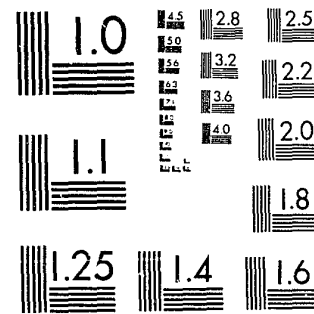


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THE BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA EXPERIMENTAL PUBLIC DEFENDER PROJECT: AN EVALUATION REPORT

REPORT IV : CLIENT SATISFACTION ANALYSIS

PATRICIA L. BRANTINGHAM
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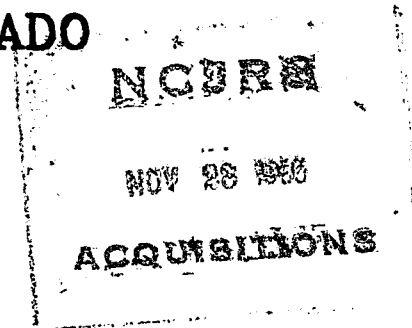
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The work reported upon in this volume was undertaken under contract for the DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, CANADA with the assistance of the BRITISH COLUMBIA LEGAL SERVICES SOCIETY. The views expressed in this volume are not necessarily shared by the Department or the Society.

NOTE

THE BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA EXPERIMENTAL
PUBLIC DEFENDER PROJECT: AN EVALUATION

IS REPORTED IN SEVEN DIFFERENT VOLUMES:

- I PROJECT SUMMARY
- II EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS
- III COST ANALYSIS
- IV CLIENT SATISFACTION ANALYSIS
- V TARIFF ANALYSIS
- VI PUBLIC DEFENCE/COURT RELATIONSHIP ANALYSIS
- VII DISTRIBUTIONAL IMPACT ANALYSIS

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PREFACE

So many people were involved in providing information and assistance during this project that it is impossible to mention all of them by name. Special mention must be given to members of project staff who spent many long hours. Mention should also be made of the cooperation received from staff of the Legal Services Society of British Columbia. Final thanks must be given to the members of the Private Bar in British Columbia who, through interviews and written comments, provided information necessary for the design and execution of this evaluation.

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Project Summary

Description of the Evaluation

During 1979 and 1980 an experimental public defence office was established in Burnaby, British Columbia. The office was run by the Legal Services Society of British Columbia, an independent society with the mandate to deliver legal aid in British Columbia. The office was set up to determine the feasibility of introducing staff criminal defence offices within the Province. Currently most criminal legal aid in British Columbia is delivered by private lawyers paid under a fee for service tariff. Payment for legal aid under a fee for service tariff is generally called a judicare mode of delivering legal aid.

The experimental public defence office was structured within an evaluation framework. The project was evaluated throughout the two year experimental operation. Prior to the opening of the office an evaluation was designed. The office was run under an on-going evaluation strategy. This report presents some of the results of that evaluation.

There were six major goals in the evaluation:

- Analysis of the relative effectiveness of a public defence and judicare modes of delivering criminal legal aid;
- Analysis of the relative costs of delivering legal aid under the two modes;
- Determination of client satisfaction with public defence counsel and judicare counsel representation;
- Analysis of the time spent by lawyers providing criminal legal aid and an analysis of the existing possible alternative tariff structures;
- Determination of the relationships which develop between criminal staff counsel, Crown counsel and judges.
- Projection of the impact on the private bar of the introduction of a broader network of criminal defence offices.

The results relating to each of the major goals in the evaluation analyses, and an overall summary, are presented in separate reports and are available upon request. A list of the titles of the reports are given at the beginning of this report.

This report examines the satisfaction of criminal legal aid clients with the public defence and judicare modes of delivering services. A brief summary of the actual evaluation experiment and the results of the other major segments will be presented before the client satisfaction analysis is reported.

The Public Defence Office was a small criminal legal aid office set up near the provincial court in Burnaby. The office staff included three full-time staff lawyers, a paralegal and a secretary. The office functioned as a general, non-specialized, criminal defence office. All lawyers handled all types of criminal cases. All lawyers handled all appearances, from first appearance through to disposition. All lawyers provided duty counsel services. The paralegal supplemented the lawyers' duties by interviewing clients, assisting lawyers, and providing entry point social services for clients by making referrals to social agencies.

The office structure was representative of the structures which most likely could be set up in other cities in the Province if the public defence mode of delivering legal aid were more widely adopted. Most cities in British Columbia could only support small offices such as the office in Burnaby.

The evaluation of the public defence operation involved a comparison of public defence counsel cases with cases handled by judicare counsel in the Burnaby, New Westminster, and Vancouver Courts. The public defence counsel primarily represented clients in Burnaby Provincial Court. To a lesser extent, they acted for clients in the County and Supreme Court in New Westminster. For comparison purposes, two groups of judicare cases were used. The Public Defence Office in Burnaby did not handle all criminal legal aid clients in Burnaby. Some clients were referred to private counsel. The cases referred to private counsel were used in the evaluation. These cases were heard in the same courts, Burnaby Provincial Court and New Westminster County Court, as the cases handled by public defence counsel. Cases handled by judicare counsel in Vancouver Provincial, County

and Supreme courts were also used for comparison purposes.

Summary of Effectiveness Analysis

Clients of public defence counsel and judicare counsel received guilty outcomes at about the same rate, but there were differences in the procedures which were used to reach a determination of guilt. Public defence counsel pleaded their clients guilty more frequently than judicare counsel. Judicare counsel went to trial more often. However, when guilty pleas and determinations of guilt were combined, there was little difference in the overall rate of guilty outcomes for the two modes of delivering legal aid.

There were differences in the patterns of sentences received by public defence and judicare counsel clients. Public defence counsel clients received fewer jail sentences than clients of judicare counsel. As something of a balance, judicare clients received more stays of proceedings or withdrawals of charges.

Public defence counsel engaged in more discussions with Crown. The discussions resulted in more guilty pleas and Crown recommendations for sentences. The overall pattern of justice under the public defence mode was one of more negotiations, more guilty pleas, but fewer incarceration sentences than under the judicare mode. Differences in pleas, negotiations and sentences occurred within generally similar total patterns of guilty and non-guilty outcomes.

Summary of Relative Costs

Under the experimental structure in Burnaby, the average costs per case for public defender cases was \$9 more than for judicare cases in Burnaby, but \$25 less than judicare cases in Vancouver. The average cost for judicare cases in Burnaby was \$225. In Vancouver the average was \$264 per case. The average cost for public defender cases was \$235.

The Burnaby Office was a three lawyer office, a size similar to what could be set up in other British Columbian urban centres. If the public defence mode of delivering legal aid were expanded. Because it was a small office, average case costs were susceptible to fairly large variation with small changes in caseloads. If Burnaby

public defender case flow figures were increased one case a month, there would be no appreciable difference in in average costs per case for the two modes of delivering legal aid. In fact, the public defence mode would be marginally less expensive. It should be noted that, if caseloads fell much below the level the office experienced during the experimental operation, the operation would become cost inefficient. Caseloads fluctuated some month to month. The fluctuation in caseload in the Criminal Defence Office in Burnaby was the result of internal management decisions and some variability in application rates. The Public Defence Office did not handle all criminal cases in Burnaby, some were referred to private counsel. The decision to refer was made when the director of the office believed the staff lawyers were fully booked or when co-accused conflicts occurred or when another lawyer was already acting for an accepted applicant. Caseloads could be increased or decreased. For a small public defence office to remain cost efficient, at a local level of analysis, caseloads would have to be maintained.

Analysis was also performed to project costs under increased tariffs and under projected staff salary increases. Generally the staff model of delivering legal aid was found to be cost competitive with the judicare mode under expected tariff increases.

A small public defence operation appears to produce similar case costs to judicare delivery of legal aid. A staff operation permits monitoring and predictions of cost. If caseloads are maintained there is no apparent cost reason for the Legal Services Society to choose one mode of delivery over the other. As noted in the effectiveness summary, there were differences in how cases were handled by the judicare and public defence counsel. Public defence counsel clients were given terms of imprisonment less frequently than judicare clients. If correctional costs are considered, the public defence counsel mode is much less expensive. For every 1000 legal aid cases, the correctional saving produced by reduced incarceration costs could be over \$200,000.

Summary of Client Satisfaction

Clients of public defenders and judicare lawyers were both reasonably well satisfied with the performance of their lawyers. Neither mode of delivering legal aid presented major problems in client satisfaction. If anything, clients of public defence lawyers were marginally more satisfied with the services they received.

Summary of Time/Tariff Analysis

The average time spent on a case by a public defender was 5 hours and 40 minutes. The average time spent by judicare counsel was around 7 hours. The major component of time spent was time travelling to, waiting at, and appearing in court. About 4 hours were spent in court-related activities by judicare counsel per case. About 1 hour was spent with clients; little time was spent in preparation or doing research.

The equivalent hourly rate (tariff payment/time spent) received by judicare counsel was \$34 per hour under the 1980 tariff. Lawyers received approximately the same equivalent hourly rate for major tariff services. Cases which ended by clients' "failure to appear", guilty pleas, stays and by trials were paid at the same equivalent hourly rate.

Summary of Public Defence/Court Relationships

It was generally felt by judges and Crown counsel in Burnaby that the presence of public defence counsel in the court improved the quality of justice for legal aid clients. Crown, in particular, felt that the presence of public defence counsel made their job easier. Both Crown counsel and the judges felt free to call upon public defence counsel to perform "on the spot" legal services for individuals. They saw them as part of the court system and their general availability as a major strength of a public defence office.

