#### If you have issues viewing or accessing this file contact us at NCJRS.gov.

National Criminal Justice Reference Service



This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration United States Department of Justice Washington, D. C. 20531 DATE FILMED

4-11-80

0

Indiana University 814 East Third Bloomington, IN 47401

# WORKSHOP IN POLITICAL THEORY & POLICY ANALYSIS

# POLICE SERVICES STUDY TECHNICAL REPORT

CITIZEN RATINGS OF THE POLICE: THE DIFFERENCE CONTACT MAKES

by

T-43

of the funding agency.

Deby Dean

This report is based on research funded by the National Science Foundation through Grant GI-43949. The findings and opinions are, however, the author's own and do not necessarily reflect opinions



#### NCJRS CITIZEN RATINGS OF THE POLICE: THE DIFFERENCE CONTACT MAKES

SEP 2 5 1979

by

### Deby Dean

ACQUISITIONS

Citizens who are dissatisfied with their public services pose a problem as well as an opportunity for government officials and students of linkages between the government and the governed. The problem is to isolate the sources of citizen discontent with public services. The opportunity is twofold: to improve the quality of public services in the eyes of the public, and to find out more about the relationship between government activities -- as embodied in service provision -- and public opinion.

Local police departments are among the most visible and accessible of public service agencies (Jacob, 1972). The police also enjoy a generally favorable reputation with the public. But it is not difficult to find citizens with complaints about police services. "They are never there when you need them, and always around when you don't want them," is a common complaint.

To understand public discontent with the police some understanding is needed of the determinants of citizen evaluations of police services. The ghetto riots of the 1960s provoked a variety of studies of public attitudes toward the police. Several of them suggest public evaluations of police services stem from socioeconomic characteristics, particularly race and age. Members of racial minorities were found to evaluate the police less favorably than members of the dominant racial group. The young were less favorable than the old. These findings indicated police could do relatively

little about their standing with the public. The police cannot change the race of the people they serve, nor can they avoid dealing with the young as well as the old.

Another group of studies focused attention upon citizen experiences with the police. They showed citizen-police contacts influenced citizen ratings of police services independent of racial, age, or other socioeconomic characteristics. This suggested what police officers do when contacting citizens influences citizen evaluations, and poses the possibility that police can substantially influence their public standing through their daily interactions with citizens.

This paper examines the influence of recent citizen contacts with their local police department on their overall ratings of police services. It asks if contact with the police influences service ratings, if the type of contact influences services, and how satisfaction with police handling of contacts influences evaluations. By contact type I mean the general circumstances surrounding the interaction between a citizen, or citizens, and the police. The police have a wide variety of types of contacts with citizens. This report will focus on four:

a car.

#### Contact and Evaluation

• Contacts resulting from citizen sufferage of a victimization, Contacts in which police render citizens assistance,

• Contacts in which citizens call the police for information, and • Contacts in which police stop citizens while on the street or in

#### Contact is Common

3

Virtually all government agencies are recipients of contacts from citizens. Surveys of the public indicate substantial numbers of citizens utilize the services of more than one public agency (Jacob, 1972). The local police department is one of the most visible and accessible of public agencies. Perhaps for this reason it is one of the most frequently contacted (Jacob, 1972). Survey-based studies repeatedly indicated that contact between the police and the public is widespread (Walker, 1972; Reiss, 1967; Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Biderman, 1967; Smith and Hawkins, 1973; Ennis, 1967).

Public contacts with the police also show considerable variety. Police officers are called upon to perform their traditional duties as crime fighters and preventers. But they are even more frequently called upon to act as amateur psychologists, social workers, counselors, parents in abstentia, and dispensers of information (Bercal, 1970; Webster, 1973).

Although widespread, citizens contacts with the police do not seem to be uniformly distributed across the population. Jacob found Blacks more likely to have police contacts involving felonies or misdemeanors. Whites were more likely to have contacts involving traffic violations (Jacob, 1972). Another study turned up evidence that Black citizens were less likely than Whites to have voluntary contacts with the police (Walker, 1972). There is also evidence that the distribution of contacts is influenced by such variables as age, sex, and income (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Block, 1974; Ennis, 1967; Jacob, 1971; Reiss, 1967).

