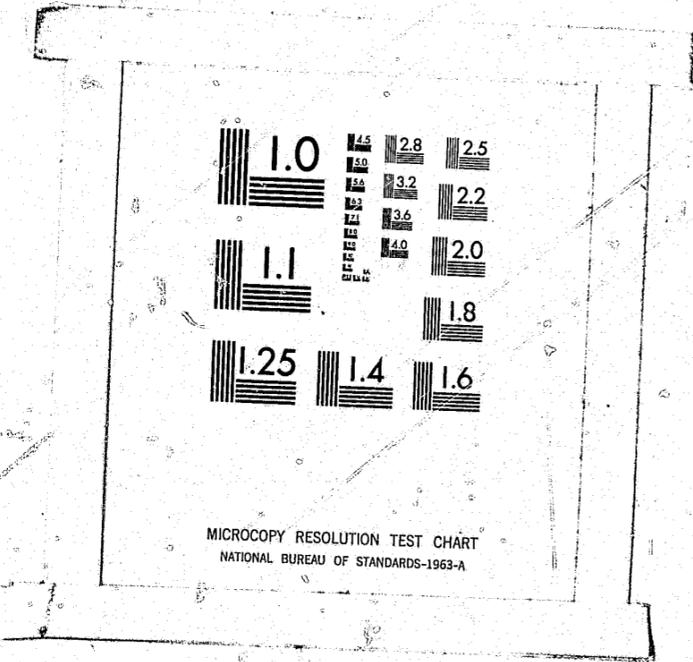


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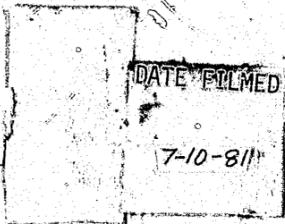


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DO CITIZENS VARY IN THEIR CONFIDENCE IN POLICE?

An Inquiry into Factors Affecting
Reporting of Victimizations
and Filing of Complaints

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The Research Question

The Problem to be Studied

The allocation of urban public services is not merely a source of political conflict but is also a fundamental redistributive mechanism. Public services can represent "hidden multipliers of income." (Lineberry, 1977:14) Low quality services can contribute to poverty in two ways to absolute poverty by depriving the poor of resources and opportunities enabling them to increase their income; and to relative poverty by further reducing the real income of poorer citizens as compared to wealthier citizens receiving better services. (Lineberry and Welch, 1974:702)

The problem to be studied in this research is whether or not urban public services are distributed equally. The major hypothesis to be tested is the one Lineberry has labelled "underclass." This supposes that, "If services are unequally distributed, ... some groups suffer because of their race, because of their social status, or because of their paucity of political power...." (1977:12) In an earlier formulation of the underclass hypothesis Lineberry wrote, "While it is widely believed that the poor, especially the minority poor, are habitually shortchanged in the provision of local public services, only a handful of studies have ever sought to test this 'axiom' empirically." (Lineberry and Welch, 1974:703) This work will attempt to test this axiom using 1977 data on police services in three U.S. metropolitan areas.

The Specific Hypotheses

The underclass hypothesis could be tested on two levels of analysis, that of the neighborhood or that of the individual. Justification for the neighborhood level of analysis was set out by Jones & Kaufman in a 1973 paper presented to the Northeast Political Science Association. They suggested that the delivery of urban public services is intimately bound up with the geographic dispersion of the population composing a particular metropolitan region. They echo Kevin Cox in offering as a basic fact of urban geography that diverse urban populations are not distributed randomly across the urban landscape. Rather, individuals similar in class, race, religion and/or ethnicity tend to cluster together. Thus a region is composed of a diversity of clusters, not a diversity of discrete individuals. Each municipality of a metropolitan region is composed of a population distinct from the other municipalities. Within municipalities populations are further segmented by neighborhoods. (1973:1) Or to quote Cox:

The social geography of the cities of North America shows a high degree of residential segregation based not only on the race criterion but also on such variables as social class or ethnic origin... we can conceive of the city being organized into a set of neighborhoods or territories, the inhabitants of each neighborhood exhibiting greater similarity to one another than to the residents of other neighborhoods. (1973:17-18)

One of the policy implications Cox sees arising out of this phenomenon of residential segregation is that "... middle- and upper-income neighborhoods of the city tend to get more of what is given publicly than do the lower-income and black areas. This has

been particularly apparent in the areas of education and police protection ..." (1973:105).

Justification for the individual level of analysis may be found in a study by Fowler (1974) which found that citizen evaluation of police service in their neighborhoods varied monotonically with income. That is, as the income of respondents increased, so did their ratings of police. (in Antunes and Ostrom, 1979:19) In a 1973 study of Rochester, N.Y., Perry and Sornoff found that 82% of dominants or whites rated the police excellent or pretty good, whereas only 46.7% of minorities or poor people gave police such evaluations. (in Thomas and Hyman, 1977:309) In their own study of the Norfolk, Va., area, Thomas and Hyman found that although blacks constituted 9.8% of their sample, they were 25.4% of the respondents with the most negative attitudes toward police. (1977:314) Using 1967 and 1971 surveys of a total of 1,333 persons 16 years and older living in Detroit, Michigan, Aberbach and Walker (1973:26) found that whereas only 20% of the white respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of police work in their neighborhoods, 50% of the black respondents were discontent. (1973:50)

This research will attempt to test the underclass hypothesis by examining individual citizens' behavior toward police in the form of reporting of criminal victimizations and complaints concerning service received.

The specific operationalization of these variables will be discussed in section II.B. below. The rationale behind the use of these measures is that the preponderance of police work is reactive,

not proactive. (Thomas and Hyman, 1977:317) Or as Herbert Jacob put it in Urban Justice: Law and Order in American Cities, most crimes occur out of sight of the police; the police are usually called only after a crime is committed. (1973:20) Most police actions are in response to citizen complaints. (1973:28) Fifty percent of the attrition between the numbers of instances in which someone considers himself a victim of criminal activity and the numbers of incidents police label as crimes, results from the failure of citizens to report the crimes to police. (1973:30-31)

Therefore, the police cannot perform what Robert Wintersmith calls their crucial "law enforcement" function without the assistance of the people they are supposed to protect. Yet Wintersmith finds the following paradoxical situation. The other major police function, which he calls "order maintenance," accounts for the majority of calls for service to police. It is informed by personal prejudices, historical responsibilities, and the traditional roles police have performed in assuring the perpetuation of inequitable social arrangements based on color. (1974:50-52) As a result, even though blacks are more often victimized by black offenders than are whites, and even though they live day to day with a more realistic fear of physical injury, of death, and of suffering material losses than do whites, he argues that they are skeptical and hesitant to cooperate with police in their law enforcement role. (1974:87)

Wintersmith suggests that this paradox extends to other citizens whose values appear different from the police. He maintains that police act on the basis of a series of sociological variables such as a

citizen's neighborhood, socioeconomic status, and reference group. The more different the citizen seems from the policeman, the more likely the law enforcement officer's actions are to be disliked by the citizen, and the more likely the policeman is to display disregard for equitable treatment based on the facts in a situation. (1974:54)

In their 1966 study of Denver, Colorado, Minorities and the Police, Bayley and Mendelsohn conducted surveys with 806 members of the general public including minorities, 200 minorities separately, and 100 members of the city police force. Among their findings were the following: The proportion of people who called the police for help was the same in each ethnic group (23%), even though figures on the national incidence of crime show that rates of victimization are much higher among minorities than dominants. Bayley and Mendelsohn suggest that this may be used as presumptive evidence that minorities are less willing to call the police for help. Further, the risk of victimization is highest among lower-income groups generally, but especially high among minorities. Therefore the need for police help and protection is greater for minority people. Respondents were asked whether they had ever thought of calling the police but then decided not to, and if not, why not. Minorities were more apt than dominants to attribute their change of plan to some judgment about the police. (1969:79-80)

Finally, Thomas and Hyman sampled 3,334 households in the Norfolk, Virginia area in 1973 and 1974 (1977:310) and found that victimizations were more likely to be reported by persons with high levels of income, education and occupation. (1977:313)

Due to the nature of the data upon which this research will rely, a survey of 12,019 citizens, and due to the fact that victimizations and incidents provoking complaints about police occur to individuals and hence are reported by them, the neighborhood level of analysis will be eschewed in favor of the individual. The specific hypothesis, then, is that persons who are poor and/or black will be less likely to report crimes or to complain to police than persons who are wealthy and/or white.

Since police cannot perform their law enforcement role without citizen cooperation (what Whitaker, Percy and others have called "coproduction of police services"), non-reporting of victimizations and non-complaining by low income or minority persons may result in their receiving unequal service from police. While Wintersmith believes that police need to amend their style of order maintenance to be more acceptable to the black community in order to gain cooperation in their law enforcement role (1974:77), I agree with Bayley and Mendelsohn that citizens may be somewhat responsible as well:

There seems to be a reciprocating engine of resentment at work in the relations between police and minorities, an engine which is fueled with the demands each side makes on the other and the expectations each entertains about the other. If police-community relations are to be improved, the nature of this relationship -- and especially of the structural basis for it -- must be understood and studied in great detail. (1969:108)

Perhaps this research can make some contribution to the understanding of the structural basis of negative police-minority community relations -- If indeed such are found to exist in the form of a tendency not to report victimizations or to complain on the part of poor or black people.

Control Variables

Other factors besides race and income of neighborhood residents might be expected to affect reporting of criminal victimizations and filing of complaints. Specifically, I will include as control variables knowledge of police mistreatment of citizens, rate of victimization within the neighborhood, and perceived police response time. In examining non-reporting I will also look at type of offense involved in the victimization and at evaluations of police handling of previous victimizations. Theoretical justifications for inclusion of these variables as controls will follow below.

Knowledge of Police Mistreatment of Citizens

In Smith and Hawkins' 1973 survey of more than 1,400 citizens in Seattle, Washington, they found that persons who had not witnessed police misconduct were more positive in their evaluations than those who had. They concluded that one of the best predictors of attitudes toward law enforcement officers was a citizen's observation of police doing something the respondent thought improper. (In Thomas and Hyman, 1977:310)

Aberbach and Walker report that over one-third of black respondents to surveys in Detroit agreed that police lack respect, use insulting language, search and frisk people without good reason, and use unnecessary force in making arrests, as compared to only around one-tenth of white respondents. (1973:53)

Finally, Bayley and Mendelsohn's study of Denver found that a higher percentage of minorities than dominants knew of police

mistreatment of citizens. (1969:117) Minorities believed they could cite personal evidence upon which to base grievances against the police. (1969:119) Many more minorities than dominants claimed the Denver police had mistreated them or someone in their family. Minorities experienced a higher incidence of bad treatment in more serious forms, including physical abuse, than dominants. (1969:126-7) Citizens who have been mistreated by law enforcement officers or who know of such mistreatment evaluate the police negatively. Bayley and Mendelsohn concluded that an important result of minorities' unfavorable attitudes toward police is a tendency to avoid them. (1969:120) Thus I would expect citizens who knew of police mistreatment to not report criminal victimizations or complaints as often as citizens who did not know of police mistreatment.