Public defence counsel felt that Crown was willing to give them good "deals" for their clients, better than the "deals" given for clients of judicare counsel. Crown, defence and judges all believed that this improved ability to communicate and obtain good sentences was the result of

defence counsel being present in the court regularly, not the fact that the public defenders were staff counsel. However, during the course of the experimental operation of the office, Crown became aware of the fact that private counsel were not present in court as frequently as public defence counsel, so that a close working relationship could not develop with private counsel.

The public defence counsel, while acknowledging that Crown made them offers which were very good for their clients, gave the impression that they did not like the feeling that Crown or judges would call upon them for special services such as stand-in representation in court or impromptu discussions with accused persons. The pattern of open accessibility of the public defenders whenever in court which Crown and the judges liked was not uniformly liked by the public defenders.

Public defence counsel, if they are to remain independent, must have their independence continually reinforced by the Legal Services Society and must learn ways to limit their accessibility for general, non-duty counsel, court representation services. Under the current arrangements, it was generally agreed that the quality of defence had greatly improved, but that public defence counsel are likely to burn out rapidly.

Summary of Distributional Impact Analysis

It would be possible to set up several small public defence offices in the Province without having a major impact on the private criminal bar. There are about 1,000 lawyers in British Columbia who accept criminal legal aid cases. Most of these, however, handle only a few cases at a time. Only six lawyers in the whole province average as many criminal legal aid cases as staff counsel did in Burnaby. Only 1.4% handle more than 12 cases per month, and only 21% handled more than 1 case per month.

Small criminal legal aid offices could be set up in 10 communities in British Columbia without any substantial economic impact on the practices of most lawyers. A ten lawyer office could be set up in Vancouver without much impact on the criminal bar.

Overall Summary

The evaluation study found that:

- Public defence offices can be introduced in the Province in a limited way without disrupting the practice of most lawyers;
- Clients were generally well pleased with both public defence representation and judicare representation;
- Court personnel in Burnaby were well pleased with what was viewed as an improvement in the quality of justice in the court after the introduction of public defence counsel;
- The type of representation provided by public defence counsel differed from the type provided by judicare counsel;
- Under a public defence mode there were more guilty pleas and fewer trials. The overall guilty rates, (found guilty plus plead guilty) however, were similar, but clients of public defence counsel received fewer jail terms; and
- Under the fee for service tariff in operation at the end of the experimental period judicare lawyers received an effective rate of \$34 per hour. The tariff was increased after the experimental project ended.

A public defence mode for delivering legal aid within the Province could be introduced in a limited way. It would likely improve both judges' and Crown counsels' perception of the quality of defence representation in court. Based on the experience in Burnaby, clients would not be dissatisfied.

The introduction of a public defence mode of criminal legal services, however, would produce more negotiated justice and fewer trials. It would also most likely produce fewer jail sentences for those convicted.

Maintaining the cost-effectiveness of offices would require monitoring of caseloads and maintenance of minimum workloads. Small offices would rapidly become cost inefficient if workloads were not maintained. With a public defence system, the performance of staff counsel would also have to be monitored. With a more limited number of lawyers providing criminal legal aid, the presence of a staff lawyer who received worse outcomes for his clients than other staff would have a more profound impact on criminal representation.

The introduction of a public defence office in Burnaby was seen as an improvement in justice by court personnel, including Crown counsel and judges. The introduction of criminal legal aid offices in other parts of the Province, if done within a more general judicare system and operated with the necessary monitoring, should improve the quality of justice generally.

CLIENT SATISFACTION ANALYSIS

1. Summary of Client Satisfaction Analysis.

This report explores issues of client satisfaction under judicare and public defence modes of delivering legal aid services. For the most part no significant differences in satisfaction were found. The lack of difference in itself is important since it runs counter to conventional wisdom, in the United States at least, which assumes that a public defender mode of legal services delivery carries with it less client satisfaction than a judicare mode.

2. Introduction to the Analysis

2.1 Background.

The most widely held view of client satisfaction with legal services is that clients would rather be represented by private lawyers than by public defenders. It is believed that clients do not perceive public defenders as "real lawyers". Public defenders are often stereotyped as too young, too inexperienced and too overworked to provide good quality legal services to their clients. Also, it is generally accepted that the users of criminal legal services perceive public defenders as being too willing to make deals with the prosecution at the expense of the best interests of the client.

As with the judicial process, where justice must not merely be done but also must be seen to be done, criminal legal aid services must be perceived as being effective and of adequate quality by its clients. It is unlikely that the delivery of criminal legal aid services through a particular mode of defence would be perceived to be successful if clients did not wish to be represented by that particular kind of lawyer. The decision to implement a public defender mode of delivering criminal legal services may, in part, depend on client satisfaction or dissatisfaction with public defence counsel.

2.2 Description of Elements.

Elements of client satisfaction include client feelings of the adequacy of a lawyer's performance and feelings about procedure and verdict or sentence. Client satisfaction may also depend on case factors, client background, client attitudes towards the criminal justice system and baseline perceptions of what constitutes good criminal defence.

2.2.1 Satisfaction.

In this analysis, client satisfaction was measured along four dimensions:

- Client feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the lawyer performance;
- Client feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the verdict or sentence;

- Client overall assessment of a lawyer's legal ability, case preparation, time spent on the case, ability to communicate, motivation and personal interest in the client; and
- Client assessment of how well or how poorly his interests were represented by his lawyers.

2.2.2 Factors Affecting Satisfaction.

Factors thought to affect client satisfaction were included in the analysis to more clearly assess the client's satisfaction with the processing and resolution of his case. By controlling for the presence or absence of these factors, it was possible to determine more accurately the degree to which clients were satisfied with public defender or judicare lawyers.

Factors relating to the case itself which were thought to influence client satisfaction included case outcome (guilty versus not guilty), type of offence, time spent by the lawyer on the case, and sentence received. Client's background including the presence or absence of a prior criminal record, biographical factors such as race, feelings of political and social alienation, and generally cynical viewpoints were also included in the analysis.

Client attitudes towards the criminal justice system and those involved in it, including the presence of positive or negative attitudes regarding public defenders, judicare lawyers, prosecutors, police, plea bargaining and judges were also analyzed. Client perceptions of what constituted good criminal defence included the client's perception of how much time the lawyer spent with him, whether or not the client chose the lawyer who represented him and why; perception of a potential change in the verdict or sentence if the mode of defence were changed, and the correspondence of client's perceptions with lawyer perceptions regarding particular aspects of the case were included in the analysis as possible factors influencing satisfaction.

2.3 Description of Data Collection Instrument - Client Satisfaction Questionnaire.

In order to determine client satisfaction with representational services a questionnaire was developed and given to a sample of judicare and public defence clients.

The Client Satisfaction Questionnaire was divided into five sections. Section 1 contained questions which measured the client's cynicism, alienation from government institutions and alienation from society. Section 2 contained questions relating to the client's case. Section 3 contained questions about the lawyer's performance, questions regarding specific client and lawyer decisions which were made during the case, and questions about the outcome. Section 3 also contained questions which measured the client's attitude toward different defence lawyer groupings (either public defenders or judicare counsel), prosecutors and judges. Section 4 contained questions which measured client satisfaction with various parts of the case. Section 5 contained general information about the interview and the interviewer. The questions asked in each section are located in the Appendix to this report.

2.3.1 Section 1: Alienation and Cynicism.

As noted above, the first section of the Client Satisfaction Questionnaire was designed to measure client's cynicism about government institutions, society and criminal justice. The questions in this section provide cultural and personality information about the client.

2.3.2 Section 2: Case Specific Questions.

Information about the client's previous contact with his lawyer specifically, and defence lawyers generally, was obtained in this section. This section also included questions concerning the plea and questions concerning the sentence which the client received.

2.3.3 Section 3: Lawyer Performance and client Attitudes.

Section 3 contained questions related to the quality of lawyer's performance which together provided an overall rating of lawyers. The client's general attitudes toward plea bargaining, the Crown counsel, private lawyers working with the Legal Aid Society, public defence counsel and the police were also measured. In addition, this section contained questions which provided a client assessment of judges who presided over cases. These measures provided a means to evaluate the effect of the client's perception of aspects of the criminal justice system on client satisfaction.

2.3.4 Section 4: Client Satisfaction.

This section consisted of measures about client satisfaction such as overall satisfaction, the client's willingness to recommend a lawyer to others, and client's perception of the time a lawyer spent with him.

2.3.5 Section 5: Interview and Interviewer Information.

The last section provided information about the interview situation and some characteristics of the client unavailable elsewhere, such as race. This section also provided information regarding the extent to which the client cooperated during the interview, the length of the interview, and the amount of time elapsed between the completion of the case and the interview.

2.4 Method of Data Collection and Description of the Data.

A sample of clients was drawn from Burnaby Legal Aid cases. The clients were contacted after their cases were completed. A total of thirteen interviewers performed the tasks associated with contacting the clients and arranging the time and place of the interview. Interviews were conducted at the clients' home, the Burnaby Public Defender Office or in jails and prison. Questionnaires were filled in by the interviewer as clients gave answers to questions. Clients were positioned so they could read the questionnaire along with the interviewer.

On the average, the interviews required one hour each to complete. No resentments were encountered concerning either the questions asked or the length of time required for the interview.

2.4.1 Description of the Data.

There were 101 client interviews, evenly divided between public defender representation and judicare lawyer representation. Eighty-six percent of the clients indicated that they were satisfied with the jobs their lawyers had done for them; 8% of the clients were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 6% were dissatisfied. No meaningful attempt at determining what factors really affect client satisfaction, was possible, because not enough clients were dissatisfied.

