

City of Milwaukee Settlement Agreement

Semiannual Analysis of Traffic Stops, Field Interviews, No-action Encounters, and Frisks



The Crime and Justice Institute

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Introduction

On July 23, 2018, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin entered an order adopting a Settlement Agreement (SA) among the Parties to *Charles Collins, et al. v. City of Milwaukee, et al.*¹ The Plaintiffs in the case alleged that there had been racially disparate and unjustified stops, frisks, and other unconstitutional police actions. As required by the Settlement Agreement, the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) revised their Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) to reflect constitutional policing standards specific to the Fourth Amendment’s protection against unreasonable searches and seizures. SOP 085 (“Citizen Contacts, Field Interviews, Search and Seizure”) defines reasonable suspicion as “individualized, objective, and articulable facts that, within the totality of the circumstances, lead a police member to reasonably believe that criminal activity has been, is being, or is about to be committed by a specific person or people.” Additionally, for a frisk to be warranted during a stop, “the police member must be able to articulate specific facts, circumstances, and conclusions that support individualized, objective, and articulable reasonable suspicion that the person is armed and dangerous.”²

The Settlement Agreement stipulates that MPD must show sustained and continuing improvement in constitutional policing based in part on whether the legal basis for encounters is sufficiently articulated (SA V.1.d.iv-vii³). Overall, MPD must be able to demonstrate that fewer than 15 percent of reported traffic stops, field interviews, and no-action encounters fail to show individualized, objective, and articulable reasonable suspicion (IOARS) of criminal activity. Additionally, MPD must be able to demonstrate that fewer than 15 percent of documented frisks fail to show IOARS that the subject of the stop was armed and dangerous.⁴

To measure MPD’s compliance with the Fourth Amendment in conducting traffic stops, field interviews, no-action encounters, and frisks, the Settlement Agreement calls for the Crime and Justice Institute (CJI), as the Consultant, to conduct a review of randomly selected sample of encounter data no less often than semiannually (SA V.A.3.a-e). This report is the eighth review in this series. The unit of analysis is a discretionary police encounter, in that the sample consists only of stops wherein the officer had discretion to initiate the stop, rather than stops conducted to fulfill arrest warrants or in which the officer was otherwise directed to conduct the stop. Through random selection, only one person in multi-person stops is included in the sample. Additionally, only forcible frisks are included in the sample, defined in this report as frisks not conducted as part of a search incident to arrest, or to convey or temporarily seat a person in a squad car.

This report details the analysis of a randomly selected sample of stops and a randomly selected sample of frisks representing police encounters that took place between July 1 and December 31, 2023. As a part of the Settlement Agreement, MPD is required to provide encounter data to CJI on a quarterly basis (SA IV.A.3), which include the electronic, digitized records for traffic stops, field interviews, no-action encounters, frisks, and searches. We base the findings in this report on the data MPD provides.

¹ Order and Settlement Agreement (July 23, 2018). *Charles Collins, et al. v. City of Milwaukee, et al.*, (17-CV-00234-JPS) United States District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Division.

² Milwaukee Police Department Standard Operating Procedure 085 “Citizen Contacts, Field Interviews, Search and Seizure.” Effective September 6, 2022.

³ Citations to a specific paragraph of the Settlement Agreement will appear in this report as SA followed by the paragraph number.

⁴ Numerical thresholds are referenced in SA V.1.d.i-vii.

The first section of this report provides an overview of the population of encounters from which the sample is drawn, the sampling procedure, and an overview of the sample characteristics. Subsequent sections detail the analysis of IOARS for stops and frisks, analysis of hit rates for contraband, including by race and ethnicity, and a comparison of findings from this reporting period to findings published in previous semiannual reports.⁵

Population and Sample Characteristics

Encounter Type and District Breakdown

Data for the second half of 2023 represent 13,727 police encounters involving 14,864 people.⁶ Officers record and document traffic stops, field interviews, no-action encounters, and frisks in two databases—Traffic and Criminal Software (TraCS) and Records Management System (RMS)—depending on the nature of the encounter and the type of work assigned to officers during specific tours of duty. Most encounters in the TraCS database involve traffic stops; non-traffic pedestrian stops initiated by officers from their police vehicles are also included. The RMS database primarily holds data on pedestrian encounters categorized as field interviews or no-action encounters.

Table 1 shows a breakdown of encounters by type and police district. Each “encounter” represents a unique person involved in a documented police interaction where multiple people can be involved in a single event. There were 13,337 traffic stops documented during the second half of 2023 with District 2 documenting the largest proportion of total traffic stops for the period (19 percent). District 3 documented the most field interviews with 181 of the 887 falling within the district (20.4 percent). There were 22 no-action encounters documented during the period with District 2 documenting the largest number of no-action encounters among all the districts (13 no-action encounters). As with other previous semiannual reviews, the data includes citations and warnings that do not have corresponding RMS or TraCS forms (N=618). These citations and warnings lack the necessary information for us to properly categorize them as field interviews or traffic stops and thus we analyze them separately from the other stop categories.

For encounters documented in the TraCS database, the district is identified by cross-referencing data with information from the Computer Aided Dispatch (CAD) system.⁷ Encounters represented by only citation or warning forms suffer from the highest degree of missing district data because of an inability to correlate with CAD data. For such encounters where the data does not include district information, we use latitude and longitude information present in the TraCS data files to map encounters onto MPD police districts. This compensates for the lack of district information due to uncorrelated CAD data and offers a more complete picture of where these encounters occurred.⁸

⁵ Settlement Agreement reports published by CJI can be found on our website: <https://www.cjinstitute.org/city-of-milwaukee-settlement-agreement/> or on the FPC website: <https://city.milwaukee.gov/fpc/Reports/Crime-and-Justice-Institute-Reports.htm>

⁶ This total omits 272 CAD entries that did not have associated TraCS or RMS forms and 84 TraCS entries that did not match to CAD and lack individual level information. These may represent additional encounters.

⁷ CAD data represent information drawn from the dispatch record for each encounter, including the location of the encounter, communication between officers and dispatchers, and the call type for the encounter.

⁸ Esri ArcGIS software was used to geocode latitude and longitude for encounters that did not match to CAD but had location information present in other files. Using this process, we were able to identify district information for 358 encounters from TraCS. We used the MPD police district shapefile available on the City of Milwaukee [Open Data Portal](#) to obtain police district boundaries.

Table 1. Police encounters by type and district. July – December 2023

	TRAFFIC STOP-TRACS	FIELD INTERVIEW-RMS	NO-ACTION ENCOUNTER-RMS	CITATION/WARNING ONLY	TOTAL
DISTRICT 1	330 (2.5%)	25 (2.8%)	1 (4.5%)	11 (1.8%)	367 (2.5%)
DISTRICT 2	2,533 (19.0%)	143 (16.1%)	13 (59.1%)	74 (12.0%)	2,763 (18.6%)
DISTRICT 3	1,868 (14.0%)	181 (20.4%)	4 (18.2%)	50 (8.1%)	2,103 (14.1%)
DISTRICT 4	1,841 (13.8%)	117 (13.2%)	1 (4.5%)	39 (6.3%)	1,998 (13.4%)
DISTRICT 5	1,900 (14.2%)	174 (19.6%)	2 (9.1%)	52 (8.4%)	2,128 (14.3%)
DISTRICT 6	2,297 (17.2%)	57 (6.4%)	0 (0.0%)	22 (3.6%)	2,376 (16.0%)
DISTRICT 7	1,918 (14.4%)	176 (19.8%)	1 (4.5%)	46 (7.4%)	2,141 (14.4%)
NULL/OUT	650 (4.9%)	14 (1.6%)	0 (0.0%)	324 (52.4%)	988 (6.6%)
GRAND TOTAL	13,337 (89.7%)	887 (6.0%)	22 (0.1%)	618 (4.2%)	14,864 (100.0%)

Notes:

¹ The numbers in this table represent the number of encounters per person that was involved in the encounter. For example, if there were two field interviews in District 1 which involved two individuals each, the total for field interviews in District 1 would be four.

² "NULL/OUT" refers to encounters in which the data indicated "NULL" or "OUT" in the police district field.

