and the community, and the reward system generated by each of these components; (d) the expansiveness or narrowness of the officer's role concept, most notably, whether the officer believes that making arrests that result in conviction is important; (e) attitudes toward arrests; (f) perceptions of the value of physical and testimonial evidence; and (g) level of knowledge about routine procedures.

(2) To identify and explicate the special techniques employed by HCR officers when they make arrests and perform activities ancillary to making arrests. From a wide-ranging review of investigative activities, five emerged as interview topics: (a) collecting physical evidence; (b) locating witnesses and maintaining witness cooperation; (c) interrogating/interviewing suspects; (d) working with the prosecutor; and (e) working with informants.

The goals of the surveys were deliberately broad-ranging. Since the phenomenon under study is relatively unexplored, its investigation required an approach with considerable breadth rather than one that sharply focused on a few issues. The purpose of this general line of inquiry was to produce information for training programs regarding procedures that might enhance the quality of arrests.

B. QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT

Two questionnaires were developed. The first (Part A) addressed the attitudinal and perceptual issues included under the first goal discussed above. It was highly structured, designed for self-administration, and in almost all instances, required that respondents give short, readily codable replies. The second questionnaire (Part B) probed the techniques employed by the officers in arrest and related activities. This instrument consisted mostly of open-ended questions and was designed to be administered by an interviewer eliciting in-depth descriptions of the activities that officers engage in before, during, and after making arrests. (Copies of the questionnaires are included as Appendixes A and B, respectively.)

Development of the two questionnaires was based on both a literature review and in-depth exploratory interviews with a small, carefully drawn sample of police officers from Washington, D.C. Although there is a substantial literature dealing with the attitudes of police officers, there is, nevertheless, a dearth of empirical studies of the relationship between officers' attitudes and their performance or productivity. Thus, the overall conceptual framework for the questionnaire on attitudes and perceptions was derived primarily from the social-psychological literature on work, job satisfaction, and job performance.*

Exploratory in-depth interviews with 10 police officers (both detectives and patrolmen) from the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) aided the development of both questionnaires. These interviews, which lasted almost two hours each and were tape recorded, were relatively unstructured and sought to determine the officers' attitudes about such general issues as their job, their fellow officers, and their supervisors, as well as the specific procedures and techniques they employed during various arrest and arrest-related activities.**

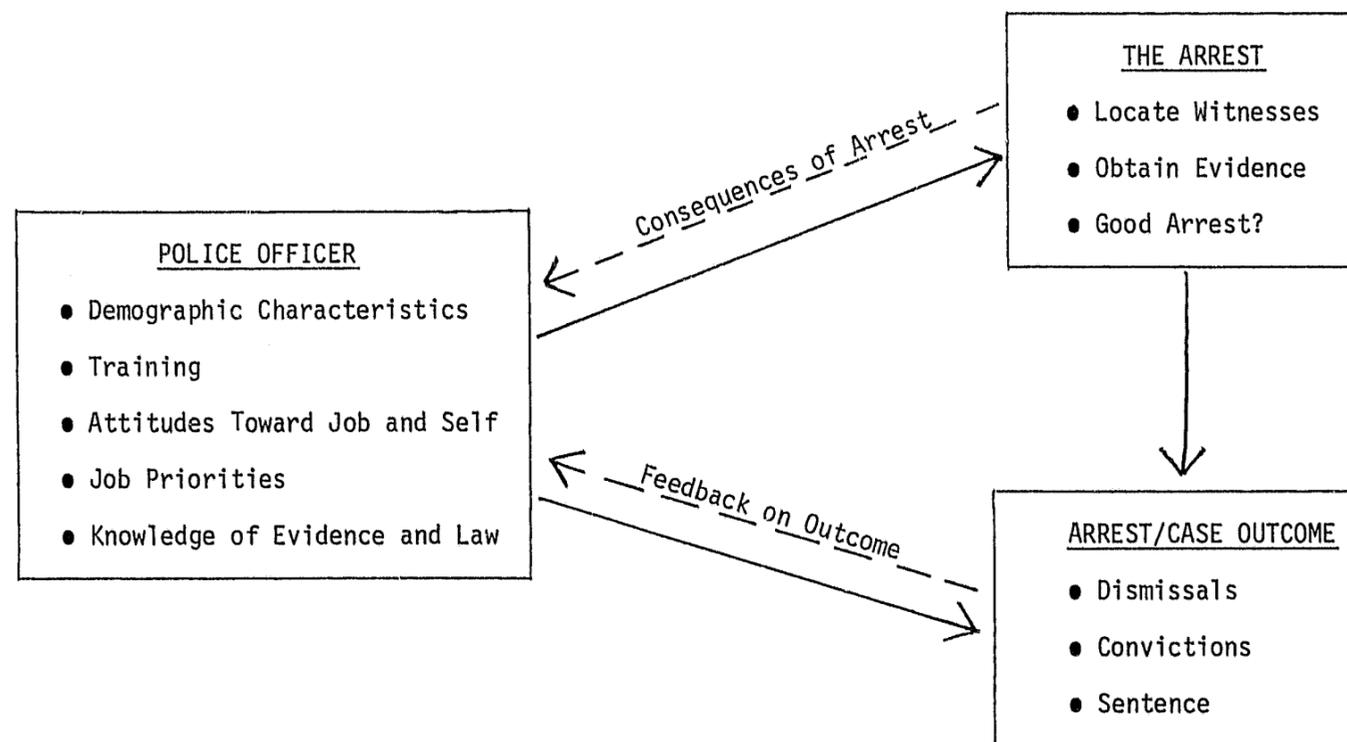
* A comprehensive review of this literature appears in Katzell, et al. (1975).

** In addition, a battery of items was developed that tapped basic knowledge of routine procedures by adapting questions from "Training Keys" provided by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP). A set of items on the relative value of particular pieces of testimonial and physical evidence was created by consulting prosecutors and then pretested on a small sample of prosecutors.

Various drafts of the questionnaires were reviewed by project consultants. The final draft of each was pretested on 12 officers drawn from the Metropolitan Police Department and a neighboring suburban police force (Arlington County, Virginia). The objective of the pretest was to assess the comprehensibility of the wording of the questions, the organization of the questionnaires, the adequacy of the format, and whether the perceived content of each item was the content intended. Each pretest was conducted in two sessions, which reflected the manner in which the actual field work would be conducted. Respondents were asked to complete the first questionnaire and to note any difficulties they encountered. The supervisor of the pretest then reviewed the questionnaire with the respondent, probing for problems in the four areas noted above. Next, respondents were interviewed using the second, largely open-ended instrument. Interviewers noted any problems encountered either by the respondent or themselves in the course of the interview. The second session concluded with respondent commentary on the questionnaire, after which the interviewer and the pretest supervisor reviewed and evaluated the instrument. Pretests were conducted in two stages. After eight pretests, appropriate revisions were incorporated into the questionnaire. A subsequent pretest assessed the quality of those revisions.

The self-administered questionnaire contained questions about a wide range of factors that might influence an officer's conviction rate. Figure IV.1 presents an overview of the variables inquired about, grouped into three categories: those

FIGURE IV.1. SOME HYPOTHETICAL DETERMINANTS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE



IV-5

concerning the officer, the arrest, and the arrest/case outcome. Each is discussed below.

Regarding officer characteristics, we obtained information about various aspects of each officer's background: age, sex, race, education, and training. We also measured officers' attitudes toward their job and their department and their overall satisfaction with their own performance. Officers were asked to specify their own and their supervisors' criteria for evaluating police performance. Finally, we asked questions to ascertain the officer's knowledge of the law and of police procedures.

Arrest characteristics were measured in terms of the nature of the arrests officers make and whether the officers routinely collect evidence or locate witnesses. We also asked the officers to define the characteristics of a "good arrest" and a "poor arrest," to indicate how often they make good arrests, and to describe the positive and negative consequences of making good arrests and poor arrests.

The arrest or case outcome, i.e., whether an officer's arrests usually end in a conviction and sentence or reach some other disposition, may have important consequences for the officer's motivation and morale. Consequently, we asked officers a number of questions about the means they have for learning the outcomes of their arrests.

As noted above, the open-ended questionnaire was developed through intensive interviews with police and prosecutors to establish what they viewed as important in doing their jobs and what factors were crucial to bringing good cases to the prosecutor. Analysis of those interviews revealed the five basic areas of police work noted in Section A above. Thus, the instrument was designed to elicit responses to questions bearing on those five areas.

In each instance, officers were asked to recall whether they had ever engaged in certain activities relating to those areas, the exact nature of the circumstances, and how they had proceeded. The purpose of the questions was to determine what kinds of circumstances the officers perceived as difficult,

what they did to deal with those difficulties, and what their specific goals and procedures are in doing their jobs. Further, officers were asked to distinguish between what they usually do and what they do in "special" circumstances. A final set of questions asked each officer to relate, in each area of work, what it was, if anything, that he or she did differently from other officers.

C. INTERVIEWER RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

The quality of interviewers is always an important factor in the success of a survey, and particularly so in this study. The activities that the officers were asked to describe in the face-to-face interviews encompassed behaviors that were apt to be "second nature" to them and thus difficult to discuss beyond citation of surface details. Therefore, it was important that interviewers probe respondents, yet do so in a way that did not lead them or make them feel they were being pressed. In addition, we anticipated that interviewer-respondent rapport might be particularly difficult to establish. Some officers might be reluctant to disclose elements of their behavior for fear they may be giving away secrets or revealing procedures that the interviewer might not fully understand or approve of.

For these and related reasons, we assembled a team of eight interviewers who had prior police experience at the local, state, or federal level and prior interview experience. Interviewers attended a two-day training session just prior to the start of field work, during which each interviewer did a "dry run" interview with a police officer, which was then critiqued by the field supervisor.

D. RESPONDENT SELECTION

Using the statistical technique described in Chapter III, we identified officers whose conviction rates were significantly above and below expected levels, controlling for charge seriousness, charge reduction, and the inherent convictability of the arrest mix. The officers were then arranged in a stratified listing.

For Washington, D.C., a sample of 200 respondents was generated. Selection of an initial group of 100 respondents was based on a "blocking" technique, whereby officers with the most similar adjusted conviction rates were paired; from each pair, one was randomly selected for inclusion in the study. Each officer who declined to participate was replaced with his or her paired counterpart. The purpose of this procedure was to eliminate the potential for bias due to a correlation between nonresponse and performance. If both members of a pair declined to participate, they were replaced with an "unused" officer from a pair of officers whose adjusted conviction rates were most similar to those of the pair that declined.

For Manhattan, it was more difficult to identify and locate officers on the basis of data in PROMIS. Therefore, from the stratified sample, we selected the 200 officers with the highest adjusted conviction rates and the 200 with the lowest, double the number selected in Washington. The lists were then integrated into two new lists so that it was impossible for those contacting the officers to distinguish between HCR and LCR officers. The lists were arranged so that sequential extraction beginning at the top would yield a representative

selection of the HCR and LCR officers. The second list was to be used only after the first was completely exhausted.

Even though sampling was done in different ways, a subsequent comparison of the officers actually interviewed revealed that comparable groups were obtained from Washington, D.C., and Manhattan. There were, aside from refusals, no detectable induced sampling biases.

The refusals did not change the sample in any significant way. However, because so large a sampling frame was necessary (20 percent in each tail of the distribution, both in Washington, D.C., and in Manhattan), we were concerned that some of the officers in the sample might not be statistically different from those in the middle, unsampled, group. Using the more rigorous specification described in Chapter III, the respondents were then restratified into three, rather than two, groups for analysis. This insured that the HCR and LCR groups were not only different from each other, but from the middle group as well. In the analysis, we make reference to the middle group (MCR) only when necessary to expand or explicate findings. In general, however, in the self-administered questionnaire portion, for example, significant differences between the HCR and LCR groups were so few that reference to the middle group (i.e., for testing linearity) was not appropriate.

E. RESPONDENT RECRUITMENT

The procedure for recruiting selected respondents varied owing to differences in the nature of participation from the two police departments.

In Washington, D.C., we were not permitted to conduct interviews during on-duty time. Interviews were arranged for off-duty time and the officers were compensated accordingly. Through a grant from the Washington, D.C., Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis, we were able to compensate each officer at the rate of \$35 per interview. To a certain extent, we attribute the high response rate in Washington to the fact that payment was involved.

When arrangements for the payment were completed, a bulletin was circulated to the entire force, with the cooperation of the Chief of Police, announcing the survey and encouraging cooperation among all officers who were asked to participate. Letters were then sent to the 100 officers (at their police department unit addresses), asking them to contact INSLAW to make an appointment to be interviewed. Anyone who did not call for an appointment within four days of receipt of the letter was re-contacted by mail. Further failure to contact INSLAW within two days prompted a phone call to the officer to urge his or her participation. It was only after direct refusal over the telephone that a respondent was categorized as a "refuser" and replaced. Replacement officers were recruited by telephoning them at their precincts.

Through persistent contact and rescheduling, we were able to obtain 99 interviews in Washington, D.C. Of the 99 officers, four were removed from the sample.* Interviewing of MPD

*For reasons inherent in the data base (the apparent re-assignment of badge numbers or misidentification in PROMIS), we determined that four officers had been selected mistakenly. In the case of several, the interviews were curtailed shortly after their initiation when the error was realized. Subsequent efforts to replace them with alternates were unsuccessful.

officers was conducted from September 28, 1979, to October 19, 1979, in the Washington, D.C., offices of INSLAW.

For the Manhattan sample, with the cooperation of the New York City Police Department (NYCPD), INSLAW staff verified the identities of officers (beginning with the highest HCR and the lowest LCR officer). The department then ordered the officers to report to the auditorium at Police Headquarters at an appointed time. Upon arrival, the officers were given the option of participating or not. Due to time constraints (one week on-site and not three as in Washington), refusals and no-shows, 83 written questionnaires were completed and 73 personal interviews were conducted.

An effort was made to reach 100 interviewees with the self-administered questionnaire. Approximately 30 questionnaires were mailed to the NYCPD coordinator who distributed them, a letter of request from INSLAW, and an addressed, postage paid envelope. By this technique an additional 13 questionnaires were returned (of the 13 only 10 were included in the analysis); 93 self-administered questionnaires were eventually subjected to analysis.

F. INTERVIEWING PROTOCOL

The essential features of the interviewing protocol were identical for both Washington, D.C., and Manhattan. Respondents arrived at the interview site and were greeted by a staff member who described the exercise they were about to participate in, emphasized the need for them to be totally candid in their responses, and stressed the confidentiality of their replies. If, at this point, the officer agreed to participate,

he or she was asked to sign a master ledger and was then escorted to a desk to complete the self-administered questionnaire. Once done with this task, the officer was then randomly assigned to an available interviewer who administered the second questionnaire. Upon completion of the interview, the respondent was asked not to divulge the content of the questionnaire to fellow officers, as some of them might be among the study's respondents. At no time were respondents apprised of the specific research objectives of the project, although they were told that we were hoping to learn about officers' attitudes toward police work and methods they employed in performing their jobs. Neither the interviewer nor the respondent was told whether the respondent was a high or low conviction rate officer.

The average duration of the self-administered questionnaire was 60 minutes. On average, the personal interviews lasted 1 to 2 hours; some were as short as 30 minutes and some lasted longer than 3 hours. One of the drawbacks of the interview guide was that, through our desire to probe the officers' responses, many of the questions touched on the same subject. A number of officers voiced discontent at this aspect, and some clearly were anxious to terminate the interview as quickly as possible. In general, however, cooperation was quite good.

G. DATA PREPARATION AND CODING

Data entry for most of the written questionnaire was relatively straightforward in that the responses were a number from, say, one to five or a yes or no. The few open-ended

questions were coded independently by coders who did not know the officers' HCR/LCR status.

The interview guide, however, presented a number of challenging problems. The responses to the interview questions were quite varied. This necessitated use of an elaborate coding technique to reduce the responses to an analyzable dimension. First, we examined a large number of questionnaires and compiled lists of the responses that were being provided. Next, we collapsed similar responses into categories and associated codes with each category. Following the code building, we trained two coders to go through each of the interviews and translate the varied responses into analyzable codes. For approximately 50 of the interviews, both coders coded the same questionnaires. At the conclusion of a coding session, they compared results and resolved as many discrepancies as possible. Following that, they met with the project analyst who reviewed all of the discrepancies (including those already resolved) and made a ruling or interpretation for each one. The aim of this process was to ensure consistency and correctness in the coding. After the first 50 interviews were coded, the number of differences had been reduced to well below 5 percent. Following that, the coders worked separately. Periodic spot checks and open consultation with the analyst ensured that the coding results were consistent and correct.

Coded data were then entered into the computer. A computer program was used to ensure that the data entered were logically consistent. When typographical errors were detected, data were corrected manually by going back to the coding instruments; if

a coding error was detected, the data were corrected by referring back to the questionnaire. This was followed by a 10 percent check of the finished data base against the coding instrument, which revealed virtually no remaining entry errors.

* * *

In the chapters that follow, we describe the analyses performed on the information obtained through these surveys. In Chapters V and VI, we detail the results of the self-administered questionnaires from Washington, D.C., and Manhattan. In Chapter VII, we examine the information obtained in the interviews. Study conclusions are presented in Chapter VIII.

V. WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS: WASHINGTON, D.C.

This chapter presents the findings from the written questionnaires completed by 34 HCR officers and 35 LCR officers from the District of Columbia's Metropolitan Police Department.* When we found differences between the responses of the two groups of officers, we used appropriate tests of statistical significance to determine whether the differences observed were large enough for us to infer that HCR and LCR officers in general (not just those whom we had sampled) differ with regard to that characteristic. The reader should note, however, that the number of officers included in these analyses is small and that only large differences observed between the two groups approach a conventional level of statistical significance. Because of the exploratory nature of this research and the reduced power of the statistical tests, we set our significance criterion at $p \leq .10$ and will discuss trends that are of interest even if they fail to meet this criterion.

A. OFFICERS' BACKGROUNDS

Table V.1 presents demographic characteristics of the HCR and LCR officers. There were few differences between the two groups, and none was statistically significant. Most of the officers were white males between the ages of 26 and 44; the HCR officers were slightly older than the LCR officers. Approximately two-thirds of them were married, and a majority had received at least some college education. A higher

* The remaining 26 officers were in the middle conviction rate (MCR) group and are not discussed in this analysis.

Table V.1

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Officer Characteristic	HCR Officers (N = 34)	LCR Officers (N = 35)
Sex:		
Male	97%*	91%*
Female	3	9
Age:		
18-25	9%	9%
26-30	32	43
31-34	24	17
35-44	35	31
Race:		
Black	27%	29%
White	73	71
Education:		
Less than high school	3%	0%
High school graduate	29	37
Some college	41	51
College graduate	24	9
Graduate degree	3	3
Marital status:		
Single	6%	14%
Divorced/separated	29	11
Married	65	75

*Percents rounded.

proportion of HCR officers (27 percent) had completed college than LCR officers (12 percent).

The majority of both HCR and LCR officers had been members of the Metropolitan Police Department for at least six years. As seen in Table V.2, less than 15 percent of the officers had served in the department for five or fewer years. In addition, almost all of the officers had policed only in the D.C. department. One HCR and one LCR officer indicated that they had previously been police officers in another police department.

The majority of both HCR and LCR officers currently held the rank of patrolman, and two-thirds of them indicated that their current assignments allowed them substantial opportunity for making arrests. Thus, these officers presumably had substantial experience to draw on in completing the questionnaire.

Officers in the HCR group were more likely to have earned a degree in a police-related field, and LCR officers were more apt to be currently seeking a degree in a police-related field or to have taken nondegree courses. For both groups, courses tended to be in the social sciences or the humanities. About one-half of the HCR and LCR officers indicated that they had taken classes at the police academy beyond those that were required.

Despite the fact that the two groups of officers were chosen because of their differing conviction rates, officers of both groups indicated that they had received commendations or awards within the last two years. Moreover, the types of

Table V.2

EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Officer Characteristic	HCR Officers (N = 34)	LCR Officers (N = 35)
Years in the D.C. Police Department		
3-5	13%*	12%*
6-10	56	71
11-15	31	18
Current rank		
Patrolman	53%	60%
Detective	38	23
Unknown	9	17
Received an award or commendation in last two years	79%	74%
Degree in field relevant to police work	24%	14%
Is seeking degree in field relevant to police work	6%	20%
Has taken nondegree courses/classes relevant to police work	15%**	43%**

*Percents rounded

**P<.05

awards given to HCR and LCR officers were the same; most were for outstanding police work--closing cases and making arrests--rather than for rescuing persons or other types of community service. This could mean that LCR officers were perceived by their department to be functioning as well as HCR officers or that criteria other than conviction rate are used to select recipients of these awards. We know, for example, that some awards are given to entire units for their performance. On the other hand, these findings may also indicate a lack of additional recognition for officers who attain higher conviction rates. This issue will be addressed later when we look at officers' perceptions of the consequences for officers who make good or poor arrests.

B. OFFICERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SELVES AND JOB

1. Satisfaction with Job

We had hypothesized that HCR officers might be more satisfied with their jobs as police officers than LCR officers. We found, however, that both HCR and LCR officers tended to be satisfied with their jobs. As shown in Table V.3, approximately three-quarters of both groups reported that they were mostly satisfied with their jobs. Both groups were also likely to report satisfaction with their current assignment. Dissatisfaction with current assignment was a little more likely among LCR officers, but the actual number of officers was quite small.