Rate of Victimization within the Neighborhood

Thomas and Hyman report on the 1966 Bureau of Social Science Research survey of more than 500 households in Washington, D.C., in which support for police was found to be greater among persons who were less fearful of victimization. (1977:309) In their own survey in the Norfolk, Va. area, Thomas and Hyman found that persons fearful of victimization were more negative in their evaluations of police. (1977:314)

I would expect residents of neighborhoods with high victimization rates to tend to report crimes and complaints less frequently than residents of neighborhoods with low victimization rates.

Perceived Police Response Time

Antunes and Ostrom state that several studies have found that citizen evaluations of police services are positively affected by faster response times. (1979:44-5) Using data from the Kansas City experiment on preventive patrol, Tony Pate and others arrived at the following conclusions concerning police response time:

- People who were most satisfied with response time were also satisfied with the responding officer. (1976:41)
- Among the predictors of citizens' general attitudes toward police are demographic variables, response time, level of satisfaction with response time, level of satisfaction with responding police officer, and citizens' perceptions of neighborhood safety. (1976:45)
- The best single predictor of general attitudes toward police is citizens' level of satisfaction with the responding police officer. People who were satisfied with the responding police officer also had positive attitudes toward the police in general. Citizens who reported the fastest response to calls held the most positive attitudes toward police. (1976:47)

I would expect citizens who perceive police response time to be slow to not report victimizations or complaints as frequently as citizens who perceive police response time to be fast.

Rating of Police Actions

Researchers have found that citizens who have had unfavorable contacts with police are more likely to have negative opinions about them than citizens who have had favorable or no contacts with police (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Jacob, 1971; Parks, 1976; Smith and Hawkins, 1973; and Walker, 1977, in Deby Dean, 1978:4). In fact, two studies have found that attitudes of blacks toward police are resistant

to the positive effects of good experiences with them (Cizancas and Purviance, 1973, and Coates, 1972, in Rusinko et al, 1978:55). These findings suggest that citizens who were dissatisfied with police handling of previous victimizations might be more likely to not report subsequent victimizations for the three reasons indicating lack of confidence in police. They further suggest that even if evaluations of prior police actions were positive, the reporting behavior of nonwhites would not be affected.

Seriousness of Offense Involved in Victimization

Looking at the results of the 1972 and 1974 LEAA surveys of the five largest cities in the U.S., Wolfgang and Singer find that robbery with serious injury was more likely to be reported than robbery with minor injury; aggravated assault was reported more often than simple assault; and household larceny of greater than \$50 was reported more often than theft of less than \$50. (1978:381)

Based on the first nationwide survey of criminal victimization, Herbert Jacob states that the more serious the crime, the more likely it is to be reported. (Jacob also found that a theft was more likely to be reported when an insurance claim could be made on the stolen property. This makes sense since many property insurance policies have \$50 deductible clauses, and may account for Wolfgang and Singer's observation of less reporting of larceny under \$50.)

Based on these findings, I would expect that the more serious the type of victimization, the more likely citizens would be to report it to police. That is, I would expect non-reporting of victimizations to have an inverse relationship with seriousness of offense:

The Data

The Data Set

The Police Services Study Citizen Survey

The data to be used in this research, as indicated above, is a survey administered by telephone to 12,019 citizens in 60 neighborhoods in the Rochester, N.Y., St. Louis, Mo., and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla., SMSA's, during the summer of 1977. The survey was one of a number of instruments used to collect data in the field as part of Phase II of the National Science Foundation-sponsored study, "Evaluating the Organization of Service Delivery: Police."

Questions on the citizen survey were based on a similar instrument used in a study of police services in Indianapolis in 1972 and on other such surveys. The instrument was pre-tested on several hundred citizens chosen at random from the phone books of Chapel Hill, N.C. and Bloomington, Indiana, the two university towns in which the study's co-principal investigators are based (Gordon Whitaker, the University of North Carolina, and Elinor Ostrom and Roger Parks, Indiana University).

The final survey was administered to about 200 citizens in each of the 60 neighborhoods which were chosen for study. Most of the random samples of households were drawn by the Hill-Donnelly Corporation. This group continually updates its computerized files based upon telephone listings, automobile registrations, tax listings, utility hookups, etc. A few neighborhood samples were based only on the most recent semi-annual

cross-referenced telephone listings. The final respondents were compared to the characteristics of residents in their Census tracts and found to be similar enough to be considered representative. Interviews were administered by trained personnel in each of the three SMSA's.

The 60 study neighborhoods were selected on the basis of consultation with the 24 police departments serving them. Neighborhoods were chosen, not necessarily to reflect the clients of the various law enforcement agencies, but to represent a range along the two sociological variables of race and income and along the organizational variable of size of police department. For example, among the areas served by the Pinellas County, Florida Sheriff's Department was the only black neighborhood in the entire county chosen for the study. Study neighborhoods were also limited to those in which the clear majority of calls for service to the police were from residences, rather than businesses. The neighborhoods may be grouped by race¹ and income as follows:

<u>Race</u>	
Predominantly minority	- (greater than 75% minority)
Mixed	- (25 to 75% minority)
Predominantly white	- (less than 25% minority)
<u>Mean Family Income</u>	
Lower income	- (less than \$6,250)
Lower-middle income	- (\$6,251 to \$10,000)
Middle income	- (\$10,001 to \$15,000)
Upper-middle income	- (greater than \$15,001)

¹94.8% of minority residents of study neighborhoods were black; 2.6% were Latino, 1.3% were Native American, and 1.2% were members of other racial groups.

Combining racial and income categories, the study neighborhoods are of the following types:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>
Lower income minority	11
Lower income white	1
Lower-middle income minority	3
Lower-middle income mixed	7
Lower-middle income white	9
Middle income minority	1
Middle income mixed	3
Middle income white	17
Upper-middle income white	8

Technical Considerations with Victimization and Telephone Surveys

In the first national survey of crime victimization, initiated by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1965 and conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), it was found that respondents remembered more of their own victimizations than those of other members of their households. More detailed surveys conducted in high and medium crime rate precincts of major metropolitan areas by the Bureau of Social Research (Ennis, 1967:21) also suggested "that a single respondent cannot adequately report all victimizations of other household members." (Garofalo, 1977:19-20) This of course may result in the underreporting of the actual number of victimizations in this study, since a single respondent answered for an entire household.

Survey pretests by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration indicated that respondents' recall of victimizations was more accurate over a six-month than a twelve-month reference period. (Garofalo, 1977:11) Since the Police Services Study Citizen Survey used a

twelve-month reference period, this may have resulted in underreporting of victimizations as well.

Finally, social scientists have traditionally criticized telephone interviewing on the grounds that it contains an inherent class bias. The lower a household's income, the less likely it is to have a phone. However, the percentage of U.S. households with telephones increased from 84% in 1965 to 92% in 1972, indicating that this criticism may be becoming less valid. Advantages to the use of the telephone include simplified monitoring of interviewers and removal of fear of physical danger or threat from both respondent and interviewer. (Garofalo, 1977:22-23)

Operationalization of Variables

Non-Reporting of Victimizations - Dependent Variable

It will be recalled that one specific hypothesis to be tested is that criminal victimizations are less likely to be reported by individuals who are black or poor. The technique used to test this hypothesis will be contingency table analysis. The dependent variable will represent non-reporting of victimizations and will be operationalized as follows.

Respondents to the citizen survey were asked to recall crimes which happened to themselves or to members of their households during the previous twelve months. Seven questions dealt with victimization. The first six mentioned specific situations such as robbery, assault, theft, and vandalism. The seventh question referred to other crimes

and gave respondents the opportunity to describe victimizations not previously covered.

Information was collected on as many as five separate incidents for each respondent. For each incident respondents could list three types of victimizations. Only victimizations which occurred at the respondent's home, on his block, or in his neighborhood (defined as two to three blocks around his home) are analyzed here. Limiting victimizations to those occurring in the respondent's neighborhood allows computation of a rate of victimization within each neighborhood to be included in the analysis as a control variable and also assures that we are considering reporting behavior as it concerns the citizen's own neighborhood police. Looking at victimizations within neighborhoods makes theoretical sense in light of Wolfgang and Singer's finding on the public's behavior being influenced by what they hear from neighbors and the media in their community. (1978:387)

It will be recalled that the purpose of this research is to test Lineberry's underclass hypothesis, to see whether low income or black people are receiving different police services from middle income or white people. The specific hypothesis to be tested is whether poor or minority persons are less likely to report criminal victimizations than wealthy or dominant persons. We are therefore interested in nonreporting only for reasons indicating lack of confidence in the police.

If, as Wintersmith, Bayley and Mendelsohn, and others suggest, black and poor people believe they have received poor treatment from police in the past, they should tend to continue to expect such poor treatment. I would expect their resultant lack of confidence in the

police to be reflected in a greater tendency on their part not to report criminal victimizations for the following three reasons (out of 17 categories of citizens' reasons for not reporting victimizations):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Victimizations Not Reported</u>
5. Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything.	442
9. Fear of reprisals, afraid to call.	16
10. Reported to someone other than police.	76
The other reasons citizens gave for not reporting victimizations were:	
1. Police came by, noticed by police.	30
2. Nothing taken, attempted crime only.	150
3. Not important, little damage.	553
4. Lack of proof; suspect unknown.	249
6. Too inconvenient or unable to report.	29
7. Private or personal matter, handled without police.	125
8. Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself.	26
11. Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)	0
12. Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded.	37
13. Didn't want to get friend in trouble.	41
14. Just didn't	92
88. Other	204
99. Don't know	56

For purposes of this analysis, these cases are considered "Not Reported due to Lack of Faith in Police" if the reason given was 5, 9 and 10, and "Reported" if the reason given was 1.

To make operational the concept of non-reporting, five new variables, one for each possible victimization incident, were created. Called REPTCMA through REPTCME, these variables have values of "1" if the crime was not reported for the three reasons indicating lack of confidence in police, and a value of "2" if the crime was reported. (They also have a value of "2" if the victimization was not reported because the police came by or it was noticed by police. In that case the police were already on the scene and did not need to be called.)

Responses to four separate questions were used as dependent variables in examining citizens' complaint behavior, as will be discussed in section V. below. Following are explanations of these four measures.

Reason to Complain - Dependent Variable

Citizens were asked, "In the past year ... have you or any member of your household had any reason to complain about any aspect of police services ...?" Responses were as follows:

Yes	754
No	11,196
Don't Know	38

This variable name is COMPLAIN. The underclass theory would indicate that poor or black persons would have had more reason to complain than wealthy or white persons.

Nature of Problem - Dependent Variable

Respondents who said they had had reason to complain were asked, "What was the problem?" They could identify two problems for each of two separate incidents. Following is the distribution of responses:

<u>Nature of Problem</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1. Request for more service, police presence, or visibility	197
2. Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers	122
3. Physical mistreatment	34
4. Unnecessary stop	62
5. Car unfairly towed	9
6. Speed traps	16
7. Ineffective/incomplete police work	213
8. Unfair parking ticket	37
9. Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign	11
10. Police not being equitable in delivering service or treating people	95
88. Other	156

These variable names are WHYCMP1A through WHYCMP2B. Particular attention will be paid to reasons 1, 2, 3 and 10. Reasons 1 and 10 reflect citizens' perceptions that police are not giving adequate or fairly distributed service. Reasons 2 and 3 deal with police mistreatment of citizens. Members of the underclass might be expected to select these reasons to complain about their police services more frequently than more privileged persons.