#### Contact and Attitudes

The police enjoy a generally favorable rating from the public. Polls show the public evaluates the police as doing a good job (Ennis, 1967), as being honest (Jacob, 1971), and as being fair (Smith and Hawkins, 1973). Majorities of the public describe their police services as being at least satisfactory and often as outstanding (Parks, 1976). Citizen satisfaction with their contacts with police also tends to be high (Jacob, 1972; Walker, 1977). But what seems more significant is that citizen evaluations of their police contacts appear to be a major determinant of their evaluations of police services. Citizens who have had contacts that they rated as being unfavorable are more likely to hold

had contacts that they rated as being unfavorable are more likely to hold negative opinions of the police than are citizens who have had either favorable contacts or none at all (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Jacob, 1971; Parks, 1976; Smith and Hawkins, 1973; Walker, 1977).

There is ample evidence that citizen contacts with the police influence their evaluations of police services. Since contacts are relatively common and public opinion is generally favorable, it would appear citizen-police contacts have a favorable effect on service evaluations. But this relationship may be complicated by the influences of socioeconomic characteristics, contact types, and citizen ratings of their contacts. With this in mind, the following relationships are proposed:

#### A. <u>Citizen contacts with the local police will have a favorable</u> impact on overall evaluations of local police services.

We expect the police to be the benefactors of a to-know-them-is-to love-them principle. Contacts with the police represent an opportunity for citizens to see officers as individuals and as agents working for their benefit.

Contacts also represent an opportunity for an unfavorable interaction. But if police contacts generally had a negative effect we would not expect to see both high levels of police contact and high levels of satisfaction with police services.

B. Citizen evaluations of specific contacts with the local police will influence their overall service evaluations.

5

- B1. The experience of having unfavorable contact with the local police will lower citizens' overall evaluations of police services.
- The experience of having only favorable contacts B2. with the local police will raise citizens' overall evaluations of police services.

Examination of these relationships will include an attempt to replicate earlier findings that unfavorably-rated contacts with the police have a strong negative influence on overall service evaluations, while favorable contacts seem to do little to improve evaluations.

- C. Types of contacts citizens have with local police will influence their overall evaluations of local police services.
  - C1. Contacts resulting from victimizations or stops will have an unfavorable impact on overall service evaluations.
  - C2. Contacts involving police assistances or citizen calls to police for information will have a favorable effect on service evaluations.

Little empirical work has been done on the sign or size of the influence different types of police contacts have on citizen service evaluations. The relationships postulated above are based primarily upon conjecture. Contacts resulting from suffering victimization would be likely to have an unfavorable influence because citizens calling the police about a crime may be upset and transfer those emotions to the police, who were (in the citizen's mind) supposed to have prevented it from happening. Stops would be likely to have

an unfavorable impact because citizens dislike the arbitrary use of power embodied in making stops on the street (Rubinstein, 1973). On the other hand, people like being helped, and an officer providing assistance may be seen as a savior, or at least as a good samaritan. Similarly, requests for information may have a positive influence because citizens feel they can turn to the police either for information relating to their private concerns (such as traffic directions) or in their dealings with other government agencies (finding out who to call to see if someone is in jail).

6

#### D. The impact of contact satisfaction on service evaluations will vary by contact type.

This relationship will throw light on the combined effects of contact satisfaction and type. It will indicate whether some types of unfavorable contacts have a greater influence on service evaluations than others. And whether some types of favorable contacts have greater influence than others.