³ The percentages for the grand totals are the percentages for that type of encounter out of the total encounters. The percentages for the districts are the percentages for that district out of the total number of the type of encounter in the column.

Table 2 shows the breakdown of frisk types for the second half of 2023. The majority of the 237 frisks documented during this period were considered forcible frisks (76.4 percent). Manual data review of officer narratives regarding reasons for a frisk indicated 38 frisks conducted specifically to seat someone in a squad car during the encounter, four encounters that were searches incident to arrest, and nine frisks specifically so the officer could convey a person to another location. Reasons for five frisks were unclearly documented.

Table 2. Frisks by type. July – December 2023

	NUMBER OF FRISKS	PERCENT OF TOTAL FRISKS
FORCIBLE	181	76.4%
INCIDENT TO ARREST	4	1.7%
FOR CONVEYANCE	9	3.8%
SQUAD CAR DETENTION	38	16.0%
UNCLEAR	5	2.1%
TOTAL	237	100.0%

Table 3 provides a breakdown of the forcible frisks by type of encounter and district. Most frisks occurred during field interviews rather than traffic stops (77.9 percent and 22.1 percent, respectively). Districts 3 and 7 conducted the largest share of frisks among the police districts (21.5 percent and 26.5 percent, respectively).

Table 3. Forcible frisks by encounter type and district. July – December 2023

	TRAFFIC STOP-TRACS	FIELD INTERVIEW-RMS	TOTAL FRISKS
DISTRICT 1	1 (2.5%)	6 (4.3%)	7 (3.9%)
DISTRICT 2	5 (12.5%)	19 (13.5%)	24 (13.3%)
DISTRICT 3	6 (15.0%)	33 (23.4%)	39 (21.5%)
DISTRICT 4	9 (22.5%)	19 (13.5%)	28 (15.5%)
DISTRICT 5	3 (7.5%)	24 (17.0%)	27 (14.9%)
DISTRICT 6	3 (7.5%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (1.7%)
DISTRICT 7	10 (25%)	38 (27.0%)	48 (26.5%)
NULL/OUT	3 (1.7%)	2 (1.1%)	5 (2.8%)
GRAND TOTAL	40 (22.1%)	141 (77.9%)	181 (100.0%)

Notes:

¹ The percentages for the grand totals are the percentages for that type of encounter out of the total encounters.

² The percentages for the districts are the number of encounters in that district out of the total number of the type of encounter.

³ "NULL/OUT" refers to encounters in which the data indicated "NULL" or "OUT" in the police district field.

Sampling Strategy

We drew two random samples from collected data to complete the required IOARS analysis. The sample size is a statistically significant representation of encounters and frisks, with a confidence level of 95 percent and a margin of error of five percent. An encounter is defined as a discretionary stop by police, categorized as a traffic stop, field interview, or no-action encounter. Citations or warnings that lack additional corresponding information in TraCS or RMS are also considered encounters. A frisk is an action that occurs during a police encounter and is sampled separately.

Because officers record most encounters in TraCS (89.7 percent), we stratified the stop sample to oversample field interviews, no-action encounters and encounters with only citations or warnings for documentation, allowing us to gain a better understanding of these encounters. The resulting sample included 373 encounters: 262 traffic stops (70.2 percent), 79 field interviews (21.2 percent), 15 citation/warnings (4.0 percent), and 17 no-action encounters (4.6 percent).⁹

We did not stratify the frisk sample by encounter type. Frisks occur more frequently during field interviews, but the proportion of frisks documented in TraCS was substantial enough to have confidence in a non-stratified random sample. As with the encounter sample, we randomly select one frisk per encounter when multiple subjects are frisked during an incident.

Decision Rules

The Settlement Agreement does not specify decision rules for determining IOARS. We consulted MPD training materials, SOPs, previous research, and subject matter experts to establish decision rules to determine whether

⁹ Previous to the October 2022 analysis, the stratification included approximately 55 percent traffic stops, 20 percent field interviews, 20 percent citation/warnings only, and 5 percent no-action encounters.

officers sufficiently documented IOARS in the encounter and frisk samples.¹⁰ These decision rules are consistent with previous semiannual analyses.

Decision Rule #1: “Speed Violation” stops demonstrate IOARS.

Stops occurring because of speeding violations meet IOARS and no further documentation is necessary to justify the stop. This is because speeding represents visual and observable cues that the person has engaged in a traffic violation.

Decision Rule #2: “Vehicle Registration Violation” and “Vehicle Equipment Violation” stops demonstrate IOARS if officers document the observable registration or equipment violation that prompted the stop.

Officers must indicate in narrative fields the specific nature of the vehicle registration or equipment violation. Examples include expired registration, missing registration, improperly affixed registration, and brake light, headlight, plate, tinted window, or muffler violations. We coded encounters marked as vehicle registration or equipment violations that do not have supporting text regarding the registration or equipment violation observed prior to initiating the stop as a failure to document IOARS.

Decision Rule #3: Stops that are not speed, vehicle registration, or vehicle equipment violations are examined to judge whether IOARS was present prior to initiating the stop.

We determine IOARS to be sufficiently documented if narrative text indicates an observable and legally justified reason for the stop. Examples include stop sign violations, traffic light violations, blocking traffic, open intoxicants, and seatbelt violations. If an officer documents that loitering was the stop justification, the narrative needs to include details about the violated loitering ordinance, such as “loitering in area where ‘no loitering’ signs posted.”

Decision Rule #4: Field interviews documented in RMS must include narrative that specifies IOARS was present prior to initiating the stop.

Examples that meet the IOARS threshold include truancy, traffic violations or rules of the road, illegal loitering as violation of ordinance, vehicle registration infractions, and matching description of a suspect. If officers specify the reason for the stop as matching the description of a suspect, they must provide specific information about how the person matched the suspect description.

Decision Rule #5: No-action encounters must include narrative that specifies IOARS was present prior to initiating the stop.

No-action encounters are interactions in which officers briefly question a person about that person, or that person’s own actions or behavior but do not obtain the subject’s personal information or conduct any other police action such as a frisk. The examples listed above apply to no-action encounters as well.

¹⁰ For traffic stops, when officers indicate several violations as the reasons for initiating the stop, the decision rules prioritize reasons for stops and the necessary IOARS documentation needed to justify the stop. For example, if an officer indicates “speeding” and “other rules of the road” as the reason for the stop, Decision Rule #1 determines that the officer provided adequate IOARS documentation to make the stop without further explanation of the “other rules of the road” violation.

Decision Rule #6: Frisks must meet the guidelines of SOP 085 and include narrative about the IOARS that the person is armed and immediately dangerous.

SOP 085 indicates that “members may not use only one of the below factors on their own to justify a frisk as more than one of these or other factors must be present”:

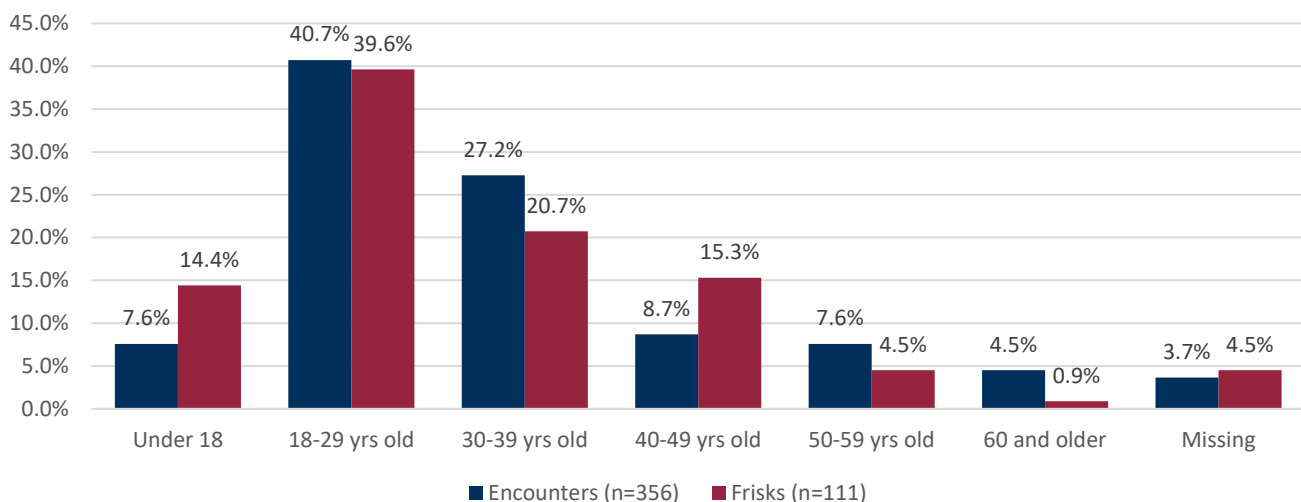
- The type of crime suspected – particularly in crimes of violence where the use or threat of deadly weapons is involved.
- Number of subjects vs. police members present.
- Police member vs. subject factors (age and gender considerations).
- Factors such as time of day, location, or neighborhood where the stop occurs.
- Prior knowledge of the subject’s use of force and/or propensity to carry deadly weapons.
- The appearance and demeanor of the subject.