We also asked the officers whether their job satisfaction had increased, decreased, or remained about the same over the

Table V.3

JOB SATISFACTION OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

	HCR Officers	LCR Officers
<u>Satisfaction with job as a police officer:</u>	<u>% (34)</u>	<u>% (35)</u>
Very/mostly satisfied	74	77
A little more satisfied than dissatisfied	18	17
A little more dissatisfied than satisfied	6	--
Very/mostly dissatisfied	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	101%*	100%
<u>Satisfaction with current assignment:</u>	<u>% (33)</u>	<u>% (33)</u>
Very/mostly satisfied	91	73
A little more satisfied than dissatisfied	3	6
A little more dissatisfied than satisfied	3	6
Very/mostly dissatisfied	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%

*Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

last few years. Eighty-two percent of the HCR officers and 69 percent of the LCR officers reported that their job satisfaction had changed; in each group about half said it had increased and the rest reported a decrease.

A final question in this series asked officers to estimate how satisfied they would be if they were working in a nonpolice job. Approximately one-half of each group said they would be less satisfied, and approximately 40 percent of each group said they did not know how satisfied they would be.

We conclude, therefore, that most MPD officers studied were relatively satisfied with their jobs. No significant differences were found between HCR and LCR officers with regard to job satisfaction.

2. Ratings of Job Quality

Next, we asked the officers to rate the quality of different aspects of their jobs on a five-point scale (from poor to excellent). Table V.4 presents the mean ratings of HCR and LCR officers. We found considerable similarity in the ratings of the two groups. Moreover, the Spearman correlation of the rank order of the ratings by the two groups of officers was +.95, which indicates that items rated highly by HCR officers were also rated highly by LCR officers.

Both groups of officers rated aspects of their own performance, that of their supervisors, and that of evidence technicians most highly. The courts, the prosecutors, and police administrators were rated lowest. Both groups also

Table V.4

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' RATINGS OF THE QUALITY OF ASPECTS OF THEIR JOB, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

ITEM RATED (Presented In Descending Order Of HCR Officers' Ratings)	MEAN RATING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS. (Scale: 1 = Poor, 2 = Fair, 3 = Good, 4 = Very Good, 5 = Excellent)#		
	HCR Officers (N = 34)**	LCR Officers (N = 35)**	p*
The quality of the work done by evidence technicians and the crime lab	3.66	3.41	> .10
The quality of the arrests made by the police in this department	3.29	2.97	> .10
Your immediate supervisor	3.24	2.91	> .10
The quality of the job that uniformed officers in this department are doing	3.18	3.03	> .10
The number of evidence technicians in this department	3.04	3.04	> .10
The quality of the formal police training you received	3.03	2.91	> .10
The degree to which your job uses your skills and talents	2.97	2.94	> .10
The quality of the job that detectives in the department are doing	2.75	2.91	> .10
The ability of the police to control crime	2.68	2.80	> .10
The prosecutor's office's general ability to get convictions	2.68	2.74	> .10
The quality of police equipment (cars, radios, etc.)	2.65	2.49	> .10
The quality of the feedback you receive from your supervisor on how good a job you are doing	2.59	2.34	> .10
The quality of the job that prosecutors in this city are doing	2.44	2.50	> .10
The quality of the job that higher criminal courts in this city are doing	2.36	2.33	> .10
Your salary	2.34	2.39	> .10
The quality of the administration of this department	2.06	1.97	> .10
Community support for the police	2.03	2.03	> .10
The quality of the job that lower criminal courts in this city are doing	1.72	1.88	> .10

*By T-test.

**N's vary slightly from item to item because of missing responses.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of HCR and LCR officers' ratings of the items = +.95.

rated support of the community for the police to be, on the average, poor.

3. Definition of a Successful Officer

We asked each officer to describe the qualities of an extremely successful police officer. Table V.5 presents the responses, broken down into two categories: characteristics related to performance, and those related to the officer's personality.

Knowledge of the job was the performance characteristic most frequently cited by HCR officers. A little less than one-third of both groups listed this as a characteristic of an extremely successful police officer. Sensitivity to the community was the second most frequently given response of HCR officers, but it was the most frequent response made by LCR officers. The latter were twice as likely to list this characteristic as were HCR officers, and this difference was significant at the $p < .05$ level. One important aspect of this finding is its consistency; in several other aspects of the written questionnaire, to be presented, we found a heightened sensitivity among LCR officers to community and citizen-related issues.

About one-third of HCR and LCR officers stated that an extremely successful officer has a good attitude or morale. Officers in the HCR group were more likely than LCR officers to describe successful officers as being dedicated and able to work with others.

After the officers described the characteristics of an extremely successful officer, they were asked to rate their

Table V.5

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' CONCEPTIONS OF AN
EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL POLICE OFFICER,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Characteristics of an Extremely Successful Officer ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N = 34)	LCR Officers (N = 35)
<u>Performance related:</u>		
Knows the job	29	29
Sensitive to the community	24**	54**
Has ability to handle difficulties/crises	18	20
Knows the law	18	9
Has ability to adapt to routine situations	15	20
Has knowledge of the community	12	11
<u>Personality related:</u>		
Has good general attitude or morale	35	29
Dedicated	29*	9*
Team work/able to work with fellow officers	12	0

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.

[†]Percents total more than 100 because of multiple responses per officer.

**p<.05.

*p<.10.

own success as an officer on a six-point scale (from extremely successful to extremely unsuccessful). Three-quarters of the HCR officers (76 percent) stated that they considered themselves to be very or extremely successful, compared with about one-half (54 percent) of the LCR officers, a difference that was significant at the p .10 level. Officers in the LCR group were about twice as likely as HCR officers to call themselves "somewhat successful."

We noted above that HCR officers and LCR officers were about equally likely to say that they were very or mostly satisfied with their jobs as police officers. Our finding that HCR officers perceived themselves to be more successful in their jobs than did LCR officers seemed to imply that job satisfaction was unrelated to an officer's perception of his success, for if successful officers were more satisfied with their jobs we would have found greater satisfaction among HCR officers. We tested this possibility by dividing each group of officers according to whether they had stated that they were very/extremely successful or that they were less successful, and then looked at the percentage of each subgroup who said they were very or mostly satisfied with their jobs as police officers. The results appear on the page. We found no association between an officer's perception of his success and his satisfaction with his job. Officers who believed they were very or extremely successful were as likely to be very or mostly satisfied with their job as officers who believed they were less successful. Apparently, an officer's job satisfaction

within the Metropolitan Police Department is not primarily dependent on personal perceptions of success at the job.

Percentage of Officers Who Reported They Were Very/Mostly Satisfied with Their Jobs, by Perceived Success and Status

Officer Group	Officers who reported they were:			
	Very/Extremely Successful		Less Successful	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
HCR officers	(26)	73	(8)	75
LCR officers	(19)	79	(16)	75

C. JOB PRIORITIES AND EVALUATION CRITERIA

1. Importance of Impressing Various Persons

We asked the police officers to rate how important it was to them that each of eight groups of persons have a favorable impression of them. The ratings were made on a five-point scale (from "not important at all" to "extremely important"). Table V.6 shows how the officers rated each of the eight groups.

The first thing that should be noted is that all groups of persons received a mean rating of 3.00 or higher, which indicates that police officers tended to believe that it was at least "somewhat important" that each of these groups have a favorable impression of them. In addition, we found considerable similarity in the way officers rated each of the groups. None of the differences between the mean ratings of HCR and LCR officers was statistically significant at $p < .10$, although one rating, the importance of impressing citizens,

Table V.6

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE TO THEM OF IMPRESSING VARIOUS PERSONS, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

TO IMPRESS:	MEAN RATING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPRESSING PERSONS AT LEFT (Scale: 1-Not Important at All; 2-Slightly Important; 3-Somewhat Important; 4-Very Important; 5-Extremely Important)		
	HCR OFFICERS (N=34)**	LCR OFFICERS (N=35)**	p*
Uniformed officers you work with	4.29	4.20***	>.10
Your supervisor(s)	4.15	4.00	>.10
Citizens	4.03***	4.40	.10
Prosecutors	4.00	3.74	>.10
Detectives you work with	3.82	3.91	>.10
Judges	3.65	3.91	>.10
Evidence technicians/ Crime Lab personnel	3.36	3.51	>.10
Officers of higher rank than your own (who are not your supervisors)	3.15	3.14	>.10

*By T-Test.

**N's vary slightly from item to item because of missing responses.

***In a separate task officers were asked to indicate which of the eight groups of persons were most important to impress. This was the group chosen by the greatest percentage of officers.

was close to statistical significance at the .10 level.

(Normally, we would dismiss this finding because of the large number of statistical tests performed. However, additional information to be presented, plus the finding above that LCR officers were more likely to say that sensitivity to the community was an indication of officer success, leads us to believe that there may be a systematic difference here between HCR and LCR officers).

Both HCR and LCR officers rated uniformed officers they work with, their supervisor, and citizens to be persons whose favorable impression was very important to them.

After each officer rated each of the eight groups of persons, he or she was asked to select the one group of the eight whose favorable impression was most important. The group selected by the most LCR officers was citizens. Thirty-eight percent of the 34 responding LCR officers chose this group. The next most important group was their supervisors, chosen by 24 percent of the LCR officers. Officers in the HCR group were most likely to indicate that the uniformed officers they worked with were the persons they most wanted to have a favorable impression of them. This group was chosen by 44 percent of the 32 responding HCR officers, as compared with 18 percent of the 34 responding LCR officers. Citizens were the second most important group, selected by 19 percent of the HCR officers. Thus, we find again the tendency for more LCR officers to express sensitivity to the community than HCR officers.

2. Factors Important to Police Officers In Evaluating Their Performance

We presented HCR and LCR officers with a list of 16 factors that could be used to evaluate a police officer's job performance and asked them to rate the importance of each factor when they evaluate their own performance. Ratings were again made on a five-point scale (from "not at all important" to "extremely important").

Table V.7 indicates there were few differences in the way the two groups of officers rated the items. In only 2 of the 16 items were the mean ratings of the HCR and LCR officers sufficiently different so as to be statistically significant at the $p < .10$ level. Officers in the LCR group rated the items "avoiding antagonizing the public" and "being highly visible to the public when you're on patrol" as more important than did HCR officers.

We would normally dismiss the importance of these two differences, because with the larger number of statistical tests we conducted, we would expect to find one or two statistically significant differences to occur just by chance. However, because the probability levels for these differences were both $< .05$, and because they both indicate that LCR officers ascribe greater importance to issues related to the public than do HCR officers, we suspect that the two types of officers may in fact differ with regard to their sensitivity to the public.

The 16 factors in Table V.7 are presented in descending order of the mean ratings of the HCR officers. Thus, "making

Table V.7

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE
TO THEM OF VARIOUS FACTORS IN EVALUATING
THEIR OWN PERFORMANCE
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Importance To The Officer Of:	MEAN RATING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS# (SCALE: 1-Not At All Important, 2- Slightly Important, 3-Somewhat Impor- tant, 4-Very Important, 5-Extremely Important)		
	HCR Officers (N=34)**	LCR Officers (N=35)**	P***
Making good arrests	4.76	4.63	>.10
Your ability to testify in court	4.73	4.77	>.10
How thoroughly and care- fully you complete your arrest and offense re- ports	4.44	4.54	>.10
Your ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	4.41	4.66	>.10
Obtaining the cooperation of the witnesses	4.38	4.57	>.10
Maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	4.32	4.34	>.10
Locating witnesses to crimes	4.29	4.46	>.10
Your ability to work well with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	4.18	4.17	>.10
Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	4.06	4.37	>.10
How well you get along with your fellow officers	3.88	3.91	>.10
The number of arrests you make that result in conviction	3.79	3.80	>.10
Avoiding antagonizing the public	3.59	4.09	<.05
Being available for calls	3.59	3.60	>.10
The number of your cases that get cleared by arrest*	3.28	3.31	>.10
The number of felony arrests that you make	3.12	3.00	>.10
Being highly visible to the public when you're on patrol	2.45	3.51	<.01

*Asked only of detectives, for HCR N=18, for LCR N=13.

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information.

***By t-test.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of the item ratings
for HCR and LCR officers =+.94.

good arrests" was the behavior given the highest overall rating of importance by the HCR officers. The mean rating for this item (4.76) indicates that HCR officers tended to rate "making good arrests" to be extremely important when they evaluate their own performance. Officers in the LCR group also rated this behavior highly, although it was the third highest item for them. *

There was considerable similarity in the rank ordering of the mean ratings of the 16 items for the two groups of officers. The five items that received the highest rankings from HCR officers were also among the top five for the LCR officers, although the actual rankings did not always agree exactly. Similarly, the three behaviors that received the lowest ratings from HCR officers were also among the three lowest rated items for the LCR officers. This overall similarity in the relative importance of these items for the two groups of officers is indicated by the Spearman rank order correlation of +.94.

*These ratings could have been influenced by the officers' knowledge that the study concerned officers who make good arrests.

We conclude that both groups of officers tend to ascribe similar degrees of importance to these factors when they evaluate their own job performance. However, we did again find some evidence that LCR officers may be a little more sensitive to the public than HCR officers.

3. Police Officers' Perceptions of Factors Important to Their Supervisors

We presented the HCR and LCR officers with the same list of 16 items that could be used to evaluate an officer's job performance. This time, however, we asked them to rate how important each factor was to their supervisors in rating an officer's job performance. Ratings were made on the same five-point scale. Table V.8 presents these findings.

The two groups of officers rated their supervisors similarly. None of the differences in the mean ratings of importance of the 16 items was statistically significant. In addition, the rank order of the importance of the factors was similar in the two groups (Spearman rank order correlation, +.90). Thus, both groups of officers indicated that it was very or extremely important to their supervisors that the police officer avoid antagonizing the public. This item received the highest mean rating of importance from both HCR and LCR officers.

The two groups of officers also agreed on the behavior that they believed was least important (of the 16) to their supervisors. They indicated that an officer's arrest convictability success is only slightly or somewhat important to supervisors. This is somewhat surprising, in view of the

Table V.8
HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS TO THEIR SUPERVISOR IN EVALUATING OFFICERS' PERFORMANCE,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Importance To The Supervisor Of:	MEAN RATING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS# (SCALE: 1-Not At All Important, 2-Slightly Important, 3-Somewhat Important, 4-Very Important, 5-Extremely Important)		P***
	HCR Officers (N=34)**	LCR Officers (N=35)**	
Avoiding antagonizing the public	4.42	4.24	>.10
Being available for calls	4.18	3.76	>.10
How thoroughly and carefully you complete your arrest and offense reports	4.09	4.18	>.10
Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	4.06	3.84	>.10
The number of felony arrests that you make	3.91	3.70	>.10
The relative number of your cases that get cleared by arrest*	3.89	4.00	>.10
Your ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	3.66	3.32	>.10
Locating witnesses to crimes	3.62	3.30	>.10
Obtaining the cooperation of witnesses	3.59	3.21	>.10
How well you get along with your fellow officers	3.59	3.31	>.10
Making good arrests	3.53	3.45	>.10
Your ability to be highly visible to the public when you're on patrol	3.23	3.31	>.10
Maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	3.03	2.90	>.10
Your ability to testify in court	2.85	2.91	>.10
Your ability to work with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	2.68	2.58	>.10
The number of arrests you make that result in conviction	2.45	2.53	>.10

*Asked only of detectives, for HCR N = 18; for LCR N = 14.

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information.

***By t-test.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of the item ratings for HCR and LCR officers = +.90.

fact that we had selected the two groups of officers specifically because they differed with regard to their conviction rates.

4. Comparison of Officers' Self-ratings With Their Perceptions of Their Supervisors' Ratings

For both HCR and LCR officers, we found little similarity between the rank order of the mean ratings of importance of the 16 items to themselves and to their supervisors. For example, "making good arrests" was the most important item to HCR officers, but it was the eleventh item in their ratings of their supervisors. Similarly, LCR officers rated "their ability to testify in court" first, but they rated it thirteenth for their supervisors. The negative Spearman rank order correlations for the rank order of officers' self-ratings and their ratings of their supervisors (-.24 for HCR officers; -.10 for LCR officers) illustrate this trend for officers to rate the importance of these items differently for their supervisors than for themselves. In the next section, we present findings from a small survey of MPD field supervisors and contrast these results with those obtained from the officers.

5. Supervisors' Actual Ratings and Their Relationship To Officers' Ratings

During the week in which police officers were completing the written questionnaire, we conducted telephone interviews

with police supervisors in each of the MPD precincts in the District of Columbia.*

Twelve of the 13 supervisors interviewed were men. All were between the ages of 30 and 44 (mean = 38.6 years). They had served in the department for an average of 15.7 years and had held supervisory positions for at least 4 years (mean = 8.0 years). Five were lieutenants and 8 were sergeants. Thus, the persons interviewed had considerable police experience on which to draw in answering the interviewer's questions.

The structured telephone interview asked the supervisor for information about (a) his or her ratings of the importance of various criteria for evaluating police officers' job performance and (b) his or her experience in the police department.

Each supervisor was asked to rate the importance of the 16 performance criteria when they evaluate their officers' job performance. These 16 items and the rating scales used were identical to those that the police officers had employed. (Minor changes in wording were made to convert the items from self-ratings to supervisors' ratings.) The mean ratings of the

*The interviewer explained the purpose of the study and requested permission to conduct the interview. Nonsupervisory personnel and persons who worked primarily in the office were excluded from the survey. Cooperation was enhanced by the fact that INSLAW had circulated a memo throughout the department describing the study and stressing the department's approval.

Because no formal sampling procedures were used, the results of this survey may not be representative of all MPD supervisory personnel in the District of Columbia.

importance of each item to 12 of the supervisors are presented in Table V.9.*

All of the items were considered to be at least somewhat important (on the average) to the supervisors. The most important item was the officer's ability to testify in court. This was followed by items concerned with the officer's making good arrests and with the thorough completion of arrest and offense reports. The items of least importance to the supervisors were the number of arrests that an officer makes and the number of a detective's cases that are cleared by arrest.** Table V.10 compares the officers' ratings of the importance of the items to themselves and to their supervisors and the supervisors' ratings. To facilitate comparison among the ratings, only the rank order of the mean importance of each item is presented. The mean ratings for each of the items have been presented in the prior tables. It should be noted that we do not know how many of the 12 supervisors actually supervised the police officers who completed questionnaires.

It is clear from Table V.10 that the police officers' perceptions of the importance of these factors to supervisors do not agree with the supervisors' ratings of the items. For

*One supervisor was dropped from study because he indicated that the criteria did not apply to the type of officers he supervised.

**Since supervisors knew the present study was concerned with arrest and convictability, it is not surprising that they rated the quantity of arrests to be of low priority.

Table V.9

SUPERVISORS' OPINIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS IN EVALUATING OFFICERS' JOB PERFORMANCE, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Importance To The Supervisor Of:	MEAN RATING OF SUPERVISORS (N=12)* (Scale: 1-Not At All Important, 2-Slightly Important, 3-Somewhat Important, 4-Very Important, 5-Extremely Important)
Their ability to testify in court	4.75
Their making good arrests	4.58
How thoroughly and carefully they complete their arrest and offense reports	4.58
Their ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	4.50
Their obtaining the cooperation of witnesses	4.42
Their maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	4.33
Their ability to work with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	4.33
Their locating witnesses for crimes	4.17
Avoiding antagonizing the public	3.83
The number of arrests they make that result in conviction	3.75
Their arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	3.67
How well they get along with their fellow officers	3.58
Being highly visible to the public when they are on patrol	3.50
Their being available for calls	3.42
The number of arrests that they make	3.33
The number of their cases that get cleared by arrest	3.17

*Only six supervisors responded to the item, "The Number Of Their Cases That Get Cleared By Arrest." This item was applicable only to persons who supervised detectives. All 12 supervisors rated the other items.

Table V.10

COMPARISON OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS TO HCR AND LCR OFFICERS AND TO THEIR SUPERVISORS WHEN THEY EVALUATE OFFICERS' JOB PERFORMANCE, D. C. Metropolitan Police Department

(Each column presents the rank order of 16 items, according to the mean rating of importance*: 1=item which received the highest mean rating. The average rank is presented for tied items.)

Officer's Ability Or Performance	HCR OFFICERS' RATINGS		SUPERVISORS' RATINGS	LCR OFFICERS' RATINGS	
	(1) Importance To Officer	(2) Perceived Importance To Supervisor	(3) Importance To Supervisor	(4) Importance To Officer	(5) Perceived Importance To Supervisor
Making good arrests	1	11	2.5	3	8
Ability to testify in court	2	14	1	1	13
How thoroughly and carefully the officer completes arrest and offense reports	3	3	2.5	5	2
Ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	4	7	4	2	5
Obtaining the cooperation of the witnesses	5	9.5	5	4	12
Maintaining the cooperation of the witnesses	6	13	6.5	8	14
Locating witnesses to crimes	7	8	8	6	11
Ability to work well with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	8	15	6.5	9	15
Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	9	4	11	7	4
How well officer gets along with fellow officers	10	9.5	12	11	9.5
The number of arrests that result in conviction	11	16	10	12	16
Avoiding antagonizing the public	12.5	1	9	10	1
Being available for calls	12.5	2	14	13	6
The number of cases that get cleared by arrest	14	6	16	15	3
The number of felony arrests that officer makes	15	5	15	16	7
Being highly visible to the public when on patrol	16	12	13	14	9.5

*Caution should be utilized in interpreting the ranks presented. The item ranked 16th in each column received the lowest mean rating of importance. This does not necessarily signify that this item was of no importance to the respondents. To discover the actual mean level of importance given to an item, the reader should consult Tables V.7, V.8 and V.9.