#### Data and Methods

The data for this report were collected during the summer of 1977 as a part of a research project examining police organizational arrangements and service delivery. Conducted by a joint research team from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and Indiana University, Bloomington, the study concentrated on 24 police departments in three metropolitan areas: St. Louis, Missouri; Rochester, New York; and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida. As part of the project more than 12,000 telephone interviews were conducted with residents in a random sample of households in 60 selected neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas. The study neighborhoods were chosen on the basis

of their racial and income characteristics (Parks and Dean, forthcoming).<sup>2</sup>

7

Included in the telephone survey were questions about contacts with local police experienced by respondents, or in some cases other members of their households, during the year prior to the interview. Respondents were asked about five general contact types: those resulting from criminal victimizations; those in which the police rendered assistance; those in which the respondent called the police for information; those in which the police stopped respondents on the street or in a car; and those in which respondents voiced complaints about police services. Complaints about police were excluded from this report because of the low frequency of complaints actually made to the police department as opposed to other government or private agencies. If complaints were not made to the police, it is possible that they did not involve any direct police-citizen contact, so they were excluded from this study of contacts.

Respondents reporting any of the other four contact types were asked for details about the incident, including the specific problem, where it occurred, when, and how satisfied the respondent was with police handling of the situation. In cases of contacts resulting from victimizations, citizens were specifically asked if the police were called about the problem, and if so, how long it took them to respond. Victimizations not reported to the police were not counted as contacts.

All respondents, regardless of whether or not they reported police contact, were asked for an overall evaluation of their local police services: "Overall, would you rate the police service in the two to three blocks around your home as outstanding, good, adequate, inadequate, or very poor?"<sup>3</sup> For contacts resulting from victimizations, or involving assistances, respondents were asked about their <u>personal</u> experiences and about the experiences of other members of their <u>household</u>. It was assumed that victimization and assistance contacts are so salient to members of the same household, that all adults in the household would have detailed knowledge of the incident, opinions about the way police handled it, and would be influenced by the incident in their overall evaluations of police.

For contacts involving information calls or stops on the street, respondents were asked <u>only</u> about their <u>personal</u> experiences. Since these are typically low salience contacts it was considered impractical to attempt to obtain accurate frequencies for households.

#### Explanation of Variables

The statistical technique emphasized here is multiple regression, with respondents' overall evaluations of neighborhood police services as the dependent variable. The independent variables can be divided into two groups, contact variables and control variables. The contact variables include one indicating the number of contacts reported by the respondent, plus several dummy variables indicating whether the respondent reported contacts of various types.<sup>4</sup> The focus will be on the regression coefficients (b's) associated with the contact types and their predicted effect on overall service evaluations.

Control variables are introduced into the regression equation in order to reduce the influence of variables that may confound the relationships

between contacts and service ratings. These variables can be divided into several groups.

Individual Characteristics. These controls include the respondent's age, sex (females are the reference group), race (non-Whites are the reference group), family income, and whether or not he knows of police mistreatment of citizens (no knowledge of mistreatment constitutes the references group).

Department Size. Dummy control variables were introduced for the size of the departments serving the respondent's neighborhood. These variables were introduced to control for the negative relationship between department size and citizen service evaluations found in a number of recent studies. Large departments are those with more than 200 sworn officers; medium-sized departments have between 35 and 199 sworn officers. Small departments are the reference group.

Neighborhood Type. A variable for the percentage of White residents in the respondent's neighborhood was also included as a control.

Contact Controls. Two variables are introduced as contact controls partway through the analysis. The first control is for the number of contacts respondents report. It was introduced against the possibility that individuals who have had numerous contacts with the police will react differently than individuals having only one or a few contacts.

A dummy control variable for contact satisfaction is introduced after its relationship with overall evaluations is examined. This control variable, called "Any Bad" contacts, scores "1" if the respondent reported having any contacts with the police that he rated as being unsatisfactory. This rating refers to police handling of the specific contact, not to overall

service evaluation. Any Bad contact refers to respondent reports or one or more unsatisfactory contacts. Respondents who do not score on Any Bad contacts must either have rated all contacts with police favorably or have had no police contacts in the previous year.