Filing of Complaint - Dependent Variable

Respondents were asked, "Was a complaint filed by any member of your household? (IF "YES") Was this YOU or another member of the household?" Answers were as follows:

Yes, Myself	221
Yes, Other Member	84
No	485
Don't Know	6

These variable names are FILCOMP1 and FILCOMP2. If these data are to support the underclass hypothesis, poor or black citizens will be found to have filed complaints less often than wealthy or white citizens. This is similar to the expectation above that members of the underclass will be found less likely to report criminal victimizations than more fortunate citizens.

Reasons Complaint Not Filed - Dependent Variable

Citizens who thought of filing a complaint about their police services but did not do so were asked, "Why didn't you complain?" Below is the distribution of their responses.

<u>Reason Complaint Not Filed</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1. Afraid of police	18
2. No time	17
3. Problem fixed without need to complain	20
4. Wouldn't do any good to complain	232
5. Complaining might make problem worse	43
6. Didn't know to whom to complain	29
7. Other complained, no need for me to do so	22
8. Not important enough	28
9. Didn't think I should complain about something like a parking ticket or other minor infraction	7
88. Other	102
99. Don't know	25

These variable names are NOCOMP1A to NOCOMP2B. Special attention will be given to reasons 1, 4 and 5, since these indicate lack of confidence in police and may be given more frequently by members of the underclass than by wealthy or white persons. These reasons are

parallel to the three reasons for not reporting victimizations to police selected to represent lack of confidence in police, as discussed above.

Income - Independent Variable

The independent variable of income is operationalized as respondents' reported yearly family income according to these response categories:

<u>Ranges</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
1. Below \$5,000	2,131
2. Between \$5,000 and \$10,000	2,372
3. \$10,001 to \$15,000	2,135
4. \$15,001 to \$20,000	1,625
5. \$20,001 to \$25,000	901
6. \$25,001 to \$30,000	456
7. More than \$30,000	512

The variable name is FAMINCOM or the family income category coded for each respondent to the Citizen Survey.

Race - Independent Variable

The independent variable of race is operationalized according to the following categories of race or ethnic background identified by respondents:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
1. White	8,412
2. Black	3,346
3. Latino	92
4. Native American	47
5. Other Race	43

A dummy variable MINORITY was created. MINORITY has a value of "0" if the respondent gave his or her race or ethnic background as white, and "1" if it was one of the other four categories above (nonwhite).

Knowledge of Police Mistreatment of Citizens - Control Variable

Respondents to the Police Services Study Citizen Survey were asked, "Do you know anyone who has been mistreated by the ____ police in the last year?" (The interviewer inserted in the blank the name of the law enforcement agency serving the respondent's neighborhood.) Responses to this question were distributed as follows:

Yes	615
No	11,255
Don't Know	120

The variable name is MISTREAT. Responses of "Don't Know" will be excluded from the analysis. The variable will have a value of "1" if respondents knew of police mistreatment, and "2" if they did not.

Rate of Household Victimization within the Neighborhood - Control Variable

This variable was operationalized by dividing the number of victimizations within the past year within a neighborhood (VICTIMB) by the number of respondents to the citizen survey in that neighborhood and multiplying by 100. The variable name is VBSTD. The range of values on VBSTD is 15 to 65, with a mean of 35. Categories of VBSTD were coded and neighborhoods are distributed as follows:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Range of VBSTD</u>	<u>No. Neighborhoods</u>
1	15-25	16
2	26-35	15
3	36-45	12
4	46-55	8
5	56-65	4

Perceived Police Response Time

Respondents were asked, "When the police are called in your neighborhood, in your opinion, do they arrive very rapidly,

quickly enough, slowly, or very slowly?" Their responses were distributed as follows:

Code	Response	No. Citizens
1	Very Rapidly	4,099
2	Quickly Enough	4,794
3	Slowly	1,166
4	Very Slowly	471
5	Not at All	47

The variable name is RATERESP.

Rating of Police Actions - Control Variable

The Police Services Study Citizen Survey offers a unique opportunity to examine the effect of multiple victimizations on reporting behavior. Since each respondent could describe as many as five victimizations, by sorting them in the order of the dates they occurred, it is possible to determine whether citizens behaved differently if they were more or less satisfied with police handling of previous incidents.

Since researchers such as Deby Dean (1978) have found that citizen evaluations of police are more strongly affected by negative experiences than they are by positive ones, the five-point scale used to code responses on satisfaction on the citizen survey was collapsed into three categories for the purposes of this analysis. That is, citizens were asked, "How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you very satisfied, satisfied, neutral, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?" New variables named THIRD, FOURTH, and FIFTH were created, consisting of evaluations of the first and second, first, second and third, and first, second, third and fourth victimizations respectively. These variables could take on the following three values:

- OK: All previous victimizations rated "Very Satisfied," "Satisfied," or "Neutral."
 Mixed: At least one previous victimization rated "Dissatisfied" or "Very Dissatisfied."
 Not OK: All previous victimizations rated "Dissatisfied" or "Very Dissatisfied."

For the second victimization, of course, there was no need to create a new evaluation variable as there was only one previous incident, which was rated either "OK" or "Not OK." Victimizations were limited to those occurring within the past year within two to three blocks of respondents' homes (VICTIMB's). Distributions of each of these variables follows:

Rating of Police Actions

Variable Names	OK	Mixed	Not OK
EVALPOL1	1,370	--	415
THIRD	264	81	84
FOURTH	64	40	16
FIFTH	16	9	3

Seriousness of Offense Involved in Victimization - Control Variable

Three categories of type of offense by seriousness have been based on an appendix in Sellin and Wolfgang's classic work, The Measurement of Delinquency. The scores in Appendix E-8, containing ratings of twenty-one offenses by police line officers and male students enrolled in the introductory sociology course at the Penn State Ogontz Center, were averaged together. (1964:400) This procedure indicated that offenses could be grouped by seriousness as follows:

Most Serious - Crimes in which a weapon was involved (armed robbery, aggravated assault) and/or in which the victim was killed or injured.

Moderately Serious - Attempts at the most serious crimes, theft, burglary, arson and kidnap.

Least Serious - Attempts at the moderately serious crimes, vandalism, victimless crimes and public nuisances.

For the purposes of this analysis, only the first type of victimization named was included in computing total victimizations. It was assumed that the first victimization named was the most important crime. Indeed, very few of the incidents reported by the over 12,000 respondents were assigned multiple types of victimization, as may be seen below:

No. of Incident	No. Responses to Type of Victimization		
	First Type	Second Type	Third Type
First	3,612	105	0
Second	1,193	48	1
Third	412	11	0
Fourth	128	7	0
Fifth	43	4	0

Of 82 possible codes for type of offense, VICTIMB's are found under

45. These 45 offense types were grouped into the three categories of seriousness above. Type of crime was summed by each of the five possible victimization incidents to create five new variables, TYP CRM1 through TYP CRM5. Each of these variables can have three possible values: 1=OTHER (Least Serious); 2=THEFT (Moderately Serious); and 3=KILLINJ (Most Serious). The 45 offense types and their distribution into these three categories are shown below:

Crime Level/ Variable Name	Type of VICTIMB	No.
Most Serious/ KILLINJ	Aggravated Assault	55
	Robbery	132
	Rape	4
	Homicide	1
Moderately Serious/ THEFT	Kidnap	3
	Threatened Injury	22
	Simple Assault	149
	Attempted Robbery	34
	Attempted Rape	9
	Attempted Homicide	1
	Other Personal Crime	19
	Motor Vehicle Theft	157
	Theft from Car	746
	Breakin Car	87
	Shoplifting	1
	Purse Snatched	113
	Burglary	937
	Unspecified Theft	595
	Arson	9
	Hit and Run	4
	Leaving the Scene	27
Least Serious/ OTHER	Prowler	26
	Attempted Car Theft	25
	Attempted Theft from Car	38
	Attempted Breakin Car	16
	Attempted Purse Snatch	9
	Attempted Burglary	145
	Attempted Breakin General	131
	Vandalism	903
	Attempted Arson	3
	Problems with Money	6
	Other Property Crime	55
	Public Nuisance	13
	Drunk	3
	Disorderly	2
	Pornography	1
	Obscene Activity	36
	Noise	2
	Argument	3
	Prostitution	1
	Curfew Violation	1
Drug Violation	4	
Juvenile Problem	26	
Annoying Calls	23	
Harassment	9	

The Findings Concerning Reporting Behavior

In the course of this analysis contingency tables were run with the sum of cases of non-reporting of each victimization incident (REPTCMA-E) as the dependent variable by each of the independent and control variables separately. Results of these two-way crosstabulations will be described below.

A. Reporting of Victimizations by Income of Respondents

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	REPTCMA-E BY FAMINCOM						
	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,001- \$15,000	\$15,001- \$20,000	\$20,001- \$25,000	\$25,001- \$30,000	Over \$30,000
Reported	416 87.8	484 85.7	510 84.7	367 87.2	208 84.2	115 77.2	118 90.8
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	58 12.2	81 14.3	92 15.3	54 12.8	39 15.8	34 22.8	12 9.2

It will be recalled that the specific hypothesis being tested in this research is that persons who are poor or black are less likely to report crimes to police than persons who are wealthy or white. As may be seen by the contingency table above, respondents to the Police Services Study citizen survey showed a pattern of behavior opposite to that which was expected. That is, the percentage of VICTIMB's not reported due to lack of faith in police increased with each \$5,000 increase in range of family income, with the exception of two columns. In the \$15,001 to \$20,000 range the dependent variable dropped from 15.3% to 12.8% before climbing back up to 15.8%. Also, in the over \$30,000 range of family

income, the percentage of VICTIMB's not reported due to lack of faith in police dropped from 22.8% to 9.2%. The overall pattern of this table, though, is that of wealthy people being less likely to report crimes than poor people because of lack of confidence in police.

B. Reporting of Victimizations by Race of Respondent

No. & % of VICTIMB'S:	REPTCMA-E BY MINORITY	
	White	Nonwhite
Reported	1,699 85.5	803 85.8
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	288 14.5	133 14.2

The a priori expectation was that nonwhite people would be less likely to report crimes than white people. This contingency table shows that expectation is incorrect. That is, 14.5% of VICTIMB's involving members of white households were not reported due to lack of faith in police, compared to 14.2% of VICTIMB's involving nonwhite households not being reported for that reason.

C. Reporting of Victimizations by Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	REPTCMA-E BY MISTREAT	
	Knowledge of Mistreatment by Police	
	Yes	No
Reported	246 83.1	2,247 86.1
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	50 16.9	364 13.9

This table shows that, although many fewer respondents did not know of police mistreatment in the last year than did know of such abuse, proportionately more of those knowing of mistreatment did not report victimizations due to lack of faith in police than those ignorant of such police behavior. This finding was in accord with theoretical expectations.