The clients tended to be of similar background (83% were white). Fifty-one and one half percent were charged

with only one offence, 48.5% were charged with multiple offences. Regarding the distribution of outcomes, 47.3% of the clients were acquitted or had the charge(s) dismissed, as compared with 52.7% who either pleaded or were found guilty. The proportion of public defender clients who were charged with only one offence did not differ significantly from the proportion of judicare clients who were similarly charged. Likewise, there were no important differences between public defender and judicare clients regarding outcome of the case.

Overall, 7% of all clients interviewed were charged with violent offences, 35% with property offences, 19.6% with vice or drug offences, 8% with escape or failure to appear, 22.7% with drinking offences, and 7% with other offences. These offences are not disproportionately distributed between public defender-represented clients and judicare lawyer-represented clients.

The clients who were interviewed for the client satisfaction analysis had similar backgrounds, levels of satisfaction, and case characteristics. No significant differences were noted between clients who were represented by public defence counsel and clients who were represented by judicare counsel on either background or case characteristics.

2.5 Client Satisfaction Analysis.

The client satisfaction analysis is presented in general terms. The specific questions asked in the interview are listed in the Appendix. Most questions asked showed no difference between public defence counsel clients and judicare clients and are not reported. Generally clients were well satisfied.

2.5.1 Components of Satisfaction.

Four principle variables were identified as indicators of client satisfaction. They were:

- the client's assessment of how well his/her lawyer represented his/her interests;
- the overall rating given the lawyer by the client (a scale item);
- the satisfaction of the client with the sentence received: and,

- the client's overall satisfaction with the job his/her lawyer did.

2.5.1.1 How Well Lawyer Represented Client's Interests.

The client's assessment of how well his/her lawyer represented his/her interests in the case was obtained by asking the client to identify whether his/her interests 1) were very well represented; 2) were represented well enough; 3) received average representation; 4) were not very well represented; and, 5) were not well represented at all. The spread of responses to the question was not great and it was necessary to reduce the five levels to three. In the reduction, levels one and two combined to form one level, and levels four and five were combined to form another level, while level three remained the same. In the final analysis, the clients' assessments of how well their interests were represented were categorized as: 1) being well represented; 2) receiving average representation; or, 3) being poorly represented. Of all the clients who responded to the question, 80% felt that their lawyer had done a good job of representing their interests, 16% felt that the lawyer had done only an average job of representing their interests, and 4% felt that their interests had been poorly represented by their lawyers.

2.5.1.2 The Overall Rating of the Lawyer.

The overall rating of the lawyer was obtained by adding the individual ratings of the lawyer on twenty-seven items. The items include:

- Whether the lawyer explained the client's situation fully and understandably;
- How interested the lawyer was in the client's personal problems;
- How much the lawyer researched the case;
- How much the lawyer's interest in the case was due to money;
- Client's impression of the lawyer's courtroom manner;
- How well the lawyer cooperated with authorities such as police, Crown counsel and judge;

- How interested the lawyer was in obtaining justice for the client;
- The client's rating of the lawyer's knowledge of the law;
- How well the client could talk with his/her lawyer;
- Whether or not the lawyer "knew what was happening";
- Whether the lawyer explained the client's situation honestly;
- The frequency of the client's contact with the lawyer outside the courtroom;
- How well the lawyer understood the client's personal problems;
- How willing the lawyer was to stand up to the police and Crown counsel;
- Whether or not "who ran the show" was affected by whether the client paid the lawyer;
- How the client would describe the relationship between his/her lawyer and authorities such as police, Crown and judge;
- Whether or not the client's contacts with the lawyer outside the courtroom were satisfactory;
- How well the lawyer investigated the case;
- How well dressed the lawyer was;
- How the lawyer handled himself/herself in court;
- How prompt the lawyer was in contacts with the client;
- Whether the lawyer would have been more interested if he/she had been paid more;
- The extent to which the client felt the lawyer used the case to build up his/her reputation;
- The amount of "pull" the lawyer had with

authorities (police, Crown counsel, judge);

- Whether the lawyer would have worked harder if he/she had been paid more;
- How well the lawyer kept the client informed about what was happening with his/her case; and
- How much the lawyer spoke up in court.

The clients rated the lawyers from 1 to 5 on each item, with the value 5 being the highest possible rating and the value of 1 being the lowest. The overall rating score of a lawyer, obtained by adding the scores of each of the 27 items could range from 27 (the lowest possible overall score) to 135 (the highest possible score). In order to maximize the utility of this variable in the data analysis, 3 levels of overall rating were identified. An overall rating of 27 to 62 points were reclassified as a low rating; and overall score of 63 to 98 points were reclassified as an intermediate rating; and an overall score of 99 to 135 points were considered a high rating. Of all the clients who responded to this series of questions, 79.2% gave their lawyers high overall rating, 19.8% gave their lawyers intermediate ratings, and 1% of the responding clients gave their lawyers low overall ratings.

2.5.1.3 Satisfaction with Sentence.

Clients who were sentenced were asked to express their satisfaction with the sentence they received. Specifically, they were asked whether they were: 1)completely satisfied with the sentence; 2)mostly satisfied with the sentence they received; 3)neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4)somewhat dissatisfied; or 5)completely dissatisfied. The 5 levels, were again, reduced to three. Levels 1 and 2 were combined to form 1 level, levels 4 and 5 were combined to form another level and level three was left as it was. In the final analysis the clients' responses regarding satisfaction with sentence were categorized as 1)satisfied; 2)neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; and, 3)dissatisfied.

Of the clients who responded to this question, 76.8% were satisfied with the sentence they received, 5.3% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the sentence they received, and 17.9% expressed dissatisfaction.

2.5.1.4 Satisfaction with the Lawyer's Job.

Clients were asked to describe their feelings regarding the job their lawyers did in terms of being 1)completely satisfied; 2)mostly satisfied; 3)neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4)somewhat dissatisfied; or, 5)completely dissatisfied. As described in Section 2.5.1.1, 2.5.1.2 and 2.5.1.3 above, the 5 levels of responses were reduced to three in the same manner. Client's responses regarding satisfaction with the job his/her lawyer did were categorized as 1)satisfied; 2)neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; or, 3)dissatisfied.

Of the clients who responded to the questions, 85.1% expressed satisfaction with the job their lawyers had done for them, 8.5% indicated that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 6.4% expressed dissatisfaction with the job their lawyer had done.

2.5.1.5 Composite Measure of Client Satisfaction.

When two or more variables are very highly correlated, it is generally safe to conclude that they are measuring the same phenomenon, and not infrequently, one is used in place of the other in further analysis. When high degrees of correlation are present between variables, it is often possible to create one composite variable which can be used in place of the highly correlated variables. To this end, non-parametric correlation analysis was performed on the four satisfaction-indicator variables outlined above. The results of the correlation analysis are presented in detail in the technical Appendix.

The overall rating score given to the lawyer and the client's assessment of how well the lawyer represented his/her interests had the highest correlation. The client's assessment of how well the lawyer represented his/her interests and the client's satisfaction with the job the lawyer did were the next most highly correlated pair of variables.

Client satisfaction with the job his/her lawyer did was not highly correlated with the overall rating score given the lawyer by the client; satisfaction with the sentence he received was not highly correlated with any of the other three variables. None of the four satisfaction indicator variables were highly correlated with any of the other satisfaction indicator variables. Each variable measured something different.

2.5.2 Overall Satisfaction.

Each of the four satisfaction indicator variables were used separately in analysis with the independent variables detailed in Section 2.2.2.

2.5.2.1 Satisfaction by Outcome.

For the purposes of the client satisfaction analysis, case outcome was measured in terms of whether or not the client was subject to criminal justice system action after his/her case was decided. Therefore, one level of the outcome variable included clients who had been acquitted or who had had their cases dismissed, or all charges stayed, while the other level of outcome included clients who had pleaded or been found guilty. The number of cases in the sample did not make it possible to look at differences between people sentenced to prison and put on probation or fined. No relationship was found between outcome and the client's assessment of how well the lawyer represented his/her interests; between outcome and the overall quality rating given the lawyer by the client, or between outcome and the client's satisfaction regarding the job the lawyer performed.

Client satisfaction with the sentence he/she received was found to be strongly related to the outcome of his/her case. Of those clients who responded to the satisfaction with sentence question, 75.5% of those who were found guilty or who pleaded guilty were satisfied with the sentence they received, as opposed to 18.9% who were dissatisfied with their sentence. Somewhat expectedly, one-hundred percent of those clients which did not receive a guilty determination were satisfied with the outcome.

2.5.2.2 Satisfaction by Type of Offence.

Criminal conduct was collapsed into six major groups of offences: violent; property; vice and drugs; escape, FTA; drinking; and other.

The type of offence with which the client was charged was not found to be related to any of the four client satisfaction indicator variables.

2.5.2.3 Satisfaction by Mode of Defence.

No meaningful relationship was found between mode of defence and the client's assessment of how well counsel represented his/her interests. According to the client

assessments, public defenders were neither better nor worse than judicare lawyers in representing their client interests.

There were no relationships between mode of defence and the overall rating of lawyers. Public defenders were rated no higher or lower than judicare lawyers.

No meaningful relationships were found between the mode of defence and satisfaction with the sentence. Public defender clients who were sentenced were on the whole neither more nor less satisfied with their sentence than the clients of judicare lawyers.