SPEARMAN RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS OF THE RANK ORDER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ITEMS

Importance to Officer vs. Perceived Importance to Supervisor: HCR Officers (Column 1 vs. 2) = -.24; LCR Officers (Column 4 vs. 5) = -.10.

Importance to Officer vs. Actual Importance to Supervisors: HCR Officers (Column 1 vs. 3) = +.94; LCR Officers (Column 4 vs. 3) = +.93.

Perceived Importance to Supervisor vs. Actual Importance to Supervisor: HCR Officer (Column 2 vs. 3) = -.31; LCR Officers (Column 5 vs. 3) = -.22.

example, both HCR and LCR officers indicated that supervisors were most concerned with avoiding antagonizing the public. In contrast, this item was ranked ninth by the supervisors. Similarly, supervisors indicated that an officer's ability to testify in court was very important (this received the highest mean rating of importance), but HCR and LCR officers indicated that this factor was of relatively less importance to the supervisor (this item was ranked fourteenth and thirteenth by HCR and LCR officers, respectively, when they rated importance to their supervisors). Thus, not only was there little agreement between the officers' perceptions of what was important to their supervisors and what the supervisors said was important, but there often was a tendency for the two sets of ratings to be opposite to each other. This inverse relationship is reflected in the negative Spearman rank order correlations of the two sets of rankings (-.31 for HCR officers; -.22 for LCR officers).

This discrepancy between officers' views of their supervisors and supervisors' views of themselves takes on added significance when one looks at the officers' ratings of the importance of these factors to themselves. As can be seen in Table V.10, officers' self-ratings agree substantively with supervisors' self-ratings. The same five items that received the highest mean ratings of importance from HCR and LCR officers were also among the top five items rated by the supervisors. Similarly, the four lowest rated items for the three groups is the same, although the rankings did not always

agree exactly. This similarity in the self-ratings of officers and supervisors' ratings is underscored by the Spearman rank order correlations between the two sets of ratings, +.94 for HCR officers, +.93 for LCR officers.

These findings present a picture of misperception of supervisors by police officers. (Had we expected these results, we would have asked police supervisors to rate the importance of these items to their officers in order to discover whether supervisors accurately perceive their officers.) Both police officers and their supervisors tend to assign similar degrees of importance to these factors for evaluating officers' performance. However, police officers perceive that their supervisors evaluate their performance differently than they do, and often in a manner antithetical to their own.

A number of theories in the field of social psychology hold that confusion can cause tension in individuals (Festinger, 1957; Aronson, 1968). It would be consistent with such theories to suggest that police officer morale could be adversely affected by the types of disparities we have uncovered. We know from other areas of our survey that officers indicated general satisfaction with their jobs. However, we did not ask them extensively about their feelings toward their supervisors. Further research could indicate whether communication problems do in fact exist between police officers and their supervisors in the District of Columbia and the steps that could be taken to reduce them. Unfortunately,

these findings apply to both HCR and LCR officers and do not, therefore, shed light on why the two groups differ with regard to their conviction rates.

D. KNOWLEDGE OF EVIDENCE AND LAW

We asked HCR and LCR officers to state their opinions about the value of different types of evidence for obtaining a conviction. We did this by presenting each officer with short descriptions of nine cases. After each description, the officer was asked to choose which of two types of evidence, if available, would be more valuable to the prosecutor. The officer could also indicate that it was impossible to choose between the two alternatives or that he did not know the answer. For example, after reading a brief description of an assault case, officers were asked whether (1) or (2) below would be more valuable evidence:

(1) Photographs of an assault victim's injuries and wounds

OR

(2) A written, signed statement from the victim, giving the facts of the assault

(3) Impossible to choose--they're equally valuable

(4) Don't know.

The HCR and LCR officers answered the nine questions similarly, and there were no statistically significant differences between their responses. In an attempt to examine whether the two groups of officers differed in terms of their responses to a group of these questions, we presented these

same questions to a group of 16 prosecutors in the District of Columbia. There were six questions for which at least 80 percent of the prosecutors had selected the same response. We arbitrarily called an officer's answer "correct" if it agreed with the answer chosen by 80 percent of the prosecutors. We found no differences between HCR and LCR officers when we counted the number of questions that had been answered "correctly" (HCR officers had a mean score of 3.9; LCR officers, 3.5).

To obtain an index of the job-related knowledge of the officers, we adapted 10 questions for our questionnaire from IACP "Training Keys." The questions covered such topics as the existence of probable cause, police procedures, crime definitions, and the admissibility of evidence in court. We found that both groups of officers answered the items similarly, and each question was answered correctly by at least half of each group. When we counted the total number of questions answered correctly by HCR and LCR officers, we again found no differences. Listed below is the distribution of the officers' scores on the test.

Number of Correct answers (of 10)	HCR officers (N = 34)	LCR officers (N = 35)
2-4	3%	3%
5-7	41	29
8-10	56	69
Mean number correct:	7.7	8.0

*Percentages rounded

We conclude that HCR and LCR officers did not differ significantly from each other with regard to their ability to answer

these 10 questions correctly. Of course, it is possible that the two groups might differ in their knowledge of other areas not covered in our brief test. Moreover, it is conceivable that both HCR and LCR officers do possess the same degree of knowledge but behave differently in the field. Police behaviors are examined in Chapter VII.

E. ARREST CHARACTERISTICS

1. Definition of Good and Poor Arrests

One factor that might differentiate HCR officers from LCR officers would be their conception of a good arrest. We therefore asked the officers to specify in their own words their understanding of the terms "good arrest" and "poor arrest." Table V.11 presents the officers' characterizations of a good arrest.

Table V.11

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' CONCEPTION OF A "GOOD ARREST"
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

A Good Arrest Is ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
Obtaining a conviction	38	20
Collecting physical evidence	29	32
Lawful-has probable cause	29	32
Arresting the right person	29	29
Lawful	12	11
Locating witnesses	9	11

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.

[†]Percents total more than 100 because of multiple responses per officer.

The HCR officers were almost twice as likely as LCR officers to characterize a good arrest as one that results in a conviction. Although this difference was not statistically significant, it is in the direction one would predict, given the fact that the two groups were defined by their differing conviction rates.

Both groups of officers were about equally likely to list the five other items appearing in Table V.11. Almost one-third said that collecting physical evidence, having probable cause, and arresting the right person were characteristics of a good arrest. A smaller percentage of officers mentioned that the arrest should be lawful (without specifying what this meant) or one in which witnesses are located.

Table V.12 presents the officers' definitions of a poor arrest. Almost one-half of both groups stated that a poor arrest was one that was unlawful. Most of the characteristics of poor arrests are the obverse of the characteristics of good arrests already presented. Although not obtaining a conviction was perceived to be an indicator of a poor arrest, only 12 percent of the HCR officers mentioned it. A small proportion of the HCR officers indicated that there was no such thing as a poor arrest. None of the LCR officers stated this.*

* We examined whether officers who defined a good arrest as one that leads to a conviction were more likely to obtain witnesses than officers who did not mention this criterion. The two groups were equally likely to obtain witnesses.

Table V.12
HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' CONCEPTION OF A POOR ARREST,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

A Poor Arrest Is ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
Unlawful	47	46
Not collecting physical evidence	21	17
Arresting the wrong person	15	20
Complainant not willing to follow through	12	14
Arrest serves officer's self-interest	12	20
Not obtaining a conviction	12	6
There is no such thing	12	0

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.

[†]Percents total more than 100 because of multiple responses per officer.

2. Consequences of Good/Poor Arrest

One reason why HCR officers have higher conviction rates may be that they perceive different consequences for making good or poor arrests than do LCR officers. We therefore asked each officer to indicate the positive and negative consequences for officers who generally make good or poor arrests.

As shown in Table V.13, the most frequently listed positive consequence of a good arrest was the self-satisfaction that officers said they get from making good arrests. Forty-one percent of the HCR officers and 46 percent of the LCR officers said this. The next most frequently indicated response was

recognition received from superiors, followed by the recognition received from fellow officers. The LCR officers were twice as likely as HCR officers to list "recognition by the community" again showing a heightened sensitivity to citizens' responses. A small percentage of both groups of officers (15 to 20 percent) indicated that there were no positive consequences for making a good arrest or that they did not know of any. For the most part, both groups of officers perceived similar types of positive consequences stemming from good arrests.

Table V.13

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE GOOD ARRESTS, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Positive Consequence ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
Self satisfaction	41	46
Recognition by superiors	24	26
Recognition by fellow officers	15	20
Reputation	12	3
Recognition by community	9	20
There are no positive consequences or does not know of any.	15	20

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.

[†]Percents total more than 100 because of multiple responses.

Table V.14 presents officers' perceptions of the negative consequences for officers who make poor arrests. Each group tended to perceive similar consequences, except that the HCR officers were somewhat more sensitive to the effect of poor arrests on their reputations. Again, LCR officers evidenced a slightly higher sensitivity to the community than did HCR officers. Between one-fourth and one-third of the officers indicated that there were no negative consequences or they did not know of any.

Table V.14

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE POOR ARRSTTS, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Negative Consequence ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
Reputation suffers	21	3
Officer may be liable for damages	18	23
Held in low esteem by fellow officers	18	26
Held in low esteem by supervisor	12	23
Held in low esteem by prosecutor	9	17
Held in low esteem by community	6	14
There are no negative consequences or does not know of any.	33	26

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.

[†]Percents total more than 100 because of multiple responses.

After the officers specified their conception of a good arrest and a poor arrest, they were asked to rate the quality of their own arrests over the past several years. (A six-point scale, with one representing "poor arrests" and six representing "good arrests" was used). Ninety-four percent of each group of officers indicated that their arrests rated a five or a six. This is understandable given the variety of conceptions of good and poor arrests presented in Tables V.11 and V.12, respectively. We would expect the two groups of officers to have different self-ratings only if most of the officers defined good arrests in terms of the conviction rates obtained. This clearly was not the case.

We also asked each officer to estimate how many adult felony arrests made in his unit were poor arrests. Four percent of the 28 responding LCR officers and 34 percent of HCR officers ($\chi^2 = 6.86$, significant at $p < .01$) indicated that virtually none of the arrests made in their units were poor. This is consistent with our finding, reported above, that HCR officers tended to be more likely to state that there was no such thing as a poor arrest. (Both of these findings will be related to an additional finding in a subsequent section.)

Location of witnesses and obtaining evidence were both characteristics of good arrests indicated by HCR and LCR officers alike. We asked the officers to think about their adult felony arrests or investigations over the past several years and to estimate how often they collected physical evidence or located witnesses. The majority of both groups of officers (HCR, 88 percent; LCR, 79 percent) indicated that they

collected physical evidence at least one-half of the time. The HCR officers, however, were more likely than LCR officers (88 percent compared with 64 percent, significant at $p .10$) to indicate that they located witnesses half the time or more. Thus, one of the factors that might contribute to HCR officers' higher conviction rates may be that they more often locate witnesses.

It seemed reasonable to us that some officers might perceive positive consequences of making poor arrests and negative consequences of making good arrests. Such perceptions could hinder an officer's performance and might explain why LCR officers had lower conviction rates than HCR officers.

Table V.15 presents the officers' perceptions of the positive consequences that exist for officers who generally make poor arrests. Only about one-third of each group of officers indicated that there were positive consequences of making poor arrests. The most frequently reported positive consequence concerned the receipt of better assignments or supervisor approval, usually from an increased quantity of arrests. This is consistent with findings, presented earlier, that indicated that officers perceive that their supervisors place more importance on the number of arrests that officers make than on the number of arrests that result in conviction. Other benefits noted by a small group of officers were increased overtime (usually resulting from more court time) and the fact that poor arrests often would be settled without the officer having to go to court. The results of Table V.15 do

not indicate, however, that LCR officers differ significantly from HCR officers in this regard.

Table V.15

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE POOR ARRESTS, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Positive Consequence ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This: ^b	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
Better assignments, supervisor approval, higher arrests	21%	26%
Increased overtime	9	11
Avoid dealing with court system	6	0
There are none or does not know of any	65	66

^aItems noted by 6 percent or more of HCR or LCR officers.

^bPercents total more than 100 because of multiple responses.

Table V.16 presents officers' perceptions of the negative consequences for officers who make good arrests. Contrary to what one might expect, HCR officers were more likely to indicate that there were negative consequences, which might attest to the candor of this group of officers, although this difference was not statistically significant. A frequently cited negative consequence was the problem that officers face

when they deal with the courts. They often centered on dissatisfaction with case disposition and the penalties given. This finding is consistent with those presented earlier that indicated that HCR and LCR officers rated the quality of the criminal courts relatively low. In addition, it is consistent with a finding, to be presented in the next section, that indicates that HCR officers tended to believe that most persons arrested for felonies were guilty of the offense. Other negative consequences cited by a few officers were loss of leisure time, that good arrests take more time and reduce one's quantity of arrests, and the resulting envy and jealousy of peer and departmental personnel.

3. Officers' Arrest-related Attitudes

We asked each officer to rate his agreement with a number of statements having to do with arrest procedures. Table V.17 presents the mean rankings of items by the groups of officers. Only one of the items tended to be rated differently by HCR officers than by LCR officers. The HCR officers were more likely to agree with the statement that most adults arrested for felonies are guilty of the offense. Seventy-one percent of the HCR officers agreed with this statement, compared with 53 percent of LCR officers.

We thought that this was a finding worth pursuing, because it suggested that HCR officers may start with a "hard line" view toward offenders and believe that officers' actions are usually correct. We therefore looked at whether agreement with this statement was related to the officer's opinion that there

TABLE V.16
HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES
FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE GOOD ARRESTS,
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Negative Consequence ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
Problems of dealing with court system ^b	18%	9%
Loss of leisure time	12	11
Make fewer arrests	6	6
Envy, jealousy or department personnel	3	9
There are none or does not know of any.	29	49

^aItems noted by 6 percent or more of HCR or LCR officers.

^bTime spent in court, dissatisfaction with disposition, dislikes going to court.

was "no such thing as a poor arrest" (see Table V.12) or that virtually none of the arrests made in his department were poor arrests. We found that the four HCR officers who said that there is "no such thing as a poor arrest" agreed with the statement that "most adults arrested for felonies are guilty of the offense." In addition, 9 of the 10 HCR officers who said that virtually none of the arrests in their department were poor agreed with this statement, compared with 13 of the 19

TABLE V.17
HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' AGREEMENT WITH VARIOUS
STATEMENTS ABOUT POLICE PERFORMANCE
D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

STATEMENT ABOUT POLICE PERFORMANCE	MEAN AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENT (Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree)		
	HCR Officers (N = 34)**	LCR Officers (N = 35)**	p*
It's important that the uniformed officer look for physical evidence whenever he/she makes an arrest	4.12	4.29	>.10
Most adults arrested for felonies are guilty of the offense	3.97	3.60	<.10
The people in the community expect the police to make a lot of arrests	3.29	3.20	>.10
This department expects officers to make a lot of arrests each year	3.26	3.29	>.10
This department expects officers to make a large number of arrests that result in convictions	2.82	2.76	>.10
It's not necessary to give a lot of detailed information when filling out an arrest report	2.38	2.03	>.10
If I generally make good arrests, I'm more likely to get promoted	2.29	2.49	>.10
Rules and regulations really don't help when you arrive at a crime scene and make an arrest	2.26	1.97	>.10
If I make a lot of arrests, I'm more likely to get promoted	2.21	2.63	>.10
Police officers shouldn't concern themselves with what happens after arrest--that's the business of the prosecutor and the courts	2.00	2.17	>.10
Arresting someone usually scares them into not committing crimes in the future	1.91	1.91	>.10
The arresting uniformed officer really can't have a responsibility to locate witnesses	1.85	1.77	>.10
There isn't much that police officers can do to help the prosecutor get convictions for the people they arrest	1.68	1.71	>.10
Arrest reports are a waste of time	1.65	1.60	>.10
Once I make an arrest and the offender has been booked, my role in the case should end	1.56	1.54	>.10
Realistically speaking, physical evidence has little value in court	1.32	1.46	>.10

*By T-test

**N's vary slightly from item to item because of missing responses.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of HCR and LCR officers' ratings of the items = +.96.

officers (68 percent) who indicated that a higher proportion of the arrests made in their department were poor. Thus, some HCR officers may hold beliefs that indicate that an officer is always right when he makes an arrest.

Both groups of officers tended to disagree with statements that indicated that a police officer's role in a case ends with the arrest, as well as with statements that played down the importance of obtaining witnesses, of the value of physical evidence, or of completing arrest reports. Interestingly, the officers also tended to disagree with the statement that "arresting someone usually scares them into not committing crimes in the future." Seventy-four percent of the LCR officers and 80 percent of the HCR officers disagreed with this statement. Thus, despite the fact that the officers indicated that they make good arrests, they perceived little deterrent effect. The overall similarity in the ratings of the two groups of officers is reflected in the Spearman rank order correlation of the ratings of +.96.

F. ARREST/CASE OUTCOME

We were also interested in determining whether HCR and LCR officers differed with regard to their opinions on the relative attractiveness of various dispositions for cases involving adult felony arrests. The officers were asked to draw on their experiences over the past several years and their feelings about the guilt or innocence of adult arrestees to decide whether more or fewer cases should result in certain dispositions. Table V.18 presents these findings.

Table V.18

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS ABOUT HOW OFTEN CERTAIN DISPOSITIONS SHOULD OCCUR FOR ADULT FELONY ARRESTS, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Opinion Regarding Disposition of Adult Felony Arrests	Percent of Officers Who Said This			
	HCR Officers (N) %		LCR Officers (N) %	
<u>More cases should:</u>				
Result in conviction and imprisonment	(30)	83	(33)	85
Have trials that result in a guilty verdict	(31)	77	(30)	80
<u>Fewer cases should:</u>				
Plea bargain for a reduced sentence	(31)	84	(34)	74
Plea bargain for a reduced charge	(32)	75	(34)	79
Have trials that result in a not guilty verdict	(28)	75	(30)	77
Be dismissed immediately	(31)	68	(30)	67

The responses of the two groups of officers were again quite similar. Most officers indicated that more cases should result in trials that end in a guilty verdict, and in convictions that are accompanied by imprisonment of the arrestee. The officers wanted to see fewer cases in which plea bargaining resulted in a reduced charge or sentence and fewer cases that were dismissed immediately.

We next gave the officers a list of factors that might affect dismissal rates and asked whether each would increase or decrease the number of dismissals. Table V.19 presents those factors that 50 percent or more of either group of officers indicated would reduce the number of dismissals.

Almost all officers indicated that dismissals could be reduced if citizens more often called the police immediately after a crime was committed. Other factors that were perceived to reduce dismissals were prosecutors who were better skilled and more organized and arresting officers who did a better job locating witnesses.

Officers said that several factors would not decrease the number of dismissals. A majority of each group of officers indicated that having more uniformed officers, detectives, or evidence technicians would not decrease dismissals. This provides an element of contrast with the findings in Table V.19 that show that officers believed that increasing the number of prosecutors or judges might lower the number of dismissals.

One reason why HCR officers have higher conviction rates might be that they are more interested in learning the outcome of the cases for their arrestees. They might use feedback on their dispositions to improve and correct their techniques. We therefore asked the officers to respond to a set of questions about their interest and ability to learn the outcomes of their arrests. As Table V.20 shows, 85 percent or more of HCR and LCR officers indicated that they were very or extremely interested in knowing the outcome of their arrests and/or in knowing the reasons for those outcomes. Moreover, two-thirds

of each group of officers reported that they almost always learn the outcome of their arrests. Thus, we found no evidence to support the possibility that HCR and LCR officers differ with respect to the desire for feedback about case outcomes in court. On the other hand, most officers --74 percent of the HCR and 80 percent of the LCR officers--indicated that they knew of no formal procedures (or were unsure of their existence) in the department for routinely obtaining such feedback.

