

**Reported Incidents between Intimate Partners:
An Analysis of Data from the Michigan Information Crime Reporting System**

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Introduction

Recent examinations of criminal activity between intimate partners have provided substantial insight into the phenomenon of domestic violence. Many of these studies have relied on data from the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), police records, or victim reports, and they have usually been conducted on one jurisdiction rather than across jurisdictions. This paper will expand on the current literature by examining incident-level measures of domestic violence across a sample of counties in the State of Michigan.

The goals of this paper are twofold. First, the paper will examine selected incidents of crime reported to the Michigan Department of State Police under the FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to demonstrate for both researchers and police departments the utility of using incident-based data. Second, the paper will look at incidents of crime between intimate partners that were reported in 1998 within a sample of Michigan counties. The nature of these data allow for the identification of the behavior independent of legal charges. Analyses will include the examination of incident characteristics across the counties within the sample as well as characteristics of incidents within each region in the sample--rural, urban, and metropolitan. Data for this study include all criminal incidents reported to the Michigan Department of State Police in 1998 from 17 fully NIBRS-compliant counties.

Literature Review

National Incident-Based Reporting System

The NIBRS reporting system is different than traditional aggregate reporting and offers a number of advantages over the summary reporting system. One of the most important advantages is the amount of detailed information that is captured on each incident reported to law enforcement. Under the summary reporting system, agencies only report information on the most serious offenses; the NIBRS system, however, does not restrict the number of offenses that can be reported for each incident. Incident-based reporting allows each criminal incident to be counted, whereas only the most serious crime is counted with the UCR system. The NIBRS system also collects data on more offense categories than UCR. NIBRS allows reporting of 22 crime categories, while the summary reporting system only requires that states report information on the eight index crimes. In addition to expanded offense data, NIBRS also collects detailed demographic information on victims, offenders, and arrestees, which is not collected under UCR. Finally, NIBRS collects pertinent information related to the date, time, and location of the criminal incident, weapon involvement, injuries sustained, and victim-offender relationship. This information is not collected through the summary reporting system.

Policing Domestic Violence in Urban and Rural Areas

There have been many changes in the way in which the public and criminal justice communities perceive crime between intimate partners. Traditionally domestic incidents were understood by the police as private matters that did not warrant formal intervention. The role of the police was that of a peacemaker, and officers emphasized order maintenance over traditional law enforcement (Wilson, 1968). Police were more likely to counsel individuals involved in a domestic incident than to invoke the full power of the law. Crimes between intimates were

classified as “personal” incidents; hence, officers rarely intervened using the formal implementation of law.

Since the 1980s, domestic incidents have been increasingly defined as criminal behavior. A number of societal and legal factors have influenced the change in public and police perceptions of domestic incidents. In 1981 and 1982, Sherman and Berk argued that mandatory arrest had a substantial negative, i.e., deterrent, effect on subsequent offending. This research had a significant impact on the criminal justice community and society in general. Within seven years of the initial study, 15 states had passed mandatory arrest laws for cases of domestic violence (Sherman, Smith, Schmidt, and Rogan, 1992). The importance of mandatory arrest laws was also reinforced in the courts. In *Thurman v. Connecticut*, a jury awarded a victim of domestic violence \$2.6 million on the basis of police negligence in failing to protect the woman and her family from an abusive husband (Chaney and Saltzstein, 1998). Many police departments have made significant changes in their official response policies related to crimes between intimate partners. There is little conclusive evidence, however, that demonstrates how the change in the law has affected the day-to-day policing of domestic violence.

Although awareness of the scope and severity of the problem of domestic violence has increased, there is considerable evidence that the majority of victims of domestic violence still do not report victimization to the police (Buzawa and Buzawa, 1996). Moreover, if a victim of domestic violence does report the crime, there is some evidence that the assailant is less likely to be arrested compared to other assailants who have committed the same act on a stranger. This hypothesis, often deemed the “leniency hypothesis,” suggests that individuals who beat their spouses, for example, are treated more leniently compared to other violent offenders (Fyfe, Klinger, and Flavin, 1997). Initially researchers argued that there was no empirical evidence

supporting the leniency hypothesis (Berk and Loseke, 1981; Oppenlander, 1982; Klinger, 1994; Worden and Pollitz, 1984), but more recent research argues that of incidents reported to the police, domestic incidents are significantly less likely to result in arrest compared to other criminal acts (Fyfe et al., 1997). Based on the limited number of studies conducted, it is difficult to discern if leniency in the policing of domestic violence does occur.