As articulated in SOP 085, if the following condition alone is present, the frisk is justified: “Visual indications that suggest that the subject is carrying a firearm or other deadly weapon.” Boilerplate language such as “officer safety” is not considered adequate to meet the IOARS standard for this condition.

Encounter and Frisk Sample Characteristics

Figures 1, 2, and 3 provide an overview of the characteristics of the individuals that police officers stopped from July through December 2023. Young adults (18 to 29 year-olds) represent almost 41 percent of individuals involved in encounters and approximately 40 percent of frisks (Figure 1). Figure 2 presents the breakdown of encounters and frisks by gender and illustrates that males represent most encounters and frisks (70.8 percent and 87.4 percent, respectively). Figure 3 shows the percent of police encounters and frisks in the sample by race and ethnicity. Approximately two-thirds of the subjects of police encounters are Black (66.5 percent), and Black individuals make up an even greater proportion of individuals that are frisked (82 percent).

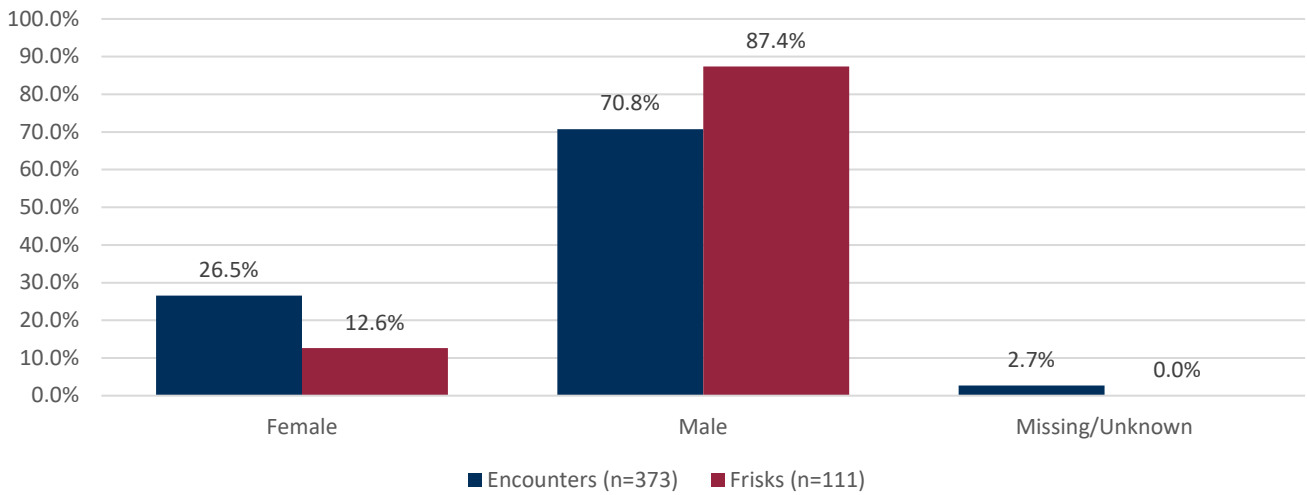
Figure 1. Percent of encounters and frisks by age group. July – December 2023



Notes:

¹ Age represents the person’s age at the time of the encounter, given date-of-birth information. Encounter totals exclude no-action encounters because information about subject age is not documented during no-action encounters. “Missing” refers to encounters where numerical age could not be computed because encounter date or date of birth information were missing. For field interviews, the age_code variable in the Inform_FieldinterviewPerson file was used when a numerical age could not be computed.

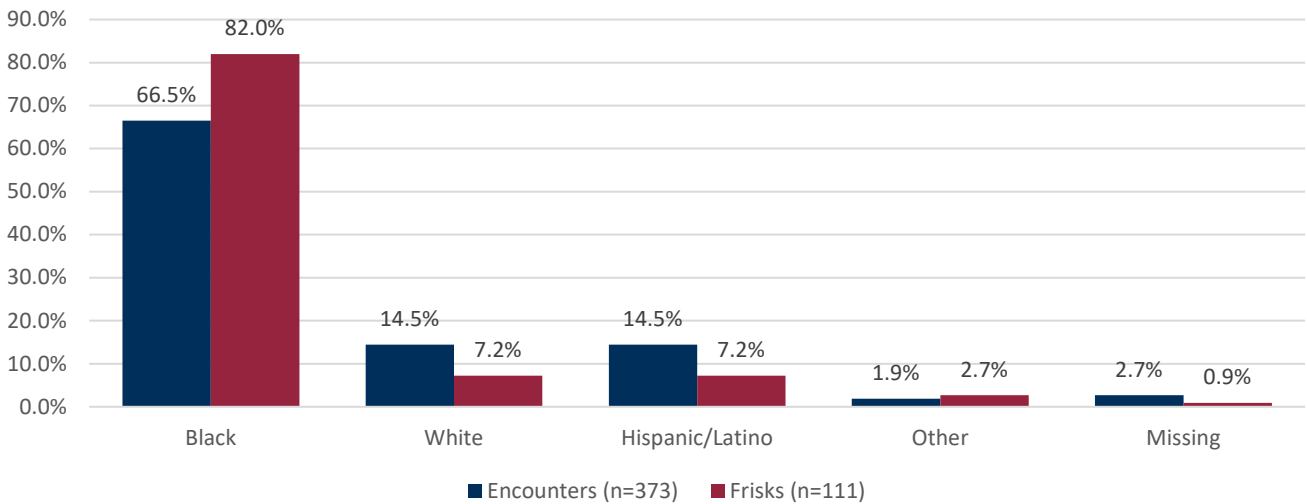
Figure 2. Percent of encounters and frisks by gender. July – December 2023



Notes:

¹ “Missing/Unknown” refers to instances in which the gender information was either blank or officers documented it as “unknown.”

Figure 3. Percent of encounters and frisks by race and ethnicity. July – December 2023



Notes:

¹ “Other” includes subjects that are Asian or Indigenous, or documented as an unknown race or ethnicity. “Missing” refers to instances in which the race and ethnicity information was blank.

Table 4 provides information about the original CAD call type for the police encounter. (See **Appendix A** for a categorization of relevant CAD call types.) Unsurprisingly, a substantial proportion of both samples are subject or traffic stops (88.5 percent of encounters and 83.8 percent of frisks). Information about call types by sample including the percent with a missing call type.

Table 4. CAD call types by sample. July – December 2023

	ENCOUNTER SAMPLE	FRISK SAMPLE
SAMPLE TOTAL	N=373 (100%)	N=111 (100%)
CRIME SUSPECT/SUBJECT	16 (4.3%)	2 (1.8%)
DRUG-RELATED	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
INVESTIGATION	8 (2.1%)	9 (8.1%)
OTHER REASON	3 (0.8%)	0 (0.0%)
PROPERTY CRIME-RELATED	2 (0.5%)	0 (0.0%)
SUBJECT/TRAFFIC STOP	330 (88.5%)	93 (83.8%)
VIOLENCE-RELATED	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
WEAPON/FIREARM-RELATED	4 (1.1%)	4 (3.6%)
WELFARE CHECK	0 (0.0%)	2 (1.8%)
MISSING CALL TYPE	10 (2.7%)	1 (0.9%)

Notes:

¹ Specific call types for each of these groupings can be found in **Appendix A**.