The mode of criminal defence was found to be related to the client's feelings of satisfaction with the job the lawyer did for him/her. Of all the clients represented by judicare lawyers, 74.4% expressed satisfaction with their lawyer's job, as compared with 95.7% of the clients represented by public defender lawyers.

Clients of public defence lawyers were no more satisfied with the sentences they received than were judicare clients. This observation was also true for the quality of legal representation received by either group. However, clients of public defender lawyers tended to be slightly more satisfied with the jobs their lawyers did. The importance of the difference was difficult to assess due to the small number of the clients interviewed. It is prudent to conclude that there were no important differences with regard to the satisfaction of the two types of clients.

2.5.2.4 Satisfaction by Lawyer Choice.

Whether or not clients choose their own lawyer is thought to make a difference in whether or not they are satisfied with the resolution of their case, and lawyer's performance. It is generally believed that clients will feel more positively towards a lawyer they choose than assigned counsel.

Whether or not clients' requested the lawyer who represented him/her was not found to be related to any of the satisfaction indicator variables. Clients who were represented by counsel of their choice were no more satisfied than were clients who did not request lawyers who represented them. The overall rating of the lawyer was no higher for lawyers who had been requested than for lawyers who had not. The lawyers who were requested by their clients were not assessed as having represented their

client's interests any better than assigned lawyers. Clients who were represented by lawyers they had requested were neither more nor less satisfied with the sentence they received than were clients whose cases had assigned counsel.

2.5.2.5 Satisfaction by Lawyer Choice Rationale.

The reason(s) for choosing a particular lawyer are thought to contribute to client satisfaction. Interviewed clients were asked whether they requested a particular lawyer because of:

- prior experiences of what they had read or heard about him/her;
- advice from friends;
- recommendations of another lawyer;
- recommendations of the judge.

The reason(s) the clients gave for choosing a particular lawyer was(were) not related to any of the four satisfaction indicator variables. Client satisfaction with sentence and client satisfaction with the lawyer's job did not change with the rationale for choosing a particular lawyer. The client's overall rating of a lawyer and his/her assessment of the lawyer's representation of his/her interests, similarly, did not alter with the reason(s) the client gave for choosing a particular lawyer. The reason given by clients for choosing one lawyer over another was not related to elements of client satisfaction, as measured here.

2.5.2.6 Satisfaction by Degree of Political Alienation.

It has been suggested that a client's perception of himself/herself vis-a-vis the power of large institutions such as the government may affect his/her feelings regarding programs provided by such institutions. Specifically, if a client feels alienated from the government of his/her society, he/she will be more likely to manifest negative feelings towards government sponsored programs and representatives of these programs. In legal representation in the criminal court, an individual who felt politically alienated would be expected to have more negative attitudes regarding criminal legal defence provided by the government.

The client satisfaction questionnaire included a scale to measure political alienation. The scale is included in the Appendix.

Analysis of the clients' ratings on measures of political alienation showed that the degree of a client's political alienation was not meaningfully related to any of the four satisfaction indicator variables. The overall rating given the lawyer was not related to the degree of political alienation manifest by a client; sentence satisfaction and satisfaction with the job a lawyer did were not related to political alienation. The client's assessment of how well his/her lawyer represented his/her interests were not related to the client's feelings of political alienation.

These results indicated that dissatisfied clients were no more politically alienated than their satisfied counterparts; that clients who gave their lawyers lower overall ratings were no more alienated than those who gave their lawyers higher ratings, and that clients who feel that their interests were well represented by their lawyers were not more politically alienated than those who felt their interests were not well represented by their lawyers.

2.5.2.7 Satisfaction by Degree of Social Alienation.

How people perceive themselves in society is thought to affect their attitudes and feelings towards societal institutions in much the same way that self perception of relationships to government affects feelings towards government institutions. It has been suggested that individuals who feel alienated from society are unable to assess the form which a proper lawyer client relationship should take. Specifically, the more socially alienated a client is, the more negative the assessment of his/her lawyer's performance, and the less satisfied he/she will be with a lawyer's handling of the case. The social alienation scale used in the analysis is included in the Appendix.

Clients' ratings on measures of social alienation were analyzed with the four satisfaction indicator variables. No meaningful relationships were found between the degree of social alienation and the overall satisfaction rating; between social alienation and satisfaction with sentence; between social alienation and satisfaction with the lawyer's performance; or between the degree of social alienation and the assessment of how well a lawyer represented client's interests.

2.5.2.8 Satisfaction by Cynicism.

Personality characteristics are thought to affect perceptions of the lawyer-client relationship and satisfaction with a lawyer's performance. In particular, a cynical individual is thought to be particularly skeptical about a lawyer's ability to provide a adequate criminal defence and of the criminal justice system's provision of some measure of judicious treatment for those who are brought into it. According to this posit, an individual who manifests a greater degree of cynicism will less likely be satisfied with their treatment at the hands of lawyers and the criminal justice system than an individual who is not as cynical. The cynicism scale is included in the Appendix.

The results of the analysis of client cynicism with the satisfaction indicator variables indicate that the degree of a client's cynicism was not found to be meaningfully related to the four measures of satisfaction.

2.5.2.9 Satisfaction by Sentence.

The sentence received by a client was not found to be related to any of the four overall satisfaction indicator variables. The client's assessment of how well his/her interests were represented by his/her lawyer and the client's feelings about the job the lawyer did for him/her did not appear to be affected by the sentence the client received. The overall rating given the lawyer and the client's satisfaction with the sentence he/she received, cannot be said to be related to the actual sentence received.

2.5.2.10 Satisfaction by Potential Change in Verdict or Sentence if the Lawyer Changed.

A client's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the performance of his/her lawyer and the resolution of his/her case may be related to his perception of what a different lawyer group, either public defender or judicare, would have been able to do for him/her. Clients who express dissatisfaction with a public defender may manifest strong beliefs that their situation would have been improved had they been represented by a judicare lawyer.

Whether or not the verdict or sentence would have changed if a client were represented by counsel from another lawyer grouping was not found to be meaningfully related to the client's assessment of how well their interests were represented by his/her lawyer. Clients who felt their

interests were poorly represented by public defence counsel did not necessarily feel that a judicare counsel would have obtained a different verdict or sentence. Conversely, clients of judicare lawyers who felt their interests were not well represented by their lawyers seldom felt that a public defender would have received a different verdict or sentence.

The overall ratings of the lawyers by clients were unrelated to whether or not clients felt that the other lawyer groups would have obtained a different verdict or sentence. Clients who gave their lawyers lower overall ratings did not necessarily feel that the verdict or sentence would have changed had they been represented by a lawyer from other lawyer groupings.

2.5.2.11 Satisfaction by Attitude Regarding Public Defender.

Attitudes towards people involved in the criminal process may affect a client's assessment and evaluation of a lawyer's handling of his/her case. For example, if a client has extremely negative attitudes regarding judicare lawyers, these attitudes could be manifest in expressions of dissatisfaction with the way his/her case was handled.

Attitudes regarding public defenders were found to be unrelated to the four satisfaction indicator variables. Satisfaction with sentence received and with the lawyer's performance was not related to attitudes toward public defender lawyers. There were no important differences between satisfied and dissatisfied individuals in their attitudes toward public defender lawyers.

Client attitude toward public defender lawyers was also found to be unrelated to the overall rating of lawyers and unrelated to the assessment of how well the client's interests were represented by his/her lawyer. Clients who gave their lawyers lower ratings did not have less positive attitudes than clients who gave their lawyers higher ratings. Similarly, clients who felt their interests were not well represented by their lawyers did not manifest less positive attitudes towards public defenders than clients who felt their interests were well represented.

2.5.2.12 Satisfaction by Attitude Regarding Judicare Lawyers.

Clients attitudes regarding judicare lawyers were not found to be meaningfully related to any of the four

satisfaction indicator variables. Clients satisfaction with lawyers performance and with sentence received was not associated with attitudes towards judicare lawyers: Clients who were satisfied with their lawyer's performances and with the sentences they received manifested neither more positive nor more negative attitudes toward judicare lawyers.

The overall lawyer ratings by clients and clients assessment of how well their interests were represented by lawyers were not related to attitudes of clients towards judicare lawyers. Clients who gave their lawyers higher ratings did not have substantially more or less positive attitudes towards judicare lawyers. Similarly clients who felt that their interests were well represented by their lawyers did not have more or less positive attitudes regarding judicare lawyers than clients who did not feel that their interests were well represented.

2.5.2.13 Satisfaction by Attitude Regarding Prosecutors.

Attitudes towards Crown counsel were unrelated to satisfaction with sentence, overall lawyer rating, and the assessment of how well the lawyer represented a client's interests. High levels of satisfaction, high overall lawyer ratings and more positive assessments of the quality of legal representation were not more or less strongly associated with positive attitudes regarding Crown than were dissatisfaction, lower overall lawyer ratings and more negative assessments of the quality of legal representation.

2.5.2.14 Satisfaction by Attitudes Regarding the Police.

Attitudes towards the police were unrelated to the four satisfaction indicator variables used in this analysis. As with attitudes regarding public defenders, judicare counsel and Crown, attitudes regarding the police were unrelated to client satisfaction with lawyer's performance; unrelated to what the lawyer did; unrelated to client satisfaction with sentence; unrelated to the overall rating given the lawyer, and unrelated to client assessment of how well his/her interests were represented. This indicates that satisfaction, high overall lawyer ratings, and more positive assessment of how well a client's interests were represented were not more or less strongly associated with positive attitudes regarding police than were dissatisfaction, lower overall lawyer ratings, and more negative assessments of how

well the client's interests were represented by counsel.