It is important to examine the factors associated with formal police response to domestic violence incidents. The size of the community has been one of the most salient predictors of police behavior in other research (see Weisheit, Wells, and Falcone, 1994). The role an officer plays often varies with the type of relationship he or she has with the community (Weisheit et al., 1994). In rural areas, police are expected to render a large variety of services; the majority of services provided are not related to traditionally defined law enforcement activities (Decker, 1979). Through these informal service requests, the community and the police become better acquainted, and this diminished social distance reduces the likelihood that police officers will formally intervene in personal disputes (Stinchcombe, 1963). From this research it follows that the policing of crimes between intimates varies across geographic regions. The following analyses examine the nature of the variation in crimes between intimate partners across three different regions of the State of Michigan.

Data and Methods

Sampling Frame

Data for this analysis were drawn from all criminal incidents reported to the Michigan Information Crime Reporting system (MICR) in 1998. The MICR system is the NIBRS-compliant data system administered by the Criminal Justice Information Center of the Michigan

Department of State Police. In 1998, 82% of policing agencies in Michigan, representing 65% of the population, submitted data through MICR. Of the remaining agencies, 16 (3% of the policing agencies in Michigan) are currently testing MICR, and 22 (4% of Michigan policing agencies) have committed in writing to adopting MICR.

Because of the lag in implementation of MICR reporting by the state's law enforcement agencies, it was necessary to select a sample of law enforcement agencies within the state for this analysis. The first phase of sample selection included identifying counties in which all agencies were fully MICR compliant. Although most counties have at least one agency that is MICR compliant, fully MICR-compliant counties were chosen for this analysis because agencies in these counties are more likely to have greater experience with the MICR system. Thirty-seven counties (45% of the total number of counties in Michigan) were fully MICR compliant in 1998. MICR-compliant counties represented 65% of the total population in Michigan.

The second sampling phase included the selection of MICR-compliant counties based on county population. The goal was to select counties that would represent the rural, urban, and metropolitan regions of the state. Because of the volume and complexity of the data, a sample of counties, 17 in all, were selected for analysis. Ten of the 17 were classified as rural,¹ signifying that they are *not* included within the State's nine metropolitan statistical areas. These counties were randomly selected from the 22 MICR-compliant rural counties for this analysis. The mean population of the rural counties included in this sample was 19,628²; rural counties represent 2 percent of the total population of Michigan and 9.4 percent of the project sample population.

¹ Alcona, Alger, Alpena, Arenac, Baraga, Benzie, Ionia, Lake, Mackinac, and Osceola.

² Population figures are based on population estimates for 1998 provided by the State of Michigan Office of Management and Budget.

Urban counties were defined as counties that were located within a metropolitan statistical area. Fifteen counties within the state meet this criterion; however, only six counties³ were fully MICR compliant in 1998, and all six were included in the sample. These counties had a mean population of 118,292 and represented 7 percent of the total population of Michigan and 34 percent of the project sample.

A final county was constructed that represents the Detroit metropolitan region. The metropolitan county is the only county located within the Detroit metropolitan statistical area that is fully MICR compliant; hence, it was chosen to represent the Detroit metro region. In 1998, the metropolitan county had the second largest population in the state, with 1,176,488 residents. The metropolitan county also represents 12 percent of the total population of Michigan and 56 percent of the project sample. Its population is seven times larger than any other county included in this sample. See Figure 1 for a map showing sample counties.

The final stage of data selection included selecting all incidents in which the victim and offender are identified as having an intimate relationship. Sample selection at this stage was based solely on the victim-offender relationship, irrespective of legal charges. An incident was identified as intimate if the victim-offender relationship was classified as legal spouse, common law spouse, divorcee, boyfriend or girlfriend, or homosexual domestic partner.

Analytic Technique

Michigan Incident Crime Reporting (MICR), Michigan's incident-based reporting system, provides data to the FBI through the National Incident-Based Reporting System. Like NIBRS, MICR compiles information by incident on offense type, offender and victim characteristics and relationship, arrests, type of property lost or seized, and drug involvement.

³ Bay, Berrien, Grand Traverse, Livingston, Monroe, Van Buren.