D. Reporting by Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

REPTCMA-E BY VBSTD

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood				
	15-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Reported	420 89.7	693 86.7	543 81.8	548 87.8	318 81.5
Not Reported Lack of Faith In Police	48 10.3	106 13.3	121 18.2	76 12.2	72 18.5

This table is in accord with theoretical expectations that as the rate of victimization in a neighborhood increases, the percentage of crimes not reported due to lack of faith in police also increases. Only one column shows a deviation from this pattern, that for 46 to 55 victimizations, and it only drops from 18% to around 12%, before rising to 18.5% for 56 to 65 victimizations.

E. Reporting of Victimizations by Rating of Police Response Time

REPTCMA-E BY RATERESP

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	Very Rapidly	Rating of Police Response Time			Not at All
		Quickly Enough	Slowly	Very Slowly	
Reported	799 89.8	996 87.3	398 81.1	215 82.1	9 75.0
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	91 10.2	145 12.7	93 18.9	47 17.9	3 25.0

As expected, as citizens' ratings of police response time became less favorable, their tendency not to report crime due to lack of faith in police increased, as may be seen by the above table.

F. Reporting of Subsequent Victimizations by Evaluations of Previous Ones

REPTCMA through E by EVALPOLI, THIRD, FOURTH and FIFTH

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	Rating of Police Actions		
	OK	Mixed	Not OK
Reported	347 91.3	33 94.3	130 86.1
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	33 8.7	2 5.7	21 13.9

Table F shows that, as anticipated, respondents who were dissatisfied with police handling of previous victimizations were more likely to not report subsequent incidents for the three reasons indicating lack of confidence in police than were respondents who rated prior police actions as more satisfactory. Interestingly enough, if the evaluation of prior police actions was mixed, respondents were slightly more likely to report

subsequent victimizations than if the rating was totally positive. To test the underclass hypothesis, and in particular the finding that positive experience does not affect nonwhites' reporting behavior, three-way contingency tables were run with REPTCMA through REPTCME as the dependent variables, FAMINCOM and MINORITY as independent variables separately, and rating on police actions as the control variable. Results are shown below.

G. Reporting of Subsequent Victimitizations by Income of Respondents

Controlling for Evaluations of Previous Victimitizations
REPTCMA through E by FAMINCOM by EVALPOLI, THIRD, FOURTH and F:FTH

Rating of Police Actions

No. & % of VICTIM's:	OK							Mixed							Not OK						
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Reported	57 95.0	54 88.5	77 95.1	54 94.7	23 71.9	14 87.5	26 100	6 100	6 100	6 75.0	6 100	4 100	1 100	1 100	25 83.3	32 91.4	20 87.0	14 82.4	12 85.7	6 85.7	4 80.0
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police.	3 5.0	7 11.5	4 4.9	3 5.3	9 28.1	2 12.5	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 25.0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	5 16.7	3 8.6	3 13.0	3 17.6	2 14.3	1 14.3	1 20.0

< = Under

> = Over

All income figures are in \$1,000's.

Table G shows that persons who evaluated police handling of previous victimizations as unsatisfactory were more likely to not report subsequent victimizations due to lack of confidence in police than were more satisfied citizens. Contrary to the underclass hypothesis, however, poorer respondents were not less likely to report subsequent victimizations than were wealthier respondents, no matter what their rating of prior police actions.

H. Reporting of Subsequent Victimization by Race of Respondents

Controlling for Evaluations of Previous Victimization
REPTCMA through E by MINORITY by EVALPOLI, THIRD, FOURTH and FIFTH

Rating of Police Actions

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	OK		Mixed		Not OK	
	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites
Reported	258 91.8	89 89.9	20 95.2	13 92.9	70 82.4	60 90.9
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	23 8.2	10 10.1	1 4.8	1 7.1	15 17.6	6 9.1

Table H bears out the previous finding that positive experience with police does not affect nonwhites' reporting behavior. That is, nonwhites who evaluated police handling of previous victimizations as "OK" were no less likely to not report subsequent incidents due to lack of faith in police than were nonwhites who were dissatisfied with prior police actions. White respondents, on the other hand, were over twice as likely to not report subsequent victimizations due to lack of confidence in police if

they thought prior police actions were "Not OK" than if they were satisfied with police handling of previous victimizations. Again, respondents with mixed experience were the most likely of all to report later crimes.

I. Reporting by Type of Offense Involved in Victimization

REPTCMA through E by TYPCRMI through 5

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	Most Serious KILLINJ	Moderately Serious THEFT	Least Serious OTHER
Reported	123 93.2	1,722 86.4	677 82.6
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	9 6.8	271 13.6	143 17.4

As expected, as the seriousness of the offense involved in a victimization decreased, the percentage of victimizations not reported due to lack of faith in police increased. These findings seemed so clear-cut that they were used as the basis for three-way contingency tables with REPTCMA through E as the dependent variable and TYPCRMI through 5 as the independent variable, controlling for FAMINCOM and MINORITY separately. Results of these tables were then summed by each of the five possible victimization incidents, as in the table above, and separated out by seriousness of offense. Results will be discussed below.

J. Reporting by Type of Offense Involved in Victimization

Controlling for Income of Respondent
REPTCMA-E by TYPCRM1-5 by FAMINCOM

	No. & % of VICTIMB's:	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
		Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	Over \$30,000
KILLINJ	Reported	32 97.0	32 100	24 92.3	13 86.7			
	Not Reported	1 3.0	0 0	2 7.7	2 13.3			
THEFT	Reported	274 89.3	325 84.9	378 85.1	268 87.9	136 87.2	73 82.0	75 90.4
	Not Reported	33 10.7	58 15.1	66 14.9	37 12.1	20 12.8	16 18.0	8 9.6
OTHER	Reported	110 82.1	127 84.7	108 81.8	93 85.3	69 78.4	39 69.6	42 91.3
	Not Reported	24 17.9	23 15.3	24 18.2	16 14.7	19 21.6	17 30.4	4 8.7

For the most serious types of offenses involved in victimization incidents (KILLINJ), the percentage of VICTIMB's not reported due to lack of faith in police clearly increases with range of family income. However, there are so few incidents of this type that these findings are not very

stable. It will be noted that there were only 15 such incidents in the top four income categories so that they were combined for this particular table.

Moderately serious offenses (THEFT) show a more variable pattern of increase in non-reporting with family income, with drops in percentages in the \$15,001 to \$20,000, \$20,001 to \$25,000, and over \$30,000 ranges. Least serious offenses (OTHER) are similar to THEFT in the variability of their pattern of non-reporting. If the three types of offenses indicate any pattern of non-reporting of victimizations vis-a-vis family income, it is the direct relationship discussed in A. above. That is, as family income increases, non-reporting increases. The offense types maintain the pattern discussed in F. above, which is higher levels of non-reporting for less serious crimes.

K. Reporting by Type of Offense Involved in Victimization

Controlling for Race of Respondent
REPTCMA-E by TYPCRM1-5 by MINORITY

No. & % of VICTIMB's:	KILLINJ		THEFT		OTHER	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Reported	63 92.6	59 93.7	1,127 87.2	587 84.8	509 81.2	157 86.7
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	5 7.4	4 6.3	165 12.8	105 15.2	118 18.8	24 13.3

The percentage of VICTIMB's not reported due to lack of faith in police is lower for nonwhites than whites for the most serious (KILLINJ) and least

serious (OTHER) offenses. This is in keeping with the two-way contingency table in B. above and is contrary to theoretical expectations. Non-reporting of moderately serious (THEFT) victimizations is higher for non-whites than whites in this three-way crosstabulation, however.

These tables maintain the pattern discussed in F. above of higher levels of non-reporting for less serious offenses, except for nonwhites' non-reporting of the least serious crimes. That is, the percentage of "Other" offenses not reported by nonwhites was lower than the percentage of "Theft" offenses not reported by them. Here one may want to consider the fact that nonwhites experienced these types of VICTIMB's much less frequently than whites. Indeed, as we move from most serious to least serious offenses, we see that nonwhites were involved less often. That is, almost half of the most serious victimizations occurred to nonwhites, while they experienced only around a third of the moderately serious offenses, and less than a quarter of the least serious crimes. Perhaps nonwhite respondents to the Police Services Study citizen survey did not label as victimizations incidents falling in this category which white respondents would consider crimes. Black citizens might experience vandalism, victimless crimes and public nuisances, the types of offenses included in the OTHER category, much more frequently than white citizens. They might be less likely to label such incidents victimizations in the first place. If such incidents seemed important enough to be remembered as crimes, however, poor black citizens might have been more likely to report them than white respondents experiencing many acts of such petty offenses as vandalism.

Shown below are the results of crosstabs of type of offense involved in a victimization by whether it was reported, not reported for the three reasons indicating lack of faith in police, or not reported for all other reasons, controlling for race of respondent. Table L. shows that, while nonwhites did indeed have a lower rate of non-reporting of the least serious offenses than they did for moderately serious offenses for the three reasons indicating lack of faith in police, when all other reasons for not reporting victimizations are considered, their behavior returned to the expected pattern of a higher rate of non-reporting of OTHER offenses than thefts. Table L. also shows that nonwhites had a lower overall rate of nonreporting of THEFT offenses than did whites.

Table M below is a breakdown of all the reasons given by nonwhite respondents to the Police Services Study citizen survey for not reporting the least serious offenses. These results support the hypothesis above by indicating that nonwhites do not seem to take OTHER offenses seriously enough to report them. That is, the two reasons minority respondents gave most frequently for not reporting these types of victimizations were "2. Nothing taken, attempted crime only," and "3. Not important, little damage." White respondents' reasons for not reporting OTHER offenses were almost as likely to be 5, indicating lack of faith in police, as they were to be 3, indicating a belief that the incident was not serious enough to warrant reporting.

L. Reporting Behavior by Type of Offense Involved in Victimization Controlling for Race of Respondent

No. & % of VICTIM's:	<u>KILLING</u>		<u>THEFT</u>		<u>OTHER</u>	
	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites
Reported	63 78.8	57* 70.4	1,112* 62.0	586* 61.1	505* 50.9	156* 52.9
Not Reported Lack of Faith in Police	5 6.3	4 4.9	165 9.2	105 10.9	118 11.9	24 8.1
Not Reported, All Reasons Except "Don't Know"	12 15.0	20 24.7	517 28.8	268 27.9	370 37.3	115 39.0

*These figures are lower than those in Table K because victimizations which were not reported for reason 1, "Police came by noticed by police," are included under "Reported" there but are included under "Not Reported, All Other Reasons Except 'Don't Know'" here.

M. TYPCRM1-5 by NOREPTIA-5B by MINORITYNo. & % of "OTHER" VICTIMS' Not Reported by Nonwhites Because:

<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
1	.7	1. Police came by, noticed by police
48	34.5	2. Nothing taken, attempted crime only
25	18.0	3. Not important, little damage
20	14.4	4. Lack of proof, suspect unknown
22	15.8	5. Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything
1	.7	6. Too inconvenient or unable to report
6	4.3	7. Private or personal matter, handled without police
2	1.4	8. Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself
0	0	9. Fear of reprisals, afraid to call
2	1.5	10. Reported to someone other than police
0	0	11. Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)
0	0	12. Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded
3	2.2	13. Didn't want to get friend in trouble
1	.7	14. Just didn't
8	5.8	88. Other

Interpretation of Findings Concerning Reporting Behavior

From the above, it would appear that if one were to attempt to predict non-reporting of victimizations due to lack of faith in police by means of individual variables, one would have more success using knowledge of police mistreatment, rating of police response time, rating of prior police actions, and seriousness of offense, than one would using minority status or range of family income of respondents to the Police Services Study Citizen Survey.