2.5.2.15 Satisfaction by Attitudes Regarding Plea Bargaining.

Client attitudes toward plea bargaining is viewed as important, since a bargain usually involves the decision of whether or not to go to trial. Frequently, an accused person will waive his/her right to trial in exchange for pleading guilty to a reduced charge or for pleading guilty in exchange for a light sentence recommendation by the Crown. Public defence counsel are sometimes viewed as being in a better position to bargain with the Crown and too willing to bargain with the Crown, to the detriment of the client. Client attitudes toward plea bargaining may affect the client's true satisfaction with the job his/her lawyer has done and the assessment of the lawyer's performance.

Attitudes regarding plea bargaining were found to be unrelated to the four variables used as the indicators of client satisfaction. As with attitudes toward public defenders, judicare lawyers, prosecutors, and the police, client attitudes regarding plea bargaining were found to be unrelated to client satisfaction with the job his/her lawyer did. Client attitudes towards plea bargaining were further found to be unrelated to sentence satisfaction, overall lawyer rating, and assessment of how well client interests were represented.

2.5.2.16 Client Assessment of the Presiding Judge.

Assessments of the judge who presided over the case were found to be significantly related to two of the four satisfaction indicator variables used in the client satisfaction analysis. Judges were rated on nine items which included degree of honesty with the lawyer and client, vindictiveness, concern for the accused, impartiality, interest in punishing heavily, desire to do justice, adherence to legal rules, determination of guilt or innocence and interest in hearing both sides of the case. The highest rating of the presiding judge was indicated by a combined score of 18 points on the 9 items, representing the most positive assessment of the judge by the client. The most negative assessment was indicated by a combined score of 9 on the 9 items.

The overall rating a client gave a lawyer and the client's assessment of how well the lawyer represented his/her interests were not related to the client's rating of the judge who heard their case: clients who gave their

lawyers lower overall ratings or who felt the lawyer had done a poor job of representing their interests did not give the judge higher or lower ratings than did clients who gave their lawyers higher overall ratings or who felt their interests had been well represented.

Client satisfaction with the job a lawyer did, and satisfaction with sentence were found to be related to the client's assessment of a presiding judge. The average rating given a judge by clients who were satisfied with their lawyer's performance was 16.08 out of 18; but only 12.67 by clients who were dissatisfied with their lawyer's performance. The difference of 3.41 points between satisfied and dissatisfied clients is worth noting, and indicates that clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performances tended to give the presiding judge significantly higher ratings than did clients who were dissatisfied with the jobs their lawyers did. Clients who were ambivalent about the job their lawyers did for them gave the presiding judge an average rating of 15.37. The differences between satisfied and ambivalent clients and between ambivalent and dissatisfied clients were minor.

Clients who were satisfied with the sentences they received gave the presiding judge an average rating of 16.3. This compares with the average rating of 12.8 given the presiding judge by clients who were dissatisfied with the sentence they received and with the average rating of 12 given the judge by clients who were ambivalent about their sentences. The difference of 3.5 points between clients who were satisfied and clients who were dissatisfied with their sentences, and the difference of 4.3 points between satisfied and ambivalent clients are meaningful differences. These differences suggest that clients who were not satisfied with the sentences they receive tended to give the judge of the proceedings significantly more negative assessments than did those clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received. The difference in judge ratings of 0.8 between clients who were ambivalent about the sentences they received and dissatisfied clients were minor.

2.5.2.17 Satisfaction by Perception of Who is Most Important in the Court Situation.

Client satisfaction indicator variables were not related to the client's perception of which person-Crown, defence counsel or judge, was most important in determining sentence and conviction. Clients who felt their lawyer had done a good job of representing their interests did not differ appreciably from clients who felt their lawyers had

not done a good job representing their interests in their views of what person was most important in determining conviction in a case. Similarly, clients who were satisfied with the jobs their lawyers did for them did not differ in their perception of what the most important determinant of the conviction would be, from clients who were dissatisfied with their lawyer's performances. Clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings did not differ substantially in their assessments of who was most important overall in determining conviction or acquittal than clients who gave their lawyer lower overall ratings.

Clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received did not differ from dissatisfied clients in identifying the person perceived as most important in determining conviction. It is interesting to note that, of clients who responded to this question, 18% felt that the defence lawyer was the most important person determining conviction; 39% felt that the prosecutor was the most important person determining conviction; and, 43% felt that the judge was the most important person determining conviction. Independent of their responses on the satisfaction indicator variables, an average of 82% of all clients questioned felt that either the judge or the prosecutor was more important in determining conviction in a case than was the defence counsel. This was a significant difference and indicated that elements of client satisfaction with lawyer performance were not necessarily tied to the perceived capacity of a defence lawyer to influence conviction or acquittal in a case.

Clients who felt that their lawyer represented their interests well did not differ from clients who felt their lawyers represented their interests poorly, when asked to identify the person in the court situation who was most important in determining sentence. Clients who were more satisfied with their lawyer's performance, did not differ appreciably from clients who were less satisfied with their lawyer's performance when identifying the person most important in the determination of sentence. When identifying the person most important in determining sentence, clients who gave lawyers high overall ratings did not differ from clients who gave their lawyers low overall ratings; while clients who were satisfied with their sentences did not differ from clients who were dissatisfied with the sentences they received.

Overall, it is interesting to note that 57% of all clients responding to this question identified the judge as being the most important person in the court, so far as

determining the sentence an individual receives. Twenty-one percent of clients who responded to this question identified the defence lawyer as being most important in determining the sentence, and 25% identified Crown as being most important in determining sentence. Clients who identified the judge as being the most important person determining sentence outnumbered those who identified the prosecutor or defence counsel by 2 to 1.

2.5.2.18 Satisfaction by Race.

There were no relationships observed between race and satisfaction indicator variables. Clients of any one race were no more likely to be satisfied with the job their lawyer performed than a client of any other race, to give their lawyers higher overall ratings, or assess their interests as better represented by their lawyers than were clients of another race. Clients of one race were no more satisfied with the sentence they received than clients of any other race. These findings were largely attributable to the fact that 86% of all clients interviewed were white, while 6.2% of the clients interviewed were native Indian, 3.1% were Oriental, 1% were East Indian and 1% were Black. Few of the interviewed clients were non-white, it was not possible to draw firm conclusions about the relationships of race to satisfaction.

2.5.2.19 Satisfaction by Prior Record.

No relationships were observed between the existence of a prior criminal record and satisfaction indicator variables used in the client satisfaction analysis. Clients who had criminal records were no more likely to assess their interests as being well represented by their lawyers than clients who had no previous criminal records. Clients who had criminal records were no more likely to be satisfied with the job their lawyer's performed than clients who had no previous criminal records. Clients who had no previous criminal records did not give their lawyers higher overall ratings than did clients with prior criminal records. Clients with prior criminal records were neither more nor less satisfied with the sentence they received than clients who had no previous criminal records.

2.5.2.20 Satisfaction by Importance of Money as a Fact in the Quality of Service.

The importance of money as a factor in perceived quality of service was not found to be related to any of the satisfaction indicator variables. On the whole, clients who

felt that their interests were well represented by their lawyer did not feel that their lawyer would have been more interested in the case if they had been privately paid. Clients who were less satisfied with their lawyer's performance did not manifest stronger feelings that the lawyer would have been more interested if he/she had been privately paid than clients who were satisfied with the job their lawyers did. Similarly clients who gave their lawyers low overall ratings could not be said to have stronger feelings than clients who gave their lawyers higher overall ratings. Clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received did not differ from clients who were dissatisfied with the sentence they received when responding to the question whether or not the lawyer would have been more interested if he/she had been privately paid. Similarly there were no differences when clients were asked whether their lawyers would have worked harder if they had been privately paid.

The absence of differences was largely the result of the fact that 80% of the clients who responded to the questionnaire were satisfied and had very positive feelings regarding their experience in the criminal justice system. The remaining 20% constituted too small a group to provide meaningful contrasts to the satisfied clients. The client overwhelmingly felt that money was not an important issue in the quality of services, and were satisfied in every respect (ranked high on all satisfaction indicator variables) with their lawyer's performance and their sentence.

2.5.2.21 Satisfaction by Perceived Time Spent with Lawyer.

The perceived time spent with the lawyer was not related to any of the satisfaction indicator variables, nor was it related to perceptions of how well counsel represented the clients interests. Perceived time was also not related to satisfaction with counsel's performance, sentence satisfaction, or overall ratings.

2.5.2.22 Satisfaction by Perceived Time of First Contract with Lawyer.

Perceived time of first contact with the lawyer, either as duty counsel, at first appearance or after first appearance, was not meaningfully related to the satisfaction indicator variables used in the client satisfaction analysis. Client assessment of how well client interests were represented by the lawyer cannot be meaningfully associated with the client's perceived time of first contact

with a lawyer. Client satisfaction with a lawyer's job, likewise, was not associated with the perceived time of first contact with a lawyer. Clients who gave their lawyers higher overall ratings did not perceive the first contact with their lawyers as taking place sooner or later than clients who gave their lawyers lower overall ratings. Clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received did not perceive their first contact with the lawyer as taking place sooner or later than clients who were not satisfied with the sentence they received. These findings suggest that for this group of clients, the time of the perceived first contact with the lawyer was not an important factor in client satisfaction.

2.5.3 Overall Satisfaction by Defence Type.

Elements identified as being possible factors in determining client satisfaction, may be found to be unrelated to satisfaction indicators when compared across all clients, but may prove to be quite different when clients of different lawyer groupings are compared. In the same way, relationships between some factors may be dependent on the mode of defence delivery, and may not appear meaningful until defence type is taken into consideration.