Table V.19

EVENTS THAT HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' BELIEVE WOULD REDUCE THE NUMBER OF DISMISSALS FOR ADULT FELONY CASES, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Dismissals would be reduced:	Percent of Officers Who Said This:		
	HCR Officers (N = 34)*	LCR Officers (N = 35)*	p**
if citizens more often called the police immediately after a crime was committed	91	86	>.10
if there were more prosecutors to handle the case load	91	73	>.10
if detectives did a better job interviewing witnesses	89	77	>.10
if arresting officers did a better job locating witnesses	82	82	>.10
if prosecutors were more skilled and better qualified	79	81	>.10
if uniformed officers did a better job searching for evidence when they made arrests	78	71	>.10
if the prosecutor's office were better organized	77	73	>.10
if officers and detectives did a better job interrogating subjects	76	76	>.10
if judges had more sympathy for victims of crimes	76	71	>.10
if judges were less concerned with legal technicalities	75	62	>.10
if detectives did a better job searching for evidence	74	76	>.10
if uniformed officers did a better job interviewing victims/witnesses	70	80	>.10
if responding officers did a more thorough and accurate job in filling out crime reports	70	79	>.10
if the responding officers did a better job preserving the crime scene	70	76	>.10
if there were more judges on the bench	70	74	>.10
if detectives and uniformed officers cooperated more with each other at and around the time of arrest	66	68	>.10
if crime lab technicians did a better job processing evidence	61	63	>.10

*N's vary slightly for each item because of missing information.
**By T-test

TABLE V.20

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' INTEREST IN LEARNING THE OUTCOME OF THEIR ADULT FELONY ARRESTS, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department

Officer's Response	Percent of Officers Who Said This	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
<u>Interest in knowing the outcome of arrests/cases:</u>		
Extremely/very interested	85	89
Somewhat interested	9	11
Slightly or not at all interested	6	0
<u>Interest in knowing the reasons for outcome of cases/arrests:</u>		
Extremely/very interested	91	89
Somewhat interested	6	6
Slightly/not at all interested	3	5
<u>Actually learns the outcome of arrests/cases:</u>		
Usually/almost always	68	66
About half the time or less	32	34

VI. WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS: MANHATTAN

In this chapter, we present findings obtained from 31 HCR officers and 33 LCR officers from the New York City Police Department (NYCPD). Because the size of the sample of officers from New York is similar to that from the District of Columbia, the same significance criterion and approach used for the analysis of the D.C. officers' responses will be used here.

A. OFFICERS' BACKGROUNDS

Table VI.1 presents some demographic characteristics of the HCR and LCR officers. Most of the officers from both groups were between the ages of 26 and 44, but HCR officers were somewhat older than LCR officers. All officers but one were male, and most were married. The educational backgrounds of the two groups were also similar, with about three-fourths having attended college. Sixteen percent of the HCR officers, and 15 percent of the LCR officers were college graduates.

The training and experience of HCR and LCR officers were also very similar (see Table VI.2). Eighty-seven percent of each group of officers had spent between 6 and 15 years in the New York City Police Department; only one officer in each group had ever served in another police department. Most officers held the rank of patrolman, and they indicated that their current assignments provided substantial opportunities to make arrests. A majority of both groups of officers had received a commendation or award within the last two years, which suggests that, as in Washington, D.C., conviction rate is not a

Table VI.1

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS,
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Officer Characteristic	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Sex:		
Male	97%*	100%*
Female	3	0
Age:		
18-25	0	0
26-30	13	15
31-34	32	52
35-44	45	27
45-54	10	6
Race:		
Black	13	21
White	81	67
Other	6	12
Education:		
High school graduate	26	21
Some college	55	64
College graduate	13	9
Graduate degree	3	6
Not recorded	3	0
Marital status:		
Single	13	3
Divorced/separated	10	3
Married	74	94
Not recorded	3	0

*Percentages rounded.

criterion for judging officers' performance. For both groups, these awards were primarily for arrest-related events, such as apprehending a person with a gun, rather than for performing special services, like preventing a suicide.

TABLE VI.2
EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS,
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Officer Characteristic	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Years in the Police Department		
3-5	3%*	0%*
6-10	42	42
11-15	45	45
Unknown	10	12
Current rank		
Patrolman	77%	61%
Detective	12	12
Unknown	10	27
Received an award or commendation in last two years	77%	91%
Degree in field relevant to police work	16%	19%
Is seeking degree in field relevant to police work	19%	24%
Has taken nondegree courses/classes relevant to police work	55%	55%

*Percentages rounded.

B. ATTITUDES TOWARD SELVES AND JOB

1. Satisfaction with Job

Table VI.3 presents the officers' rating of their satisfaction with their jobs and current assignments. The HCR officers were almost twice as likely as LCR officers to report that they were very or mostly satisfied with their job as police officers (significant at p .05). Looked at slightly differently, one-third of the LCR officers expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs, compared with only 13 percent of the HCR officers. The HCR officers also tended to be more satisfied with their current assignments than were LCR officers.

Table VI.3
JOB SATISFACTION OF HCR AND LCR POLICE OFFICERS,
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

	HCR Officers	LCR Officers
<u>Satisfaction with job as a police officer:</u>	<u>% (31)</u>	<u>% (33)</u>
Very/mostly satisfied	68**	36**
A little more satisfied than dissatisfied	19	30
A little more dissatisfied than satisfied	3	9
Very/mostly dissatisfied	10	24
<u>Satisfaction with current assignment:</u>	<u>% (31)</u>	<u>% (32)</u>
Very/mostly satisfied	81	63
A little more satisfied than dissatisfied	13	25
A little more dissatisfied than satisfied	3	6
Very/mostly dissatisfied	3	6

*Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

**P<.05.

Approximately two-thirds of both groups indicated that their satisfaction with their jobs had changed in the past several years. Of the HCR officers who reported a change, 90 percent indicated that their satisfaction had decreased. Similarly, 83 percent of the LCR officers who experienced a change in satisfaction said that it had decreased. Thus, although HCR officers were more satisfied with their jobs than LCR officers at the time they completed the questionnaire, both groups of officers were experiencing a decline in their job satisfaction.

Both groups of officers were about equally likely to report that they would be less satisfied if they were working in a nonpolice job (55 percent and 42 percent, respectively). However, 24 percent of the LCR officers said they would be more satisfied working in a nonpolice job, compared with only 3 percent of the HCR officers (significant at $p = .05$ by Fisher's exact test. About one-third of both groups of officers did not know whether their satisfaction would be different in a nonpolice job.

Caution should be used in ferreting the reasons behind the job dissatisfaction found among LCR officers. It is possible that the fact that the LCR officers made arrests that were less likely to result in a conviction contributed to their job dissatisfaction or that some unmeasured factor precipitated both their reduced performance and their job dissatisfaction. However, we do know from results to be presented in the next section that both HCR and LCR officers placed relatively less

importance on conviction rates than on other factors in evaluating their own performance. This may indicate that an officer's perception of his lower conviction rate would not necessarily lead to reduced job satisfaction. Regardless of the specific sources of the LCR officers' dissatisfaction, the fact that a majority of both groups of officers reported a decrease in their job dissatisfaction over the past several years suggests that the morale of New York police officers should receive further study.

2. Ratings of Job Quality

Table VI.4 presents the officers' mean ratings of the quality of different aspects of their jobs. The HCR and LCR officers rated the items similarly. The quality of the work done by evidence technicians and the crime lab and the job done by uniformed officers in the department were rated highest by both groups of officers. Items rated lowest included the officer's salary, the quality of the job done by lower courts, and the quality of the administration of the police department.

Only one difference between the mean ratings of HCR and LCR officers was statistically significant. The HCR officers rated the ability of the police to control crime somewhat higher than did LCR officers. The similarity of most of the ratings of the two groups of officers is reflected in the Spearman rank order correlation of $+0.92$.

3. Definition of an Extremely Successful Officer

Table VI.5 presents HCR and LCR officers' opinions of the characteristics of an extremely successful police officer. The

Table VI.4

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' RATINGS OF THE QUALITY OF ASPECTS OF THEIR JOB, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

ITEM RATED (Presented In Descending Order of HCR Officers' Ratings)	MEAN RATING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS (Scale: 1 = Poor, 2 = Fair, 3 = Good, 4 = Very Good, 5 = Excellent) [#]		
	HCR Officers (N = 31)**	LCR Officers (N = 33)**	p*
The quality of the work done by evidence technicians and the crime lab	3.81	3.94	>.10
The quality of the job that uniformed officers in this department are doing	3.68	3.39	>.10
Your immediate supervisor	3.43	3.13	>.10
The quality of the formal police training you received	3.40	3.27	>.10
The quality of the arrests made by the police in this department	3.27	3.21	>.10
The quality of the job that detectives in the department are doing	2.80	2.69	>.10
The ability of the police to control crime	2.65	2.15	<.05
The quality of the feedback you receive from your supervisor on how good a job you are doing	2.65	2.16	>.10
The degree to which your job uses your skills and talents	2.55	2.18	>.10
The prosecutor's office's general ability to get convictions	2.20	2.25	>.10
The quality of the job that higher criminal courts in this city are doing	2.19	2.19	>.10
The number of evidence technicians in this department	2.18	2.37	>.10
The quality of the job that prosecutors in this city are doing	2.00	1.88	>.10
Community support for the police	2.00	1.75	>.10
The quality of police equipment (cars, radios, etc.)	2.00	1.85	>.10
The quality of the administration of this department	1.90	1.82	>.10
The quality of the job that lower criminal courts in this city are doing	1.48	1.42	>.10
Your salary	1.45	1.45	>.10

*By t-test

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of HCR and LCR officers' ratings of the items = +.92.

Table VI.5

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' CONCEPTIONS OF AN EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL POLICE OFFICER, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Characteristics Of An Extremely Successful Officer ^a	Percentage of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
<u>Performance related:</u> Sensitive to the community	32**	61**
Has knowledge of the community	32	33
Knows the job.	16	18
Has the ability to handle difficulties/crises	13	18
Has ability to adapt to routine situations	13	18
<u>Personality related:</u> Has good general attitude/morale	32	27
Dedicated	19	24
Teamwork/able to work with fellow officers	13	6
Honest	10	9
Calm and reasonable	6	21
Even-handed	3	12

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.
[†]Percentages total more than 100 percent because of multiple responses.

**p<.05.

LCR officers were almost twice as likely as HCR officers (61 percent and 32 percent, respectively; significant at p .05) to indicate that "sensitivity to the community" was a characteristic of an extremely successful police officer. This finding is similar to that reported in Chapter V for MPD officers and suggests that the greater sensitivity toward community-related issues found among LCR officers in Washington, D.C., might also exist among LCR officers in New York. One should note, however, that both groups of New York officers were equally likely to state that "knowledge of the community" was a characteristic of an extremely successful police officer.

The most frequently cited personality characteristic of an extremely successful officer was "having a good attitude or morale." This was indicated by between one-fourth and one-third of both groups of officers. Dedication to the job was also cited by a substantial minority of both groups of officers. The LCR officers were more likely to say that an extremely successful officer was calm or reasonable, but neither this difference nor those involving any of the other personality-related responses was large enough to approach statistical significance.

After listing the characteristics of an extremely successful police officer, each officer rated his perception of his own success. Similar proportions of HCR and LCR officers (58 percent and 45 percent, respectively) rated themselves to be very or extremely successful officers. Most of the remaining officers rated themselves to be somewhat successful.

This contrasts with the results for Washington, D.C., where HCR officers rated themselves to be more successful than did LCR officers. We also found that police officers in the District of Columbia seemed to be satisfied with their jobs, regardless of how successful they perceived themselves to be. The relationship between job satisfaction and perceived success among New York officers was considerably different. The results are displayed below.

Percentage of NYCPD Officers Who Reported They were Very/Mostly Satisfied With Their Jobs, By Perceived Success and Status

Officer Status	Percent of officers who said they were very or extremely satisfied	
	Very/extremely Successful (N) %	Less Successful (N) %
HCR officers	(18) 67	(13) 69
LCR officers	(15) 60*	(18) 17*

*p .05

The HCR officers tended to be satisfied with their jobs, regardless of how successful they perceived themselves to be. In addition, LCR officers who believed themselves to be very or extremely successful were about as likely to be satisfied with their jobs as were HCR officers. It was officers who had low conviction rates and perceived themselves to be relatively less successful who were unlikely to be very satisfied with their jobs. Only 17 percent of such LCR officers said they were very

or extremely satisfied with their jobs.* Thus, the lower job satisfaction that we found for LCR officers is present only among those who perceived themselves to be relatively less successful at their jobs. Both a lower level of performance (as indicated by a reduced conviction rate) and a self-perception of limited success may be necessary to produce dissatisfaction with one's job. It should be noted, however, that the data do not permit us to determine whether the dissatisfaction preceded or followed the LCR officers' lower level of performance.

C. JOB PRIORITIES AND EVALUATION CRITERIA

Table VI.6 presents the officers' mean ratings of the importance to them of impressing various persons. The ratings of the HCR and LCR officers were similar. Both groups indicated that it was very important to them to impress citizens and their supervisors. The HCR officers did ascribe more importance than LCR officers to impressing higher ranking officers and evidence technicians and lab personnel. However, these items were rated lowest by both groups of officers. When asked to specify the one group that it was most important to impress, HCR and LCR officers were most likely to indicate the "uniformed officers you work with." Forty-three percent of the

*The 55 percent of the LCR officers who said they were relatively less successful accounted for 71 percent of all LCR officers who were not very/extremely satisfied with their jobs.

Table VI.6
HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE TO THEM OF IMPRESSING VARIOUS PERSONS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

To Impress:	MEAN RATING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPRESSING PERSONS AT LEFT (Scale: 1 = Not Important At All, 2 = Slightly Important, 3 = Somewhat Important, 4 = Very Important, 5 = Extremely Important)		p ⁺
	HCR Officers (N = 31)**	LCR Officers (N = 33)**	
Citizens	4.19	4.03	> .10
Your supervisor(s)	4.16	4.03	> .10
Uniformed officers you work with	4.07***	3.97***	> .10
Prosecutors	3.77	3.45	> .10
Judges	3.61	3.33	> .10
Detectives you work with	3.60	3.59	> .10
Officers of higher rank than your own (who are not your supervisors)	3.35	2.91	< .10
Evidence technicians/crime lab personnel	3.10	2.52	< .10

*By t-test.

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information

***In a separate task officers were asked to indicate which of the eight groups of persons were most important to impress. This was the group chosen by the greatest percentage of officers.

28 responding HCR officers and 50 percent of the 30 LCR officers said this. "Citizens" was the next most frequently chosen group, selected by 29 percent of responding HCR officers and 20 percent of LCR officers, followed by "supervisors."

Table VI.7 presents officers' opinions of the importance to themselves of various factors when they evaluate their own job performance. We found considerable similarity in the way HCR and LCR officers rated the items. Only 2 of the 16 items were rated differently enough by the two groups of officers to meet our criterion of statistical significance. The HCR officers placed more importance on their ability to work well with the prosecutor after an arrest is made and on avoiding antagonizing the public than did LCR officers. The latter difference was in the opposite direction of that found for officers in the District of Columbia: LCR officers in the District placed more importance on avoiding antagonizing the public than did HCR officers.

Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime and the officer's ability to testify in court were among the highest rated items for both groups of officers. The number of felony arrests that the officer makes and the number of arrests that result in conviction were among the lowest rated items, although the mean ratings indicated that officers did ascribe some importance to both of those factors. The Spearman rank order correlation for the rank order of the ratings of HCR and LCR officers was +.82.

Table VI.8 presents HCR and LCR officers' perceptions of the importance of the same 16 factors to their supervisors when they evaluate officer performance. No statistically significant differences were found between the ratings of the two groups of officers. Both groups thought that supervisors place considerable importance on an officer's arriving quickly

Table VI.7

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE TO THEM OF VARIOUS FACTORS IN EVALUATING THEIR OWN PERFORMANCE,
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

MEAN RATING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS#
(Scale: 1 = Not at All Important, 2 = Slightly Important, 3 = Somewhat Important, 4 = Very Important, 5 = Extremely Important)

Importance To The Officer Of	HCR Officers (N = 31)**	LCR Officers (N = 35)**	p***
Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	4.61	4.36	>.10
Your ability to testify in court	4.52	4.42	>.10
How thoroughly and carefully you complete your arrest and offense reports	4.35	4.06	>.10
Your ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	4.29	4.36	>.10
Obtaining the cooperation of witnesses	4.06	3.88	>.10
Your ability to work well with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	4.06	3.64	<.10
Making good arrests	4.03	4.18	>.10
Locating witnesses to crime	4.03	3.85	>.10
The number of your cases that get cleared by arrest	4.00	3.38	>.10
How well you get along with your fellow officers	3.97	3.97	>.10
Maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	3.94	3.76	>.10
Being available for calls	3.94	3.85	>.10
Avoiding antagonizing the public	3.94	3.30	<.05
Being highly visible to the public when you're on patrol	3.74	3.33	>.10
The number of arrests you make that result in conviction	3.52	3.55	>.10
The number of felony arrests that you make	2.81	2.97	>.10

*Asked only of detectives, for HCR N = 37, for LCR N = 8.

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information.

***By t-test

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of the item ratings for HCR and LCR officers = +.82.

Table VI.8

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS TO THEIR SUPERVISORS IN EVALUATING OFFICER PERFORMANCE
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Importance To the Supervisor Of:	MEAN RATING OF HCR AND LCR OFFICERS# (Scale: 1 = Not At All Important, 2 = Slightly Important, 3 = Somewhat Important, 4 = Very Important, 5 = Extremely Important)		
	HCR Officers (N = 31)**	LCR Officers (N = 33)**	p***
How thoroughly and carefully you complete your arrest and offense reports	4.03	3.84	>.10
Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	4.03	4.29	>.10
Your ability to testify in court	4.00	3.52	>.10
The relative number of your cases that get cleared by arrest	4.00	4.29	>.10
Avoiding antagonizing the public	3.97	3.70	>.10
Your ability to be highly visible to the public when you're on patrol	3.93	3.50	>.10
Being available for calls	3.90	4.16	>.10
Your ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	3.83	3.74	>.10
Making good arrests	3.77	3.77	>.10
The number of felony arrests that you make	3.73	3.81	>.10
Obtaining the cooperation of witnesses	3.63	3.19	>.10
How well you get along with your fellow officers	3.53	3.19	>.10
Locating witnesses to crimes	3.50	3.29	>.10
Your ability to work with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	3.43	3.17	>.10
Maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	3.37	3.00	>.10
The number of arrests you make that result in conviction	3.27	3.07	>.10

*Asked only of detectives, for HCR N = 6, for LCR N = 7.

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information.

***By t-test.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of the item ratings for HCR and LCR officers = +.82.

at the scene of a crime. "Maintaining the cooperation of witnesses" and "the number of arrests you make that result in conviction" received the lowest ratings from both HCR and LCR officers. Thus, as we found in Washington, D.C., HCR officers were not performing better because they perceived their supervisors to place more importance on conviction rates. The similarity in the ratings of the two groups of officers is reflected in the Spearman rank order correlation of +.82.

In contrast to the results obtained for Washington, D.C., police officers, we did find some similarity, although small, between the officers' ratings of the importance of these factors to themselves and their perceptions of the importance of the factors to their supervisors. The HCR officers indicated, for example, that arriving quickly at the scene of the crime was very important to themselves and to their supervisors. The number of arrests that result in conviction was rated next to the lowest in importance to HCR officers and it was rated the lowest for their supervisors. The Spearman rank order correlation between HCR officers' self-ratings and their perceptions of their supervisors' ratings was +.45. We found less of an association between LCR officers' ratings of the importance of these factors to themselves and to their supervisors. This is reflected in the Spearman rank order correlation of +.16.

Using the same procedures described in Chapter V, we conducted an informal survey of police department field supervisors in Manhattan. Twenty-one supervisors answered our

questions about the relative importance of the 16 items when they evaluate officers' job performance. Table VI.9 presents those results.

The supervisors indicated that each of the items was, on the average, at least "somewhat important." The highest rated item was "arriving quickly at the scene of the crime." Making good arrests, obtaining the cooperation of witnesses, and being available for calls were also rated highly. The number of arrests made that result in conviction, how well the officer gets along with others, and the number of arrests that the officer makes were least important to the supervisors.

Table VI.10 presents the comparisons of the officers' ratings of the importance of these items to themselves and to their supervisors, and the supervisors' actual ratings. As we did for the D.C. officers' results, we present the rank order of the mean ratings that have been provided in prior tables. We found that HCR and LCR officers' perceptions of their supervisors were positively correlated with the supervisors' actual ratings (Spearman rank order correlations = +.42 and +.35, respectively). For example, HCR and LCR officers perceived supervisors to place relatively great importance on arriving quickly at the scene of the crime. This factor received the highest rating of importance by the supervisors. One should note also, however, that there were some inconsistencies in the two types of ratings. For example, both groups of officers thought that supervisors place more importance on the number of arrests than supervisors indicated they do.

TABLE VI.9
 SUPERVISORS' OPINIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF
 VARIOUS FACTORS IN EVALUATING
 OFFICERS' JOB PERFORMANCE,
 New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Importance To the Supervisor Of:	MEAN RATING OF SUPERVISORS (N = 21)* (Scale: 1 = Not At All Important, 2 = Slightly Important, 3 = Some- what Important, 4 = Very Important, 5 = Extremely Important)
Their arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	4.57
Their making good arrests	4.38
Their obtaining the cooperation of witnesses	4.14
Their being available for calls	4.14
Their ability to testify in court	4.10
Avoiding antagonizing the public	4.05
Their maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	4.00
The number of their cases that get cleared by arrest	4.00
Their ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	3.95
Their ability to work well with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	3.95
Being highly visible to the public when they are on patrol	3.86
How thoroughly and carefully they complete their arrest and offense reports	3.86
Their locating witnesses the crimes	3.71
The number of arrests they make that result in conviction	3.52
How well they get along with their fellow officers	3.29
The number of arrests that they make	3.05

*Only 11 supervisors responded to the item, "The Number of Their Cases That Get Cleared By Arrest." This item was applicable only to persons who supervised detectives. All 21 supervisors rated the other items.

Table VI.10

COMPARISON OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS TO HCR AND LCR OFFICERS AND TO THEIR SUPERVISORS WHEN THEY EVALUATE PERFORMANCE, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

(Each column presents the rank order of 16 items according to the mean rating of importance: 1 = items which received the highest mean rating. The average rank is presented for tied items.)