An incident is defined as one or more offenses committed by the same offender or group of offenders acting in concert, at the same time or place (FBI, 1992). Unlike summary reporting that collects single-level data by offense, NIBRS allows data to be collected on a number of offenders, offenses, and victims within one incident. Because of the hierarchical structure of the data, incident data are stored in six separate files: administrative, offender, offense, victim, arrest, and property information. Each agency assigns separate incidents a unique incident number that is then used to identify each element within the six data files and link separate elements of the data files.

Although it is possible to examine MICR data separately by segment, there are benefits to linking data segments so that a linear file can be constructed. Because the goal of this analysis was both to demonstrate the utility of MICR and to examine all possible characteristics of a given incident, all segments of the data were linked by incident number. We also constructed a unique identifier for each incident by linking the incident number and the originating agency identification number for each incident.

Once the identifier was constructed, data segments were read into SPSS for analysis. Because MICR data is structured by incident, it was possible to collect multiple data characteristics--up to 20 offenders, 5 victims, 7 arrests, and 10 property or drug elements--within a given incident. Using the lead forward commands in SPSS, data were brought up to one line by incident number. The lag procedure was conducted separately with each of the five data segments. The incident number was then used to link all data segments. By creating this linear file that included all elements of the original hierarchical files, it was possible to analyze all characteristics of the incident as a whole instead of examining data elements separately. Overall, 708,823 unique incidents were reported to the Michigan State Police under MICR in 1998. Of

those incidents, 236,552 were reported by agencies within the sample of counties included in this study. Incidents that occurred between intimate partners accounted for 11,312 incidents in the sample jurisdictions.

Results

Of the 236,552 incidents reported by the sampled agencies to the Michigan State Police in 1998, 11,312 incidents (4.8%) occurred between intimate partners. Twenty percent of the incidents reported (47,460) occurred between individuals other than intimate partners.⁴ The vast majority of incidents (178,782) did not identify a victim, or the nature of the criminal act did not include a victim (e.g., drug offenses). Because it is difficult to ascertain if the nature of the criminal act precluded the reporting of a victim-offender relationship, the remaining analyses will only include incidents in which the victim-offender relationship was known. The remaining sample includes 57,770 incidents, of which 20 percent (11,312) occurred between intimate partners and 80 percent (46,458) between non-intimate individuals.

The number of incidents reported between intimates by region does not differ markedly from what would be expected based on regional populations. The metropolitan county represents 54 percent of the project sample and also accounts for 53 percent of the intimate incidents. Urban counties represent 34 percent of the total project sample and 40 percent of the intimate incidents. Ten percent of the sample population resides in rural communities and 7 percent of the incidents reported between intimates in this sample occurred within rural counties.

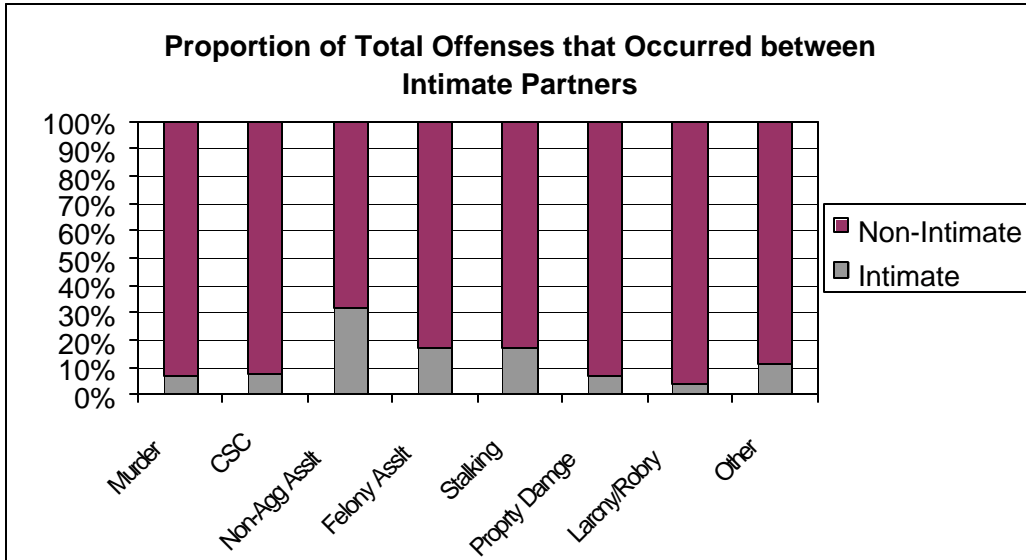
⁴ Victim-offender relationship: parent, sibling, child, grandparent, grandchild, in-law, stepparent, stepchild, stepsibling, other family member, acquaintance, friend, neighbor, babysittee, child of boyfriend or girlfriend, employee, employer, otherwise known, offender, stranger.