Satisfaction, as represented by the four selected indicator variables, was not found to be strongly related to defence type. No important differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients in their assessment of how well the lawyer represented their interests. Public defence counsel showed no tendency to give their lawyers higher overall ratings than judicare clients. Clients of public defence counsel did not exhibit greater tendency to be satisfied with the sentence they received than did judicare clients. A slightly greater proportion of Public defender clients expressed overall satisfaction with the jobs their lawyers had done than judicare clients.

2.5.3.1 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Outcome.

There were no differences between public defence and judicare clients views of the outcome of their cases and their responses to the four satisfaction indicator variables. Public defence counsel clients did not differ from their judicare counterparts in assessing of how well client interests were represented by the lawyer when outcome was considered. There were no meaningful difference between public defender clients and judicare clients in client

satisfaction with the lawyer performance when outcomes were taken into account. Clients of the two lawyer groupings did not give their lawyers significantly different overall ratings; sentence satisfaction did not differ. Clients of the two types of defence counsel, with similar outcomes, were also similar in their general levels of satisfaction.

2.5.3.2 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Offence.

For offence groupings there were no differences in satisfaction as measured by the satisfaction indicator variables for clients who were represented by public defenders and clients represented by judicare lawyers. Similarly, there were no differences in assessment of lawyer's performance, sentence satisfaction, or in the overall ratings.

2.5.3.3 Satisfaction by Defence by Lawyer Choice.

Lawyer choice was meaningfully related to some aspects of the satisfaction indicator variables when defence type was considered. Of the clients who felt that their interests were well represented by their lawyers and who had chosen the lawyer who acted for them, 74% were judicare clients. Among clients who felt that their interests were well represented by their lawyers, but who did not choose the lawyer who represented them, public defender clients represented 75.5%. This means that the majority of judicare clients who felt they were well represented chose their lawyers, in contrast with the majority of public defender clients who felt their interests were well represented but did not choose their lawyer. There were no meaningful differences between the two types of clients where the representation of client interests was assessed as being average or poor, or where the client chose the lawyer.

Judicare clients who were satisfied with the job of their lawyers chose their lawyer 56.2% of the time, compared with 43.8% of satisfied judicare clients who did not choose their lawyer. This compared with 15.6% of public defender clients who were satisfied with the job their lawyer did and chose the lawyer, and 84.4% of public defender clients who were satisfied with the lawyer's performance and did not choose their lawyer. These findings indicate that satisfied judicare clients chose their lawyers slightly more often than not, while public defender clients who were satisfied with the job their lawyers did rarely chose them. Clients who were ambivalent about their lawyer's performance or who were dissatisfied did not differ meaningfully between type of representative and whether or not the lawyer was chosen.

Among clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings, 75% who chose their lawyers were judicare clients, while 73.5% of those who did not choose their lawyers were public defender clients. This indicates that public defender clients who gave their lawyers high ratings were less likely to have chosen them, while judicare clients who gave their lawyers high ratings were more likely to have chosen their lawyers. There were no important differences between the two types of clients regarding lawyer choice when the lawyers were given lower overall ratings.

Among clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received, 75% of those who requested a lawyer were judicare clients, while 79.3% of those who did not request a lawyer were public defender clients." As indicated in the discussion of the previous three satisfaction indicator variables, this means that public defender clients who were satisfied with the sentences they received were not likely to have chosen a lawyer who represented them, while judicare clients who were satisfied with their sentences were likely to have chosen the lawyer who represented them. Clients of the two types of lawyers who were ambivalent or dissatisfied with their sentences did not differ meaningfully regarding lawyer choice.

The findings reported in this section would appear to suggest that satisfied judicare clients chose their lawyers while satisfied public defender clients did not. The percentage reported here must be viewed within the organization structure of the Burnaby Criminal Defence Office. Clients were referred to private counsel only when their were conflicts, co-accused or when the caseloads of the lawyers were determined to be full. Only those clients referred to the private bar had an opportunity to request lawyers from the pool of the usual criminal defence lawyers. The lawyers employed as public defenders did not have active criminal legal aid practices in the Vancouver area (Lower Mainland) prior to the project. It was not surprising that fewer clients requested them. Most satisfied public defence counsel client's would be expected to be client's who did not choose their lawyer. The fact that clients of unchosen lawyers were as satisfied as clients of chosen lawyers, however, suggests that lawyer choice may not be such an important element of client satisfaction.

2.5.3.4 Satisfaction by Lawyer Choice Rationale.

Clients of judicare lawyers did not differ from clients of public defender lawyers in reasons or rationale for choosing a lawyer and the satisfaction indicator variables.

The reasons for choosing a lawyer included: prior experience; advice from friends; recommendations from another lawyer or judge; and word of mouth or media coverage. There were no important differences between the two groups of clients in the reasons for choosing the lawyer and the client's assessment of how well the lawyer represented the client's interests. There were no important differences between the two clients groups in the reason for choosing a lawyer and whether or not the client was satisfied with the job the lawyer did. Judicare clients did not differ from public defender clients in the overall lawyer rating or in sentence satisfaction.

These findings suggest that the lawyer choice rationale, as it relates to the elements chosen as indicators of client satisfaction in this analysis, did not differ between clients of the judicare lawyers or public defenders.

2.5.3.5 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Political Alienation.

Judicare clients who were satisfied with the jobs of their lawyers, manifested the same degree of political alienation as public defender clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performances. Judicare clients who were ambivalent or dissatisfied did not differ importantly in political alienation from public defender clients who had similar feelings about their lawyer's performance.

For the two client groups, political alienation was not related to perceptions of how well their lawyers represented their interests, or how well satisfied they were with their sentences. The degree of political alienation did not vary between the two client groups on any of the satisfaction indicator variables.

2.5.3.6 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Social Alienation.

Clients of judicare lawyers did not manifest greater social alienation than clients of public defence counsel when compared across the range of variables used in this analysis. Public defender clients who were satisfied with the jobs their lawyers did manifest the same degree of social alienation as judicare clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performance. Public defence clients who were ambivalent or dissatisfied did not differ in social alienation from judicare clients who manifested the same feelings about their lawyer's performance. The two client

groups had the same levels of social alienation independently of how well their lawyer represented their interests or on how they viewed their sentences.

2.5.3.7 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Cynicism.

Similarly cynicism, as measured in the questionnaire, was the same for the two client groups. Judicare clients who were satisfied with the jobs their lawyers did, did not show more nor less cynicism than did public defender clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performances. Judicare clients who were ambivalent or dissatisfied with their lawyers' performances did not differ importantly in cynicism from public defender clients who manifested the same feelings regarding the jobs their lawyers had done.

Judicare clients who gave their lawyers higher or lower overall ratings did not differ from public defender clients who gave their lawyers similar ratings regarding levels of cynicism. The two client groups did not manifest meaningfully different degrees of cynicism with regard to client assessment of how well the lawyer represented client interests. In addition, the two types of clients did not differ importantly in degree of cynicism and satisfaction with the sentence received. These findings indicate that client cynicism did not change between the two types of clients on any of the elements used to represent client satisfaction.

2.5.3.8 Satisfaction by Mode of Defence by Sentence.

The sentence received by the two client groups was not meaningfully related to any of the four satisfaction indicator variables. Public defender clients who assessed their interests as being well represented by their lawyers did not differ significantly regarding the sentence they received from judicare clients who made the same assessment. Public defender clients who felt their lawyers did an average or a poor job of representing their interests did not differ meaningfully regarding the sentence they received from judicare clients who made the same assessments of their lawyers' representation of their interests.

Judicare clients did not differ meaningfully from public defender clients regarding the sentence they received when asked whether or not they were satisfied with the jobs the lawyer had done. The overall rating given the lawyer was not appreciably different between judicare and public defender clients with respect to the sentences they received. The satisfaction with sentence did not differ

importantly between the two types of clients when the actual sentence received was considered. Overall, these findings indicated that there was no real variation between the two types of clients regarding their levels of satisfaction and the sentences they received.

2.5.3.9 Satisfaction by Potential Change in Verdict or Sentence if the Type of Lawyer Changed.

There were no important differences between judicare and public defender clients who felt their lawyers had done a good job of representing their interests and whether or not the verdict would have been different had they been represented by the other mode of defence counsel. There were no substantial differences between the two types of clients who felt their interests had been represented poorly or in an "average" way and their assessment of whether or not the verdict would have changed had the type of lawyer differed. Judicare clients did not differ appreciably from public defender clients on different levels of satisfaction with the job the lawyer did when asked whether the other type of lawyer would have obtained a different verdict. Public defender clients did not differ meaningfully from judicare clients on the overall rating given the lawyer when classified according to whether they felt that the type of lawyer would have procured a different verdict. These findings indicate that judicare clients overwhelmingly felt that a public defender lawyer would not have obtained for them a different verdict, while public defender clients felt that a judicare lawyer would not have achieved a verdict different from that which their own lawyer got for them.