Officer's Ability or Performance	HCR OFFICERS' RATINGS		SUPERVISORS' RATINGS (3) Importance To Supervisor	LCR OFFICERS' RATINGS	
	(1) Importance To Officer	(2) Perceived Importance To Supervisor		(4) Importance To Officer	(5) Perceived Importance To Supervisor
Arriving quickly at the scene of a crime	1	1.5	1	2.5	1.5
Your ability to testify in court	2	3.5	5	1	9
How thoroughly and carefully you complete your arrest and offense reports	3	1.5	11.5	5	4
Your ability to locate evidence at the scene of the crime	4	8	9.5	2.5	7
Obtaining the cooperation of witnesses	5.5	11	3.5	7	12.5
Your ability to work well with the prosecutor after an arrest has been made	5.5	14	9.5	11	14
Making good arrests	7.5	9	2	4	6
Locating witnesses to crimes	7.5	13	13	8.5	11
The number of your cases that get cleared by arrest	9	3.5	7.5	13	1.5
How well you get along with your fellow officers	10	12	15	6	12.5
Maintaining the cooperation of witnesses	12	15	7.5	10	16
Being available for calls	12	7	3.5	8.5	3
Avoiding antagonizing the public	12	5	6	15	8
Being highly visible to the public when you're on patrol	14	6	11.5	14	10
The number of arrests you make that result in conviction	15	16	14	12	15
The number of felony arrests that you make	16	10	16	16	5

Caution should be utilized in interpreting the ranks presented. The item ranked 16th in each column received the lowest mean rating of importance. This does not necessarily signify that this item was of no importance to the respondents. To discover the actual mean level of importance given to an item, the reader should consult Tables 30, 31 and 32.

SPEARMAN RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS OF THE RANK ORDER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ITEMS

Columns 1 vs. 2 = +.45 Columns 4 vs. 5 = +.16
 Columns 1 vs. 3 = +.48 Columns 5 vs. 4 = +.44
 Columns 2 vs. 3 = +.42 Columns 3 vs. 5 = +.35

We also found a positive correlation between the officers' ratings of the importance of these factors to themselves and the supervisors' ratings. Thus, both supervisors and officers believed that arriving quickly at the scene of a crime was relatively important. Similarly, officers and supervisors indicated that the number of felony arrests made was the least important of the items rated. The Spearman rank order correlations between the supervisors' ratings and the officers' ratings were +.48 for HCR officers and +.44 for LCR officers. Thus, both groups tended to assign similar weights to these factors, although the similarity in the ratings was not as great as we found for officers and supervisors in the District of Columbia.

D. KNOWLEDGE OF EVIDENCE AND THE LAW

We compared HCR and LCR officers' opinions of the value of evidence by presenting them with the same 9 situations that we presented to D.C. officers. We found no statistically significant differences between the choices of the HCR officers and the LCR officers. We administered the 9 questions to 23 prosecutors in New York and found that there were 6 questions for which at least 80 percent of the prosecutors chose the same response. Arbitrarily labeling these responses to be correct, we computed the total number of "correct" answers that each officer made. We again found no differences between the two groups of officers. The HCR officers answered "correctly," on the average, 3.6 of the 6 questions, compared with a mean of 4.0 correct responses for LCR officers.

Listed next are the number of correct answers for New York officers to 10 questions on job-related knowledge adapted from IACP "Training Keys."

Number of correct answers (of 10)	HCR officers (N=31)	LCR officers (N=33)
2-4	6%	3%
5-7	55	45
8-10	39	52
Mean Number Correct:	6.9	7.4

As was the case for officers in the District of Columbia, we found that HCR and LCR officers did not differ significantly from each other in their ability to answer these questions.

E. ARREST CHARACTERISTICS

1. Definitions of Good and Poor Arrests

Table VI.11 presents officers' conceptions of the term "good arrest." Over all, there was considerable similarity in the way the two groups of officers defined a good arrest. Both groups were most likely to indicate that a good arrest is one in which physical evidence is collected or one that results in a conviction. Smaller proportions of officers indicated that a good arrest is one that is lawful or one in which the right person is arrested. The LCR officers were a little more likely than HCR officers to cite the latter characteristic, but this difference was not statistically significant.

Table VI.12 presents the officers' conceptions of a poor arrest. Again, we found considerable similarity between the two groups of officers. Many of the characteristics were

simply the opposite of those indicative of a good arrest. Thus, not collecting physical evidence or not obtaining a conviction were viewed as characteristics of a poor arrest. Additional definitions of a poor arrest were those made to further the officer's self-interest or those that had problems with witnesses.

Table VI.11

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' CONCEPTIONS OF A "GOOD ARREST,"
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

A Good Arrest Is ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [‡]	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Collecting physical evidence	29	27
Obtaining a conviction	23	30
Lawful-has probable cause	13	3
Arresting the right person	13	24
Lawful	10	3

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.
[‡]Percentages total more than 100 because of multiple responses per officer.

After defining good and poor arrests, each officer rated the quality of his arrests over the past several years on a six-point scale identical to that used by the D.C. officers.

Table VI.12

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' CONCEPTIONS OF A "POOR ARREST,"
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

A Poor Arrest Is ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [†]	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Not collecting physical evidence	29	21
Unlawful-no probable cause	16	21
Arrest serves officer's self-interest	16	18
Not obtaining a conviction	13	9
Witness problems	10	9
Arresting the wrong person	0*	15*

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.
[†]Percentages total more than 100 because of multiple responses per officer.
*p<.05.

Seventy-seven percent of the 30 responding HCR officers and 88 percent of the LCR officers rated their arrests as being five or six. All but one of the remaining officers rated their arrests as fours. Thus, the majority of both groups of officers believe they are making good arrests.

Each officer also rated the quality of the arrests made in his unit. Thirty-six percent of the 22 HCR officers who made an estimate indicated that very few or virtually none of the adult felony arrests made by officers in their unit were poor, compared with 16 percent of the 25 responding LCR officers. Although this difference was not statistically significant, it is in the same direction found for D.C. officers.

Officers were also asked to indicate how often over the past several years they collected physical evidence or called in an evidence technician and how often they located one or more lay witnesses. As we found for D.C. officers, the majority of both groups of officers (HCR, 67 percent; LCR, 58 percent) indicated that they collected evidence more than one-half of the time. However, 27 percent of 26 responding HCR officers indicated that they located a witness more than one-half of the time, compared with 19 percent of 31 responding LCR officers. This difference was not statistically significant, but was in the same direction that we found for D.C. officers. Whether HCR officers do in fact locate witnesses more often than LCR officers is probably worthy of further study.

2. Consequences of Good and Poor Arrests

We asked each officer to indicate the positive and negative consequences of making good and poor arrests. As with D.C. officers, the most likely positive consequence noted for making a good arrest was the self-satisfaction that resulted. As Table VI.13 shows, 32 percent of the HCR officers and 27 percent of LCR officers indicated this. Other positive consequences mentioned by both groups of officers included obtaining good assignments and promotions and the recognition received from superiors and fellow officers. Similar proportions of each group of officers indicated that there were no positive consequences or that they did not know of any.

Table VI.13

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE GOOD ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Positive Consequence ^a	Percent of Officers Who Said This [‡]	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Self-satisfaction	32	27
Good assignments	10	6
Promotions more likely	10	12
Recognition by superiors	3	15
Recognition by fellow officers	3	15
There are no positive consequences or does not know of any	45	35

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of HCR or LCR officers.
[‡]Percentages total more than 100 because of multiple responses.

Table VI.14

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE POOR ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Negative Consequence ^a	Percent Of Officers Who Said This [‡]	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Held in low esteem by fellow officer	13	12
Held in low esteem by the community	13*	0*
Officer may be liable for damages	10	3
Held in low esteem by supervisor	6	21
There are no negative consequences or does not know of any	55	60

^aIncludes all items listed by at least 10 percent of the HCR or LCR officers.

[‡]Percentages total more than 100 because of multiple responses per officer.

*p<.05, by Fisher's exact test.

Table VI.14 presents officers' opinions of the negative consequences for officers who make poor arrests. First, it should be noted that a majority of both groups of officers indicated that there were no negative consequences or that they did not know of any. When a negative consequence was cited, it was likely to be that the officer would be held in lower esteem by the supervisor or fellow officers. We did find, however, that HCR officers were more likely than LCR officers (13 percent compared with 0 percent, p<.05) to indicate that the community would hold them in lower esteem, although this was suggested by only a minority of HCR officers. This is further evidence that LCR officers in New York do not show the heightened sensitivity to the community that we found among LCR officers in Washington, D.C.

The HCR officers were more likely than LCR officers to state that there were no positive consequences for officers who generally made poor arrests. As Table VI.15 shows, 90 percent of the HCR officers indicated that there were no positive consequences for such officers, compared with 61 percent of LCR officers, a difference significant at the $p < .03$ level. Almost one-fourth of the LCR officers indicated that officers who make poor arrests benefit from receiving more overtime money. Another small proportion of officers also indicated that by making such arrests the officer could gain better assignments.

Table VI.15

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE POOR ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Positive Consequence	Percent of Officers Saying This ^a	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Increases overtime	6%	24%
Better assignments or impresses supervisor	3	15
Don't go to trial or court	0	6
Other positive consequences	0	6
There are none* or does not know of any	90**	61**

^aPercentages may total more than 100 percent of multiple responses.

*Includes four officers who said that the officer would be transferred or receive advanced training.

** $p < .03$.

In order to examine whether LCR officers who perceived positive consequences for officers who make poor arrests behave differently than do LCR officers who did not perceive positive consequences, we looked at their responses to two questions about the frequency with which they obtained evidence or located witnesses during their investigations. The 13 LCR officers who perceived positive consequences were more likely than the other 20 LCR officers to report that they obtained evidence one-half the time or more (91 percent and 65 percent, respectively, significant at $p .10$), but they were less likely to indicate that they located witnesses one-half the time or more (zero percent and 42 percent, respectively, significant at $p .01$). The fact that the likelihood of locating witnesses tended to be higher among HCR than LCR officers in Washington, D.C., and to a lesser extent in New York, suggests that their perception of positive consequences for poor arrests might be one reason why LCR officers in New York had lower conviction rates.

If LCR officers were more likely to perceive positive consequences for officers who make poor arrests, it seemed plausible that they might also be more likely to see negative consequences for officers who make good arrests. Table VI.16 indicated that this was the case. Seventy-one percent of HCR officers indicated that they knew of no negative consequences for officers who make good arrests, compared with 36 percent of LCR officers, a difference significant at the $p .03$ level. The LCR officers tended to list a number of negative consequences

for officers who made good arrests. Some said that the officer would experience disappointments in the court process and case outcome, and others mentioned the resulting civilian complaints and the lack of recognition for officers who make good arrests. The jealousy and envy of fellow officers were also cited as negative consequences.

Table VI.16

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS OF THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OFFICERS WHO MAKE GOOD ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Negative Consequences	Percent of Officers Who Said This ^a	
	HCR Officers (N = 31)	LCR Officers (N = 33)
Court-related problems ^b	3%	18
Overtime produces problems	13	15
Civilian Complaints	3	12
No recognition	0	15
Envy of department personnel	0	9
Job-related injuries	6	0
Other negative consequences	10	9
There are none* or does not know of any	71*	36*

^aPercentages may total more than 100 because of multiple responses.

^bIncludes too much time spent in court, and dissatisfaction with dispositions.

*P<.03.

It has been well established that persons tend to act in ways that maximize the positive consequences of their behavior and minimize the negative consequences. The fact that LCR officers were more likely to report positive consequences for making poor arrests and negative consequences for making good arrests suggests a possible rationale for why those officers have lower conviction rates. Unfortunately, our data do not permit us to discern whether LCR officers' beliefs contributed to their lower conviction rates or if their statements are a form of "sour grapes" over their lower performance, assuming that they are aware of such performance. Regardless, the perceptions of the two groups of officers are so different that the New York City Police Department might wish to take steps to clarify and perhaps alter the consequences for officers who make arrests. For example, enhanced communication and cooperation between the police and the courts might eliminate officers' apparent disenchantment with this phase of the criminal justice system and reduce their aversion to appearance in court. Similarly, regulations regarding eligibility for promotions might be changed so that they are tied to the quality of the officers' arrests.

3. Officers' Arrest-related Attitudes

Table VI.17 presents the officers' mean ratings of agreement with statements about arrest procedures. We found considerable similarity between the responses of HCR and LCR officers. The LCR officers agreed more with the statement that it was important that the uniformed officer look for physical

Table VI.17

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' AGREEMENT WITH VARIOUS
STATEMENTS ABOUT ARRESTS,
New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

STATEMENT ABOUT ARRESTS	MEAN AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENT (Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree)		p*
	HCR Officers (N = 31)**	LCR Officers (N = 33)**	
It's important that the uniformed officer look for physical evidence whenever he/she makes an arrest	3.87	4.33	<.01
Most adults arrested for felonies are guilty of the offense	3.65	3.55	>.10
The people in the community expect the police to make a lot of arrests	3.23	3.46	>.10
This department expects officers to make a large number of arrests that result in convictions	2.90	2.82	>.10
This department expects officers to make a lot of arrests each year	2.71	2.67	>.10
It's not necessary to give a lot of detailed information when filling out an arrest report	2.42	2.36	>.10
Police officers shouldn't concern themselves with what happens after arrest--that's the business of the prosecutor and the courts	2.19	2.30	>.10
If I generally make good arrests, I'm more likely to get promoted	2.19	1.85	>.10
Rules and regulations really don't help when you arrive at a crime scene and make an arrest	2.16	2.48	>.10
The arresting uniformed officer really doesn't have a responsibility to locate witnesses	2.06	2.00	>.10
If I make a lot of arrests, I'm more likely to get promoted	2.03	1.79	>.10
Arresting someone usually scares them into not committing crimes in the future	1.94	2.00	>.10
There isn't much that police officers can do to help the prosecutor get convictions	1.94	1.88	>.10
Arrest reports are a waste of time	1.68	1.70	>.10
Once I make an arrest and the offender has been booked, my role in the case should end	1.68	1.72	>.10
Realistically speaking, physical evidence has little value in court	1.57	1.52	>.10

*By t-test.

**N's vary slightly for individual items because of missing information.

#Spearman rank order correlation of the relative ordering of the item ratings for HCR and LCR officers = +.93.

evidence when making an arrest. It should be noted, however, that this was the highest rated item for both groups of officers. Both groups of officers also tended to agree with the statement that most adults arrested for felonies are guilty of the offense; HCR officers did appear to agree with that statement even more strongly than the LCR officers, although the difference was not significant, as it was in Washington, D.C.

As we found for D.C. officers, both groups of New York officers tended to disagree with statements indicating a reduced role for the officer after the arrest was made and a limited value for obtaining evidence and locating witnesses. In addition, 84 percent of HCR officers and 85 percent of LCR officers disagreed with the statement that "arresting someone usually scares them into not committing crimes in the future." The Spearman rank order correlation for the relative importance of these items to HCR and LCR officers was +.93.

F. ARREST/CASE OUTCOME

Drawing on his knowledge of the guilt or innocence of adult arrestees over the past several years, each officer rated whether more or fewer cases should reach various dispositions. Table VI.18 presents these findings. As we found for officers in Washington, D.C., HCR and LCR officers held similar opinions of the attractiveness of various possible dispositions. Both groups of officers wanted to see more cases ending in guilty verdicts at trial and more cases that result in conviction and imprisonment. Similarly, both HCR and LCR officers wanted to see fewer cases dismissed immediately, end in not guilty

verdicts, and be plea bargained for reduced charges or sentences.

Table VI.18

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' OPINIONS ABOUT HOW OFTEN CERTAIN DISPOSITIONS SHOULD OCCUR FOR ADULT FELONY ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Opinion Regarding Disposition of Adult Felony Arrests	Percent of Officers Who Said This			
	HCR Officers (N) %		LCR Officers (N) %	
More cases should:				
Have trials that result in a guilty verdict	(28)	86	(28)	71
Result in conviction and imprisonment	(31)	81	(32)	88
Fewer cases should:				
Be dismissed immediately	(28)	89	(29)	83
Have trials that result in a not guilty verdict	(27)	85	(25)	64
Plea bargain for a reduced charge	(31)	74	(32)	91
Plea bargain for a reduced sentence	(30)	73	(31)	90

When asked about the effect of various measures on the number of dismissals, HCR and LCR officers responded similarly. Most thought that dismissals would be reduced if more prosecutors were available to handle the case load and if prosecutors were better skilled and organized (See Table VI.19). The HCR officers were a little more likely to indicate

Table VI.19

EVENTS THAT HCR AND LCR OFFICERS BELIEVE WOULD REDUCE THE NUMBER OF DISMISSALS FOR ADULT FELONY ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Dismissals would be reduced:	Percent of Officers Who Said This:		
	HCR Officers (N = 34)*	LCR Officers (N = 35)*	p**
If there were more prosecutors to handle the case load	89	76	>.10
If prosecutors were more skilled and better qualified	86	88	>.10
If judges were less concerned with legal technicalities	85	70	<.05
If citizens more often called the police immediately after a crime was committed	84	76	>.10
If the responding officers did a better job preserving the crime scene	83	82	>.10
If detectives did a better job interviewing witnesses	81	58	>.10
If arresting officers did a better job locating witnesses	80	88	>.10
If the prosecutors' office were better organized	75	68	>.10
If detectives did a better job searching for evidence	75	77	>.10
If uniformed officers did a better job interviewing victims/witnesses	74	72	>.10
If uniformed officers did a better job searching for evidence when they made arrests	74	79	>.10
If officers and detectives did a better job interrogating suspects	74	63	>.10
If detectives and uniformed officers cooperated more with each other at and around the time of arrest	68	79	>.10
If judges had more sympathy for victims of crimes	66	81	>.10
If there were more detectives	65	50	>.10
If there were more judges on the Bench	64	73	>.10
If responding officers did a more thorough and accurate job in filling out crime reports	61	70	>.10
If crime lab technicians did a better job processing evidence	56	57	>.10

*By t-test.
*N's vary slightly for each item because of missing information.

that dismissals would be reduced if judges were less concerned with legal technicalities. Moreover, as was found in Washington, D.C., officers tended to believe that increasing the number of uniformed officers would have no effect on the number of dismissals (47 percent of HCR officers and 52 percent of LCR officers).

As Table VI.20 indicates, most HCR and LCR officers reported that they were extremely or very interested in learning the outcomes of their arrests and the reasons for them. Similar proportions of each group indicated that they almost always do learn the outcome. However, most officers indicated that it takes some effort to obtain information about the outcome of a case and approximately three-fourths of each group of officers said that either there was no formal procedure in the department for obtaining such information or they were unsure whether one existed.

G. SUMMARY COMPARISON OF FINDINGS FROM MANHATTAN AND WASHINGTON, D.C.

Table VI.21 presents an overview of the principal findings obtained from the self-administered questionnaires completed by the police officers from Manhattan and the District of Columbia. Perhaps the most significant finding exhibited by officers in both police departments was that HCR officers were more likely to spend more time locating witnesses than were LCR officers. Although the differences between HCR and LCR officers were not as pronounced among officers from Manhattan as among officers from Washington, the fact that similar trends were detected suggests that the effort expended in locating witnesses may be

Table VI.20

HCR AND LCR OFFICERS' INTEREST IN LEARNING THE OUTCOME OF THEIR ADULT FELONY ARRESTS, New York City Police Department (Manhattan)

Officer's Response	Percent of Officers Who Said This*	
	HCR Officers (N=34)	LCR Officers (N=35)
<u>Interest in knowing the outcome of arrests/cases:</u>		
Extremely/very interested	71	64
Somewhat interested	26	27
Slightly or not at all interested	3	9
<u>Interest in knowing the reasons for outcome of cases/arrests:</u>		
Extremely/very interested	77	67
Somewhat interested	16	27
Slightly/not at all interested	6	6
<u>Actually learns the outcome of arrests/cases:</u>		
Usually/almost always	48	58
About half the time or less	52	42

*Percentages rounded

Table VI.21

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS OBTAINED FROM THE SELF-ADMINISTERED
QUESTIONNAIRES COMPLETED BY POLICE OFFICERS FROM
WASHINGTON, D.C. AND MANHATTAN

TOPIC	OFFICERS FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.	OFFICERS FROM MANHATTAN
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HCR and LCR officers similar in sex, age, marital status, education, police experience, and receipt of department awards. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HCR and LCR officers similar in sex, age, marital status, education, police experience, and receipt of department awards.
ATTITUDES TOWARD SELF AND JOB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HCR and LCR officers both satisfied with their jobs. • HCR officers more likely to view selves as very or extremely successful. • Both HCR and LCR officers tended to misperceive the relative importance to supervisors of various factors for evaluating officers' performance. • LCR officers tended to show greater sensitivity to the community than HCR officers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HCR officers more satisfied with jobs than LCR officers, but both groups reported decreasing satisfaction. • Similar proportions of HCR and LCR officers tended to view themselves as very or extremely successful. • Misperception of supervisors not found • Findings regarding LCR and HCR officers' sensitivity to the community were mixed.
KNOWLEDGE OF EVIDENCE AND LAW	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No differences between HCR and LCR officers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No differences between HCR and LCR officers.
ARREST CHARACTERISTICS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HCR officers tended to be more likely to define a good arrest as one that leads to conviction. • Both groups of officers tended to perceive similar consequences for making good or poor arrests. • Both groups of officers rated the quality of their own arrests highly. • HCR officers were likely to spend more time locating witnesses. • HCR officers more likely to say most adults arrested for felonies are guilty. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HCR and LCR officers had similar definitions of good and poor arrests. • LCR officers were more likely to perceive positive consequences for making poor arrests, and negative consequences for making good arrests. • Both groups of officers rated the quality of their own arrests highly. • HCR officers tended to spend more time locating witnesses. • Both groups of officers tended to believe that most adults arrested for felonies are guilty.
ARREST/CASE OUTCOME	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both groups of officers valued similar dispositions and were very interested in learning the outcome of their cases. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both groups of officers valued similar dispositions and were very interested in learning the outcome of their cases.