Recent contacts with the local police are common among the 12,019 survey respondents, 50 percent of whom reported they, or members of their household, experienced contact with the local police in the year prior to the interview. Assistances are the most commonly reported contact type. Twenty-two percent of all respondents reported being assisted; 19 percent reported contacts resulting from victimization;<sup>5</sup> 14 percent reported making information calls to the police; and 13 percent reported being stopped by the police.<sup>6</sup>

Two points need to be made about the multiple regression models used here. The first is none of them are strong as predictors of respondent ratings of police services. The  $R^2$  values indicate between 9 and 16 percent of the variance is explained by the independent variables. Knowing respondent scores on the independent variables is not particularly helpful in predicting their evaluations of police services. The second point is the mean police service evaluation is quite high -- hovering around 3.7 on the 5.0 scale from outstanding to very poor. This means the average evaluation is that police provide "good" services to the respondents' neighborhoods.

9

#### Contact Frequency

#### Influence of Contacts on Overall Evaluations

A variable indicating the number of contacts reported by respondents (contact type aside) was created to examine the influence of recent police contact on service evaluations. This variable was entered into a regression equation along with the control variables for individual characteristics, percentage White in the neighborhood, and the size of the police department serving the respondent's neighborhood. The predicted effects of these independent variables on overall service evaluations can be found in Column 1 of Table 1.

It is apparent recent contact has a weak, unfavorable influence on service ratings. Each contact is predicted to lower evaluations by about 1 percent.<sup>7</sup> Although small, the b value for the number of contacts is significant beyond the .001 level, suggesting individuals who report recent contact do indeed express lower opinions of services than respondents without such contacts.<sup>8</sup>

The relationship postulated under A was that contacts improved evaluations. Numerous contacts with the police were thought to provide opportunities for citizens to be favorably influenced. But they also provide opportunities for unfavorable influence. The latter is evidently what happens. Note, however, there is no control for contact satisfaction. Postulated relationship A is unsupported.

A. <u>Citizen contacts with the local police will have a favorable</u> impact on overall evaluations of local police services.

Unsupported.

### Table 1

Regression coefficients for three equations regressing Number of Contacts, Any Unsatisfactory Contacts, and Exclusively Satisfactory Contacts against overall service evaluations, controlling for individual, neighborhood and departmental characteristics.

	Number of Contacts			Any Unsatisfactory Contacts			Exclusively Satisfactory Contacts			
	b.	s.e.	Beta	b`	s.e.	Beta	Ъ	s.e.	Beta	
Contact Variables										
Number of Contacts	07	.01	08		-			-	an an <del>a</del> tao 1947. An an <del>a</del> tao 1947 an	
Any Bad Contacts		1917 <del>-</del> 1917		76	.03	27		-		
Only Good Contacts	- L	<b>-</b>			n an		.35	.02	.19	
Control Variables										
Individual										
Race (White)	.05	.03	.02	.04	.03	.02	.04	.03	.02	
Sex (Male)	05	.02	03	04	.02	02	04	.02	02	
Age	.01	.001	.10	.01	.001	.09	.01	.001	.11	
Family Income	.03	.01	.06	.03	.01	.05	.03	.01	.05	
Know of Mistreat- ment	46	.04	11	33	.04	08	37	.04	09	
Number of Contacts	-		-	.03	.01	.03	14	.01	17	
Department Size										
Large	06	.02	04	06	.02	03	06	.02	03	
Medium	.24	.03	.12	.21	.02	.10	.22	.03	.11	
Neighborhood				an a	na la trata Agrico Rectorio					
Percent White	.002	.000	.09	.002	.000	.08	.002	.000	.09	
R <sup>2</sup>		.12			.15			.12		

N = 9,519

#### Influence of Contact Satisfaction

Previous studies indicate satisfaction with police contacts is a major determinant of police service evaluations. Citizen satisfaction with their contacts was ignored in the model specified above. To remedy this, a dummy variable was constructed indicating if respondents reported contacts that they described as being unsatisfactory. This variable, Any Bad contacts, was entered into a regression model along with the individual, neighborhood and departmental controls, and the number of contacts, now used as a control. The results can be found in Column 2 of Table 1.

The experience of unsatisfactory contact with police has a strong unfavorable effect, lowering predicted service evaluations by almost a full step. This is by far the largest effect of any variable in the equation.