² "Missing call type" denotes that no information was listed for call type; they represent forms that did not match to the CAD files.

Stop Sample Analysis

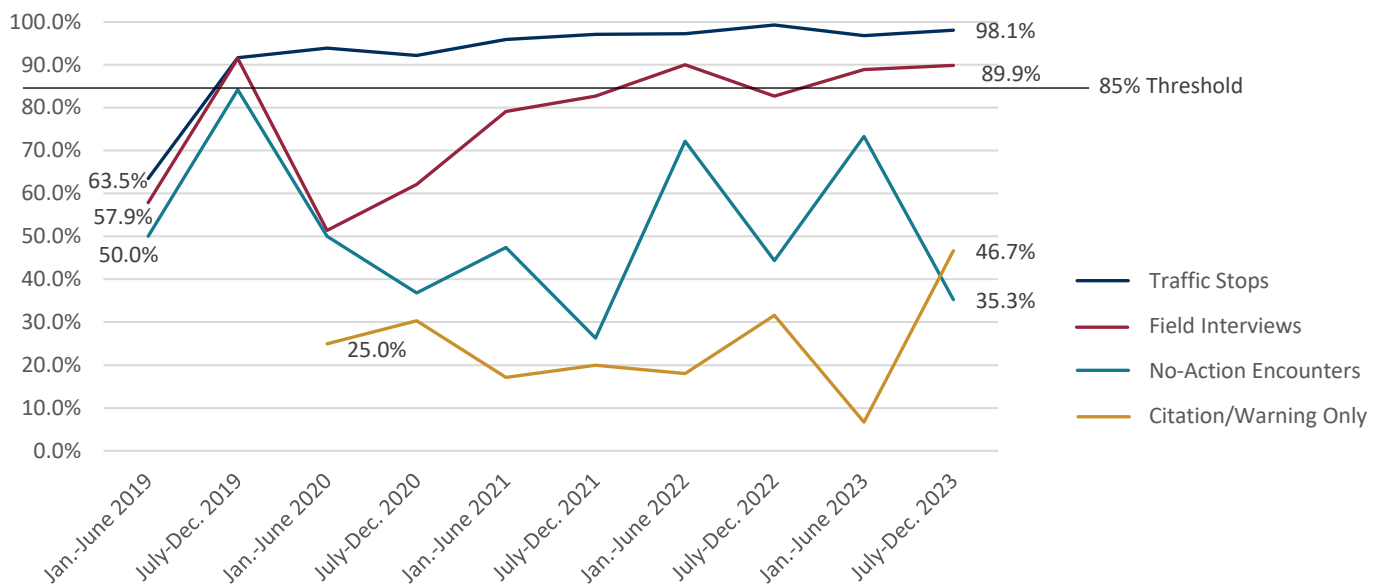
Our approach for analysis of IOARS for discretionary police stops focuses on the officer-written narratives present in TraCS or RMS that represent the reporting officer's justification for initiating the stop. The first analysis in this series (covering the period January to June 2019) showed that failure to meet IOARS was most often due to the absence of officer-written narratives for stops, specifically traffic stops. Over time, MPD has improved in their stop documentation, in that officer-written narratives are missing less often. Every encounter in the sample covering July through December 2023 that was categorized as a traffic stop or no-action encounter included officer-written narratives. Only three field interviews in the sample failed to meet IOARS because of missing narratives. However, six of the 15 stops categorized as citation or warning only failed to meet IOARS because of missing officer-written narratives regarding the nature of the stop. Most failures to meet IOARS were due to lack of detail necessary to justify the stop.

The findings for this semiannual review of IOARS documentation for traffic stops, field interviews, no-action encounters, and frisks are inherently limited to police actions that are documented in the CAD, TraCS, and RMS databases. This review includes an analysis of body-worn camera footage for select calls for service based on a CAD call type that did not have corresponding documentation of a frisk but where a frisk could be expected (see **Appendix B**). Review of the video is limited to determining whether there was a frisk conducted during the police stop.

IOARS for Stops

Of the sampled encounters, 341 out of 373 encounters show sufficient IOARS documentation (91.4 percent). **Figure 4** indicates the percentage of encounters with IOARS documentation by encounter type and offers a comparison to previous reporting periods. When broken down by encounter type, traffic stops meet the required threshold of 85 percent for the current reporting period (July through December 2023). Officers sufficiently documented IOARS for all but five traffic stops in the sample (98.1 percent). Documentation of field interviews for the current reporting period is also above the required 85 percent threshold for IOARS documentation standards (89.9 percent). IOARS for no action encounters was met in only 35.3 percent of stops (six out of 17 stops). Just over half of citations/warnings did not meet the threshold, with seven of 15 citations/warnings meeting the IOARS standard. However, the percentage of citations/warning meeting the IOARS threshold has largely increased from prior reporting periods.

Figure 4. Percent of encounters with IOARS by encounter type and time period



Five out of 262 encounters (1.9 percent) documented in TraCS (with a contact summary form) failed to meet the IOARS threshold. The stops that did not meet the IOARS standard lacked clarity and sufficient detail about the equipment or moving violation that prompted the officer to make the stop. For example, an officer may indicate the stop was due to “dark tinted side windows” but failed to indicate whether the tint was suspected to violate regulations. Additionally, officers may indicate that the driver “deviated from [a] lane into another lane” without specifying the type of violation or providing additional context to establish the nature of the road safety concern.

Eight out of 79 field interviews documented in RMS failed to provide sufficient documentation for IOARS (10.1 percent). Officers did not provide any narrative data in three of the field interviews. Of the remaining five field interviews failing to provide sufficient documentation for IOARS, officers included narratives that did not provide the specific, observable facts that the officer used to establish IOARS prior to initiating the stop. Most of the documentation failures were because officers did not provide sufficient descriptions of the suspect(s), indicate

the suspected crime for which the individual was being questioned, or the facts that led officers to stop the person for the crime they were investigating.

No-action encounters continue to be the least frequently documented type of encounter. Among the 17 no-action encounters in the sample, 11 failed to include sufficient IOARS for the stop (64.7 percent). Of these encounters, two did not indicate the source or credibility of information provided to justify the stop. Most of these stops lacked sufficient detail in suspect descriptions, providing stop justifications that describe officers looking for a crime suspect based on a description, stopping individuals that only partially met the description, and then releasing the individuals once officers determined the other description elements were not present or that the individual did not match the description provided.

Just over half of encounters where a citation or warning was documented without a corresponding contact summary in TraCS or field interview information in RMS, failed to meet the IOARS standard (8 out of 15 encounters). Six of the encounters in this group were missing a narrative about the reason for initiating the stop, likely due to lack of corresponding documentation in TraCS or RMS with a matching encounter identifier (i.e., CAD number). Of the remaining two encounters, one did not include sufficient detail and the other lacked clarity regarding the outcome of the stop.

Table 5 displays the stops in the stop sample by district with the percentage of stops in that district that met the IOARS documentation standard. The percentage of encounters with documented IOARS occurring in each district (among Districts 1 through 7) ranged from 83.3 percent (District 1) to 97.9 percent (District 7).

Table 5. Stops by IOARS justification and district. July – December 2023

	NUMBER OF STOPS	PERCENT OF STOPS WITH DOCUMENTED IOARS
DISTRICT 1	6	83.3%
DISTRICT 2	73	84.9%
DISTRICT 3	73	90.4%
DISTRICT 4	43	95.3%
DISTRICT 5	46	97.8%
DISTRICT 6	48	95.8%
DISTRICT 7	48	97.9%
NULL/OUT	36	80.6%
GRAND TOTAL	373	91.4%

Notes:

¹ "NULL/OUT" refers to encounters in which the data indicated "NULL" or "OUT" in the police district field.