Citizens who participated in this survey failed to report victimizations for reasons indicating lack of faith in police, based more on their perceptions of police behavior rather than on the basis of their race or income. At least in terms of willingness to use police services, citizens in these neighborhoods do not indicate a pattern of

racial or income discrimination. These results do not offer support for the underclass hypothesis that poor or black people are receiving unequal services from police. Rather, they indicate that citizens' victimization reporting behavior is based on their evaluations of police services in their area (knowledge of mistreatment, rating of response time, rating of prior police actions), of general neighborhood crime (rate of victimization), and of seriousness of the offense involved in the victimization.

The Findings Concerning Complaint Behavior

Contingency tables were run using various aspects of citizens' complaint behavior as dependent variables by each of the independent and control variables separately.

Following are the results of these two-way crosstabulations:

A. Reason to Complain by Income of Respondent

COMPLAIN by FAMINCOM

No. & % of R's Answering:	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	Over \$30,000
Yes	102 4.8	145 6.1	148 7.0	114 7.0	69 7.7	37 8.2	38 7.4
No	2,012 95.2	2,216 93.9	1,977 93.0	1,505 93.0	828 92.3	413 91.8	473 92.6

In order to support the underclass hypothesis, the percentage of respondents having reason to complain about their police services during the previous year should be higher at lower ranges of family income.

Table A shows the opposite to be the case; as range of family income increases, the percentage of respondents perceiving reason to complain about police services increases.

B. Nature of Problem by Income of Respondent

WHYCMP by FAMINCOM

No. & % of responses:	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	Over \$30,000
1. Request for more svc., pol. presence/visibility	32 26.7	42 27.8	30 19.9	24 20.0	17 22.7	12 28.6	10 27.0
2. Pol. courtesy, rude, abusive officers	21 17.5	25 16.6	31 20.5	16 13.3	7 9.3	6 14.3	3 8.1
3. Physical mistreatment	10 8.3	7 4.6	3 2.0	3 2.5	4 5.3	0 0	3 8.1
4. Unnecessary stop	6 5.0	5 3.3	16 10.6	14 11.7	8 10.7	1 2.4	4 10.8
5. Car unfairly towed	2 1.7	2 1.3	0 0	1 .8	1 1.3	1 2.4	0 0
6. Speed traps	0 0	3 2.0	4 2.6	2 1.7	4 5.3	2 4.8	0 0
7. Ineffective/incomplete pol. work	25 20.8	34 22.5	40 26.5	39 32.5	25 33.3	15 35.7	6 16.2
8. Unfair pkg. ticket	6 5.0	10 6.6	8 5.3	4 3.3	3 4.0	0 0	3 8.1
9. Complaint re traffic signal/stop sign	1 .8	1 .7	2 1.3	2 1.7	0 0	3 7.1	1 2.7
10. Pol. not equit. del. svc./treating people	17 14.2	22 14.6	17 11.3	15 12.5	6 8.0	2 4.8	7 18.9

Reasons 1, 2, 3 and 10 in Table B would indicate lack of faith in police and might have been expected to have been given more often by poor people. This general pattern is found for reasons 2 (Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers), 3 (Physical mistreatment) and 10 (Police not being equitable in delivering service or treating people). Interestingly enough, distributions under reasons 1 (Request for more service, police presence or visibility), 3 and 10 violate this trend for the highest ranges of yearly family income, especially that over \$30,000. Perhaps the richest respondents felt entitled to excellent police service by virtue of their high tax contributions and were accordingly critical of their neighborhood law enforcement officers. This might be borne out by the pattern of responses to reason 7 (Ineffective/incomplete police work). As range of family income increased, so did the percentage of responses in this category, with the exception of a decrease in the over \$30,000 range. The overall pattern would indicate that higher income respondents (who probably have corresponding higher educations) are more critical of the quality of police services they receive.

C. Filing of Complaint by Income of Respondent

FILCOMP by FAMINCOM

No. & % of Responses:	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	Over \$30,000
Yes, Myself or Other Member	46 42.6	52 33.1	54 36.0	42 34.4	36 51.4	21 50.0	16 40.0
No	62 57.4	105 66.9	96 64.0	80 65.6	34 48.6	21 50.0	24 60.0

If Table C. were to indicate lack of faith in the police on the part of the underclass, the percentage of citizens who did not complain about their police services would show an inverse relationship to family income. That is, as range of yearly income increased, the percentage of respondents who did not complain should have decreased. In other words, proportionately more low income citizens should have answered "No" to this survey question. This table shows, on the contrary, that the percentage of persons not complaining generally increased with increases in yearly family income, at least up to the \$20,000 mark. This may relate to the previous finding of high income people feeling they have reason to complain about their police service (ineffective/incomplete police work). That is, richer respondents may have been more articulate in identifying cause for complaint, but their criticisms may have been of a general nature and not immediate or pressing enough to warrant acting upon them. Poorer respondents, as will be seen below, live in neighborhoods with higher rates of criminal victimization and perceive police response time to be somewhat slower and thus may be motivated to complain more frequently.

D. Reasons Complaint Not Filed by Income of RespondentNOCOMP by FAMINCOM

No. & % of Responses:	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						Over \$30,000
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	
1. Afraid of police	6 9.2	3 3.4	4 5.2	3 4.4	0 0	0 0	0 0
2. No time	4 6.2	1 1.1	4 5.2	3 4.4	0 0	1 6.3	0 0
3. Problem fixed w/out need to complain	4 6.2	4 4.5	0 0	3 4.4	4 12.5	0 0	0 0
4. Wouldn't do any good to complain	35 53.8	54 60.7	40 51.9	33 48.5	21 65.6	12 75.0	9 64.3
5. Complaining might make problem worse	12 18.5	8 9.0	9 11.7	5 7.4	1 3.1	2 12.5	1 7.1
6. Didn't know to whom to complain	3 4.6	7 1.1	5 6.5	9 13.2	2 6.3	0 0	0 0
7. Other compl., no need for me to do so	1 1.5	6 6.7	4 5.2	4 5.9	2 6.3	0 0	1 7.1
8. Not important enough	0 0	3 3.4	8 10.4	8 11.8	1 3.1	1 6.3	3 21.4
9. Didn't think I should compl. about it	0 0	3 3.4	3 3.9	0 0	1 3.1	0 0	0 0

The underclass hypothesis would lead one to expect poorer respondents to give reasons 1, 4 and 5 for not complaining about police services more frequently than richer respondents. Reason 4, "Wouldn't do any good to complain," was chosen at least half the time by respondents at all ranges of yearly family income. However, reason 1, "Afraid of police," was given most frequently by the very poorest citizens and, indeed, not selected at all by respondents whose yearly family income was over \$20,000. Similarly, reason 5, "Complaining might make problem worse," was also chosen more often by poorer respondents as cause for not complaining about their police services.

E. Reason to Complain by Race of Respondent

COMPLAIN by MINORITY

No. & % of R's Answering:	White	Nonwhite
Yes	473 5.6	281 8.0
No	7,966 94.4	3,227 92.0

The underclass hypothesis would lead one to expect that a higher percentage of nonwhite than white respondents had reason to complain about the police services they received in the previous year. The difference (8.0% for nonwhites, 5.6% for whites) is not very large, but unlike the dependent variable concerned with respondents' non-reporting of victimizations, it is in the anticipated direction.

As was expected with low income respondents, according to the underclass hypothesis nonwhites should have given reasons 1, 2, 3 and 10 more frequently than whites as their causes for complaining about police service. Following is the distribution of responses.

F. Nature of Problem by Race of Respondent

WHYCOMP by MINORITY

No. & % of Responses:	Whites		Nonwhites	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Request for more service, police presence or visibility	136	26.6	61	21.5
2. Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers	71	13.9	51	18.0
3. Physical mistreatment	12	2.3	22	7.7
4. Unnecessary stop	31	6.1	31	10.9
5. Car unfairly towed	5	1.0	4	1.4
6. Speed traps	8	1.6	8	2.8
7. Ineffective/incomplete police work	159	31.1	54	19.0
8. Unfair parking ticket	20	3.9	17	6.0
9. Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign	8	1.6	3	1.1
10. Police not being equitable in delivering service or treating people	62	12.1	33	11.6

Only reasons 2 and 3, of the four reasons indicating lack of faith in police and supportive of the underclass hypothesis, were chosen by nonwhites more often than whites as causes for complaint about police service. The pattern observed above with family income, of more privileged respondents being more critical of police service, as indicated by choosing reason 7, is found here, with whites being almost twice as likely as nonwhites to complain about "Ineffective/incomplete police work."

G. Filing of Complaint by Race of Respondent

FILCOMP by MINORITY

No. & % of Responses:	Whites	Nonwhites
Yes, Myself or Other Member	185 37.2	120 41.0
No	312 62.8	173 59.0

The underclass hypothesis would have led us to expect proportionately more nonwhites than whites to have not filed a complaint about their police service. The citizen survey data in Table G. show the opposite to be the case. As with lower income respondents, nonwhites live in neighborhoods with higher rates of victimization, and perceive police response time to be slower. They are also more likely to have knowledge of police mistreatment and thus may have pressing reasons to actually file complaints.

H. Reasons Complaint Not Filed by Race of Respondent

NOCOMP by MINORITY

No. & % of Responses:	Whites		Nonwhites	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Afraid of police	8	3.2	10	6.1
2. No time	9	3.6	8	4.8
3. Problem fixed without need to complain	10	4.0	10	6.1
4. Wouldn't do any good to complain	142	56.6	90	54.5
5. Complaining might make problem worse	24	9.6	19	11.5
6. Didn't know to whom to complain	18	7.2	11	6.7
7. Other complained, no need for me to do so	15	6.0	7	4.2
8. Not important enough	23	9.2	5	3.0
9. Didn't think I should complain about something like a parking ticket or other minor infraction	2	.8	5	3.0

As was found with family income in Table D. above, members of the underclass (in this case, nonwhites) were more likely to choose reasons 1 and 5 for not filing complaints than were more privileged respondents. In the case of reason 5, "Complaining might make problem worse," nonwhites were not as likely to be represented as were poor people. Again, reason 4 (Wouldn't do any good to complain) was chosen over half the time by both whites and nonwhites.

I. Reason to Complain by Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

COMPLAIN by MISTREAT

No. & % of R's Answering:	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	155	25.4	589	5.3
No	455	74.6	10,605	94.7

As might be expected and as was found with respondents' non-reporting behavior, citizens who know of police mistreatment have a lower opinion of their law enforcement officers, as witnessed in this case by a higher percentage of such persons having reason to complain about the police services they received in the previous year.