Another dummy variable, "Only Good" contacts, isolates respondents reporting exclusively satisfactory contacts with the police. The relevant regression coefficients are in Column 3 of Table 1. The experience of having exclusively satisfactory contacts with the police does have a substantial favorable effect on predicted service evaluations. Respondents reporting only satisfactory contacts are predicted to rate police services 7 percent higher than others. But while both are substantial, the influence of satisfactory contact is smaller than that of unsatisfactory contacts.

The b values for both Any Bad contacts and Only Good contacts are significant beyond the .001 level. Satisfaction with police handling of contacts has a real effect on overall service evaluations.

#### The relationships proposed as follows are supported.

Supported.

evaluations of police services.

Supported.

evaluations of police services.

Supported.

It is possible the kinds of contacts respondents report influence evaluations quite independently of contact satisfaction. Individuals reporting police assistance may be more positive in their evaluations of police services than those who police stop on the street. To look at this possibility, four dummy variables were constructed for the four relevant contact types. Each dummy indicates whether the respondent reported at least one contact of a certain type. The dummies were entered into a regression equation along with the individual, departmental, neighborhood, and number of contacts controls, and Any Bad contacts, now used as a control variable.9

Table 2 shows citizen evaluations of police services are improved for respondents reporting assistance, information call, or stop contacts. The experience of victimization contact appears to have a slight negative effect. Assistances exert the strongest influence on predicted ratings --

13

#### B. Citizen evaluations of specific contacts with the local police will influence their overall service evaluations.

B1. The experience of having unfavorable contact with the local police will lower citizens' overall

## B2. The experience of having only favorable contacts with the local police will raise citizens' overall

#### Influence of Contact Type

### Table 2

Regression coefficients for contact types controlling for individual, departmental, and neighborhood characteristics, and for number of contacts and for the experience of any unsatisfactory contacts.

Contact Type	Resulting from Victimization	Assistance from Police	Calls for Information	Stops by Police
Predicted Effect on Service Evaluations (b)	07	.16	.09	.07
Standard Error of b	.03	.03	.03	.04
Beta	03	.07	.03	.03

 $R^2 = .15$ 

N = 9,519

increasing them by about 3 percent. Information calls raise evaluations by almost 2 percent. Victimization contacts decrease evaluations by 1.4 percent.

Stop contacts were expected to have an unfavorable predicted effect on service evaluations. But Table 2 shows their influence is positive and seems to raise evaluations by 1.4 percent. Although the influence of stops is not in the expected direction, it does replicate findings of other studies (Smith and Hawkins, 1973).

These findings imply the number of respondents reporting each contact type may be a factor in public evaluations of police service. If victimization contacts have a negative impact on evaluations, sectors of the public reporting frequent victimization contacts would be expected to have lower evaluations than sectors reporting a lower frequency of this contact type. Indeed it may be concluded that the high average evaluation of police services found in this and other studies is the partial result of the fact the combined frequency of assistance, call and stop contacts are higher than the frequency of victimization contacts.

The significance levels of the predicted effects of contact types show considerable variation. The b value for assistances is significant beyond the .001 level; for information calls it is significant at the .01 level; for victimization contacts at the .05 level, and for stops at the .06 level. This casts some doubt on the proposition that all contact types have independent effects on service evaluations. It seems some contact types do have an independent influence, while other types do not. This conclusion, of course, depends upon the level of significance that is accepted as indicative of meaningful differences, given that the sample postulated under C are supported in part.

influence their overall evaluations of local police services.

Supported in part.

C1.

Supported in part.

C2. service evaluations.

Supported.

It is probable the combined effect of contact type and contact satisfaction has a strong influence on overall service evaluations. Here we examine the predicted effects of satisfactory and unsatisfactory contacts of various types upon evaluations. Four dummy variables were constructed to indicate if the respondent reported an unsatisfactory contact of a certain type. Four dummies were constructed for satisfactory contacts of each type.

Introduction of variables combining satisfaction and type results in the higher regression coefficients evident in Table 3. Among the unsatisfactory contacts victimization has the strongest influence on predicted service evaluations, lowering them by nearly one full step. Unsatisfactory assistance contacts lower evaluations by 13 percent, and unsatisfactory information calls and stops drop ratings by about half a step.