Documentation of Frisks

The Settlement Agreement stipulates an investigation of the consistency and reliability of frisk documentation by requiring analysis of "cases in which an officer marks 'no frisk' and 'no search' in cases in which a frisk or search was highly likely to have occurred (e.g., stop for a robbery investigation)" (SA V.A.3.e). Based on established knowledge of police encounter protocols and in consultation with policing experts, we created a list of CAD call types likely to involve a frisk. **Appendix B** includes a list of the 22 CAD call types designated as cases in which an officer is likely to conduct a frisk. Call types flagged for this purpose generally involve firearms or other weapons, including subject with a gun, shots fired, armed robbery, or domestic violence battery. When we find encounters in the stop sample that fit the criteria, but are not reported as including a frisk, we request video footage from MPD to determine if a frisk occurred but was not documented. As our analysis is focused on

one random person in multi-person encounters, we review documentation and video footage specific to that individual to determine whether there is proper documentation based on what is found in the video review. This request is based on the guidelines of the Settlement Agreement (SA III.A.7.).

As context for this reporting period, we review the findings from prior reporting periods. CJI has requested and received videos for stops likely to involve a frisk for every six-month reporting period and have found at least one undocumented frisk in each review until the current reporting period. **Table 6** provides summary details for the number of encounters for which we requested videos and the number of encounters for which we observed undocumented frisks during video review.

Table 6. Frisk documentation by time period

	VIDEOS REQUESTED	UNDOCUMENTED FRISKS
JANUARY TO JUNE 2019	10	1
JULY TO DECEMBER 2019	11	5
JANUARY TO JUNE 2020	6	1
JULY TO DECEMBER 2020	10	4
JANUARY TO JUNE 2021	9	2
JULY TO DECEMBER 2021	4	2
JANUARY TO JUNE 2022	4	3
JULY TO DECEMBER 2022	2	0
JANUARY TO JUNE 2023	3	0
JULY TO DECEMBER 2023	5	0

Notes:

¹ Further detail regarding the analysis for each reporting period are available in the associated semiannual reports that can be found on the FPC website (<https://city.milwaukee.gov/fpc/Reports/Crime-and-Justice-Institute-Reports.htm>) or CJI's website (<https://www.cjlinstitute.org/city-of-milwaukee-settlement-agreement>).

For the current period, we requested and received video footage for five encounters where we determined a frisk was likely but was not documented. None of the encounters involved undocumented frisks. We found two of the five stops involved documented searches of individuals or vehicles. For the five encounters, three incidents stand out that involve unclear or undocumented searches and videos that did not match the associated CAD information. The first incident involves a stop officers made after seeing a verbal altercation between individuals and a gun being produced. However, video for the CAD number associated with this encounter is of an unrelated encounter. Officers neglected to turn their body camera on during the above incident and documentation indicates non-disciplinary corrective actions were issued for both officers. The second encounter involves a suspect being pulled over after officers heard gunshots. Officers arrested the individual and documented a search that was not captured on video. However, an officer saw a firearm in the passenger seat of the vehicle and confiscated it. In the third encounter, a search with intent to arrest occurred when officers approached a suspect in a car who was suspected of having a firearm. Body camera footage shows the beginning of a person search but documentation for the search was not documented.

Frisk Sample Analysis

The first semiannual analysis involved encounters occurring from January through June 2019, a period when the Department was in the process of conducting training for all officers on constitutional policing practices and other Settlement Agreement requirements. That first analysis provided a baseline for the extent to which officers document IOARS to justify frisks during police encounters. Since then, the Department has completed training on these topics annually.

IOARS for Stops and Frisks

For encounters that involve frisks, two levels of IOARS documentation are needed: 1) IOARS that the person has, is, or will engage in a crime for officers to justify the stop, and 2) IOARS that the person is armed and dangerous for officers to justify the frisk. The Settlement Agreement (SA V.1.d.vii.) calls for “analysis of TraCS and RMS data on frisks [that] demonstrates that fewer than 15 percent of frisk records documented during the previous six (6) months fail to show that the frisks were supported by individualized, objective, and articulable reasonable suspicion that the stop subject was armed and dangerous.”

Table 7 presents a breakdown of the frisks in the frisk sample by district along with the percent of frisks in that district that are supported by documented IOARS for conducting the frisk. The fewest number of frisks occurred in Districts 1 and 6 (two and one, respectively). Districts 3 and 7 reported the highest number of frisks (23 and 34 frisks, respectively) with 69.6 and 58.8 percent of those frisks meeting the IOARS standard, respectively. District 6 was least likely to meet the IOARS documentation standard to justify frisks (0.0 percent).

The primary reason for our determination of insufficient IOARS justification is the lack of information supporting the objective and reasonable circumstances for why the officer(s) suspected the subject was armed and why they suspected the person was immediately dangerous. In most cases officers indicate a safety concern but do not provide necessary detail linking the subject or current circumstances to the concern that the subject was armed and immediately dangerous. For example, officers may indicate a person was frisked because someone among their group was wanted for a recent armed robbery and thus the officer conducted a frisk for fear a weapon could harm them during the current encounter. This description lacks specific information about the nature of the armed robbery, its relative recency to the current encounter, and whether there were any other cues that the frisked subject was immediately dangerous and implicated in the recent robbery.

Table 7. Stops involving forcible frisks by IOARS justification and district. July – December 2023

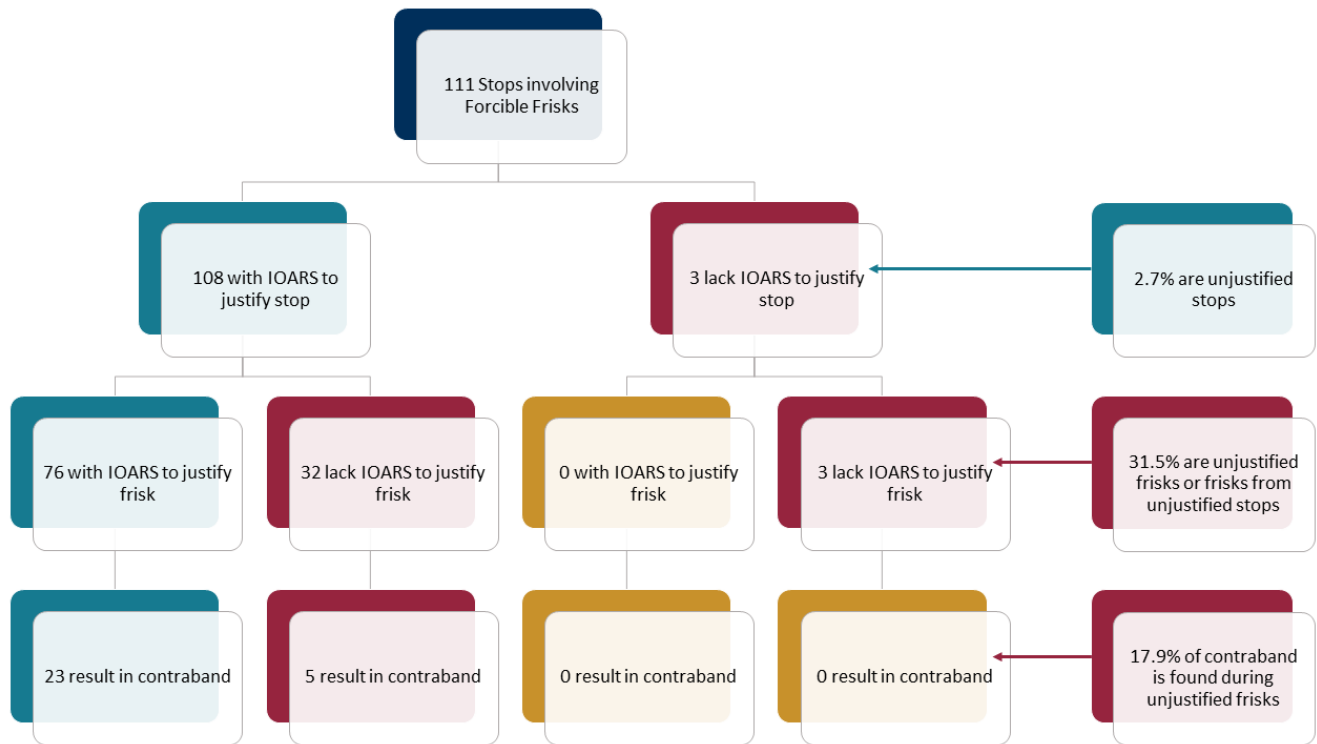
	NUMBER OF STOPS INVOLVING FORCIBLE FRISKS	PERCENT OF FRISKS WITH DOCUMENTED IOARS
DISTRICT 1	2	50.0%
DISTRICT 2	17	82.4%
DISTRICT 3	23	69.6%
DISTRICT 4	15	73.3%
DISTRICT 5	16	75.0%
DISTRICT 6	1	0.0%
DISTRICT 7	34	58.8%
NULL/OUT	3	66.7%
GRAND TOTAL	111	68.5%

Notes:

¹ “NULL/OUT” refers to encounters in which the data indicated “NULL” or “OUT” in the police district field.