There were no meaningful differences between public defender and judicare clients who felt their lawyers had done a good job of representing their interests and whether or not the sentence would have been different if they had been represented by the other mode of defence lawyer. There were no substantial differences between the two types of clients who felt their interests had been represented poorly or in an average way, and their assessment of whether or not the sentence would have been different had they been represented by the other sort of lawyer. Public defender clients did not differ appreciably from judicare clients on different levels of satisfaction with the job their lawyer did when asked whether the other type of lawyer would have acquired a different sentence for them. Judicare clients did not differ meaningfully from public defender clients regarding a overall rating given the lawyer when classified according to whether or not they felt that the other type of lawyer would have obtained a different sentence. Likewise,

the two types of clients did not differ on levels of satisfaction with the sentence received when asked whether or not the other mode of defence counsel would have obtained a different sentence for them. These results mean that judicare clients did not differ significantly from public defender clients in their levels of satisfaction with the various aspects of their cases and whether or not they perceived that the other type of lawyer would have obtained a different sentence. The vast majority of judicare clients felt that a public defender lawyer would not have obtained a different sentence, while a nearly identical majority of public defender clients felt that a judicare lawyer would not have obtained a different sentence than the one their own lawyer secured for them.

2.5.3.10 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Attitude Regarding Public Defender Lawyers.

Public defender clients who were satisfied with the job their lawyer did for them had a significantly more positive attitude regarding public defence counsel than judicare clients who were similarly satisfied. Where 18 represents the most positive attitude and 9 represents the most negative attitude, public defender clients who were satisfied with their lawyer's performance averaged 16.73 while similarly satisfied judicare clients rated 15.28. There were no important differences between the two types of clients regarding attitudes toward public defenders and ambivalence or dissatisfaction with the job the lawyer did.

Public defender clients who gave their lawyers higher or lower overall ratings exhibited substantially more positive attitudes towards public defender lawyers than judicare clients who gave their lawyers similar ratings. Public defender clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings averaged 16.84 points on the attitude scale, compared with an average of 15.58 points for judicare clients who gave their lawyers the same rating. Public defender clients who gave their lawyers mid-range overall ratings averaged 15.40 points on the scale, as compared with 14.44 points for judicare clients who gave their lawyers the same rating. Public defender clients who felt that their lawyers had done a good job representing their interests rated an average of 16.73 points on the scale measuring attitude towards public defenders, while judicare clients who felt the same about how their interests had been represented averaged 15.21 points. There were no meaningful differences between judicare and public defender clients regarding attitude toward public defender and the feeling that the quality of representation of their interests had

been average to poor. Public defender clients who reported satisfaction with the sentence they received averaged 6.34 points on a 9 point scale assessing attitudes towards public defenders, compared with the average score of 4.73 for judicare clients who were satisfied with the sentence obtained for them. Public defender clients who expressed dissatisfaction or ambivalence regarding the satisfaction with the sentence they received did not manifest more or less positive attitudes regarding public defender lawyers than did clients of judicare lawyers.

These findings indicate that public defender clients who expressed satisfaction regarding the job the lawyer did, satisfaction with sentence, who felt that their interests were well represented by their lawyers and who gave their lawyers high to mid-range overall ratings, had significantly more positive attitudes regarding public defender lawyers than did judicare lawyers who were similarly satisfied.

2.5.3.11 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Attitude Regarding Judicare Lawyers.

Few important differences were observed between judicare and public defender clients in their attitudes toward judicare lawyers for different levels of the four satisfaction indicator variables. Judicare clients who were satisfied, ambivalent or dissatisfied with the jobs their lawyers did, did not exhibit meaningfully more or less positive attitudes regarding judicare lawyers than did public defender clients who felt satisfied, ambivalent or dissatisfied with the jobs their lawyers did.

Judicare clients who gave their lawyers higher or lower overall ratings did not differ from public defender clients who gave their lawyers the same overall ratings, in their attitudes regarding judicare lawyers. Judicare clients did not manifest substantially more positive or negative attitudes toward judicare lawyers than did public defender clients when both groups were classified by how well the clients felt their interests had been represented by the lawyer who defended them.

Clients of judicare lawyers who were satisfied with the sentences they received had significantly more positive attitudes regarding judicare lawyers than did public defender clients who were satisfied with their sentences. The average score on the scale measuring attitudes toward judicare lawyers for judicare clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received was 16.47. This compared with an average attitude score of 14.67 for public defender

clients who were satisfied with the sentences they received. This finding suggested that judicare clients who were satisfied with the sentence they received had meaningfully more positive attitudes regarding judicare lawyers, than did public defender clients who exhibited sentence satisfaction. There were no important differences between the two types of clients with regard to attitudes regarding judicare lawyers, when the clients were ambivalent about or dissatisfied with the sentence they received.

2.5.3.12 Satisfaction by Defender Type by Attitude Regarding the Prosecutor.

No important differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients in their attitudes toward prosecutors when the two types of clients were grouped according to their responses on the satisfaction indicator elements. No important differences were observed between the two types of clients regarding attitudes toward the prosecutor when the clients were grouped according to how satisfied they were with the jobs their lawyers did. Public defender clients were not observed to manifest more or less positive attitudes toward prosecutors than judicare clients, when the two groups were categorized according to the overall ratings they gave their lawyers. When public defender clients and judicare clients were grouped according to how well they thought their interests had been represented by their lawyers, there were no important differences observed between the two groups, regarding their attitudes toward prosecutors. No meaningful differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients in their attitudes toward prosecutors when the two types of clients were grouped according to client satisfaction with the sentence received.

These findings indicate that public defender and judicare clients did not have markedly different attitudes regarding prosecutors. Further, client attitudes toward prosecutors did not appear to be related to the levels of satisfaction of the client regarding various aspects of his case.

2.5.3.13 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Attitude Regarding the Police.

No important differences were observed between judicare and public defender clients in their attitudes toward the police, when the two types of clients were grouped according to their feelings of satisfaction with the various aspects of their cases. No important differences were observed

between the two types of clients regarding attitude toward the police and client satisfaction with the job his/her lawyer did. Judicare clients who gave their lawyers lower or higher overall ratings did not differ in their attitudes towards the police from public defender clients who gave their lawyers lower or higher overall ratings. When the two types of clients were grouped according to how well they thought their interests had been represented there were no observable differences between the two groups regarding their attitudes toward prosecutors. No meaningful differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients in their attitude towards the police when the two types of clients were grouped according to their levels of satisfaction with the sentences they received.

These findings indicate that public defender and judicare clients did not differ in their attitudes regarding the police. Further, attitudes regarding the police did not appear to change significantly according to the level of the client's satisfaction with various aspects of his/her case.

2.5.3.14 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Attitudes Regarding Plea Bargaining.

No important differences were observed between the satisfaction levels of the two types of clients and their attitudes regarding plea bargaining. No meaningful differences were observed between the attitudes towards plea bargaining of the 2 types of clients and client satisfaction with the job the lawyer did. Public defender clients who gave their lawyers lower or higher overall ratings did not differ markedly in their attitude regarding plea bargaining from judicare clients who gave their lawyers lower or higher overall ratings. When the 2 types of clients were grouped according to how well they felt their interests had been represented, there were no observable differences between the 2 groups regarding their attitude towards plea bargaining. There were no meaningful differences observed between public defender and judicare clients in their attitudes regarding plea bargaining and the satisfaction which the clients expressed with the sentences they received.

These findings suggested that a client's perception of plea bargaining, as reflected by the attitude towards it, did not differ meaningfully between the two types of client. In addition, attitude toward plea bargaining did not appear to be related to varying levels of satisfaction for either public defender or judicare clients.

2.5.3.15 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Client Assessment of the Presiding Judge.

Although the client's assessment of the presiding judge was found to be meaningfully related to some aspects of client satisfaction, there were no observable differences between assessments made by public defender clients and assessments made by judicare clients for different levels of the satisfaction elements. Assessments of the judge made by public defender clients were not markedly different from the assessments made by judicare clients, when the clients were grouped according to satisfaction with the lawyer's job. The 2 types of clients did not differ in their assessments of the judge in the proceedings when the overall rating given the lawyer was used as a basis for grouping the clients. Assessments of the presiding judge made by judicare clients were not observed to differ meaningfully from assessments of the judge made by the clients of public defender lawyers when clients' perceptions of how well their interests were represented by the lawyers were considered. No important differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients in their assessments of the judge and the satisfaction expressed regarding the sentences which the clients received.

These findings indicate that assessments of the judge, while shown previously to be related to aspects of client satisfaction, did not differ between the two types of clients. Public defender clients did not give the presiding judge more or less positive assessments than did judicare clients.

2.5.3.16 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Who is Perceived as Being Most Important in the Court Situation.

Perceptions of which people are most important in determining sentence and conviction or acquittal did not differ between public defender clients and judicare clients in connection with their feelings of satisfaction regarding particular aspects of the case. Public defender clients who felt their lawyers did a good job of representing their interests did not differ substantially from judicare clients who felt the same way regarding their perceptions of the most important person in determining conviction, and the most important person in determining sentence. Likewise, of those who felt their lawyers had done only average or poor jobs of representing their interests, no tangible differences were observed between the two types of clients, regarding their perceptions of those people most important in the determination of conviction or acquittal and

sentence. Of those clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performances, the perceptions of public defender clients regarding who played the most important role in determining conviction or acquittal and sentence did not differ meaningfully from the perceptions of judicare clients. Further, the perceptions of ambivalent or dissatisfied clients did not differ meaningfully with regard to the two modes of legal representation.

Client perceptions regarding the most important people in determining sentence and conviction or acquittal did not differ between the two types of clients when the overall rating given the lawyer was considered. The perceptions of judicare clients who gave their lawyers intermediate ratings did not differ from those of public defender clients who gave their lawyers intermediate ratings. Perceptions regarding the most important people in determining conviction and sentence did not differ between public defender and judicare clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings. No meaningful differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients regarding their perceptions of the most important people in determining conviction or acquittal and sentence in a case, when satisfaction with sentence is considered. Of the clients who expressed satisfaction with the sentence they received there were no observed differences regarding these perceptions between the two types of clients. Perceptions were not observed to differ meaningfully between public defender and judicare clients who were ambivalent or dissatisfied with the sentences they received. These findings suggested that perceptions of the most important people in determining conviction, acquittal or sentence were not related to aspects of client satisfaction and mode of legal representation.