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a key behavior that differentiates officers with high conviction rates from those with low rates.

The HCR and LCR officers from both cities had similar backgrounds, comparable knowledge of the law and the value of evidence, and strong interests in learning the outcomes of their cases. Our findings thus suggest that implementing differential recruitment practices, special education programs, and efforts to encourage officers to learn case outcomes would probably not have a significant impact on officers' conviction rates.

The overall conclusion to be reached from this phase of the study is that HCR and LCR officers were quite similar on the largely attitudinal dimensions that were measured. This should not be too surprising, however, given the extensive research that indicates that a person's attitudes are often not associated with his or her actual behavior. In the next chapter, we continue our quest for factors that might account for the differential conviction rates of the officers by focusing on potential behavioral differences between HCR and LCR officers.

VII. ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA: WASHINGTON, D.C., AND MANHATTAN

In this chapter we examine officer responses during the intensive interviews that were conducted after the officers completed the self-administered questionnaire. We address a number of questions raised in the research plan and reiterated below. First, we discuss the analysis of interviews. This includes examination of specific sections of the interviews. In the final section, we review major findings and address "special techniques" or procedures identified by officers during the interviews.

As discussed in Chapter III, a multiple regression model was used to determine which officers would be selected for the interviews. The model also pointed up some findings that should be reviewed at this time. First, the model explained a significant amount of the variation among officers in terms of their ability to bring convictable arrests to the prosecutor, both in Washington, D.C., and in New York. In Washington, D.C., the model explained 72 percent of the variance in total conviction sentences produced by the officers, and in New York, it explained 89 percent. Much of the variation among officers was explained by such factors as the inherent convictability of the mix of arrests, the number and seriousness of the arrests, and the fact that many arrests were subject to charge reduction. The result of this was, as shown in the analyses of the self-administered questionnaire, that few significant differences were found between those identified as high and low

conviction rate officers. (Recall that more significant differences were found in Washington, D.C., than in New York, bearing out the prediction of the model.) Consequently, in both interview sites, the ability of the interviews to further identify factors significantly related to these differences was rather small.

In the analysis that follows, we look at five areas of police work in an attempt to identify additional factors related to arrest convictability.* Throughout this discussion, the reader should bear in mind the small amount of unexplained variation that existed, especially in New York.

The research plan identified a number of questions to be addressed in the interviews. Specifically, we examined differences between HCR and LCR officers in regard to the following:

- (1) Use of various department resources (information and services from specialized units).
- (2) Special techniques the officers can describe and relate to arrest procedures.
- (3) Amount of court experience.
- (4) Adherence to legal and procedural rules.
- (5) Obtaining additional information from offenders.
- (6) Obtaining additional information from victims and witnesses.

*As noted in Chapter IV, the five areas are (1) collecting physical evidence, (2) locating witnesses and maintaining witness cooperation, (3) interrogating/interviewing suspects, (4) working with the prosecutor, and (5) working with informants.

(7) Obtaining additional information leading to the collection of physical evidence.

(8) Getting reluctant witnesses to cooperate.

A. THE ANALYSIS

The goal in the analysis of the interview information was to assess how the HCR and LCR officers differed in the way they responded. To do this, we grouped the officers according to how they fell out in the trichotomy that was used to produce the sample. The analysis was performed for the sample sizes indicated in Table VII.1. (The final selection of officers to be interviewed was discussed in Chapter IV.)

Table VII.1
INTERVIEW SAMPLE SIZES FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.,
AND MANHATTAN

	Washington	Manhattan
HCR	34	27
MCR	26	20
LCR	35	26
Total	95	73

In the analysis, we sought to identify two dimensions with respect to officer responses: quantity and content. The first dimension, quantity, tests simply whether one group is more or less able than the other to provide responses to the questions presented and whether particular areas of inquiry produce more analyzable information than others. The second, content or diversity, seeks to measure the range of information that is

provided by the respective groups of officers. This dimension involves the question on how diverse the tools or methods are upon which the officers draw. It looks at the specific types of responses offered by the officers to determine which solutions are provided by the different groups. Through the second dimension, also, we sought to determine what "special techniques" officers could identify and (by looking at who said what) to assess whether such techniques were likely to contribute to or detract from high achievement with respect to arrest convictability. In the subsections that follow, we look at each of the five areas of officer activity and at the two dimensions within them, to the extent that they can be addressed.

1. Collection of Evidence

As indicated in the replication analysis, the existence of physical evidence can have an impact on whether certain arrests result in conviction. We were not, however, able to determine from PROMIS data who was responsible for obtaining that evidence--arresting officer, detective, evidence technician, prosecutor, or some other person in the criminal justice system. We do infer, however, that given the effect of evidence on the probability of conviction, officers who make an effort to obtain evidence will, other things remaining equal, obtain more convictions than officers who do not make such an effort.

In the interviews, officers were asked whether they had ever collected physical evidence of three types: (1) evidence

that proves a crime has been committed, (2) evidence that links the suspect with the crime scene, and (3) evidence that links the suspect and the victim. They were then asked to describe those situations and the procedures they used to obtain the evidence. They were asked further to describe circumstances in which the collection of evidence was particularly difficult and how they dealt with those circumstances.

In each instance, the coding of responses allowed for up to five or six distinct responses to be coded (even if two distinct responses yielded identically coded values). First, we assessed the frequency with which officers were providing responses. Table VII.2 shows the gross frequency of procedures identified by the officers to deal with evidence problems.

Table VII.2

INCIDENCE OF EVIDENCE COLLECTION BY TYPE OF EVIDENCE
Mean Number of Mentions Per Officer

Washington, D.C.						
	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Evidence Type	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO
Proves:						
Crime Committed	247	7.26	174	6.69	185	5.29
Suspect at Scene	95	2.79	97	3.73	93	2.80
Contact with Victim	65	1.91	60	2.31	57	1.63
Number of Officers	34		26		35	
Manhattan						
	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Evidence Type	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO
Evidence that Proves:						
Crime Committed	160	5.93	67	3.35	141	5.42
Suspect at Scene	52	1.93	9	.45	52	2.00
Contact with Victim	29	1.07	3	.40	24	.92
Number of Officers	27		20		26	

In both Washington, D.C., and Manhattan, the most noteworthy difference between the HCR and LCR groups was within the category of evidence that proves a crime was committed. Counting duplicate responses, the HCR groups in both cities were able to list more procedures for obtaining that type of evidence. As might be expected from the model that produced the sample, the difference is more notable for Washington, D.C. For the category of evidence that proves that the victim was at the scene (or that the suspect and victim came into contact), there was considerably less difference between the HCR and LCR groups; the HCR officers in both cities listed slightly more techniques and procedures than the LCR officers. For the category of evidence that proves that the suspect was at the scene of the crime, there was virtually no difference between the responses of the two groups. Of course, total number of responses is only a gross indicator of the quantity of information that was provided by the officers, since duplicates are included. For this count, we listed only those procedures that represented significant responses (i.e., other than "nothing can be done") and made no attempt to differentiate among the diverse answers that were given by the officers. Nor was any attempt made at this point to apply statistical tests to these gross figures.

Next we looked at the actual answers provided by the officers to the above questions about how they get evidence of various types. As shown in Table VII.3, there were few

significant differences in the way in which the HCR and LCR groups responded. For the category of evidence that helps prove a crime was committed, the LCR officers in Washington, D.C., were significantly ($p=.10$, chi-square test) more likely to say "preserve the scene" than HCR officers. In contrast, HCR officers were significantly more likely to say "search the surrounding area," "locate and/or probe witnesses," and "locate and/or probe the victim." These differences were not borne out by the New York interviews, however. In New York, the only significant difference was that the HCR group was more likely than the LCR group to list "investigate or follow-up" as a procedure for obtaining evidence that proves the crime was committed.

Table VII.3

PROCEDURES FOR OBTAINING EVIDENCE THAT HELPS PROVE
A CRIME WAS COMMITTED, FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF
OFFICERS WHO MENTIONED ITEM AT LEAST ONCE

PROCEDURE	D.C.						Manhattan					
	HCR(34)		MCR(26)		LCR(35)		HCR(27)		MCR(20)		LCR(26)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
arrive quickly	4	12	0	0	3	9	3	11	1	5	0	0
preserve scene	14	41	14	54	23	66	13	48	8	40	9	35
canvass general area	13	38	7	27	15	43	8	30	2	10	6	23
search surrounding area	28	82	18	69	19	54	17	63	9	45	16	62
search for specifics	11	32	8	31	7	20	4	15	3	15	7	27
locate/probe witness	18	53	9	35	7	20	5	19	4	20	10	38
locate/probe victim	12	35	9	35	5	14	12	44	4	20	6	23
locate/probe suspect	8	24	6	23	6	17	10	37	3	15	6	23
surveillance	4	12	4	15	1	3	8	30	1	5	9	35
interview first officers	27	79	19	73	27	77	22	81	11	55	13	50
investigate/followup	27	79	19	73	27	77	22	81	11	55	13	50
measure/diagram	10	29	7	27	10	29	6	22	5	25	3	12
other	1	3	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12
nothing	5	15	0	0	2	6	0	0	2	10	7	27

For the category of evidence that proves the suspect was at the scene of the crime, we found only one significant difference in either city. In Washington, D.C., LCR officers were more likely to say that they searched for specific items (such as clothes, blood, and debris) that would link the suspect with the scene. (See Table VII.4.) In the third category (evidence that proves the victim was at the scene, or that shows that the victim and suspect came into contact), there were no significant differences. (See Table VII.5.)

Table VII.4

PROCEDURES FOR OBTAINING EVIDENCE THAT PROVE THAT THE SUSPECT WAS AT THE SCENE OF THE CRIME, FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS WHO MENTIONED ITEM AT LEAST ONCE

PROCEDURE	D.C.						Manhattan					
	HCR(34)		MCR(26)		LCR(35)		HCR(27)		MCR(20)		LCR(26)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
arrive quickly	1	3	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
preserve scene	1	3	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	4
canvass general area	5	15	2	8	1	3	2	7	0	0	1	4
search surrounding area	11	32	8	31	11	31	5	19	1	5	9	35
search for specifics	4	12	6	23	12	34	2	7	0	0	2	8
locate/probe witness	4	12	6	23	5	14	5	19	0	0	4	15
locate/probe victim	9	26	4	15	4	11	2	7	0	0	4	15
locate/probe suspect	6	18	7	27	7	20	1	4	0	0	5	19
surveillance	1	3	3	12	0	0	5	19	0	0	3	12
interview first officers	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0
investigate/followup	10	29	12	46	11	31	12	44	2	10	8	31
measure/diagram	3	9	2	8	3	9	3	11	1	5	2	8
other	0	0	4	15	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	4
nothing	1	3	4	15	3	9	0	0	0	0	2	8

Table VII.5

PROCEDURES FOR OBTAINING EVIDENCE THAT PROVES THE VICTIM WAS AT THE SCENE OF THE CRIME AND/OR CAME IN CONTACT WITH THE SUSPECT, FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS WHO MENTIONED ITEM AT LEAST ONCE

PROCEDURE	D.C.						Manhattan					
	HCR(34)		MCR(26)		LCR(35)		HCR(27)		MCR(20)		LCR(26)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
arrive quickly	1	3	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
preserve scene	1	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8
canvass general area	4	12	2	8	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	4
search surrounding area	6	18	6	23	7	20	1	4	1	5	2	8
search for specifics	5	15	4	15	5	14	1	4	0	0	1	4
locate/probe witness	4	12	2	8	4	11	1	4	1	5	2	8
locate/probe victim	4	12	5	19	5	14	4	15	0	0	3	12
locate/probe suspect	5	15	3	12	6	17	1	4	0	0	3	12
surveillance	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	5	1	4
interview first officers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
investigate/followup	9	26	10	38	7	20	5	19	1	5	3	12
measure/diagram	1	3	0	0	2	6	0	0	1	5	1	4
other	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0
nothing	1	3	1	4	2	6	0	0	0	0	3	12

In some questions, the officers were asked to describe the circumstances that were associated with those efforts to collect evidence, as well as the procedures that applied in particular circumstances. However, given the small number of officers and the open-ended nature of the interviews, the number of different responses possible vastly exceeds the number of police officers who were interviewed. Consequently, significant variation in the way that officers deal with specific circumstances did not exist to an extent that could be tested. Even so, we looked at a breakdown, by circumstance, of methods and procedures used. We found no significant HCR-LCR variation.

Although the cross-categorization of circumstances and procedures did not lend itself to analysis, we did look at the circumstances that were identified by the officers. As above, the results were not very revealing. For each category of evidence, the circumstances described by the officers fell into six distinct groups; in a seventh group only the offense was mentioned. These are shown, with the proportion of officers listing those circumstances at least once, in Tables VII.6 through VII.8.

Again, as with the procedures used, there were few differences. In fact, the only statistically significant difference between the circumstances identified by HCR and LCR officers was that HCR officers were much more likely to say that their problems in collecting evidence to prove that a crime was committed involved the contamination of evidence.

Table VII.6

CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH OFFICERS FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COLLECT EVIDENCE THAT HELPS PROVE A CRIME WAS COMMITTED
Number and Percentage of Officers Mentioning
A Circumstance at Least Once

Washington, D.C.						
Circumstance Cited	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Contaminated evidence	24	71%*	6	23%	10	29%
Crime Scene	11	32%	7	27%	8	23%
Victim problems	5	15%	5	19%	4	11%
Witness problems	2	6%	2	8%	1	3%
Suspect problems	3	9%	4	15%	1	3%
Physical location of evidence	0	24%	10	38%	8	23%
Other	2	6%	0	--	2	6%
Number of officers		34	26		35	
Manhattan						
Circumstance Cited	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Contaminated evidence	6	22%	3	15%	8	31%
Crime Scene	5	19%	2	10%	6	23%
Victim problems	0	--	1	5%	1	4%
Witness problems	4	15%	0	--	0	--
Suspect problems	4	15%	0	--	2	8%
Physical location of evidence	3	30%	3	15%	8	31%
Other	4	15%	3	15%	2	8%
Number of officers		27	20		26	

*p=.10

Table VII.7

CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH OFFICERS FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COLLECT EVIDENCE THAT HELPS PROVE THAT SUSPECT WAS AT SCENE OF CRIME

Number and Percentage of Officers Mentioning A Circumstance at Least Once

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Circumstance Cited						
Contaminated evidence	13	38%	10	38%	10	29%
Crime Scene	8	24%	8	31%	5	14%
Victim problems	3	9%	2	8%	2	6%
Witness problems	0	--	0	--	2	6%
Suspect problems	0	--	0	--	1	3%
Physical location of evidence	2	6%	1	4%	2	6%
Number of officers	34		26		35	
Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Circumstance Cited						
Contaminated evidence	2	7%	0	--	7	27%
Crime Scene	7	26%	1	5%	4	15%
Victim problems	3	11%	0	--	2	8%
Witness problems	0	--	0	--	0	--
Suspect problems	0	--	0	--	0	--
Physical location of evidence	0	--	1	5%	0	--
Number of officers	27		20		25	

Table VII.8

CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH OFFICERS FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COLLECT EVIDENCE THAT PROVES THE VICTIM AND SUSPECT CAME INTO CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER

Number and Percentage of Officers Mentioning A Circumstance at Least Once

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Circumstance Cited						
Contaminated evidence	7	21%	4	15%	2	6%
Crime Scene	2	6%	1	4%	2	6%
Victim problems	4	12%	4	15%	5	14%
Witness problems	0	--	1	4%	1	3%
Suspect problems	3	9%	2	8%	0	--
Physical location of evidence	2	6%	2	8%	6	17%
Other	0	--	0	--	0	--
Number of officers	34		26		35	
Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Circumstance Cited						
Contaminated evidence	1	4%	1	5%	3	12%
Crime Scene	2	7%	0	--	3	12%
Victim problems	2	7%	0	--	0	--
Witness problems	1	4%	0	--	2	8%
Suspect problems	1	4%	0	--	1	4%
Physical location of evidence	1	4%	1	5%	1	4%
Other	1	4%	1	5%	1	4%
Number of officers	27		20		26	

Seventy-one percent of the HCR officers (24 out of 34) said that they encountered that as a problem, whereas only 29 percent of the LCR officers (10 out of 35) mentioned such circumstances (Table VII.6). This was found only for Washington, D.C. None of the differences in Manhattan was significant. For both jurisdictions, the HCR officers did tend more often to indicate circumstances in which it is difficult to collect evidence proving a crime was committed.

2. Locating Witnesses and Maintaining Witness Cooperation

Officers were asked whether they had ever located or helped to locate civilian witnesses in connection with an arrest. As before, if they responded affirmatively, their answers were coded into as many as five or six distinct responses for each question. The first question asked the officers to describe how they usually go about getting or finding witnesses. Next, they were asked to identify the circumstances in which it was difficult to obtain witnesses and to describe both the circumstances and the procedures associated with them. One of these circumstances was selected and further responses were solicited about why the case was particularly challenging. Finally, the officers were asked to talk about the specific reasons why some witnesses usually fail to cooperate and to tell how they go about gaining cooperation in such circumstances.

As before, we calculated the gross frequency of methods and procedures that the officers were able to provide. For both Washington, D.C., and Manhattan, officers in the HCR groups provided more information than officers in the LCR groups.

This was the case for procedures for locating witnesses as well as for methods of obtaining witness cooperation. We do note that, as before, these measures are only gross indicators, and the application of statistical tests of significance is inappropriate. They do indicate, however, an overall tendency for high conviction rate officers to provide more information than low conviction rate officers. Whether this is a reflection of overall ability, however, would require inferences we are not prepared to draw. The results of this analysis are shown in Table VII.9

Table VII.9

PROCEDURES FOR LOCATING WITNESSES AND WAYS OF OBTAINING WITNESS COOPERATION
Number of Responses Per Officer

Washington, D.C.						
	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Procedure Cited	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO
Witness Persuasion Techniques	158	4.65	152	5.85	143	4.09
Procedures for Locating Witnesses	141	4.15	101	3.88	104	2.97
Number of officers	34		26		35	
Manhattan						
	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Procedure Cited	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO	Frequency	RPO
Witness Persuasion Techniques	85	3.15	47	2.35	71	2.25
Procedures for Locating Witnesses	56	2.07	22	1.10	43	1.65
Number of officers	27		20		26	

Next we looked at what was being said by the officers. Here we calculated the percentage of officers in each group who mentioned a given procedure or method at least once. No additional counting of duplicate or repetitive replies (unlike the gross measure above) was performed. As for our investigation of evidence techniques, we found few differences between the HCR and LCR groups.

Officers were asked to list and describe procedures for locating witnesses. Of the substantive procedures provided in response, no differences were found. The HCR and LCR officers in both jurisdictions either replied in a non-specific way (i.e., no more specific than "locate and probe witnesses") or they tended to say "investigate and follow-up on leads." In Washington, D.C., HCR officers were significantly less likely than LCR officers to say "nothing can be done." (See Table VII.10.)

Those responses were provided with respect to specific circumstances (see below). In breaking the responses down by circumstances, however, there did not appear to be any pattern related to HCR and LCR groupings.

Officers were also asked to list and describe methods of persuading witnesses to cooperate. For the most part, no sharp differences emerged in the methods listed by HCR and LCR officers. One interesting difference is that LCR officers were more inclined to try to appeal to the witness's sense of civic responsibility than were HCR offices. (See Table VII.11.)

Similarly, officers were asked to describe circumstances in which witness cooperation was especially difficult to obtain.