Figure 5 presents a breakdown of the frisk sample, including whether officers documented IOARS for the stop or for the frisk, and whether officers found contraband. After assessing the documentation officers provided for each encounter in the sample, three of the 111 stops (2.7 percent) did not meet the IOARS documentation needed to justify the stop. An examination of IOARS for frisks as well as stops determined that officers did not document the IOARS necessary to justify either the stop or the frisk 31.5 percent of the time.

Figure 5. Stops involving forcible frisks by IOARS justification and contraband seizure. July – December 2023



Notes:

¹ Teal boxes represent sufficient justification and within acceptable thresholds. Red boxes represent insufficient justification and not within acceptable thresholds.

Outcomes of Insufficiently Justified Stops¹¹

The presence or lack of IOARS documentation in a given encounter can influence criminal procedure in a court of law, especially if officers find contraband during that encounter. IOARS documentation also becomes important during investigations of complaints against officers. Proper documentation of the justification for stops and frisks, or lack thereof, influences the credibility of officers in the eyes of the community and can contribute to an erosion of trust and legitimacy. This section of the report examines outcomes of stops and frisks that lack proper documentation of IOARS and are therefore insufficiently justified stops and frisks.

¹¹ Section V.A.3.c of the Settlement Agreement calls for an analysis of “fruit of the illegal stop” where a frisk, though proper given the officer’s observations, was made pursuant to a traffic stop or field interview conducted without IOARS. Based on this language, the “fruit” is the frisk. However, conventionally in this type of analysis “fruit of an illegal stop” considers contraband and/or weapons as the “fruit.” We provide a discussion of both interpretations for this report.

We explore outcomes in a few ways. First, we consider the frisk as an outcome of a stop without IOARS documentation, acknowledging that frisks are an intrusive police action potentially violating the constitutional rights of members of the public. We reviewed the stop sample (N=373) for documented frisks to assess whether any documented frisks occur during stops that were found to have insufficient IOARS documentation. In the stop sample analysis of 373 randomly selected encounters, 13 forcible frisks occurred during the encounters (3.5 percent). All 13 frisks occurred during sufficiently justified stops.¹²

The second outcome of insufficiently justified stops and frisks involves seizure of contraband. We reviewed the frisk sample (N=111) for documentation of seized contraband to assess the degree to which contraband seizure resulted from stops or frisks that have insufficient IOARS documentation. In the sample of 111 stops where a forcible frisk occurred, 28 resulted in finding contraband – a “hit rate” of 25.2 percent. In the instances where officers found contraband, five stops lacked proper IOARS documentation for the frisk (see [Figure 5](#)). When considering only stops and frisks with appropriate justifications, the contraband hit rate is 20.7 percent (23 of 111 frisks).

Table 8 details the type of contraband obtained during frisks where officers found contraband, broken down by whether the stop and/or frisk was sufficiently justified by IOARS. The contraband obtained during the stops fall into only a few categories, mainly weapons and drugs, with an “other” category that includes items such as stolen property. Overall, weapons and drug contraband are most likely to be found during frisks. Of the 14 stops and frisks where weapons were found, one occurred during a stop that lacked IOARS; the remaining stops and frisks where weapons were found had documentation meeting the IOARS standard. Four of the 14 stops and frisks where drugs or “other” contraband was found occurred during stops that lacked IOARS.

Table 8. Type of contraband found by IOARS determination. July – December 2023

	WEAPON(S)	DRUGS	OTHER	TOTAL
ALL FRISKS WITH CONTRABAND IN SAMPLE	14	8	6	28
STOP AND FRISK WITH IOARS	13	5	5	23
STOPS WITH IOARS & FRISKS WITHOUT IOARS	1	3	1	5
STOPS WITHOUT IOARS & FRISKS WITH IOARS	0	0	0	0
STOPS AND FRISKS WITHOUT IOARS	0	0	0	0

¹² Seven of the 13 forcible frisks in the stop sample had insufficient IOARS documentation to justify the frisk (53.8 percent).

Hit Rates

In the sample of 111 stops where a forcible frisk occurred, 28 resulted in finding contraband – a “hit rate” of 25.2 percent. **Table 9** provides an overview of hit rates by type of stop indicated by the originating CAD call type that is generated when a stop is initiated. Frisks that occur during the most common call types in the sample - subject and traffic stops - had a contraband hit rate of 26.9 percent.

Table 9. Contraband hit rates by CAD call type. July – December 2023

	NUMBER OF FRISKS	CONTRABAND HIT RATE
SAMPLE TOTAL	111	25.2%
SUBJECT/TRAFFIC STOP	93	26.9%
INVESTIGATION	9	11.1%
WEAPON/FIREARM-RELATED	4	50.0%
PROPERTY CRIME-RELATED	0	0.0%
OTHER REASON	0	0.0%
CRIME SUSPECT/SUBJECT	2	0.0%
WELFARE CHECK	2	0.0%
MISSING CALL TYPE	1	0.0%

Notes:

¹ Percentages represent the proportion of all frisks within each CAD call type that result in obtaining contraband, regardless of whether the IOARS documentation standard was met.

² “Missing call type” denotes that no information was listed for call type; they represent forms that did not match to the CAD files.

Section V.A.3.d of the Settlement Agreement calls for hit rate analysis disaggregated by race and ethnicity. As we discuss in previous reports, research from jurisdictions across the country indicates that the threshold of suspicion used by officers to initiate a stop or frisk varies by race, and hit rates are often lower for non-white individuals.¹³ This may be an important indicator, though not definitive proof of racial or ethnic bias in policing.

In this sample, 19 of the frisks represent encounters documented in the TraCS database. When recording race and ethnicity in TraCS, officers must choose from a dropdown menu giving the options “Asian,” “Black,” “Hispanic,” “Indian,” “White,” and “Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander.” The remaining frisks are documented in RMS as Field Interviews. The RMS database includes a field for race (“American Indian or Alaskan Native,” “Asian,” “Black/African American,” “Unknown,” or “White”) and a field for ethnicity (“Hispanic/Latino,” “Not Hispanic/Latino,” and “Unknown”). To analyze the hit rate by race or ethnicity for all frisks, we recoded race and ethnicity for stops documented in RMS into White (Not Hispanic/Latino), Black (Not Hispanic/Latino), Hispanic/Latino, and Other. For this reporting period, only Indigenous individuals were in the “Other” race category.¹⁴

¹³ Crime and Justice Institute. (February 2020). *Semiannual Analysis of Traffic Stops, Field Interviews, No-action Encounters, and Frisks* pp. 16-17 <https://www.cjinstitute.org/city-of-milwaukee-settlement-agreement/>.

¹⁴ For reporting purposes, we refer to individuals categorized as “Indian” in TraCS and individuals categorized as “American Indian or Alaskan Native” in RMS as “Indigenous.”

Table 10 details the hit rates for all frisks, disaggregated by race, ethnicity, and type of contraband. Because Black subjects represent most individuals involved in frisks, the contraband hit rate for frisks of Black subjects is the only rate where we can have any confidence in whether the hit rate reflects a pattern. There were 91 frisks of Black subjects in the sample during this period (82 percent of frisks in the sample), with a contraband hit rate of 28.6 percent. Weapons are expected to be the most likely type of contraband found during frisks as the constitutional basis for conducting a frisk is because the officer believes the person is armed and dangerous. Approximately 14 percent of frisks of Black individuals and 33 percent of frisks of Asian individuals resulted in officers finding weapons. None of the eight frisks of white individuals, eight frisks of Hispanic/Latino individuals, or one frisk of individuals of other/unknown race/ethnicity resulted in weapons contraband.