The proportion of incidents that occurred between intimates also does not vary significantly by region. In all regions incidents between intimates accounted for approximately 20 percent of all incidents.⁵

Proportion of Total Incidents that Occurred between Intimates By Region		
	<i>Non-Intimate</i>	<i>Intimate</i>
Metropolitan	82.9% 26,248	17.1% 5,409
Urban	80.5% 17,207	19.5% 4,165
Rural	84.5% 4,005	15.5% 736

When examining the types of offenses reported for intimate compared to non-intimate relationships, it is evident that the offense with the highest proportion of intimate partners is non-aggravated assault. Over one third (31.7%) of non-aggravated assaults reported in this sample occurred between intimate partners. Felonious assaults between intimates also accounted for 16.8 percent of all reported felonious assaults, and stalking between intimates for 17.2 percent of all stalkings. Murders between intimates accounted for 6.6 percent of the total murders, and 7.6 percent of the criminal sexual conduct (CSC) offenses occurred between intimate partners.

⁵ These statistics only include incidents in which a relationship was specified.



There was little variation in the proportion of offenses committed by intimates within each region across offense types. Urban areas had the highest proportion (34%) of non-aggravated assaults between intimates. The metropolitan county had the highest proportion (18%) of reported felonious assaults between intimates. Although the overall number of murders reported in rural areas was small, the proportion of murders that occurred between intimate partners (30%) was significantly higher than the overall rate between intimates of 6.6 percent. Overall, there were few significant regional variations in the type of crimes that occurred between intimate partners.

		Percentage of Offenses Involving Intimate Partners							
		<i>Murder</i>	<i>CSC</i>	<i>Non-Agg Assault</i>	<i>Felony Assault</i>	<i>Stalking</i>	<i>Damage to Property</i>	<i>Larceny/ Robbery</i>	<i>Other</i>
Metropolitan									
Intimate	0 (0)	8% (76)	31% (6,822)	18% (757)	16% (824)	7% (379)	4% (150)	9% (188)	
Urban									
Intimate	5% (2)	8% (78)	34% (29,054)	16% (286)	21% (336)	7% (271)	4% (101)	14% (184)	
Rural									
Intimate	30% (3)	5% (20)	29% (518)	12% (49)	22% (37)	5% (43)	4% (26)	11% (38)	