Table VII.10

METHODS OF LOCATING WITNESSES
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Arrive quickly	0	--	0	--	0	--
Preserve Scene	0	--	0	--	2	8
Canvass general area	5	19	3	15	5	19
Search surrounding area	1	4	0	--	1	4
Locate/probe witnesses	9	33	5	25	10	38
Locate/probe victim	2	7	1	5	0	--
Locate/probe suspect	0	--	0	--	1	4
Surveillance	0	--	1	5	0	--
Investigate/followup	15	56	4	20	10	38
Other	1	4	1	5	2	8
"Nothing can be done"	3	11	4	20	4	15
Number of officers	27		20		26	
Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Method Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Arrive quickly	1	3	2	8	0	--
Preserve Scene	0	--	1	4	0	--
Canvass general area	15	44	9	35	14	40
Search surrounding area	4	12	5	19	3	9
Locate/probe witnesses	21	62	16	62	13	51
Locate/probe victim	4	12	6	23	5	14
Locate/probe suspect	1	3	0	--	0	--
Surveillance	0	--	0	--	0	--
Investigate/followup	26	76	20	77	20	57
Other	1	3	2	8	2	6
"Nothing can be done"	4	12	5	19	11	31*
Number of officers	34		26		35	

*p=.10

Table VII.11

PROCEDURES FOR OBTAINING WITNESS COOPERATION
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Seek Court Assistance	5	15	8	31	4	11
Use "psychology"	30	88	22	85	27	77
Ease burden (nfs)	15	44	8	31	4	15
Provide protection	2	6	9	35	6	17
Place on phone alert	3	9	5	19	1	3
Provide transportation	4	12	7	27	3	9
Compensate witness	12	35	12	46	13	37
Contact employer	1	3	3	12	2	6
Stress civic resp.	10	29	9	35	15	40
Threaten subpoena	8	24	5	19	5	14
Be persistent	7	21	3	12	2	6
Tactical harassment	3	9	3	12	3	9
"Not much you can do"	7	21	3	12	5	14
Other	0	--	4	15	1	3
Number of Officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Seek Court Assistance	5	19	2	10	0	--
Use "psychology"	16	59	7	35	15	56
Ease burden (nfs)	5	15	1	5	2	6
Provide protection	8	30	5	25	9	35
Place on phone alert	1	4	2	10	0	--
Provide transportation	2	7	0	--	1	4
Compensate witness	1	4	0	--	1	4
Contact employer	1	4	0	--	1	4
Stress civic resp.	5	19	6	30	8	31
Threaten subpoena	3	11	5	25	4	15
Be persistent	1	4	0	--	1	4
Tactical harassment	2	7	1	5	1	4
"Not much you can do"	2	7	2	10	3	12
Other	1	4	1	5	0	--
Number of Officers	27		20		26	

Again, no sharp differences emerged between the two groups in either city. (See Table VII.12.) Officers cited a variety of reasons, many of which were related to problems of witness reluctance--due to fear, apathy, criminal involvement, or sympathy with the offender. An analysis of the specific methods that officers used to cope with these circumstances was not very revealing in that the number of observations was so small. Shown in Table VII.13, we selected the largest general category for both Washington and Manhattan--reluctant witnesses.

Table VII.12

CIRCUMSTANCES CITED AS REASONS FOR WITNESS DIFFICULTIES
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No obvious witnesses	12	35	11	42	7	20
Non-cooperative	14	41	11	42	13	37
Crowd situation	1	3	1	4	4	11
Reluctant witnesses	23	62	25	88	23	66
Time lapse	2	6	1	4	4	11
Other	2	6	2	8	6	17
Number of officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No obvious witnesses	5	19	3	15	1	4
Non-cooperative	8	30	3	15	1	4
Crowd situation	2	7	0	--	3	12
Reluctant witnesses	10	37	5	25	7	27
Time lapse	1	4	0	--	0	--
Other	4	15	4	20	1	4
Number of officers	27		20		26	

Table VII.13 illustrates a problem that existed throughout the analysis of the interviews and that is generally associated with content analysis. Although the form of the interviews was highly structured, the content was not, so as not to inhibit the amount of information provided by the officers. So diverse were the answers and so small the number of interviewees that looking at the data broken down into any detail becomes statistically unreliable. The cells turn out to be too small to allow us to detect from these interviews whether HCR and LCR officers are systematically dealing with reluctant witnesses in different ways.

3. Interrogating and Interviewing Suspects

Officers were also asked about their experiences with interviewing suspects. We asked them to tell us what their goals are in conducting such interviews and how they usually go about attaining them. Next, we sought responses about the circumstances in which it was more difficult than usual for them to achieve their goals in interrogating suspects and how they dealt with those circumstances. Finally, we selected one of those circumstances and sought more explicit responses to questions about how they dealt with it.

Again, we began by looking at the gross response rates for HCR and LCR officers in Washington and in Manhattan. Unlike the questions concerning evidence and witnesses, however, in both Washington and Manhattan, the gross number of substantive responses per officer was marginally higher for the LCR group than for the HCR group. (See Table VII.14.) We should point

Table VII.13

Frequency of responses to
"How do you attempt to persuade reluctant witnesses"
Washington, D.C.

Response	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Canvass general area	3	9%	4	15%	4	11%
Locate additional witnesses	9	26%	10	38%	7	20%
Probe victim	0	--	1	4%	1	3%
Investigate, followup, use experts	10	53%	13	50%	15	43%
Other	0	--	0	--	1	3%
"Nothing can be done"	3	15%	2	8%	5	14%
Number of Officers	34		26		35	

Frequency of responses to
"How do you attempt to persuade reluctant witnesses"
Manhattan, New York

Response	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Locate additional witnesses	0	1%	4	20%	1	4%
Probe victim	1	4%	1	5%	0	--
Investigate, followup, use experts	5	19%	2	10%	0	2%
"Nothing can be done"	0	--	0	--	1	4%
Number of Officers	27		20		26	

out, however, that the "difference" is rather small and is only noteworthy because of its consistency across both jurisdictions.

Table VII.14

METHODS FOR INTERROGATING AND INTERVIEWING SUSPECTS
METHODS CITED--TOTAL AND NUMBER PER OFFICER

Washington, D.C.	HCR	MCR	LCR
Number of Methods Cited	220	185	232
Number of Methods Per Officer	6.47	7.12	6.63
Number of Officers	34	26	35

Manhattan	HCR	MCR	LCR
Number of Methods Cited	127	58	125
Number of Methods Per Officer	4.70	2.90	4.55
Number of Officers	27	20	27

Looking at Table VII.15, we see that both HCR and LCR officers in Manhattan and Washington say they use psychological skills, tricks, or attempt to establish rapport with the suspect in order to accomplish their goals or to deal with particular circumstances. The only significant difference found in either city was that, in Manhattan, HCR officers tend to stress just being straight with the suspect more often than do LCR officers. The direction of this relationship is supported by the difference shown in Washington; however, there it is not statistically significant. Also not significant, but worth mentioning, is the fact that in Washington, LCR officers tend to be more likely to confront suspects with whatever evidence they have against them as a method for getting them to

talk. We cannot, however, infer from this that it is a "bad" tactic--more information would be necessary to evaluate specific tactics.

Table VII. 15

METHODS CITED FOR INTERROGATING AND INTERVIEWING SUSPECTS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Method Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Use Psychology	28	82	23	88	32	91
Direct questions	22	63	16	62	19	54
Instinct/play by ear	12	35	7	27	7	20
Confront with evidence	6	18	8	31	12	34
Provide incentives	3	9	4	15	5	14
Other	17	50	15	53	16	46

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
Method Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Use Psychology	17	63	11	55	22	83
Direct questions	15	56	3	15	7	27
Instinct/play by ear	3	11	1	5	2	8
Confront with evidence	2	11	2	10	4	15
Provide incentives	5	19	2	10	3	12
Other	11	41	7	35	13	50

Looking at the circumstances listed by officers, Table VII.16, we find that HCR and LCR officers in both jurisdictions tend to list a variety of circumstances, but there does not appear to be any consistent pattern to those listed. No significant differences in the number of officers mentioning specific circumstances were found. Again, efforts to further examine the circumstances--to determine whether HCR and LCR officers offer similar solutions to similar problems--were unsatisfactory due to the dispersion of the responses and the small number of observations.

Table VII.16

CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH INTERROGATION OF SUSPECT IS PROBLEMATIC
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Suspect is street wise	13	38	13	50	18	51
Suspect is incapacitated	5	15	5	31	5	14
Suspect hostile or claims no knowledge	13	38	8	31	13	37
Multiple or unidentified suspects	5	15	3	12	4	11
Defendant-victim interplay	0	--	0	--	0	--
Interplay among defendants	1	3	4	15	3	9
Crowd situation	12	35	7	27	14	40
Facts uncertain	0	--	1	4	0	--
Other	3	9	5	19	2	6

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Suspect is street wise	10	37	2	10	7	27
Suspect is incapacitated	4	15	4	20	3	12
Suspect hostile or claims no knowledge	8	30	5	25	11	42
Multiple or unidentified suspects	3	11	0	--	0	--
Defendant-victim interplay	0	--	0	--	1	4
Interplay among defendants	3	11	0	--	2	8
Crowd situation	3	11	1	5	4	15
Facts uncertain	0	--	0	--	0	--
Other	3	15	0	--	1	4

Finally, we looked at the goals cited by officers as their purpose in conducting the interrogation (Table VII.17). Here, both HCR and LCR officers in Washington and Manhattan tended to say that their goal was to "establish the guilt or innocence" of the suspect. In Washington, significantly more HCR officers than LCR officers said that one of their goals was to obtain details about the crime. Additionally, a few of the HCR officers (3 in Washington and 1 in Manhattan) mentioned a goal of stressing the "legality of the process," which LCR officers never mentioned as a goal. We note this with interest only, however, in that the contrasts are not statistically significant.

Table VII.17

GOALS CITED AS OBJECTIVES OF INTERROGATION
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Obtain data on suspect	17	50	11	42	20	57
Establish rapport	2	6	3	12	3	9
Prove guilt or innocence	30	38	20	77	30	86
Obtain details of crime	10	29*	5	19	3	9
Identify witnesses	2	6	1	4	1	3
Maintain legality	3	9	0	0	0	0

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Obtain data on suspect	12	44	7	35	14	54
Establish rapport	6	22	2	10	3	31
Prove guilt or innocence	17	63	11	55	13	50
Obtain details of crime	12	44	3	15	5	19
Identify witnesses	0	--	0	--	0	--
Maintain legality	1	4	1	5	0	--

*p=.10

4. Working with the Prosecutor

The fourth area of inquiry was about how police officers work with prosecutors. Given that a high proportion of arrests accepted for prosecution result in conviction, the ability of an officer to prevent rejection of an arrest can contribute substantially to the overall likelihood of conviction. Aside from presenting an arrest that is well founded, an officer who is so motivated may be able to facilitate the prosecution of a case by conducting further investigation, working with witnesses, or by doing other tasks helpful to the prosecutor. In so doing, he is likely to learn how to make better arrests in the future, as well. A good working relationship with the prosecutor can help toward these ends.

Officers were questioned in detail about their interactions with prosecutors: the types of work that they generally do with the prosecutor after arrest, what they consider important for a successful working relationship with the prosecutor, and whether they are able to "shop" for a prosecutor--i.e., find one that is more sympathetic to their particular situation. Those who had "shopped" for prosecutors were asked how they go about it and what attributes they sought in so doing. Next, we asked officers to focus on a particular case in which they viewed their work with the prosecutor as essential to its conviction. Those who could think of specific instances were asked to tell about what they accomplished, and how. Finally, they were asked to tell us whether their work with the prosecutor had ever turned up additional evidence or witnesses,

or whether their efforts had helped to maintain the cooperation of certain witnesses through the prosecution process.

In both jurisdictions, about half of the officers said that they had worked with prosecutors. The HCR officers were no more likely than LCR officers to have done so. Officers listed a range of activities they had engaged in in working with the prosecutors, and most said that they had worked in the areas of seeking additional witnesses and evidence, along with seeking to obtain the cooperation of witnesses. There was no consistent or significant pattern, however, in the way in which HCR and LCR officers responded. (See Table VII.18.)

Next we looked at what officers said was necessary for a good working relationship between the police and the prosecutor. Most tended to say that "professionalism" and "competency" were the most important attributes (Table VII.19). Nearly as many said that "mutual understanding" was necessary as well. There was a slight tendency (though not statistically significant) for LCR officers to view "mutual understanding" as more important than did the HCR officers, and for HCR officers to have a similarly weighted view of professional competency. As before, however, this is only a tendency and not a finding, but one that is consistent for both Washington and Manhattan.

For those who said that they had "shopped" for a prosecutor, most claimed to have gone about it in similar ways (Table VII.20). That may have consisted of requesting that the case be assigned to a specific attorney, looking for a

Table VII.18

WAYS IN WHICH POLICE OFFICERS WORK WITH PROSECUTORS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Pretrial (hearings, Grand Jury, etc.)	4	12	7	27	4	11
Trial (testimony, trial preparation, etc.)	2	6	6	23	1	3
Witness investigation	17	50	16	62	18	51
Evidence investigation	13	38	14	54	9	26
Defendant investigation	3	9	3	12	3	9
Paperwork	9	26	7	27	12	34
Talking with prosecutor	4	12	2	8	2	6
Other	5	15	5	19	3	9
Number of officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Pretrial (hearings, Grand Jury, etc.)	4	15	3	15	6	23
Trial (testimony, trial preparation, etc.)	2	7	0	--	1	4
Witness investigation	13	48	7	35	13	50
Evidence investigation	7	26	4	20	5	19
Defendant investigation	0	--	0	--	0	--
Paperwork	6	22	2	10	3	12
Talking with prosecutor	5	19	0	--	5	19
Other	3	11	0	--	2	8
Number of officers	27		20		26	

Table VII.19

ATTRIBUTES OF A GOOD PROSECUTOR-POLICE WORKING RELATIONSHIP
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Mutual understanding honesty and candor	18	53	19	73	24	69
Open lines of Communication	2	6	3	12	7	20
Experience	3	9	8	31	3	9
Professional competency	27	79	19	73	23	65
Other	1	3	2	8	4	11
Number of officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Mutual understanding honesty and candor	16	59	3	40	16	69
Open lines of Communication	9	33	4	20	7	27
Experience	7	26	1	5	5	19
Professional competency	21	76	12	60	16	69
Other	0	--	1	5	1	4
Number of officers	27		20		27	

Table VII.20

PROCEDURES USED BY OFFICERS TO "SHOP" FOR PROSECUTORS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Prodecure Cited						
Go to unit chief	0	--	1	4	0	--
Request that case be assigned to specific prosecutor	0	--	2	8	1	3
Look for someone you know	4	12	5	19	2	6
Ask specific attorney to request/paper the case	4	12	1	4	0	--
Other	1	3	0	--	0	--
Number of officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Prodecure Cited						
Go to unit chief	0	--	0	--	0	--
Request that case be assigned to specific prosecutor	0	--	0	--	-	--
Look for someone you know	1	4	1	5	0	--
Ask specific attorney to request/paper the case	2	7	0	--	0	--
Other	0	--	1	5	0	--
Number of officers	27		20		27	

"familiar face," or requesting that a particular attorney screen the case. The numbers of responses were too small, however, to determine whether the HCR and LCR officers proceeded in different ways.

Finally, of those who had "shopped" for a prosecutor, we asked about the attributes they sought. Again, there was a strong emphasis on mutual understanding and professional competency (Table VII.21). Experience was also cited. Interestingly, the HCR officers in both jurisdictions were substantially more likely than the LCR officers to offer their views of attributes they looked for in prosecutors.

Table VII.21

ATTRIBUTES THAT POLICE OFFICERS LOOK FOR IN PROSECUTORS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Prodecure Cited						
Mutual understanding	7	21	6	23	4	11
Experience	3	9	1	4	0	--
Professional competency	3	9	6	23	2	6
Other	5	9	2	8	0	--
Number of officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Prodecure Cited						
Mutual understanding	3	11	2	10	0	--
Experience	2	7	1	5	0	--
Professional competency	2	7	2	10	0	--
Other	0	--	0	--	0	--
Number of officers	27		20		27	

5. Working with Informants

A final area of inquiry focused on use of, or work with, informants. Use of informants was hypothesized to be one of the tools that officers could use effectively in doing their jobs. Officers were asked about whether they had ever worked with informants. Next, they were asked about what kinds of people make the best informants, and why. They were then asked how they generally go about getting the cooperation of those people, what specific problems they had encountered in dealing with informants, and how they went about dealing with those problems.

In Washington and Manhattan, HCR and LCR officers tended to mention a wide variety of people as potentially good informants (Table VII.22). The most common response was "people (criminals) who need favors." A number of officers also said that the "criminal element" also make good informants (apart from those who are "in trouble" at the moment). Police "buffs" and people who have a "stake" in the community were also listed. The variety of responses, however, illustrates a problem in analysis--there was no significant pattern to the types of responses given.

Next, we asked officers how they usually go about getting the cooperation of informants. In both jurisdictions, most gave a variety of responses that could not be coded into a similar category. The most common responses that could be put into a single category included use of a psychological approach and the offering of some kind of assistance to the informant. Interestingly, the HCR officers in both jurisdictions were

Table VII.22

TYPES OF PEOPLE WHO MAKE THE "BEST" INFORMANTS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Criminals/ persons facing charges or in need of favors	20	59	18	69	13	37
Those who have an interest in the community	3	9	4	15	5	14
People with grudges	2	6	6	23	6	17
People who associate with criminals	9	26	8	31	10	29
Police buffs	2	6	4	15	1	3
Friends or relatives of the suspect	2	6	2	8	2	6
People that work on the streets (such as mail carriers)	3	9	3	12	3	9
People who need money	3	9	3	12	6	17
No particular "types"	1	3	0	--	0	--
Other	1	3	0	--	1	3
Number of officers		34	26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Criminals/ persons facing charges or in need of favors	15	56	6	40	14	54
Those who have an interest in the community	0	30	3	15	5	19
People with grudges	4	15	2	10	3	12
People who associate with criminals	3	11	2	10	7	27
Police buffs	5	19	0	--	4	15
Friends or relatives of the suspect	0	--	0	--	0	--
People that work on the streets (such as mail carriers)	0	--	1	5	0	--
People who need money	7	26	1	5	5	19
No particular "types"	0	--	0	--	2	8
Other	0	--	0	--	1	4
Number of officers		27	20		27	

slightly (not significantly) less inclined to indicate use of the psychological approach than were the LCR officers. Few said that they used some form of coercion (such as the courts or threatening with some kind of criminal charge) and of those who did, there was no HCR-LCR pattern (Table VII.23).

Asked about the types of problems they usually have with informants, officers tended to respond similarly, in both groups and in both jurisdictions (Table VII.24). The most commonly cited problem was that the informant or the information provided by him was unreliable and would not stand up in court. Other frequently cited problems related to the officer's not being able to offer the informant payment for the information or to try to maintain a good relationship with the informant. Again, however, there was no significant variation in the way HCR and LCR officers responded.

Finally, officers were asked what techniques they employ to deal with informant problems (Table VII.25). Again, the similarity of responses in New York and Washington, as well as across HCR and LCR groups, was more striking than any differences. Most tended to say that they offer the informant money (to maintain cooperation), use a psychological approach, or offer assistance (especially in a criminal case). Again, there was a marginal but insignificant tendency for LCR officers to say that they use a psychological approach. However, the small sample prevented further examination of the difference.

Table VII.23

METHODS CITED AS WAYS TO SECURE INFORMANT COOPERATION
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Method Cited						
Payment	3	9	6	23	6	17
Offer assistance	5	15	2	8	6	17
Use psychology	10	29	12	46	11	31
Voluntary (method not needed)	4	12	7	27	6	17
Coercion (e.g. threat)	1	3	0	--	0	--
Other	21	62	20	77	20	57
"Nothing can be done"	1	3	8	31	2	6
Number of officers	34		26		35	

Manhattan	HCR		MCR		LCR	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Method Cited						
Payment	4	15	2	10	2	3
Offer assistance	9	33	3	15	7	27
Use psychology	5	19	4	20	9	35
Voluntary (method not needed)	1	4	0	--	5	19
Coercion (e.g. threat)	3	11	3	15	3	12
Other	21	78	9	45	20	77
"Nothing can be done"	3	11	2	10	3	12
Number of officers	27		20		27	

6. Additional Analyses

The final section of the interview questionnaire asked the officers to tell what they do that is different from what other officers do with respect to witnesses, evidence, prosecutors, suspects, and informants. Many officers tended to say "nothing" or to give responses that were similarly coded. This coding, coupled with the large number of officers saying "nothing," rendered this part of the analysis particularly difficult--especially within the empirical constraints that were imposed (i.e., level of significance).

Table VII.24

PROBLEMS POLICE OFFICERS HAVE WITH INFORMANTS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.		HCR		MCR		LCR	
Problem Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Unreliable	16	47	13	50	11	31	
Difficult to verify	2	6	6	23	6	17	
Protect confidentiality	2	6	0	--	3	9	
Credibility at trial	3	9	5	19	3	9	
Unable to offer money	8	24	13	50	10	29	
Maintaining relationship	8	24	4	15	3	9	
Having nothing "on" them	3	9	3	12	6	17	
No real problems	5	15	5	19	4	11	
Number of officers		34	26	35			

Manhattan		HCR		MCR		LCR	
Problem Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Unreliable	14	52	7	35	14	54	
Difficult to verify	2	7	0	--	4	15	
Protect confidentiality	0	--	0	--	0	--	
Credibility at trial	3	11	2	10	4	15	
Unable to offer money	7	26	3	15	7	27	
Maintaining relationship	5	30	3	15	4	15	
Having nothing "on" them	1	4	0	--	5	19	
No real problems	2	7	3	15	3	12	
Number of officers		27	20	27			

Consequently, for this section, we departed from a completely objective analysis in order to determine if some important factors might have escaped the coding process. For the final section of the questionnaire, an analyst carefully read all of the officers' responses to determine whether some nuance or "variation in theme" could be detected. This procedure, however, contrasts with that used elsewhere in that it was not "blind"--the analyst knew the source (i.e., whether an HCR or LCR officer) of each questionnaire.

