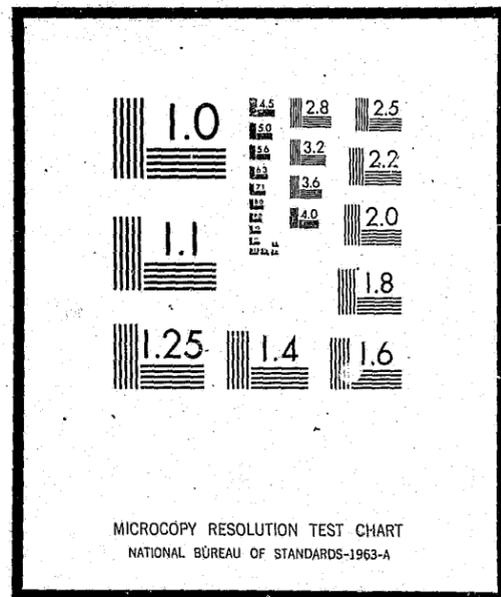


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PERSPECTIVES ON THE LEGAL JUSTICE SYSTEM PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION

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PREFACE

This study which began in the spring of 1970, was primarily funded by the North Carolina Bureau of Local Affairs, Division of Law and Order. Support was also received from the National Science Foundation Committee in the Department of Political Science; the Institute of Government; the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and the Graduate Research Fellowship program of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

The project began with a systematic search of the literature for sources on crime, victimization, and public attitudes toward the legal system. The bibliography which developed from this research contains over two-hundred entries. Having studied and critiqued these sources, we formulated our research design.

In the fall of 1970 the first draft of the questionnaire was developed and revised several times. These changes were made on theoretical and measurement criteria, based on pretest results. We also solicited suggested questions from twenty-four state agencies and integrated these into the design. In the fall and winter of 1970 the sample design was finalized and the sample was drawn as soon as population enumerations from the 1970 census were available. Listing of households by sample points began in early 1971 and continued into the spring. Interviewing began in March and the bulk of the interviewing was done in the late spring

and early summer. The resultant data were coded, cleaned, sorted, merged, and analyzed. This report contains the results of that analysis.

This research has been a collegial, collective effort. Tom Denyer, Skip McGaughey, and Darlene Walker are Ph.D. candidates in the Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Richard Richardson is an associate professor of political science in Chapel Hill. Oliver Williams is an assistant professor political science at North Carolina State University at Raleigh.

Others assisted in numerous ways. Kathy McGonigle abstracted the bibliography. Anna Kleinbaum and Joyce Mangum contributed much to the project in their secretarial roles. Sheron Megredy was a patient and expert typist of the final draft and Norma Scofield gave careful attention to its editing. Elizabeth Fink assisted us in preparing the manuscript and supervising its publication. The interviewers, coders, and keypunchers were legion and dedicated. Without the expertise and imagination of Angell Beza and Mary Junck of the Institute for Research in Social Science, this study simply could not have been done. They and the other personnel of the Institute ensured that our methodological design and execution would be the best available.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina
August 1972

INTRODUCTION

This is a report of a study designed to measure the attitudes of the citizens of North Carolina toward crime; the frequency of criminal victimization; the reporting of crime by alleged victims; public contact with criminal justice agencies; and the attitudes of the citizens of the state toward these agencies that function as a part of the legal justice system. The purpose of the study is to assist agencies in assessing public attitudes toward policies in effect or under consideration, and to utilize a household survey as a method of measuring the nature of crime in the state.

The data were obtained from 1,145 respondents from the adult, non-institutionalized population of the state. A probability, household sample was selected by stratification and cluster procedures. Randomization was employed from the selection of 120 interview points to households and individuals within households. The data are stratified by 5 geographic regions of the state; and within geographic regions, by the residence, race, age and sex of respondents. (See Appendix I.)

A generalized interview was conducted with each respondent which was designed to ascertain (1) attitudes toward the activities and policies of the criminal justice system, and (2) if any member of the household had been a victim of any crime. An intensive interview was then conducted

to probe the nature of the victimization and the reporting of it to law enforcement agencies.

The interview schedule sought to establish the nature of the crime, where and how it took place, notification of police or reasons for failure to report the incident, and the disposition of the case by the criminal justice system. Both victims and nonvictims (i.e., adults who reported no crime within the previous year) were interviewed concerning their attitudes toward the police, state courts, prisons, and other correctional agencies.

The interviews were conducted between March and July of 1971 by a state-wide research network, developed in cooperation with University of North Carolina Regional Universities, under the direction of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

A special survey device was designed to provide needed information on crime as well as on citizen attitudes in North Carolina. This instrument affords a unique opportunity to define the nature and extent of crime and public attitudes related to it from a new perspective.