16

used here is not purely random. With this in mind, the relationships

17

# C. Types of contacts citizens have with local police will

### Contacts resulting from victimizations or stops will have an unfavorable impact on overall service evaluations.

## Contacts involving police assistances or citizen calls to police for information will have a favorable effect on

### The Effect of Contact Type and Satisfaction

### Table 3

Regression coefficients for variables combining contact type and satisfaction controlling for individual, departmental and neighborhood characteristics and for number of contacts and for the experience of any unsatisfactory contacts.

	Resulting from Victimization		Assistance from Police		Calls for Information		Stops by Police	
	Satis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Satis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Satis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Satis- factory	Unsatis- factory
Predicted Effects on Service Evaluations	.29	77	.50	65	.40	55	.35	55
Standard Error of b	.03	.04	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03	.05
Beta	.11	18	.22	13	.14	10	.12	11

 $R^2$  = .16 (unsatisfactory contacts), .14 (satisfactory contacts)

N = 9,519

Among the satisfactory contacts the strongest effect belongs to assistances, which raise ratings by one half a step. Information calls and stop contacts follow in that order, and the smallest predicted effect belongs to satisfactory victimization contacts that increase ratings of police by 6 percent.

All of the b values in Table 3 are highly significant, indicating that the combination of contact type and satisfaction does seem to make a difference in service evaluations.

Several things are apparent from Table'3. The first is the importance of contact satisfaction as a determinant of service evaluations. The predicted influence of contact type is relatively small when satisfaction is controlled. But if contact type and satisfaction is combined and regressed against evaluation, the predicted effects are much larger and highly significant. The implication is the larger proportion of the predicted effects of contact type and satisfaction must be attributed to the degree of satisfaction rather than contact type.

The results also imply there may be an interaction between type and satisfaction. When type is considered alone, assistances seem to have the strongest predicted effect. But when only unsatisfactory contacts are considered, the influence of assistance is second in magnitude behind that of unsatisfactory victimizations. This may mean contact satisfaction has a differential effect on evaluations, depending upon contact type. In other words, the influence of unfavorably-rated assistance contacts is muted by the fact that police were providing assistance. Similarly, favorably-rated assistances have a strong positive impact on service evaluations, indicating that contact satisfaction and type interact to produce an

even stronger positive effect than either satisfaction or type would produce alone.

This sort of reasoning would also explain the strong influence of unfavorable victimization contacts as compared to all victimization contacts. Respondents do not drastically lower their evaluations of the police simply because they have had a victimization contact. But let the victimization be an unsatisfactory one, and respondents are strongly influenced in their evaluations. The relatively small b value for satisfactory victimization contacts means police handling of a victimization can overcome the negative impact of the contact type, but satisfactory victimization contacts do not greatly improve overall service evaluations. Table 3 also emphasizes the importance of police officer actions as influences on service evaluations. Satisfaction with officer handling of contacts can increase evaluations by between 6 and 10 percent. Dissatisfaction can pull service evaluations down by 11 to 15 percent. Thus as officers enter contacts with citizens they can swing evaluations by as much as 20 percent -- one full step on the five step scale from outstanding to very poor. The magnitude of this swing is about the same for

all four contact types.

The significance of the b values in Table 3 demonstrates that each type of unsatisfactory contact has an effect upon service evaluations. But are these effects significantly different from each other? A series of F-tests reveals unsatisfactory victimization contacts have stronger effects on service evaluations than any of the other three types of unsatisfactory contacts. On the other hand, satisfactory victimizations and assistances are different from each other and from call and stop contacts.

19

The effects of call and stop contacts do not seem to differ from each other whether they are satisfactory or not.<sup>10</sup>

These findings partially support the relationships postulated under D. It appears that for victimization and assistance contacts, the impact of contact satisfaction upon service evaluations varies by contact type.

D. The impact of contact satisfaction on service evaluations will vary by contact type.

Fartially supported.