J. Nature of Problem by Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

WHYCMP by MISTREAT

No. & % of Responses:	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Request for more service, police presence or visibility	20	10.8	174	29.2
2. Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers	50	26.9	71	11.9
3. Physical mistreatment	21	11.3	11	1.8
4. Unnecessary stop	22	11.8	39	6.5
5. Car unfairly towed	4	2.2	5	.8
6. Speed traps	3	1.6	12	2.0
7. Ineffective/incomplete police work	28	15.1	182	30.5
8. Unfair parking ticket	7	3.8	29	4.9
9. Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign	1	.5	10	1.7
10. Police not being equitable in delivering service or treating people	30	16.1	63	10.6

Table J shows that citizens who knew of police mistreatment were more likely to give reasons 2, 3 and 10 as cause for complaint than were

respondents not knowing of police mistreatment. The other reason indicating lack of faith in police (Request for more service, police presence or visibility) was chosen almost three times as often by persons not knowing of police mistreatment as it was by respondents with such knowledge. Certainly it is plausible that persons knowing of police mistreatment would not desire more exposure to possible abuse. Persons with knowledge of mistreatment selected "Unnecessary stop" as a reason to complain about police service almost twice as frequently as persons not knowing of such abuse. Unnecessary stops may in fact be viewed as a form of mistreatment. In fact, Rubinstein (1973) found that citizens dislike the arbitrary use of power embodied in making stops on the street (In Deby Dean, 1978:6).

K. Filing of Complaint by Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

FILCOMP by MISTREAT

No. & % of Responses:	Yes	No
Yes, Myself or Other Member	65 38.5	235 38.7
No	104 61.5	372 61.3

Table K shows that persons with knowledge of police mistreatment are only slightly less likely to file a complaint about police service than persons without such knowledge (38.5% versus 38.7%). Evidently respondents to the citizen survey who knew of police mistreatment had

not concluded that it was useless to complain about service received even though their opinion of their law enforcement officers was not of the highest.

L. Reasons Complaint Not Filed by Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

NOCOMP by MISTREAT

No. & % of Responses:	Yes		No	
1. Afraid of Police	10	9.4	8	2.7
2. No time	1	.9	16	5.4
3. Problem fixed without need to complain	5	4.7	15	5.0
4. Wouldn't do any good to complain	55	51.9	167	55.9
5. Complaining might make problem worse	15	14.2	27	9.0
6. Didn't know to whom to complain	9	8.5	20	6.7
7. Other complained, no need for me to do so	2	1.9	20	6.7
8. Not important enough	8	7.5	20	6.7
9. Didn't think I should complain about something like a parking ticket or other minor infraction	1	.9	6	2.0

Knowledge of police mistreatment is related to reasons 1 and 5, of the three reasons for not filing a complaint indicating lack of faith in police. As was found with family income and race as the independent variables, reason 4 (Wouldn't do any good to complain) was chosen at least half the time, whether there was knowledge of police mistreatment or not.

M. Reason to Complain by Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

COMPLAIN by VBSTD

No. & % of R's Answering:	15-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Yes	150 4.7	228 6.0	158 6.8	140 7.9	78 9.4
No	3,057 95.3	3,578 94.0	2,162 93.2	1,641 92.1	755 90.6

Table M. shows the expected results that residents of neighborhoods with higher rates of criminal victimization were more likely to have reason to complain about the police services they received during the previous year.

N. Nature of Problem by Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

WHYCMP by WBSTD

No. & % of R's Answering:	15-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
1. Request for more service, police presence, or visibility	30 22.2	56 23.3	53 28.6	40 27.6	18 19.8
2. Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers	18 13.3	35 14.6	29 15.7	27 18.6	13 14.3
3. Physical mistreatment	3 2.2	8 3.3	9 4.9	7 4.8	7 7.7
4. Unnecessary stop	23 17.0	19 7.9	6 3.2	7 4.8	7 7.7
5. Car unfairly towed	1 .7	3 1.3	2 1.1	1 .7	2 2.2
6. Speed traps	7 5.2	4 1.7	2 1.1	2 1.4	1 1.1
7. Ineffective/incomplete police work	31 23.0	64 26.7	59 31.9	38 26.2	21 23.1
8. Unfair parking ticket	5 3.7	19 7.9	4 2.2	2 1.4	7 7.7
9. Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign	1 .7	5 2.1	4 2.2	0 0	1 1.1
10. Police not being equitable in delivering service or treating people	16 11.9	27 11.3	17 9.2	21 14.5	14 15.4

The four reasons indicating lack of faith in police and supporting the underclass hypothesis, 1, 2, 3 and 10 above, were generally chosen more often as causes for complaint about police services as the rate of victimization in neighborhoods increased. And in fact nonwhite respondents and those with lower family incomes do tend to reside in neighborhoods with higher rates of victimization, as the two contingency tables below will attest.

N-1. Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood by Income of Respondent

VBSTD by FAMINCOM

No. & % of R's with this Rate of Victimiz. In Nbrd.:	Under \$5,000		\$5,000- \$10,000		\$10,001- \$15,000		\$15,001- \$20,000		\$20,001- \$25,000		\$25,001- \$30,000		Over \$30,000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-25	501	23.5	631	26.6	514	24.1	469	28.9	273	30.3	143	31.4	207	40.4
26-35	606	28.5	694	29.3	744	34.8	552	34.0	320	35.5	160	35.1	154	30.1
36-45	439	20.6	447	18.9	436	20.4	304	18.7	161	17.9	93	20.4	118	23.0
46-55	393	18.5	400	16.9	296	13.9	209	12.9	94	10.4	41	9.0	26	5.1
56-65	191	9.0	198	8.4	145	6.8	91	5.6	53	5.9	19	4.2	7	1.4

In the two highest ranges of rate of neighborhood victimization, 46-55 and 56-65, percentages of respondents decline with each increase in range of family income. That is, the higher the income, the less likely respondents were to reside in neighborhoods with high rates of victimization.

N-2. Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood by Race of Respondent

VBSTD by MINORITY

No. & % of R's with this Rate of Victimiz. In Nbrd.:

	Whites	Nonwhites
15-25	2,478 29.2	751 21.3
26-35	2,995 35.3	832 23.6
36-45	1,815 21.4	519 14.7
46-55	760 8.9	1,030 29.2
56-65	444 5.2	395 11.2

As with the finding for low income above, respondents who are potentially members of the underclass by virtue of being nonwhite are much more likely than whites to reside in neighborhoods with the two highest rates of victimization.

O. Filing of Complaint by Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

FILCOMP by VBSTD

No. & % of Responses:	15-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Yes, Myself or Other Member	75 49.7	84 36.4	64 36.8	48 32.9	34 38.6
No	76 50.3	147 63.6	110 63.2	98 67.1	54 61.4

Table 0 shows that as rate of victimization in the neighborhood increased, the percentage of complaints which were formally filed with police decreased. This is not consistent with the findings that poor and nonwhite persons, who tend to live in neighborhoods with the highest rate of victimization, reported complaints more often. However, just as the tendency for poor and black people to report complaints was not much greater than that of wealthy and white people, so the differences in tendency to file complaints by rate of victimization in the neighborhood are not extremely large either.

P. Reasons Complaint Not Filed by
Rate of Victimization In Neighborhood

" NOCOMP by VBSTD

No. & % of Responses:	15-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
1. Afraid of police	2 2.9	5 4.3	6 6.3	3 3.4	2 4.2
2. No time	3 4.4	5 4.3	2 2.1	4 4.5	3 6.3
3. Problem fixed without need to complain	4 5.9	5 4.3	5 5.2	5 5.7	1 2.1
4. Wouldn't do any good to complain	37 54.4	60 52.2	51 53.1	51 58.0	33 68.8
5. Complaining might make problem worse	11 16.2	6 5.2	11 11.5	14 15.9	1 2.1
6. Didn't know to whom to complain	1 1.5	12 10.4	8 8.3	5 5.7	3 6.3
7. Other complained, no need for me to do so	5 7.4	6 5.2	6 6.3	3 3.4	2 4.2
8. Not important enough	4 5.9	12 10.4	7 7.3	2 2.3	3 6.3
9. Didn't think I should complain about something like a parking ticket or other minor infraction	1 1.5	4 3.5	0 0	1 1.1	0 0

Of the three reasons for not filing a complaint indicating lack of faith in the police, only reason 4 (Wouldn't do any good to complain) was chosen more often as rate of victimization in the neighborhood increased. As was found in Tables D, H and L, no matter what the value of the independent variable, reason 4 was chosen over half the time by respondents in all types of neighborhoods.

Q. Reason to Complain by Rating of Police Response Time

COMPLAIN by RATERESP

No. & % of R's Answering:	Very Rapidly	Quickly Enough	Slowly	Very Slowly	Not at All
Yes	153 3.8	271 5.7	166 14.3	104 22.5	12 25.5
No	3,921 96.2	4,499 94.3	992 85.7	358 77.5	35 74.5

Table Q shows that respondents who were dissatisfied with police response time were also more likely to have reason to complain about the police service they received in the previous year.

R. Nature of Problem by Rating of Police Response Time

WHYCMP by RATERESP

No. & % of Responses:	Very Rapidly	Quickly Enough	Slowly	Very Slowly	Not at All
1. Request for more svc., pol. presence, or visib.	30 19.1	74 24.5	42 25.1	36 31.3	5 45.5
2. Pol. courtesy, rude, abusive officers	28 17.8	48 15.9	23 13.8	14 12.2	0 0
3. Phys. mis-treatment	5 3.2	19 6.3	6 3.6	4 3.5	0 0
4. Unnecessary stop	17 10.8	21 7.0	8 4.8	9 7.8	0 0
5. Car unfairly towed	2 1.3	4 1.3	1 .6	2 1.7	0 0
6. Speed traps	7 4.5	7 2.3	1 .6	0 0	0 0
7. Ineffective/incomplete pol. work	34 21.7	70 23.2	59 35.3	33 28.7	4 36.4
8. Unfair parking ticket	6 3.8	17 5.6	6 3.6	4 3.5	1 9.1
9. Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign	3 1.9	4 1.3	1 .6	3 2.6	0 0
10. Pol. not being equit. in del. svc. or treating people	25 15.9	38 12.6	20 12.0	10 8.7	1 9.1

Of the four reasons indicating lack of faith in police, only the first (Request for more service, police presence, or visibility) increases along with increase in dissatisfaction with response time. The only other reason which showed this pattern was 7 (Ineffective/incomplete police work). The fact that respondents who rated police response time poorly were also quite critical of service in general bears out other researchers' findings of the importance of response time as a determinant of citizen satisfaction with police.

S. Filing of Complaint by Rating of Police Response Time

FILCOMP by RATERESP

No. & % of R's Answering:	Very Rapidly	Quickly Enough	Slowly	Very Slowly	Not at All
Yes, Myself or Other Member	66 41.0	117 40.1	59 34.1	36 34.3	6 46.2
No	95 59.0	175 59.9	114 65.9	69 65.7	7 53.8

With the exception of the few (13) instances in which police response time was rated "Not at All," the more dissatisfaction there was with the time it seemed to take police to respond to calls for service, the less likely it was for a complaint to be filed.