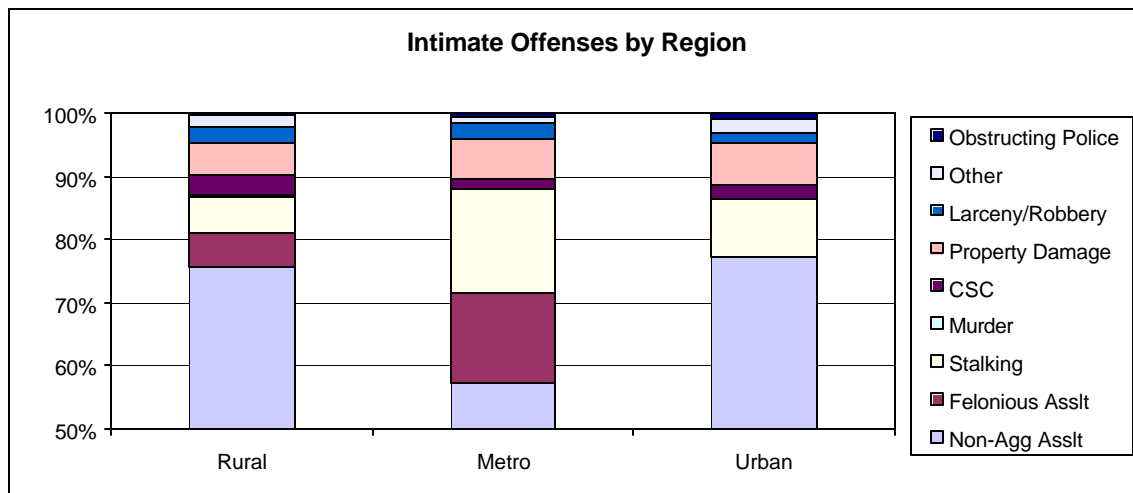
Offenses between Intimates

In addition to analysis of the proportion of offense types that involved intimate partners, it is also important to examine the specific offenses that intimate partners committed. The majority of offenses that occurred between intimates in this sample involved assault. Over two thirds (66%) of the offenses reported were for non-aggravated assault. An additional 10% of offenses were for felonious assault. Five homicides were reported in this sample. Stalking and intimidation was the third most reported crime between intimates--11% of all offenses reported. Property crime did not account for a significant proportion of offenses between intimates; 6 percent of offenses reported were for damage to property and 2 percent for larceny and robbery.

Offenses Involving Intimate Partners		
<i>Offense</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Murder	8	0.1
CSC	232	2.1
Non-Aggravated Assault	7,504	66.3
Felonious Assault	1,098	9.7
Stalking and Intimidation	1,278	11.3
Damage to Property	672	5.9
Larceny or Robbery	256	2.3
Obstructing Police	69	0.6
Other Minor Offenses	205	1.8
Total	11,312	100.0

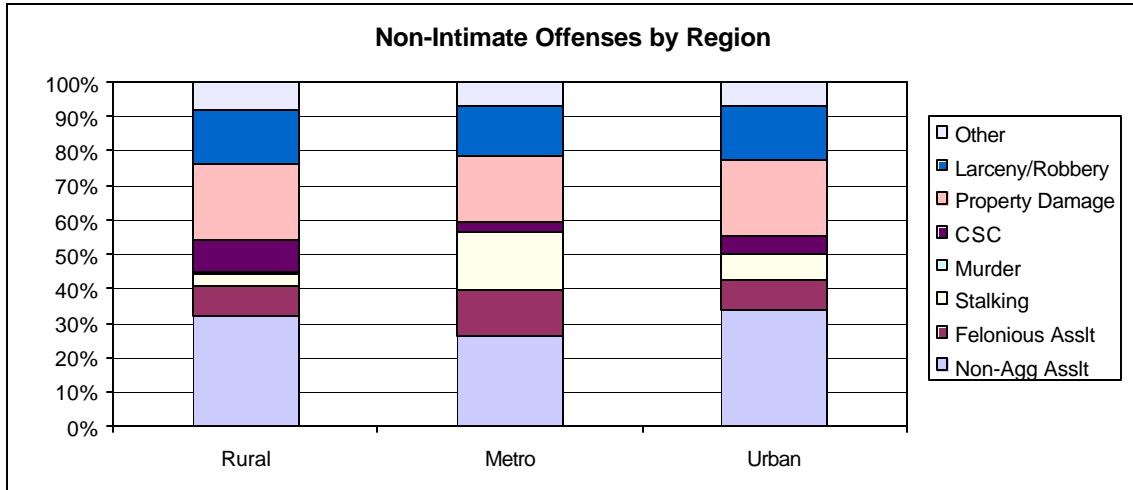
Assault crimes were also the most commonly reported crimes between intimates in each of the three regions; however, the relative proportion of these crimes varied significantly. In all regions non-aggravated assault was the most reported crime between intimates, felonious assault the second, and stalking the third. Non-aggravated assault represents approximately two-thirds of all criminal activity between intimates in both the rural and urban regions (76% and 72%, respectively); however, non-aggravated assault only represented 57% of intimate incidents in the metropolitan county. The metropolitan county did have a larger proportion of incidents of felonious assault than the other regions. Fourteen percent of all incidents reported in the metropolitan county were for felonious assault, and In fact, 62 percent of all felonious assaults between intimates reported occurred in the metropolitan county. Felonious assault accounted for 6 percent of all reported intimate crimes in rural regions and 7 percent in urban. The metropolitan county also had the most incidents of stalking and intimidation; 17 percent of all reported intimate incidents in the metropolitan county were for this crime, and 62 percent of all

stalking or intimidation incidents between intimates were in the metropolitan county. Six percent of intimate incidents in rural counties were for stalking and intimidation and 9 percent were for this crime category in urban counties. The chart below contains additional information on offenses between intimates by region.⁶



When offense type is examined for incidents that were reported between non-intimate persons, the pattern of offenses changes. Non-aggravated assault remains the most commonly reported offense; however, damage to property and larceny and robbery are the second and third most commonly reported offenses. It is important to note in both graphs that the metropolitan county has the smallest proportion of arrests for non-aggravated assault; however, the metropolitan county also has the highest proportion of incidents of felonious assaults and stalking. These proportions reflect the patterns found in the distribution of intimate offenses among regions.