#### Summary and Conclusion

Both contact satisfaction and type have an indpendent influence on citizens' evaluations of neighborhood police services. Satisfaction with contacts seems to be the stronger of the two effects. The experience of at least one unsatisfactory contact lowers predicted service evaluations by 15 percent, while the experience of exclusively satisfactory police contacts increases predicted evaluations by 7 percent. Contact type effects predicted evaluations by increasing them as much as 3 percent or lowering them by 1.4 percent.

All types of unsatisfactory contacts lower predicted evaluations, but the effect of unsatisfactory victimizations seems particularly strong. Similarly, all types of satisfactory contacts increase predicted evaluations, but the effects of satisfactory assistance and calls for information contacts are stronger than the effects of victimization or stop contacts. There is also a possible interaction between contact type and satisfaction, in which the effects of satisfaction are exacerbated or muted by type. For example, the negative effects of victimization contacts seem to be exacerbated by

a lack of contact satisfaction, while the effects of unsatisfactory assistances are muted by contact type. At the beginning of this essay it was suggested a study of citizenpolice contacts posed both a problem and an opportunity. The problem: to isolate sources of dissatisfaction with public services. The opportunity: to improve public evaluations of public services and to shed light on linkages between citizens and the government. This research suggests citizens' satisfaction with their police contacts is an important influence upon their evaluations of police services in general. This suggests police officers can improve public evaluations of the police while following their daily routine. The key is to handle contacts with citizens in ways that promote citizen satisfaction with their dealings with police. But how is this to be done? Police cannot arrest people in such a way as to add to the arrestee's satisfaction. But rapid response time, emphasis on polite treatment of the public, and emphasis upon appearing concerned about problems brought to them by citizens may be effective. This needs further study.

As to the linkages between citizens and government, citizen evaluations of government services, such as police protection, are clearly influenced by their contacts with service providers. More emphasis needs to be placed on how government officials interact with citizens. But whether and how citizens communicate their service evaluations to the government and how government officials may react to such communications, when received, is a subject left for further research.

21

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>See Roger B. Parks, "Victim's Satisfaction with Police: The Response Factor," Technical Report T-13. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>For this survey households were chosen randomly from telephone listings for each of the 60 study neighborhoods. One adult respondent was interviewed by telephone in each sample household. Completion rates in the 60 neighborhoods ranged from 70 to over 90 percent of the working numbers chosen. The average response rate was approximately 85 percent.

<sup>3</sup>Respondents who said they didn't know how they rated neighborhood police services, who described police services to their neighborhood as nonexistent, who had no opinion, refused to answer, or who were not asked the question, were treated as missing.

<sup>4</sup>Construction of the dummy contact variables was based upon respondent reports of the type of problem they had. Respondents who said they didn't know the problem, refused to answer, or did not answer the question due to inapplicability, were treated as not having police contact.

The variable for the number of contacts is affected by the interview schedule. Details were asked on five victimizations, two assistances, two information calls, and four stops. Construction of the number of contact variables was based upon the problem types reported in each of these incident types. For respondents who reported more contacts than could be handled on the form, the extras were ignored for the purposes of computing number of contacts. Thus this variable slightly deflates the actual number of contacts experienced by respondents.

<sup>5</sup>The percentage of respondents reporting victimization contacts does not represent a vicitimization rate because it reflects the number of victimizations in which local police were called. It does not reflect the number of victimizations experienced by the respondent or other household members.

<sup>6</sup>The questions used to screen respondents for contact types were as follows:

For victimization: "Now I want to ask you whether the following crimes have happened to you or to members of your household during the past 12 months."

For assistance: "Since (date) 1976, have you or any member of your household called the (department name) police for help or been helped by them?"

For information calls: "In the past year from (<u>date</u>) 1976 to now, have YOU personally called the (<u>department name</u>) police for information about any problem?" For stops: "Since (<u>date</u>) 1976 have YOU personally been stopped or questioned by the (<u>department name</u>) police while you were on the street or in a car?"

<sup>7</sup>Percentages were calculated by dividing b values by the number of steps on the rating scale. b/5.

<sup>8</sup>In this sample significance tests must be utilized with caution because the sample is not purely random. Households were chosen randomly within study neighborhoods. But the neighborhoods were not themselves randomly selected.