T. Reasons Complaint Not Filed by Rating of Police Response Time

NOCOMP by RATERESP

No. & % of Responses:	Very Rapidly	Quickly Enough	Slowly	Very Slowly	Not at All
1. Afraid of police	2 2.6	7 4.9	4 4.2	4 5.6	1 14.3
2. No time	5 6.6	7 4.9	2 2.1	1 1.4	0 0
3. Problem fixed without need to complain	4 5.3	8 5.6	6 6.3	2 2.8	0 0
4. Wouldn't do any good to complain	39 51.3	77 53.5	55 57.3	43 59.7	3 42.9
5. Complaining might make problem worse	10 13.2	11 7.6	11 11.5	8 11.1	1 14.3
6. Didn't know to whom to complain	1 1.3	10 6.9	7 7.3	9 12.5	2 28.6
7. Other complained, no need for me to do so	5 6.6	6 4.2	7 7.3	3 4.2	0 0
8. Not important enough	7 9.2	14 9.7	4 4.2	2 2.8	0 0
9. Didn't think I should complain about something like a parking ticket or other minor infraction	3 3.9	4 2.8	0 0	0 0	0 0

Of the three reasons for not filing complaints indicating lack of faith in police, reasons 1 (Afraid of police) and 4 (Wouldn't do any good to complain) were chosen more often as rating of police response

time became less favorable. Once again reason 4 was consistently chosen around half the time.

Two of the four dependent variables dealing with citizens' complaint behavior were chosen for further analysis. COMPLAIN and FILCOMP, whether respondents had reason to complain about their police services and whether they actually filed complaints, were used as the dependent variables in a series of three-way contingency tables. The independent variables were FAMINCOM and MINORITY, and the control variables were MISTREAT, VBSTD, and RATERESP.

Table AA shows that when knowledge of police mistreatment is present, the percentage of respondents saying they had reason to complain about police services was fairly evenly distributed across all ranges of yearly family income. Table BB may shed some light on this finding.

AA. Reason to Complain by Income of Respondent Controlling for Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

COMPLAIN by FAMINCOM by MISTREAT

Knowledge of Police Mistreatment?

Reason to Complain about	<u>Yes</u>							<u>No</u>						
	<u>Ranges of Yearly Family Income</u>													
	Police Svc.?	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,001- \$15,000	\$15,001- \$20,000	\$20,001- \$25,000	\$25,001- \$30,000	Over \$30,000	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,001- \$15,000	\$15,001- \$20,000	\$20,001- \$25,000	\$25,001- \$30,000
Yes	22 25.0	37 29.6	32 27.6	23 29.1	9 20.9	6 18.8	7 25.9	78 3.9	107 4.8	115 5.8	90 5.9	59 7.0	30 7.3	31 6.4
No	66 75.0	88 70.4	84 72.4	56 70.9	34 79.1	26 81.2	20 74.1	1,912 96.1	2,103 95.2	1,870 94.2	1,437 94.1	785 93.0	383 92.7	452 93.6

BB. Knowledge of Police Mistreatment by Income of RespondentMISTREAT by FAMINCOM

Knowledge of Police Mistreatment?	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,001- \$15,000	\$15,001- \$20,000	\$20,001- \$25,000	\$25,001- \$30,000	Over \$30,000
Yes	89 4.3	126 5.4	117 5.5	79 4.9	43 4.8	32 7.1	27 5.3
No	2,004 95.7	2,218 94.6	1,994 94.5	1,532 95.1	847 95.2	418 92.9	483 94.7

Table BB shows that, indeed, percentages of respondents saying they had knowledge of police mistreatment are similar across all ranges of family income. Where respondents did not know of police mistreatment, the pattern was more similar to Table A, with higher percentages of persons having reason to complain about police services at higher levels of income. This three-way table also shows, as was seen in Table I. above, that when knowledge of police mistreatment was present, much higher levels of percentages of respondents said they had reason to complain about police services.

CC. Reason to Complain by Income of Respondent Controlling for Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

COMPLAIN by FAMINCOM by VBSTD

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood													
	15-25							26-35						
	Ranges of Yearly Family Income													
	< 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	> 30	< 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	> 30
Yes	11 2.2	20 3.2	30 5.9	22 4.7	20 7.4	15 10.6	15 7.3	23 3.8	39 5.6	43 5.8	45 8.2	25 7.9	8 5.0	15 9.7
No	485 97.8	608 96.8	481 94.1	445 95.3	252 92.6	126 89.4	191 92.7	579 96.2	852 94.4	698 94.2	505 91.8	292 92.1	151 95.0	139 90.3

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood													
	36-45							46-55						
	Ranges of Yearly Family Income													
	< 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	> 30	< 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	> 30
Yes	24 5.5	27 6.1	31 7.1	21 6.9	15 9.3	7 7.6	5 4.2	25 6.4	33 8.3	33 11.2	17 8.2	6 6.4	3 7.5	2 7.7
No	412 94.5	417 93.9	404 92.9	282 93.1	146 90.7	85 92.4	113 95.8	366 93.6	367 91.7	262 88.8	191 91.8	88 93.6	37 92.5	24 92.3

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood						
	56-65						
	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	< 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	> 30
Yes	19 10.1	26 13.1	11 7.7	9 9.9	3 5.7	4 22.2	1 14.3
No	170 89.9	172 86.9	132 92.3	82 90.1	50 94.3	14 77.8	6 85.7

< = Under
 > = Over
 All income figures are in \$1,000's.

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Table CC shows that when rate of victimization in the neighborhood is controlled, the percentage of respondents saying they had reason to complain about police services generally increased with increases in range of yearly family income, as was found in Table A. Slight exceptions may be seen in the two moderate to high ranges of victimization. The percentage of respondents in neighborhoods with a rate of 36 to 45 victimizations who said they had reason to complain about police services was highest in the \$20,001 to \$25,000 range of yearly family income. Similarly, respondents in neighborhoods with a victimization rate of 46 to 55 were most likely to have had reason to complain about police services if their income range was \$10,001 to \$15,000 per year.

As was seen in Table M above, as the rate of victimization in neighborhoods increased, the levels of percentages of persons saying they had reason to complain about police services increased also.

Table DD shows that when rating of police response time is controlled for, higher percentages of wealthier respondents said they had reason to complain about police services. This is congruent with the findings in Table A. As in Table Q above, as rating of police response time became less favorable, the level of percentages of respondents saying they had reason to complain about police services increased.

DD. Reason to Complain by Income of Respondent Controlling for Rating of Police Response Time

COMPLAIN by FAMINCOM by RATERESP

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rating of Police Response Time													
	Very Rapidly					Ranges of Yearly Family Income						Quickly Enough		
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes	15 2.2	29 3.6	32 4.7	19 3.4	15 4.4	14 8.1	8 3.7	24 3.0	50 5.4	58 6.3	50 7.3	32 8.5	12 6.3	19 9.3
No	672 97.8	771 96.4	648 95.3	534 96.6	329 95.6	158 91.9	207 96.3	763 97.0	879 94.6	866 93.7	634 91.7	344 91.5	177 93.7	186 90.7

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rating of Police Response Time													
	Slowly					Ranges of Yearly Family Income						Very Slowly		
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes	27 12.4	29 10.4	37 19.2	23 15.4	11 15.5	4 16.7	6 23.1	24 22.6	27 26.0	13 17.3	14 28.0	3 15.8	3 23.1	4 33.3
No	190 87.6	249 89.6	156 80.8	126 84.6	60 84.5	20 83.3	20 76.9	82 77.4	77 74.0	62 82.7	36 72.0	16 84.2	10 76.9	8 66.7

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Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rating of Police Response Time						
	Not at All						
	Ranges of Yearly Family Income						
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes	2 15.4	2 33.3	1 12.5	2 25.0	0 0	2 50.0	0 0
No	11 84.6	4 66.7	7 87.5	6 75.0	2 100.0	2 50.0	0 0

< = Under
> = Over

All income figures are in \$1,000's.

EE. Reason to Complain by Race of Respondent Controlling for Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

COMPLAIN by MINORITY by MISTREAT

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Knowledge of Police Mistreatment?			
	Yes		No	
	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites
Yes	75 25.8	80 25.1	392 4.9	197 6.3
No	216 74.2	239 74.9	7,670 95.1	2,935 93.7

Table EE mirrors the results in Table I above, in that persons with knowledge of police mistreatment were around five times more likely to say they had reason to complain about their police services than were persons without such knowledge. Controlling for MISTREAT, however, seems to diminish the impact race had on complaint behavior. That is, Table EE does not show a higher percentage of nonwhite respondents saying they had reason to complain about their police services, as did Table E above.

FF. Reason to Complain by Race of Respondent Controlling for Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

COMPLAIN by MINORITY by VBSTD

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood									
	15-25		26-35		36-45		46-55		56-65	
	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Yes	102 4.1	48 6.4	164 5.5	64 7.8	121 6.7	37 7.2	45 5.9	95 9.3	41 9.3	37 9.4
No	2,356 95.9	701 93.6	2,817 94.5	761 92.2	1,682 93.3	480 92.8	713 94.1	928 90.7	398 90.7	357 90.6

Unlike Table EE, this crosstabs does resemble Table E in that higher percentages of nonwhites than whites said they had reason to complain about their police services, no matter what the rate of victimization in their neighborhoods. Table FF also resembles Table M above in that the percentage of respondents with reason to complain about their police services increased as rate of victimization in neighborhoods increased.

GG. Reason to Complain by Race of Respondent Controlling for Rating of Police Response Time

COMPLAIN by MINORITY by RATERESP

Reason to Complain about Pol. Svcs.?	Rating of Police Response Time									
	Very Rapidly		Quickly Enough		Slowly		Very Slowly		Not at All	
	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Yes	109 3.6	44 4.5	176 5.1	95 7.2	90 15.3	76 13.3	56 27.1	48 18.8	9 28.1	3 20.0
No	2,993 96.4	928 95.5	3,269 94.9	1,230 92.8	497 84.7	495 86.7	151 72.9	207 81.2	23 71.9	12 80.0

The results shown in Table GG mirror those in Table E, COMPLAIN by MINORITY, and Table Q, COMPLAIN by RATERESP, with the somewhat anomalous exception of lower percentages of nonwhites than whites in neighborhoods with the three least favorable ratings of police response time saying they had reason to complain about their police services. Perhaps response time does not seem as important a component of police services to nonwhites as it does to white citizens.

HH. Filing of Complaint by Income of Respondent Controlling for Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

FILCOMP by FAMINCOM by MISTREAT

Knowledge of Police Mistreatment?

Did HH File Complaint?	<u>Yes</u>							<u>No</u>						
	<u>Ranges of Yearly Family Income</u>							<u>Ranges of Yearly Family Income</u>						
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	Over \$30,000	Under \$5,000	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$15,000	\$15,001-\$20,000	\$20,001-\$25,000	\$25,001-\$30,000	Over \$30,000
Yes, Myself or Other Member	8 36.4	15 36.6	14 42.4	6 21.4	5 45.5	6 66.7	4 57.1	36 43.4	37 32.5	39 33.6	36 38.7	30 51.7	15 48.4	12 36.4
No	14 63.6	26 63.4	19 57.6	22 78.6	6 54.5	3 33.3	3 42.9	47 56.6	77 67.5	77 66.4	57 61.3	28 48.3	16 51.6	21 63.6

Table HH shows that when knowledge of police mistreatment was present, there was more of a tendency for members of wealthier households to have filed a complaint about their police services than when such knowledge was absent. This is particularly true of the two highest ranges of yearly family income. Levels of percentages of respondents having filed a complaint about police services were almost as high when knowledge of police mistreatment was absent as when it was present. Such respondents, however, showed a pattern similar to that in Table C in that members of wealthier households were not much more likely to have filed a complaint about their police services when they had no knowledge of police mistreatment. Perhaps this finding is another indication of wealthier respondents' high expectations of police services in that when they knew of police mistreatment, they were more likely to become indignant enough to file a complaint than were poorer respondents.