⁶ Note: The scale for this chart begins at 50% instead of 0%.



Victim - Offender Relationship

Of the incidents reported between intimate partners, the majority (51%) occurred between boyfriends and girlfriends. Crimes between spouses accounted for 36 percent of all crimes between intimates, while 7 percent of crimes were between ex-spouses and less than 1 percent were between homosexual partners.

Victim-Offender Relationship		
<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Boyfriend or Girlfriend	5,814	51.4
Spouse	4,060	35.9
Ex-Spouse	748	6.6
Common Law Spouse	607	5.4
Homosexual Relationship	83	0.7
Total	11,312	100.0

Incidents between boyfriend and girlfriends were also the most common in each region. Over half of the intimate incidents in the metropolitan county and urban regions and 46 percent of all incidents in rural areas occurred between boyfriends and girlfriends . The next most common relationship was that of spouses. Rural areas had the largest percentage of incidents between spouses with 41 percent of all incidents; approximately one third of all intimate incidents were between spouses in the urban and rural regions. Incidents between homosexual partners accounted for less than 1 percent of victim-offender relationships reported, regardless of the region examined.

Victim-Offender Relationship by Region			
<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Metropolitan</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Boyfriend or Girlfriend	45.5%	55.8%	50.0%
Spouse	40.7%	32.7%	36.5%
Ex-Spouse	6.0%	8.0%	5.3%
Common Law Spouse	7.3%	2.8%	7.3%
Homosexual Relationship	0.5%	0.7%	0.9%

Victim and Offender Characteristics

With the exception of gender, individual characteristics of victims and offenders were very similar. The mean age of victims was 31.4 years of age, with a standard deviation of 10.77 years, while the corresponding age for those offenders was 33.3, with a standard deviation of 9.76. Ninety percent of the victims were under 45 years of age, and one third (32.2%) of the victims were under the age of 25. One fifth of the offenders were under 25 (19.5%) and 90 percent of the offenders were under 45 years of age. The majority of both victims and offenders were white (almost 80 percent), one fifth were black, and the remainder were Asian Pacific

Islander, American Indian, or another race. Finally, it was not surprising to find that most victims were female (80.7 percent) and most offenders were male (82.6 percent).

With the exception of race, characteristics of victims and offenders in the regional analysis did not vary significantly from those of the overall sample. The majority of victims were white women in their thirties. The ratio of white to non-white victims does vary by region. In rural and urban areas 94 and 87 percent, respectively, of the sample were white, whereas 68 percent of the victims in the metropolitan county were white. The majority of offenders are white males in their mid-thirties. The proportion of white to non-white offenders is essentially identical to that of victims, with the largest proportion of white offenders in rural and urban counties and a smaller percentage in the metropolitan county.

Victim Characteristics by Region			
	<i>Rural Areas</i>	<i>Metropolitan</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Mean Age	31.48	31.64	31.03
Sex			
<i>Female</i>	81.4%	81.0%	79.9%
<i>Male</i>	18.6%	18.6%	20.0%
Race			
<i>White</i>	93.7%	67.8%	86.8%
<i>Black</i>	2.8%	30.4%	11.7%
<i>Other</i>	3.5%	1.8%	1.5%

Offender Characteristics by Region			
ARRESTEES	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Metropolitan</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Mean Age	32.92	33.98	33.13
Sex			
<i>Female</i>	15.1%	18.8%	17.7%
<i>Male</i>	84.9%	81.2%	82.3%
Race			
<i>White</i>	91.2%	68.8%	84.0%
<i>Black</i>	5.5%	30.9%	14.0%
<i>Other</i>	3.3%	0.3%	2.0%

Incident Characteristics

The majority of incidents (82%) occurred in the home. In addition, 8.6 percent occurred at work, and 6.3 percent occurred on the highway or road. There were no appreciable differences in crime location across the three regions.