2.5.3.17 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Race.

No important differences were observed between satisfaction levels of judicare and public defender clients or the race of the client. The public defender clients who expressed satisfaction with their lawyers' performances did not differ markedly in racial background from judicare clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performances. There were no important differences observed in the racial backgrounds of public defender and judicare clients who were ambivalent about or dissatisfied with their lawyers' performances.

Clients of the two types of lawyers who felt that their interests had been well represented by their lawyers did not differ significantly in racial background. Judicare clients who felt their interests had received average or poor representation did not differ markedly in racial background from public defender clients who felt their interests had received similar representation. Judicare clients who gave their lawyers intermediate overall ratings were not found to differ meaningfully from public defender clients who gave their lawyers the same overall ratings. The two types of clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings were not found to have significantly different racial backgrounds.

Clients of public defender lawyers who expressed satisfaction with the sentences they received did not differ markedly in racial background from clients of judicare lawyers, neither did the two types of clients who were ambivalent about or dissatisfied with the sentences they received differ significantly with regards to racial background.

These findings indicate that clients of public defenders did not differ meaningfully from clients of judicare lawyers regarding racial background. They further suggest that race was not significantly related to the type of lawyer who represented the client and the client's satisfaction with particular aspects of that representation.

2.5.3.18 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Prior Record.

Few meaningful differences were found between satisfaction levels of public defender and judicare clients and the existence of a prior criminal record. Public defender clients who felt that their interests had been well represented by their lawyers were not more likely to have prior criminal records than judicare clients who assessed their interests as having been well represented. Of the two types of clients who felt their interests had received average or poor representation, judicare clients were not significantly more likely to have prior records than public defender clients.

Public defender clients who were satisfied with their lawyers' performances were neither more nor less likely to have prior records than were the clients of judicare lawyers who expressed satisfaction with the performances of their lawyers. Further, judicare clients who felt ambivalent about or dissatisfied with their lawyers' performances did not manifest prior records more often than public defender

clients who expressed the same sentiments. There were no notable differences regarding prior criminal records between public defender and judicare clients who gave their lawyers intermediate overall ratings; neither were there meaningful differences in the existence of prior records between public defender and judicare clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings.

Among judicare clients who reported satisfaction with the sentences they received, all (100%) had prior criminal records. This compared with 66.7% of public defender clients who were satisfied with the sentences they received and had prior records. Public defender clients with no prior record who expressed satisfaction with the sentence received represented 33.3% of all public defender clients who were satisfied with their sentences. The difference here is worth noting. No meaningful differences were noted between the two types of clients who were ambivalent about or dissatisfied with the sentences they received and the existence of a prior criminal record. Public defender clients who expressed these sentiments were no more likely to have prior criminal records than were judicare clients.

These findings indicated that for the most part, public defender clients were no more likely to have prior criminal records than judicare clients, when the two groups were categorized according to different aspects of satisfaction. When clients who were satisfied with the sentences they received were considered separately, it was observed that significantly more satisfied public defender clients had no prior criminal records than did satisfied judicare clients.

2.5.3.19 Satisfaction by Defence Type by the Importance of Money as a Factor in the Quality of Service.

Client assessments of the importance of money as a factor in the quality of legal service did not differ meaningfully between public defender and judicare clients for different levels of satisfaction. Clients of public defender lawyers who felt that their interests had been well represented by their lawyers did not differ meaningfully from judicare clients who felt their interests had been well represented regarding whether or not the lawyer would have been more interested or worked harder if he/she had been paid more. The majority of both types of clients felt that additional money would not have affected the lawyer's performance. Clients of public defender and clients of judicare lawyers who felt their lawyers had done only average or poor jobs of representing their interests were not observed to differ meaningfully in their assessments of

whether the lawyer would have been more interested or worked harder if he/she had been paid more.

Clients of the two types of lawyers who expressed overall satisfaction with their lawyers' performances did not differ meaningfully in their responses to questions regarding the importance of money as a factor in the quality of legal service rendered. The vast majority of both types of clients who expressed satisfaction did not feel that the lawyer would have worked harder or been more interested in the case if he/she had been paid more. No meaningful differences were observed between clients of the two types of lawyers who felt ambivalent about or dissatisfied with their lawyer's performances regarding their assessments of whether or not the lawyer would have worked harder or been more interested if he/she had been paid more.

Clients of public defender lawyers did not observably differ from clients of judicare lawyers regarding their assessments of the importance of money as a factor in the quality of service when the overall rating given the lawyer was considered. There were no meaningful differences observed between the responses given by the two types of clients who had given their lawyers intermediate ratings. Public defender clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings did not differ importantly from judicare clients who gave their lawyers high ratings in their assessments of whether or not the lawyer would have been more interested or would have worked harder if he/she had been paid more. The vast majority of both types of clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings felt that money was not an important factor in the quality of legal services rendered.

The majority of public defender and judicare clients who expressed satisfaction with the sentences they received did not feel the lawyer would have worked harder or been more interested in the case if he/she had been paid more. No important differences were observed between the two types of clients regarding their assessments of the importance of money as a factor in the quality of legal service for any level of client satisfaction with sentence, satisfaction, ambivalence or dissatisfaction. These findings suggested that there were no appreciable differences between the two types of clients insofar as the importance of money as a factor of quality of legal services is concerned. Further, they suggested that the vast majority of both types of clients, for every aspect of client satisfaction, felt that their own lawyers would not have worked harder or been more interested in the case if they had been paid more.

2.5.3.20 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Perceived Time Spent with the Lawyer.

No important differences were observed between public defender and judicare clients regarding their perceptions of how much time the lawyer had spent with them and different aspects of their satisfaction. Public defender clients who were satisfied with their lawyer's performances did not differ significantly from satisfied judicare clients regarding their perceptions of time spent with the lawyer. Likewise no differences were observed between the two types of clients who expressed ambivalence or dissatisfaction regarding their perceptions of time spent with the lawyer.

Perceptions of the two types of clients regarding time spent with the lawyer were not observed to differ when clients were grouped according to how well they felt their interests had been represented. Judicare clients who felt their interests had been well represented did not differ from public defender clients who felt the same way, regarding their perceptions of time spent with the lawyer. Of those who felt the lawyer had done an average or poor job of representing client interests, public defender clients did not differ notably from judicare clients in their perceptions of time spent with the lawyer.

No differences in time perceptions were observed between the two types of clients according to the overall rating given the lawyer. Judicare clients who gave high overall ratings to the lawyers were not observed to differ meaningfully in their perceptions of time spent with the lawyer from public defender clients who provided similar ratings to their lawyers. Likewise the two types of clients who gave their lawyers intermediate overall ratings did not differ significantly in their perceptions of the amount of time spent with the lawyer.

The two types of clients did not differ in their time perceptions when grouped by satisfaction with the sentence received. Time perceptions of public defender clients who were satisfied with their sentence did not differ from those judicare clients who expressed the same sentiment. Similarly, no differences were observed in the perceived time spent with the lawyer between public defender and judicare clients who were ambivalent about or dissatisfied with their sentences.

These findings suggested that public defender and judicare clients who manifested similar feelings of satisfaction did not differ significantly in their

perceptions regarding the amount of time spent with the lawyer. The perception of time spent with the lawyer thus does not appear to be related to the type of defence counsel representing the client.

2.5.3.21 Satisfaction by Defence Type by Perceived Time of First Contact with the Lawyer.

No significant differences were observed between public defender and judicare lawyers in their perceptions of the time of first contact with the lawyer and client satisfaction. Public defender clients who felt their interests had been well represented did not differ from judicare clients who held similar viewpoints with respect to the perceived time of first contact with the lawyer. Further, no important differences were observed between the two types of clients who felt their interests had received only average or poor representation regarding the perceived time of first contact.

Judicare clients who were satisfied with the performance of their lawyers were not observed to differ from satisfied public defender clients in their perceptions of time of first contact with the lawyer. In addition, the two types of clients who manifest ambivalent or dissatisfied feelings regarding their lawyers' performances were observed to be significantly different regarding this perception.

No important differences were noted in the perceptions of the time of first contact with the lawyer between public defenders and judicare clients who gave their lawyers intermediate overall ratings. Likewise, public defender and judicare clients who gave their lawyers high overall ratings did not differ on this perception.

Judicare clients who expressed satisfaction with the sentences they received did not differ in their perceptions of the time of first contact with the lawyer from public defender clients who were similarly satisfied. Additionally, no meaningful differences were observed in perception of the time of the first lawyer-client contact between public defender and judicare clients who were ambivalent about or dissatisfied with the sentences they received.

These findings indicate that public defender and judicare clients who exhibited comparable feelings of satisfaction did not differ significantly in their perceptions about the amount of time spent with the lawyer. The perception of the time of first contact with their

lawyer did not appear to be related to whether the client was represented by a judicare lawyer or by a public defender.

3. Conclusion

Client satisfaction did not markedly vary between the judicare or public defender lawyers. Although the sample size was small, the results are of interest since they contradict both conventional wisdom and a number of observations made in similar studies done in the United States. In the studies conducted in the United States it was found that public defender clients were less satisfied with their mode of legal service than were judicare clients. This was not found in the British Columbia experimental public defence operation.

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