Table II shows a similar pattern to Tables C and O. In all three cases there is a general tendency for the levels of percentages of respondents who filed a complaint about their police services to form a U-shape. That is, respondents with the lowest ranges of yearly family income and residing in neighborhoods with lowest rate of victimization were more likely to have filed a complaint about their police services than were respondents in the middle ranges of income and victimization rate. Levels of percentages of respondents with the highest ranges of yearly family income and residing in neighborhoods with the highest rates of victimization, in turn, were higher than those in the moderate ranges and, in some cases, higher than those in the very lowest ranges of family income and victimization rate. The only significant exception

II. Filing of Complaint by Income of Respondent Controlling for Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

FILCOMP by FAMINCOM by VBSTD

Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

Did HH File Complaint?	15-25							26-35						
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes, Myself or Other Member	4 40.0	10 50.0	17 63.0	10 43.5	9 47.4	12 66.7	5 31.3	14 56.0	11 26.2	14 33.3	17 39.5	14 53.8	1 12.5	6 37.5
No	6 60.0	10 50.0	10 37.0	13 56.5	10 52.6	6 33.3	11 68.7	11 44.0	31 73.8	28 66.7	26 60.5	12 46.20	7 87.5	10 62.5

Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

Did HH File Complaint?	36-45							46-55						
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes, Myself or Other Member	8 30.8	13 43.3	11 31.4	4 15.4	9 60.0	3 37.5	3 60.0	13 50.0	7 20.0	7 20.6	7 36.8	4 57.1	2 50.0	1 50.0
No	18 69.2	17 56.7	24 68.6	22 84.6	6 40.0	5 62.5	2 40.0	13 50.0	28 80.0	27 79.4	12 63.2	3 42.9	2 50.0	1 50.0

Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

Did HH File Complaint	56-65						
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes, Myself or Other Member	7 33.3	11 36.7	5 41.7	4 36.4	0 0	3 75.0	1 100.0
No	14 66.7	19 63.3	7 58.3	7 63.6	3 100.0	1 25.0	0 0

< = Under
 > = Over
 All income figures are in \$1,000's.

to this pattern is in neighborhoods with the highest rate of victimization, where the pattern is more of a general increase in percentages of respondents filing complaints about police services with increases in ranges of yearly family income. Since there are only four complaints filed by respondents in the three highest income ranges, this exception may not be noteworthy. However, it is discouraging, especially in light of Table O below, that higher percentages of residents of neighborhoods with the very highest rates of victimization did not file complaints about their police services. Their failure to do so may be symptomatic of a vicious circle of citizens' lack of faith in police resulting in their not reporting victimizations (Tables D and L in section III above) and not filing complaints as frequently as residents of less victimized neighborhoods, which in turn means that police are not kept well enough informed about crime in those neighborhoods to work effectively to reduce its rate.

Table JJ shows a similar U-shaped pattern to Table II. This is especially true for citizens in neighborhoods where the rating of police response time was "Quickly Enough," "Slowly," and "Very Slowly." There are too few cases in the category "Not at All" to draw any conclusions about those responses. In the category "Very Rapidly," respondents at all income levels were approximately equally likely to have filed complaints about their police services.

The findings of this three-way contingency table are more encouraging than those in Table II above, in which knowledge of police mistreatment was the control variable. They are also more encouraging than those in Table S above, in which proportionately fewer respondents

JJ. Filing of Complaint by Income of Respondent Controlling for Rating of Police Response Time

FILCOMP by FAMINCOM by RATERESP

Did HH File Complaint?	Rating of Police Response Time													
	<u>Very Rapidly</u>					<u>Ranges of Yearly Family Income</u>				<u>Quickly Enough</u>				
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes, Myself or Other Member	8 42.1	10 33.3	15 46.9	7 38.9	6 42.9	7 36.8	3 37.5	11 40.7	21 37.5	22 36.7	20 35.7	20 58.8	6 50.0	7 35.0
No	11 57.9	20 66.7	17 53.1	11 61.1	8 57.1	12 63.2	5 62.5	16 59.3	35 62.5	38 63.3	36 64.3	14 41.2	6 50.0	13 65.0

Did HH File Complaint?	Rating of Police Response Time													
	<u>Slowly</u>					<u>Ranges of Yearly Family Income</u>				<u>Very Slowly</u>				
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes, Myself or Other Member	12 42.9	9 26.5	9 23.7	8 34.8	4 36.4	3 75.0	5 71.4	9 42.9	9 33.3	4 33.3	5 26.3	2 50.0	1 50.0	0 0
No	16 57.1	25 73.5	29 76.3	15 65.2	7 63.6	1 25.0	2 28.6	12 57.1	18 66.7	8 66.7	14 73.7	2 50.0	1 50.0	4 100.0

Did HH File Complain?	Rating of Police Response Time						
	<u>Not at All</u>						
	<5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	>30
Yes, Myself or Other Member	0 0	1 50.0	1 100.0	1 50.0	0 0	2 100.0	0 0
No	2 100.0	1 50.0	0 0	1 50.0	0 0	0 0	0 0

= Under
= Over
All income figures in \$1,000's.

filed complaints as ratings of police response time became less favorable. Rather, Table JJ shows that residents of neighborhoods with unfavorable ratings of police response time did not seem to have sunk into the apathy possibly afflicting persons in high crime areas, but continued to exhibit concern by filing complaints about their police services.

Contingency tables were run with FILCOMP as the dependent variable, MINORITY as the independent variable, and MISTREAT, VBSTD and RATERESP as control variables. One table was computed for each of the latter three variables separately. The results are shown below.

KK. Filing of Complaint by Race of Respondent Controlling for Knowledge of Police Mistreatment

FILCOMP by MINORITY by MISTREAT

Knowledge of Police Mistreatment?

Did HH File Complaint?	Yes		No	
	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites
Yes, Myself or Other Member	32 36.4	33 40.7	151 37.8	84 40.6
No	56 63.6	48 59.3	249 62.3	123 59.4

Table KK resembles Table G above in that higher percentages of nonwhites than whites filed complaints about police services, regardless of whether knowledge of police mistreatment was present or not. These results are similar to Table K in that a higher percentage of white respondents who did not know of mistreatment filed a complaint than did white respondents knowing of mistreatment. Also like Table K, however, this difference is not very large.

LL. Filing of Complaint by Race of Respondent Controlling for Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

FILCOMP by MINORITY by VBSTD

Rate of Victimization in Neighborhood

Did HH File Complain?	15-25		26-35		36-45		46-55		56-65	
	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Yes, Myself or Other Member	49 47.6	26 54.2	56 33.9	28 42.4	44 34.1	20 44.4	19 35.8	29 31.2	17 36.2	17 41.5
No	54 52.4	22 45.8	109 66.1	38 57.6	85 65.9	25 55.6	34 64.2	64 68.8	30 63.8	24 58.5

This contingency table shows results similar to Table G, FILCOMP by MINORITY, in that, overall, higher percentages of nonwhites than whites filed complaints about police service. It resembles Table O below in that, as rate of victimization in neighborhoods increased, the percentage of respondents who filed complaints about their police services decreased. This is a similar finding to Table II, FILCOMP by FAMINCOM by VBSTD, and also to reporting behavior as evidenced by Tables D and L in section III above. Evidently the reality of a high crime rate has a depressant effect on citizens' willingness to cooperate with law enforcement officers in the coproduction of police services, at least as measured by these aspects of their behavior.

MM. Filing of Complaint by Race of Respondent Controlling for Rating of Police Response Time

FILCOMP by MINORITY by RATERESP

Did HH File Complaint?	Rating of Police Response Time									
	Very Rapidly		Quickly Enough		Slowly		Very Slowly		Not at All	
	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Yes, Myself or Other Member	45 39.1	21 45.7	79 41.4	38 37.6	24 25.3	35 44.9	17 30.4	19 38.8	5 50.0	1 33.3
No	70 60.9	25 54.3	112 58.6	63 62.4	71 74.7	43 55.1	39 69.6	30 61.2	5 50.0	2 66.7

As with the "parent" two-way contingency table, adding the control variable RATERESP to this three-way crosstab leaves nonwhites more likely than whites to have filed complaints about their police services, except for residents of neighborhoods where the rating of police response time was "Quickly Enough" and "Not at All." In the latter instance there were very few responses, in any case. The presence of the independent variable MINORITY in this three-way table seems to temper the findings in Table S, FILCOMP by RATERESP, of lower percentages of complaints filed by residents of neighborhoods with the least favorable ratings of police response time.

Interpretation of Findings Concerning Complaint Behavior,
Summary and Conclusions

The tables below summarize the findings concerning complaint behavior of respondents to the Police Services Study citizen survey. In Table A, the four dependent variables representing different components of complaint behavior are arrayed by the two independent

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variables family income and race, and by the three control variables, knowledge of police mistreatment, rate of victimization in the neighborhood, and rating of police response time. In Table B, two dependent variables, COMPLAIN and FILCOMP, are arrayed by the three control variables, MISTREAT, VBSTD and RATERESP, and by the two independent variables FAMINCOM and MINORITY. Within each cell of the tables is an indication of the extent to which that component of citizens' complaint behavior indicates lack of faith in police consistent with the underclass hypothesis.

Findings Concerning Complaint Behavior
Consistent with Underclass Hypothesis?

A. Two-Way Contingency Tables

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables		Control Variables		
	FAMINCOM	MINORITY	MISTREAT	VBSTD	RATERESP
COMPLAIN	No	Yes but small diff.	Yes	Yes	Yes
WHYCOMP	3 out of 4 rsns.	2 out of 4 rsns.	3 out of 4 rsns.	Yes	1 out of 4 rsns.
FILCOMP	No	No	Yes but very small diff.	No	Yes
NOCOMP	2 out of 3 rsns.	2 out of 3 rsns.	2 out of 4 rsns.	1 out of 3 rsns.	2 out of 3 rsns.

B. Three-Way Contingency Tables

Dep. Vars.	Control Variables					
	MISTREAT		VBSTD		RATERESP	
	Y	Race	Y	Race	Y	Race
COMPLAIN	No	No	No	Yes	No	Partially
FILCOMP	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

Y = FAMINCOM
Race = MINORITY

While nonwhite citizens do appear to behave more differently from whites vis-a-vis complaining about police services than they did in the area of reporting criminal victimizations, these tables show race to be a weak predictor variable. The findings concerning family income, on the other hand, not only failed to support the underclass hypothesis, but actually showed greater complaint activity on the part of the wealthiest respondents.

As with reporting behavior, one might more successfully predict citizens' complaint behavior by means of their knowledge of police mistreatment, rating of police response time, and rate of victimization in the neighborhood than by means of respondents' race or family income. Unfortunately, both these sets of behavioral variables paint a relatively gloomy picture of the least citizen cooperation in those cases where it is most needed.

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