<sup>9</sup>These four dummies do not represent mutually exclusive categories. For each dummy the reference group consists of respondents who failed to report the experience of contact of the relevant type. For example, individuals reporting victimizations in which the police were called scored one on the dummy "Resulting from Victimization." Respondents who did not report victimization in which the police were called scored zero; they were the reference group. The other three dummies were similarly constructed.

 $^{10}$ A series of F-tests were made comparing R<sup>2</sup> values for a regression model including separate variables for each of two types of contacts and a model with a single variable representing the effects of both contacts combined. Where the difference between models is significant, it may be concluded the effects of the combination of contact type and satisfaction (in a single variable) differs from the effects of other contact types.

3.4

2.6

Satisfactory Contacts

Victimization-Assistance Victimization-Information Call Victimization-Stop Assistance-Information Call Assistance-Stop Information Call-Stop

#### Unsatisfactory Contacts

Victimization-Assistance Victimization-Information Call Victimization-Stop Assistance-Information Call Assistance-Stop Information Call-Stop

F		Significance Level
98.7		.005
32.3		.005
20.6		.005
13.4		.005
19.9		.005
0.6		Insignificant
	1997 - 1997 1997 - 1997	
7.4		.025
11.5		.005
22.3		.005
0.1		Insignificant

.10

.25

#### References

- Bayley, David H. and Harold Mendelsohn (1969) Minorities and the Police. New York, New York: The Free Press.
- Bercal, Thomas E. (1970) "Calls for Police Assistance: Consumer Demands for Governmental Service." American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 13, No. 5 and 6 (summer), 681-691.
- Biderman, Albert D., Louis A. Johnson, J. McIntyre, and A. W. Weir (1967) Report on a Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes toward Law Enforcement. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Block, Richard (1974) "Why Notify the Police: The Victim's Decision to Notify the Police of an Assault." Criminology, Vol. 11, No. 4 (February), 555-569.
- Bordua, David J. and Larry L. Tifft (1971) "Citizen Interviews, Organizational Feedback, and Police-Community Relations Decisions." Law and Society Review, Vol. 6, No. 2 (November), 155-182.
- Eisinger, Peter K. (1973) "The Pattern of Citizen Contacts with Urban Officials." People and Politics in Urban Society. Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 6. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 43-69.
- Ennis, Philip H. (1967) Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey. Chicago, Illinois: National Opinion Research Center.
- Hahn, Harlan (1971) "Ghetto Assessments of Police Protection and Authority." Law and Society Review. Vol. 6, No. 1 (August), 183-194.
- Hawkins, Richard D. (1973) "Who Called the Cops?: Decisions to Report Criminal Victimization." Law and Society Review, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Spring), 427-444.
- Jacob, Herbert (1971) "Black and White Perceptions of Justice in the City." Law and Society Review, Vol. 1, No. 1 (August), 69-90.

(1972) "Contact with Government Agencies: A Preliminary Analysis of the Distribution of Government Services." Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 16, No. 1 (February), 123-146.

Ostrom, Elinor and Gordon P. Whitaker (1973) "Does Local Community Control of Police Make a Difference? Some Preliminary Findings." American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 17, No. 1 (February), 48-76.

Parks, Roger B. (1976) "Victim's Satisfaction with Police: The Response Factor." Technical Report T-13, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis.

Reiss, Albert J. Jr. (1967) Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in

Rubinstein, Jonathan (1973) City Police. New York, New York: Ballantine Books.

- Walker, Darlene, et al. (1972) "Contact and Support: An Empirical North Carolina Law Review, Vol. 51, 43-79.

Walker, Darlene (1977) "Citizen Contact and Legal System Support." Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 58, No. 1, 3-14

Webster, John A. (1973) The Realities of Police Work. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co.

Major Metropolitan Areas. Vol. 1, Section 2. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 37-53, 62-64, 67-69.

Smith, Paul E. and Richard O. Hawkins (1973) "Victimization, Types of Citizen-Police Contacts and Attitudes Toward the Police." Law and Society Review, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Fall), 135-151.

Assessment of Public Attitudes Toward the Police and the Courts."