The majority of victims sustained some form of injury as a result of the intimate incident. Over half (56%) of the incidents resulted in minor injuries, 42 percent had no related injuries, and the remainder resulted in major injuries (e.g., death, broken bones).

Type of Injury Sustained			
<i>Type of Injury</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
Fatal	8	0.1	0.1
Apparent Broken Bones	24	0.2	0.3
Possible Internal Injury	14	0.1	0.2
Severe Laceration	88	0.8	1.0
Apparent Minor Injury	4928	43.6	56.1
Other Minor Injury	39	0.3	0.4
Loss of Teeth	7	0.1	0.1
Unconsciousness	6	0.1	0.1
None	3672	32.5	41.8
Total	8786	77.7	100.00
Missing/Unknown	2526	22.3	

Half of the incidents reported were not characterized by the use of a weapon in the commission of the crime. The most common weapon used (44%) was a personal weapon (e.g., teeth, fists). The remaining 6 percent of incidents involved the use of guns or knives.

However, there were differences found in the percentage of offenses in which a weapon was used among the regions. The majority of crimes committed in urban and rural areas involved the use of a personal weapon (58.3 percent and 55.4 percent, respectively)⁷, but in the metropolitan county, 68.9 percent of all intimate offenses involved no weapon. Although it is impossible to discern from the data itself, the difference in personal weapon usage in the metropolitan county may be due to reporting or organizational coding errors. Agencies within the metropolitan county may have reported incidents characterized by personal weapons as incidents in which no weapon was involved. Because MICR requires that agencies categorize

incident characteristics in a different manner than traditional reporting, it is not surprising that certain anomalies arise.

Weapon Use by Region			
<i>Type of Weapon</i>	<i>Metropolitan</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
None	68.9%	33.9%	38.5%
Personal Weapon	25.4%	58.3%	55.4%
Other	3.1%	4.4%	3.6%
Gun	0.8%	1.2%	1.3%
Knife	1.8%	2.2%	1.2%

Discussion and Conclusions

Despite the many advantages of the NIBRS system, it is important to note some significant limitations to using this type of data at the present time. First, the number of jurisdictions reporting NIBRS data limits any type of analysis conducted. Although Michigan has made significant progress in implementing MICR, many of the state’s largest cities still are not reporting data. At the time of the analysis, 8 of the 12 cities with a population over 100,000 did not report to MICR. Limited participation is also a significant limitation of NIBRS in general. The majority of the metropolitan police departments in the U.S. have not made the conversion to an incident-based reporting system. Thus any generalization based on NIBRS data should be generalized only to MICR- and NIBRS-compliant agencies because of the lag in conversion to these reporting systems.

⁷ Personal weapon includes hands, feet, teeth, and other body parts.

The accuracy of data reporting is also a problem. NIBRS reporting requires that many different data elements be collected for each incident. Even for MICR-reporting agencies, it is difficult to collect and report data for every element within each incident. Definitions and reporting requirements for certain forms of criminal activity have also been changed or added (e.g., sexual assault). Although agencies have invested substantial time and training in the conversion to NIBRS and MICR, certain initial data reporting inconsistencies should be expected. One advantage of the system is that it is possible to make changes or additions to reported information; hence, agencies can file changes to the reported incident data if needed. Because of the changes in offense classifications and possible limitations to reporting accuracy, however, it may be inappropriate to directly compare crime statistics from the Uniform Crime Reports to that of the NIBRS system.

A final limitation to the NIBRS collection system is its failure to collect geographically based incident data. The NIBRS system does collect categorical crime on the incident location; however, it does not include a field for address of specific incidents so that they may be mapped geographically. State-based NIBRS systems are allowed to augment data collection systems to address specific state needs, and MICR currently includes a field for geocodes by incident. Not all MICR-reporting agencies, however, have begun reporting this information.