Table 10. Hit rate by type of contraband and race or ethnicity. July – December 2023

CONTRABAND HIT RATE					
	FRISKS	TOTAL	WEAPONS	DRUGS	OTHER
ALL FRISKS	111	25.2%	12.6%	7.2%	5.4%
BLACK	91	28.6%	14.3%	7.7%	6.6%
HISPANIC/LATINO	8	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
ASIAN	3	33.3%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
WHITE	8	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
UNKNOWN/NULL	1	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

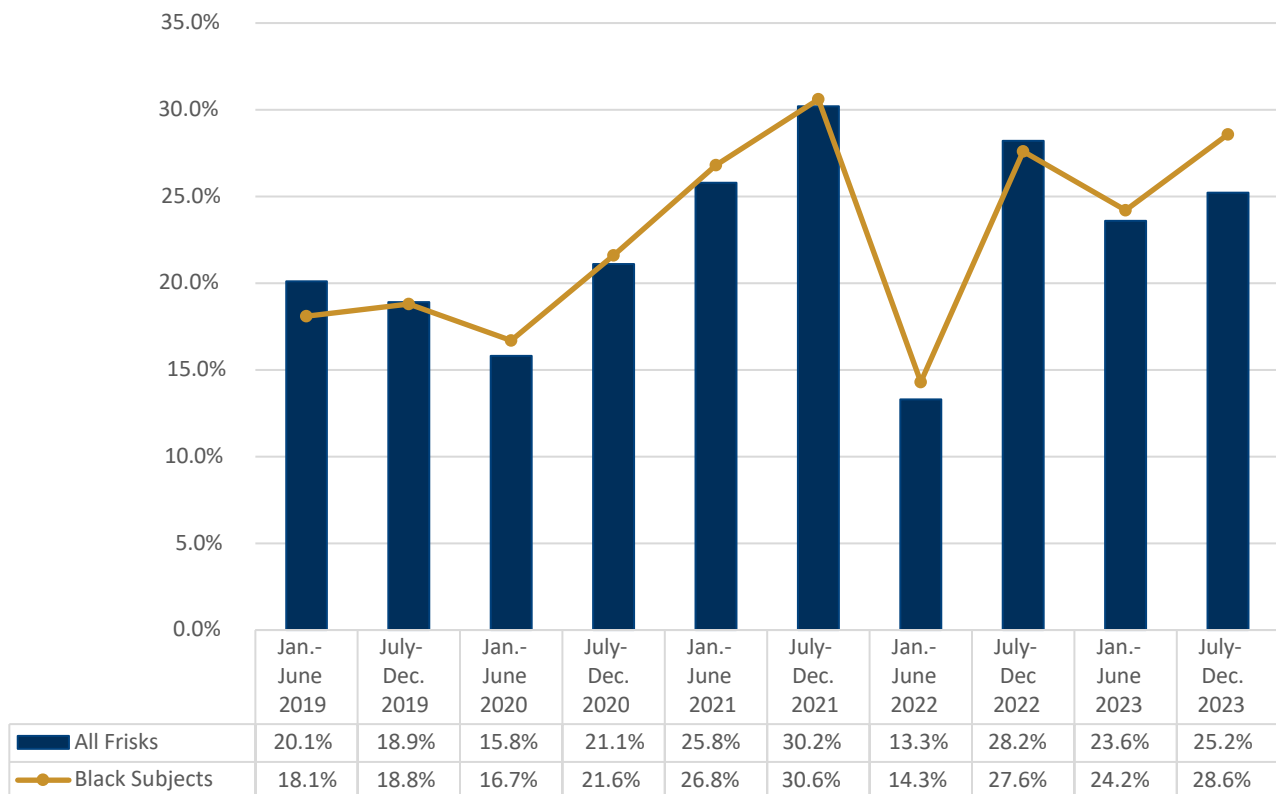
Notes:

¹ "UNKNOWN/NULL" includes subjects documented as an unknown race or ethnicity or with entries of "null" for race or ethnicity.

Figure 6 presents an overview of the contraband hit rate for all frisk subjects and Black frisk subjects specifically, over the ten reporting periods for which we have conducted this analysis.¹⁵ Black individuals are involved in the most frisks and therefore are the racial or ethnic group where we may be able to identify a trend over time.

The contraband hit rate for Black individuals who are frisked during a police encounter generally increased from 2019 through 2021 (18.1 percent to 30.6 percent). There was a distinct backslide in hit rates during the first half of 2022 where both the overall hit rate and hit rates for Black individuals dropped to its lowest percentage since we began reporting on this metric. The latter half of 2022 showed improvement along with the current reporting period, reflecting hit rates commensurate with 2021.

Figure 6. Contraband hit rates for Black frisk subjects. January 2019 – June 2023



Notes:

¹ For January to June 2019: 199 frisks in the sample involving 160 Black subjects. For July to December 2019: 260 frisks in the sample involving 208 Black subjects. For January to June 2020: 266 frisks in the sample involving 222 Black subjects. For July to December 2020: 242 frisks in the sample involving 208 Black subjects. For January to June 2021: 213 frisks in the sample involving 164 Black subjects. For July to December 2021: 192 frisks in the sample involving 160 Black subjects. For January to June 2022: 120 frisks in the sample involving 98 Black subjects. For July to December 2022: 103 frisks in the sample involving 87 Black subjects. For January to June 2023: 106 frisks in the sample involving 91 Black subjects.

¹⁵ Semiannual reports for each reporting period can be found on the FPC website (<https://city.milwaukee.gov/fpc/Reports/Crime-and-Justice-Institute-Reports.htm>) or CJJ’s website (<https://www.cjinstitute.org/city-of-milwaukee-settlement-agreement/>).

Progress Benchmarks

The purpose of the semiannual analysis of IOARS is to determine, in part, whether MPD is meeting the Settlement Agreement’s stated thresholds for justification of traffic stops, field interviews, no-action encounters, and frisks.

Table 11 lists the proportions of each sample of stops and frisks that fail to show that the encounters meet the IOARS standard. The highlighted cells represent when MPD has met the threshold. For the second half of 2023, MPD met the IOARS threshold of fewer than 15 percent for traffic stops and field interviews. No-action encounters and frisks continue to remain below the compliance threshold.

Table 11. Percent of encounters without IOARS by encounter type and time period

	PERCENT OF ENCOUNTERS WITHOUT IOARS			
	TRAFFIC STOPS	FIELD INTERVIEWS	NO-ACTION ENCOUNTERS	FRISKS
Jan.-June 2019	36.5%	42.1%	50.0%	79.4%
July-Dec. 2019	8.3%	8.5%	15.8%	80.8%
Jan.-June 2020	6.1%	48.6%	50.0%	91.4%
July-Dec. 2020	7.8%	37.9%	63.2%	86.8%
Jan.-June 2021	4.1%	20.9%	52.6%	48.8%
July-Dec. 2021	2.9%	17.3%	73.7%	53.6%
Jan.-June 2022	2.7%	10.0%	27.8%	30.0%
July-Dec. 2022	0.7%	17.3%	55.6%	35.0%
Jan.-June 2023	3.2%	11.1%	26.7%	31.1%
July-Dec. 2023	1.9%	10.1%	64.7%	31.5%

Notes:

¹ Encounters with only citations or warnings that lack corresponding contact summaries in TraCS and/or RMS forms are not represented in this table. It is unclear from available data whether these encounters are traffic stops or field interviews and as such are excluded from the percentages.

² The Settlement Agreement language and paragraph references for the above table columns are as follows: Fewer than 15% of traffic stop records fail to show that the stops were supported by IOARS (SA Paragraph V.1.d.iv); Fewer than 15% of field interview records fail to show that the field interviews were supported by IOARS (SA Paragraph V.1.d.v); Fewer than 15% of no-action encounters fail to show that they were supported by IOARS (SA Paragraph V.1.d.vi); and Fewer than 15% of frisk records fail to show that the frisks were supported by IOARS (SA Paragraph V.1.d.vii).

³ Blue cells represent when MPD has met the threshold.