Table VII.25

METHODS USED TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC INFORMANT PROBLEMS
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF OFFICERS MENTIONING AT LEAST ONCE

Washington, D.C.		HCR		MCR		LCR	
Method Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Offer money	10	29	12	46	12	34	
Offer assistance	10	29	9	35	7	20	
Coercion	5	15	2	8	4	11	
Use psychology	10	29	14	54	15	43	
Other	2	6	1	4	1	3	
Number of officers		34	26	35			

Manhattan		HCR		MCR		LCR	
Method Cited	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Offer money	9	33	2	10	8	31	
Offer assistance	13	48	5	25	10	38	
Coercion	2	7	1	5	4	15	
Use psychology	9	33	3	15	13	50	
Other	2	6	1	4	1	3	
Number of officers		27	20	27			

The questionnaires were arranged into two groups--HCR and LCR. The final section (dealing with officer-perceived differences) was then read for all of the LCRs; consistent themes and items that were either particularly unusual or recurred within a group were noted. The same was done for the HCR questionnaires. Following this, the two sets of notes were compared to determine whether anything might have been overlooked.

This subjective comparison tended to support the bulk of the remainder of the analysis--few concrete differences. However, some differences worth mentioning were noted. The HCR officers were consistently more likely to say that they are more persistent than other officers and they are more likely to follow through on arrests they make. Not so frequently, but worth mentioning, some HCR officers said that they have a special way of obtaining the cooperation of reluctant witnesses. That method consisted either of obtaining additional witnesses to bolster the cooperativeness of reluctant witnesses or of bringing reluctant witnesses together to try to produce mutual support.

While we offer these as findings, we hasten to point out the subjective manner of their discovery. Still, that does not diminish their potential importance.

Some additional tendencies were also noted in this examination. Based on these, we performed one additional test to determine whether the inferences that might be drawn were correct.

Based on a number of tentative findings, we performed one additional test to determine whether the inferences we were drawing were correct. Two coders (other than those who did the original coding upon which the above analysis is based) were asked to read through certain sections of the interviews and to answer a group of questions about the officers' work with suspects and witnesses. Based on the officer's responses, we asked them to indicate the amount of effort the officer appeared to exert to locate witnesses; the amount of effort exerted to obtain the cooperation of witnesses; the officer's sensitivity to the welfare of witnesses; the amount of effort the officer appeared to exert to interrogate and interview suspects; the extent to which the officer stressed the use of direct questions to obtain facts about the case; and the extent to which the officer stressed the development of rapport with the suspect.

The coders were asked to rate their responses on a five-point scale: (1) not/none at all, (2) a little, (3) somewhat, (4) much, (5) very much. In the event of blank responses, the coders indicated that there was insufficient information. Additional leeway was given as well to indicate insufficient information when the officer's answer did not allow our questions to be addressed. Omitting "insufficient information" responses, we found considerable consistency between the two coders (correlation between the coders on the six items ranged between $r=.7$ and $r=.9$).

Next, we took the mean coder responses and performed one-way analysis of variance to determine if, in fact, the HCR

and LCR officers were being rated differently. The results of that analysis are shown in Table VII.26. At the $p=.1$ level, we found no differences between HCR and LCR officers in Washington, D.C. In New York, however, HCR officers were rated as exerting more effort than LCR officers in locating and obtaining witnesses and their cooperation and in interrogating and interviewing suspects. They also appeared more sensitive to the welfare of witnesses than LCR officers. These items were all significant at the .1 level, and only the question concerning effort in questioning suspects was not significant above the .05 level ($p=.06$ for that question).

Table VII.26
MEAN RESPONSE TO SELECTED ITEMS

Item	New York				Washington			
	HCR	n	LCR	n	HCR	n	LCR	n
Effort to locate witnesses	3.35*	(13)	2.61	(14)	3.44	(33)	3.27	(32)
Effort to get wit. cooperation	3.65*	(13)	2.86	(14)	3.69	(31)	3.45	(29)
Sensitivity to wit. welfare	3.19*	(13)	2.32	(14)	2.37	(31)	2.71	(29)
Effort to question suspects	3.58*	(13)	3.00	(14)	3.68	(31)	3.55	(29)
Use of direct questions	1.96	(13)	1.89	(14)	1.95	(29)	2.20	(28)
Attempt to establish rapport	3.00	(13)	2.57	(14)	3.13	(27)	3.02	(27)

By and large, these findings are consistent with what was found elsewhere in this study. However, support for the direct versus the indirect approach in dealing with suspects was not found. In Washington, D.C., though not significant, we did find the expected direction--HCR officers using a direct approach more than LCR officers, and LCR officers using a more

psychological approach to establish rapport more than HCR officers.

B. SUMMARY OF THE SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

We find only sporadic evidence of strong or systematic differences between HCR and LCR officers from the analysis of the open-end interview data. This is not too surprising in view of at least three important considerations:

- (1) Some officers identified as HCR or LCR officers may have been so identified due largely to circumstances beyond their control during the sample period. A longer sample period would lessen these "luck-of-the-draw" instances.
- (2) Many of the officers interviewed may in fact behave quite differently from the way they reported in the interview. Many of these officers may not even be aware of these differences.
- (3) Many of the factors that separate the HCR and LCR officers may not be identifiable in an interview. The model used to draw the sample left little variation to be explained by other factors to begin with. Among the factors that remain may be such difficult-to-identify characteristics as common sense, instinct, ability to reason quickly under duress, and ability to communicate with a variety of people.

In view of these considerations, it may be regarded as somewhat remarkable that we found as many differences as we did, a number of which were consistent across the two sites surveyed. So as not to overlook the possibility of something that might emerge as significant in an alternative context, we summarize not only the statistically significant differences, but other tendencies as well.

1. Major Differences Between HCR and LCR Officers

In obtaining evidence to support an arrest, LCR officers sampled (in Washington) were more likely to say that it is

necessary to preserve the crime scene. The HCR officers were more likely to say that it is important to search the surrounding area, locate and question witnesses, and locate and question the victim. In New York, HCR officers were more likely to stress the importance of investigative and follow-up activities. Perhaps even appearing trite in that its language has been popularized in the creative media, "preserving the scene" may not be as important as leaving the scene in pursuit of important clues. In the responses given us, there appeared to be an almost mechanical adherence to this exact phrase. If we can infer anything from the fact that this response is given less frequently by the more "successful" officers, then perhaps we can infer that a case is enhanced by paying more attention to the total context of an offense than to its specifics.

This latter idea is supported by the finding that, in looking for evidence that proves the suspect was at the scene of the crime, LCR officers were much more likely to say that they look for specific things--such as hairs, fibers, and debris.

In a number of instances, we note that officers drew a blank in responding to specific problems. In one instance (that of revealing methods of locating witnesses, in Washington), we found that that LCR officers were significantly more likely to say that "nothing could be done" than the HCR officers. This is supported by a general tendency for LCR officers to provide more answers of "nothing" than HCR officers. It may be that, having solved few such problems, the LCR officers more often draw a blank. This hypothesis, however, could not be fully addressed here.

In dealing with suspects, we found that HCR officers in New York were significantly more likely to attempt to get the "straight story" from suspects. In contrast, we found a tendency (though insignificant statistically) for LCR officers to emphasize the use of psychology or establishing rapport with the suspect. This is supported somewhat by the significant finding in Washington that HCR officers more frequently cite "getting the details of the crime" as an interrogation goal. There was also a tendency for HCR officers to cite maintaining the "legality of the process" as a goal more often than LCR officers. Perhaps the more "down to business" replies of the HCR officers indicate a greater commitment to professionalism. Whether it is this attribute that contributes to their greater success at getting convictions, however, can be inferred only tenuously.

Paralleling this tenuous inference, we also detected, but not statistically, a tendency for the HCR and LCR officers to identify different aspects of a police-prosecutor working relationship as being important to success. The LCR officers, similar to their tendency to develop a rapport with suspects, tended to stress reaching a "mutual understanding" with the prosecutor. In contrast, HCR officers were relatively more likely to cite professional competency as a desirable aspect. Again, the "down to business" tone, the emphasis on professionalism, notwithstanding the lack of statistical significance, seems to emerge.

2. Officer Variation and Perceptual Filters

At the conclusion of the face-to-face interviews, interviewers were asked to rate the respondents on four items:

- . honesty of response
- . fullness of response
- . understanding of questions
- . ability to articulate answers.

They were also asked to indicate whether they thought, based on the interview, the respondent was an HCR officer or whether they were unable to say. (Recall that neither the interviewer nor the respondent was given this information.) Finally, they were asked to indicate the degree to which they were confident of that perception. The analyses presented thus far have seldom indicated statistically significant findings. The purpose here was to determine whether the interviewers would be able to discriminate between the HCR and LCR officers. Our finding was that they were not. As shown in Table VII.27, of the interviewers who offered a guess about the conviction performance of respondents, they were right only about half of the time. In both Washington, D.C., and Manhattan, interviewers were more able to determine that LCR officers were not high conviction rate officers than they were to determine that HCR officers were in fact high conviction rate officers.

Interviewers whose certainty about their judgments was high were not more likely to be right than those who were less certain. None of the interviewers expressed low certainty about their guesses. As shown in the table, those who were highly certain about their guesses were right an equal

Table VII.27

INTERVIEWERS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT HCR/LCR STATUS OF POLICE OFFICER RESPONDENTS

Washington, D.C.	All		Percent Guessing Right:			
	n		Highly Certain	n	Medium Certain	n
HCR	44%	27	43%	23	50%	4
LCR	57%	30	61%	18	50%	12
All Combined	51%	57	51%	41	50%	16
Manhattan						
HCR	43%	23	44%	16	43%	7
LCR	57%	21	33%	12	88%	8
All Combined	50%	44	39%	28	67%	15

amount of time as those whose certainty was in the medium range, in Washington, D.C. Interviewers with medium certainty about the officers in Manhattan, however, were more likely to be correct than those expressing high certainty.

None of the other dimensions measured--honesty, fullness of response, understanding, and articulation--tended to be correlated with actual officer performance either. As shown in Table VII.28, these other dimensions tended to be related to interviewer perceptions of HCR/LCR status but not to the actual status.

Table VII.28

CORRELATES FOR PERCEIVED AND ACTUAL OFFICER PERFORMANCE STATUS

Performance Status	Honesty R	Fullness R	Understanding R	Articulation R
Perceived	.35	.59	.53	.51
Actual	-.04	-.12	.00	-.17

It appears clear from this analysis that, whatever their criteria, the interviewers' perceptions of what does and does not contribute to the performance measure used in this study does not correlate well with the actual measurement. Interviewers were told, in instruction sessions, the basis upon which officers were identified and selected. However, they were not told which officers were which. We are left with several mutually compatible alternatives.

First, it is possible that, despite the instruction sessions, some of the interviewers superimposed other criteria onto their determination of HCR/LCR status. It is clear that their own perceptions correlate well with their perceptions of the other dimensions--honesty, fullness of response, understanding, and articulation. Therefore, it is possible that these dimensions, rather than the one upon which the officers were chosen and grouped (arrest convictability), formed the basis of the interviewers' perceptions. There is, after all, no strong a priori reason to believe that HCR officers, or conversely LCR officers, would, as a group, be more honest, perceptive, or articulate within the context of an interview than the other group. There is no reason to presuppose that skills that lead an officer to high arrest convictability performance would necessarily be highly correlated with skills that help them do well in an interview. Therefore, it is possible that, guided by these other perceptions, the judgment of the interviewer need not be highly

correlated with the actual HCR/LCR status of the respondent--since the criteria may be very different.

Additionally, it is possible that at least some of the interviewers did in fact equate those other dimensions with those relating to arrest convictability. In that case, then their subjective impressions about what leads to high or low arrest convictability are not borne out by the empirical analysis, i.e., they were wrong.

In any event, throughout this analysis, there has been a general lack of strong correlation between particular responses and the HCR/LCR groupings of officers. Perhaps this last analysis can offer a clue as to why. The process of obtaining information about procedures and activities using this process is an imperfect one. For it to work properly, a number of conditions need to be met, most of which are met only partially. First, the respondent must be aware of exactly what procedures he or she follows--they must be able to discern between what they are supposed to do and what they actually do. If, for example, all of the officers, regardless of actual HCR/LCR status, believe that they are doing what they are supposed to do, then, having the police academy as a common denominator, they will all say the same thing.

Second, the respondents must be forthright and articulate about what they do and must understand the questions put to them. If, regardless of what they believe, the respondents tend to say that they do what they believe is right rather than what they actually do, or if they tend to misunderstand the

questions, then their answers will tend to converge about a common ground.

Third, the interviewer must be able to understand the respondent and to draw out full explanations of procedures. If the interviewer is unable to discern between fine differences (differences that appear minor may be really quite important), then, in the process of transcribing the comments, he may tend to lump different answers together. To the extent that the interviewer summarizes or embellishes, we encounter measurement error.

Fourth, the interviewer must not allow his impressions of the respondent to guide his conduct of the interviews. Since the interviewer obviously focuses on factors that appear unrelated to measured officer performance, he may also tend to exert varying amounts and types of efforts with respect to different respondents. Drawn out differently, variation among respondents may be distorted by variation within a single interviewer's style, not to mention variation among interviewers. This could be particularly troublesome in view of the interviewers' general inability to figure out which were the HCR officers and their tendency to attribute honesty, articulateness, and so on, to the officers they perceived to be in the HCR group.

Fifth, the coding process--that of taking the written questionnaires and converting similar answers into the same coded responses--must result in correct interpretation of the answers. Again, the tendency to generalize can render answers

similar that are in fact different. Even if all of the other filters were benign, reductionism could eliminate much real variation among respondents. Persons untrained in law enforcement could easily fail to grasp a crucial distinction.

Given all of these filters, and given the other considerations cited earlier (sampling error, elusive factors) it is not surprising that a small sample of officers would yield few statistically significant differences. More surprising, in fact, is that some of the differences appear not only significant, but consistent with other elements of the study. That they would emerge despite the imperfect process may lend credence to them.

With the benefit of hindsight, of course, there are a number of things that might have been done differently that could have yielded a more precise means for measuring variation among the officers. These relate to the reduction of the filters discussed above, to the lengthening of the period used to draw the sample, and to combining the survey data with observations of how the HCR and LCR officers actually conduct themselves on the job.

Even so, each of these alternatives involves problems of its own, each one introducing new objections. The reality is that, given the scope of the research question, there is no perfect way to measure police activity. We have taken one approach. Alternative approaches are likely to encounter additional problems while producing additional and perhaps cumulative insights that add to what we know about police

work. The fact that problems have been and will be encountered, however, should not negate the importance of such research. There is still much that can be learned.

PART THREE
CONCLUSION

VIII. CONCLUSION

Contrary to a common public perception, the police do not spend most of their time apprehending criminals. Officers in positions to make arrests in this country average an arrest for a serious offense only once every other month or so.*

Because arrests do not occur very frequently--certainly far less frequently than offenses--and because of the central importance of arrests to the control of crime, it is essential that when an arrest is made, it be made well. It is clear that too many arrests are not made well.

For each jurisdiction that we examined using PROMIS data for 1977-78, some police officers demonstrated substantially more skill than others in producing arrests that lead to conviction. A small fraction of the more than 10,000 officers studied who made arrests in these jurisdictions--12 percent--accounted for more than half of all the arrests that led to conviction: 19 percent of all arresting officers studied in Los Angeles County accounted for half of the convictions there; 17 percent in Indianapolis; 14 percent in Salt Lake; 12 percent in Washington, D.C., and in Cobb County, Georgia; 11 percent in New Orleans; and only 8 percent in

*This estimate is based on data presented in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. In 1978 there were 542,000 law enforcement employees on state, local, and federal payrolls, 431,000 of whom were full-time law enforcement officers (p. 230). We assume that the majority of full-time police officers are in positions to make arrests. The FBI reports that 2.3 million arrests were made in 1978 for serious offenses--homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, and larceny (p. 186).

Manhattan. At the other extreme, 699 (18 percent) of the 3,835 officers who made arrests in Manhattan produced no arrests that ended in conviction, despite Manhattan's high conviction rate (over 60 percent of all arrests) and the large number of arrests per officer (8). In Indianapolis, 189 (37 percent) of the 506 officers who made arrests made none that ended in conviction. For the seven jurisdictions combined, 2,289 (22 percent) of the 10,205 officers who made arrests produced not a single arrest that ended in conviction.

And these findings do not result merely as a by-product of the officer's assignment. Sharp differences remain after accounting for the officer's unit of assignment and the inherent convictability of his or her unique mix of cases. Moreover, we find little systematic evidence that these differences are related to the officer's age, sex, education, rank, marital status, or length of service.

Through self-administered and in-person interviews with officers in Manhattan and Washington, D. C., we attempted to obtain some insights into the differences between officers who consistently make convictable arrests and those who do not. The difficulties in obtaining such insights were legion: some officers identified as high or low conviction rate officers (HCR and LCR, respectively) may have just happened to have had a high or low rate during the sample period due to luck; officers interviewed may in fact behave quite differently from the way they reported in the interview, and many of these officers may not even be aware of the difference; many of the factors that separate HCR and LCR officers may not lend

themselves readily to articulation in an interview, factors such as basic common sense, keen instinct, ability to reason quickly and calmly under duress, self-confidence on the street, ability to communicate effectively with a variety of people, and so on. As a result of these difficulties, HCR and LCR officers gave similar sets of responses to most of the questions they were asked.

Despite these difficulties, however, some factors that appear to lie beneath the differences between high and low conviction rate officers did emerge from the interviews. The HCR officers indicated that they tended to focus greater attention on locating and dealing with witnesses than did LCR officers. The HCR officers were also somewhat more willing than LCR officers to use a more direct, factual line of questioning, in combination with a more psychological, indirect approach; LCR officers tended to rely exclusively on the latter approach. The HCR officers expressed more interest in follow-up investigation than did LCR officers, and they tended to agree more strongly than LCR officers with the statement that most adults arrested for felony offenses are guilty of the offense. The LCR officers were more inclined to regard sensitivity to the community as a trait of a successful officer.

We also examined the responses given by officers with high conviction rates to explore whether these officers use special techniques that might contribute to their ability to make consistently convictable arrests. While we cannot be certain that any particular technique was really related to an officer's high conviction rate, some potentially useful methods

were nonetheless revealed. Several HCR officers reported success in improving the cooperativeness of an existing witness by locating additional witnesses in order to create an atmosphere of mutual support. Several also emphasized the importance of persistence or "follow-through" in various aspects of post-arrest activity--collecting and processing physical evidence, locating and maintaining contact with witnesses, and obtaining any evidence that proves that the defendant committed the offense.

Some especially revealing survey results had to do not with differences between HCR and LCR officers, but with areas of agreement. Both groups of officers perceived limitations in the means to make arrests that hold up in court, and few incentives to do so as well. Both groups of officers expressed difficulty in obtaining information about the outcome of a case in court; the vast majority in both New York and Washington indicated that they were aware of no formal procedure for acquiring such information. Both groups of officers had received approximately the same level of official recognition for good performance in the form of commendations and awards.

Thus, it may be remarkable that the police are able to make the difference that they do, in terms of what happens after arrest. We found many officers in this study who make convictable arrests consistently, despite limited means for obtaining feedback about what happens after the arrest, despite limited incentives for making an arrest that will be easier for the prosecutor to work with, and despite the fact that these

officers typically have primary responsibilities that lie elsewhere--provision of public services, maintenance of public order, traffic control and safety, crowd control, community relations, provision of public information, internal administration, and so on.

It remains to determine how to bring about conditions that will improve the quality of the more than two million arrests for serious crimes made annually in the United States. Clearly, this task begins with intention and with the availability of needed information. Police officers will make better arrests when the intent to do so is greater. The results of this study indicate that too many officers show no signs of having a strong intention to make arrests that lead to conviction.

One potentially useful way for the police to improve the quality of their arrests is for every police officer--from the commissioner or chief to the patrolman--to be more aggressive in requesting feedback from the prosecutor about the court outcomes of cases brought earlier. The officer can ask: How did my arrests turn out? Was the evidence adequate? Were the witnesses cooperative? Were there any technical problems in the way that evidence was obtained? Did I provide sufficient post-arrest support in terms of follow-up investigation, witness contact, appearances in court, testimony, and so on? Should I do things differently next time?

And the commissioner or chief can ask: How is my department doing as a whole, as compared with previous periods

and other departments? Which officers need the most help in improving the quality of their arrests? Which officers are the most successful, and what can we learn from them to pass on to others in the department? Where do specific problem areas exist, in terms of obtaining and processing physical evidence, obtaining and maintaining witness support, and working with the prosecutor after arrest? Can the district attorney help me in interpreting the available information about what is happening after arrest? Can he help me by providing more information? Different information? What kind of information do I need most?

Arrest quality is, of course, not the only issue that police departments have to concern themselves with. By the same token, improving the quality of arrests is a long neglected area of police responsibility that need not come at the expense of other important spheres of police responsibility. Improvement in this area can even enhance the ability of the police to meet those other responsibilities. For example, by improving the quality of arrests, the police should be able to slow down the "revolving door" that enables many offenders to continue to plague the community and undermine respect for the entire justice system.

The police offer the first official line of defense against criminal activity. When an arrest is the appropriate police response--and in many instances it is not--the police need no longer make the arrest thinking that how it is made does not matter much. There can be no doubt that the police do make a difference--they determine largely what happens after arrest.

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