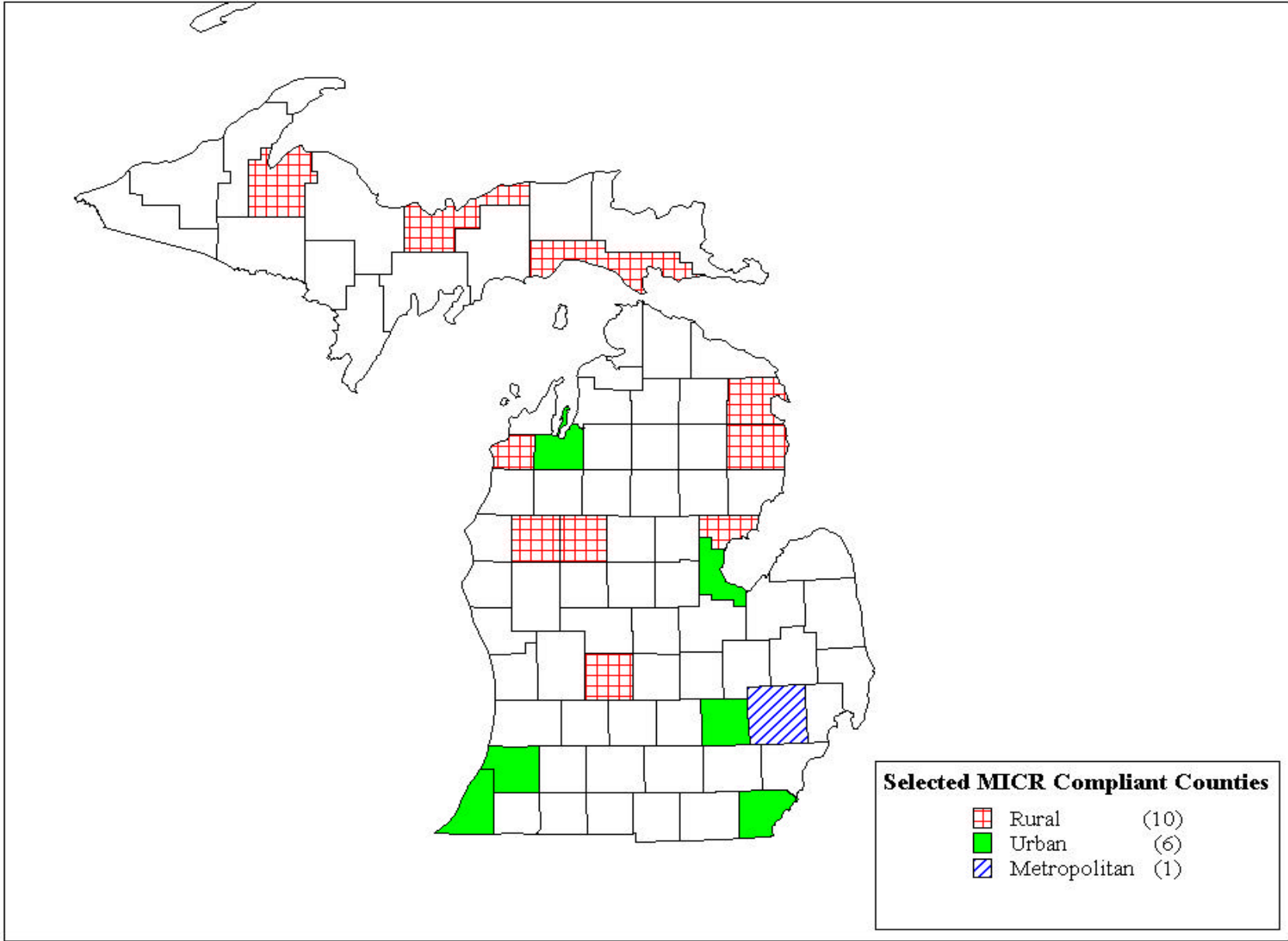
It should be noted that a limitation of this study is that it attempts to examine domestic violence solely through the use of official records. As a result, the data represent only incidents that have been reported to the police, and not those that were not reported. Future research on intimate violence incidents could be improved by examining both official reports and victim self-reports, so that a larger picture of crime between intimates could be seen.

Despite the current limitations of the NIBRS and MICR systems, these data systems offer many advantages over traditional aggregate reporting. Incident-based data allow both researchers and practitioners to examine criminal activity in greater depth than could be done with summary reporting. The type of offense no longer drives data analyses alone. It is now possible to examine criminal activity for a subset of victims or offenders, by location, or by type of injury. This analysis of incidents between intimates is only one example of the possibilities that NIBRS data provide. The flexibility and depth of data collected within NIBRS and MICR will allow a more detailed picture of crime to be drawn for both practitioners and citizens in the future.

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Figure 1: Selected MICR Compliant Counties





Sample of MICR Compliant Counties

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Statistics



Urban Counties

Rural Counties

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