Summary of Findings

This report offers an assessment of the Milwaukee Police Department's progress in implementing changes to police procedures in accordance with the requirements of the Settlement Agreement of *Charles Collins, et al. v. City of Milwaukee, et al.* The encounters detailed in this report occurred during the second half of 2023. The following summarizes the major findings based on our review of these data.

- **The Department has remained steady in meeting the requirement that fewer than 15 percent of traffic stops fail to show individualized, objective, and articulable reasonable suspicion.** Analysis of traffic stops for this report finds that approximately two percent of traffic stops fail to show sufficient IOARS documentation. The Department consistently meets the threshold for traffic stops and has done so since the latter half of 2019.
- **The Department meets the requirement that fewer than 15 percent of field interviews fail to show individualized, objective, and articulable suspicion.** Analysis of field interviews for this report finds that 89.9 percent of field interviews show appropriate IOARS documentation, placing the department above the compliance threshold of 85 percent for all of 2023.
- **The Department continues to fall short of the requirement that fewer than 15 percent of no-action encounters fail to show individualized, objective, and articulable reasonable suspicion to support the stop.** Analysis of no-action encounters for this report finds 64.7 percent of no-action encounters fail to provide proper IOARS documentation. This is a large increase from the previous reporting period, where, despite not meeting the compliance threshold, only 26.7 percent of no-action encounters failed to provide proper IOARS documentation.
- **The Department has shown progress since 2019 but continues to fall short of meeting the requirement that fewer than 15 percent of frisks fail to show individualized, objective, and articulable reasonable suspicion that the stop subject is armed and dangerous.** Analysis of officer-written narratives indicates 31.5 percent of justifications for frisks do not meet the IOARS standard. Between 65 to 70 percent of frisks have met the IOARS standard since the first half of 2022.
- **All contraband seized during frisks was obtained during frisks that were sufficiently justified, while some contraband was seized during insufficiently justified stops.** There were 14 weapons obtained from the 111 sampled frisks, all of which were obtained during sufficiently justified frisks. Of the weapons seized, one was obtained during an insufficiently justified stop. Four frisks in the sample resulted in obtaining drugs or other contraband during stops that were not sufficiently justified (14 percent of all contraband found), despite occurring during sufficiently justified frisks.
- **The contraband hit rate had a slight increase during the second half of 2023.** The current reporting period showed a hit rate of 25.2 percent, showing a slight increase in officers' decisions about when to frisk individuals during a police encounter as compared to the previous reporting period (23.6 percent).

Contributors

Erica Bower joined CJI in June 2023, prior to which she worked in academic roles in sociology, criminology, and criminal justice. In the academic setting, Erica conducted research related to school discipline issues and racial disparities in the adult justice system; instructed courses related to youth justice, corrections, and social inequality; and helped undergraduates find opportunities to learn from professionals in the field. Erica is part of CJI's youth justice and policing teams and works on several projects analyzing data to improve these systems. Erica most recently led a collaborative effort to implement and evaluate community-based trainings in mental health and adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) in rural Tennessee; previously, she worked on bail reform evaluation in Norfolk, Virginia. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals including *American Journal of Criminal Justice* and *The Social Science Journal*. Erica is committed to advancing the field by using data-driven solutions to address critical issues in adult and youth justice systems. Erica holds a Ph.D. in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Old Dominion University.

Dondre' Jefferson joined CJI in July 2023, prior to which he assisted the management of local government programs in Louisville, Kentucky. There, he began as a performance analyst for city youth jail and parks and recreation departments, analyzing data and supporting the execution of departmental strategy. Later, he served as program manager for the city's efforts to deter group violence by partnering with local, state, and federal law enforcement officials as well as community partners. Dondre' has a bachelor's degree in Sociology and a master's in public administration with a focus in city governance from the University of Louisville.

Katie Zafft coordinates CJI's data analysis efforts for the Milwaukee Settlement Agreement work. She has over 10 years of experience working on justice system policy evaluation and implementation of reform efforts at the local, state, and federal level. Katie manages CJI's policing and reentry-focused efforts to advance positive changes in support of fair and equitable practices that directly impact the safety of all communities. Prior to coming to CJI, Katie's work for The Pew Charitable Trusts' public safety performance project involved evaluating state criminal justice policy reforms to inform the national conversation about sentencing, corrections, and enhancing public safety. Katie is committed to advancing better justice systems by developing strong foundations for data-driven decision-making because it leads to better policing and more equitable practices. She holds a Ph.D. in Criminology and Criminal Justice from the University of Maryland, a Master's Degree in Criminology from the University of Minnesota-Duluth, and a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology from St. Catherine's University in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Theron Bowman is a policing professional contracted by CJI for his subject matter expertise in policing and compliance with court-ordered reforms. He is a police and city management professional and consultant with more than 30 years of experience leading and managing some of the most complex and sophisticated police and public safety operations in the world. In addition to 30 years with the Arlington TX Police Department, Dr. Bowman's consulting experience includes serving as a Federal court-appointed monitor; police practices expert and investigator on use of force, internal affairs, misconduct complaints, community policing, bias-free policing, stops, searches and arrests; and recruitment for the U.S. Department of Justice in several jurisdictions. He earned a Ph.D. in urban and public administration from the University of Texas at Arlington and has more than 25 years' experience teaching college and university courses. His experience also includes international policing, community affairs, workforce diversification, public finance, construction oversight, policing strategies, technology, and inspections and accreditations. He has written extensively on policing topics for industry publications and is a graduate of the FBI National Executive Institute and the FBI National Academy.

Appendix A: Categorization of Relevant CAD Call Types

CALL CATEGORY	CAD CALL TYPE
Crime Suspect/Subject	Foot Pursuit
	Subj Wanted
	Trb w/ Juv
	Trb w/ Subj
	Vehicle Pursuit
Drug-Related	Drug Dealing
Welfare Check	Welfare Citizen
	Injured Person/Sick
	Missing Report Critical
	Mental Observation
Investigation	Additional Info
	Investigation
Other Reason	911 Abuse/911 Abuse Confirmed
	Accident Property Damage Only
	Accident Unknown Injury
	Assignment
	Business Check
	Call for Police
	Citizen Contact
	Contribute to Delinquency of Minor
	Documented Call
	Esp Target Escort
	Fire
	Follow Up
	Gambling
	Hostage Situation
	Indecent Exposure
	Non Pursuit
	Noise Nuisance
	Out
	Parking Trouble
	Patrol
	Reckless Vehicle
	Send Squad/Meet
	Special Assignment
	Susp Pers/Auto
	Traffic Hazard
	Truant
	Vacant House Check
Violation of Restraining Order	

Property Crime-Related	Burglar Alarm - Bus
	Entry
	Entry to Auto
	Holdup Alarm
	Property Damage
	Shoplifter
	Stolen/Abandoned Property
	Stolen Vehicle
	Theft
	Theft from Person
	Theft from Vehicle
Subject/Traffic Stop	DUI
	Subj Stop
	Traffic Stop
Violence-Related	Battery
	Battery Domestic Violence
	Bomb Threat
	Fight
	Robbery
	Threat
Weapon/Firearm-Related	Armed Robbery
	Reckless Use of a Weapon
	Shooting
	Shots Fired
	ShotSpotter
	Subj With Gun
	Subj With Weapon

Appendix B: CAD Call Types Likely to Involve Frisk

Call Type Code	Call Type Description
AS	ACTIVE SHOOTER/ATTACK
1344	BATTERY CUTTING
1344D	BATTERY CUTTING – DV
1345	BATTERY DV
1523	BB GUN COMPLAINT
1810	DRUG DEALING
1952	EXPLOSIVES
1613	FIGHT
FP	FOOT PURSUIT
1820	HOSTAGE SITUATION
1349	OFFICER SHOT
1733	PRISONER TRANS
1351	RECK USE OF WEAP
1352	ROBBERY ARM
SW	SEARCH WARRANT
1356	SHOOTING
1357	SHOTS FIRED
1358	SHOTSPOTTER
1632	SUBJ WITH GUN
1634	SUBJ WITH WEAPON
1847	SUICIDE ATTEMPT
WS	WARRANT SERVICE