The national study on victimization demonstrated the usefulness of survey research for supplementing and elaborating on more traditional conceptions of crime and collections of criminal statistics. This present study seeks to develop further the survey instrument for the measurement of victimization and to apply it directly to the state of North Carolina.

Victimization studies are not necessarily comparable to the more standard ways of assessing crime. Some criminal activity which may be of considerable concern to law enforcement agencies and the public; i.e., organized crime,

the traffic of narcotics, or concentrated activity of serious criminal offenses such as safe robberies are likely to be underreported in such studies. On the other hand, certain types of crime that are unreported or underreported to police, and incidents and activity which are not statutory violations (but nevertheless of serious concern to citizens), are likely to be frequently mentioned by citizens. Alleged consumer incidents and fraud are an example of the latter.

Thus, while victimization surveys are not a substitute for other measures of crime, they do provide a useful instrument for measuring crime from the victim's perspective; not only in terms of statutory crime but also in other areas in which individuals feel threatened or victimized. Additionally, survey devices provide us with important information as to who is victimized and the location and environment in which victimization is most likely to occur.

An additional objective of the study is to provide the citizens of North Carolina with an opportunity to express their attitudes toward the actors and institutions of the legal justice system and their opinions about the present and proposed policies of criminal justice agencies.

Policy makers seldom have opportunity to discover and utilize reliable measures of statewide public opinion in their decision-making deliberations. Additionally, the average citizen is seldom afforded the chance to express his views on a wide range of public issues. We feel that the democratic input provided by this survey can, if properly utilized, be a meaningful addition to policy making in the state.

In Chapter I we seek to ascertain the degree to which citizens of North Carolina see crime as a social problem and its relative ranking with other issues; to indicate the degree to which citizens worry about crime happening to them; and to assess what behavioral responses they have made to their concern for crime.

Chapter II explores the dimensions of criminal victimization in the state. It analyzes the nature and extent of victimization, the conditions under which it occurs, a profile of victims, and the characteristics of offenders.

Chapter III looks at the number of victimizations which go unreported to the police; relates the reasons which are cited by victims and observers for not calling the police; and offers some suggestive data on individuals most likely to seek help from criminal justice agencies.

Chapter IV is an analysis of public attitudes toward actors and institutions of the legal justice system. It details general data on the public's evaluation of the jobs being performed by the police, prisons, and state courts. It also has specific information about the policies and actions which enjoy public favor and those which are actual and potential points of friction between citizens and the legal justice institutions. In addition, it gives specific information on public contact with these agencies and the level of satisfaction with these contacts.

Chapter V reports the findings of citizen preferences on a broad range of legal policies. Some of the questions asked were at the specific request of criminal justice agencies in the state. Policy areas include rehabilitation, traffic safety, and drug offenses.

CHAPTER I PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME

The costs of crime are multiple. Generally when costs are calculated or considered, however, we have narrowly defined them in terms of property loss, number of persons harmed, or time lost from employment. But crime has severe emotional costs as well. In addition to the emotional strain inflicted upon the victims, important emotional costs are incurred by individuals who, though never actually victimized, fear becoming the victims of crime. Thus, for every robbery, there are those who fear being robbed; for every reported assault, some worry that they may be next.

To ascertain how salient crime is as a problem in the state and to draw some picture of how much worry and concern it causes our citizens, we will attempt in this section to construct a profile of citizen attitudes toward crime. Specifically we will:

1. Ascertain the degree to which the citizens see crime as a problem facing the state and its relative ranking with other issues;
2. Indicate the degree to which citizens are worried that property or personal crime will happen to them;
3. Determine how likely citizens feel that such a loss will happen to them sometime soon;
4. Measure what kind of safety precautions citizens have taken as a behavioral response to crime.

Crime as a Problem

At the outset of the survey, respondents were asked to tell us what they thought was the most important problem facing people in the country today. Although a broad range of problems were mentioned--some personal, some very general--it is possible by grouping the problems into broad categories to find certain dominant themes. Economic problems of every variety receive the most frequent mention as the major problem (30.6 percent of the sample). Second to economic issues, however, is the broad area of criminal justice--law and order, street crime, and general victimization (16.9 percent of the sample).

To ascertain if crime would continue in its salient position, respondents were asked to examine a list of 9 problems facing society and to tell us whether they felt they were important. The responses are shown in Table I-1. Again, the highest percentage of "yes" responses are recorded for the high cost of living, an issue that cuts across both black and white respondents and urban and rural dwellers. Second in terms of positive responses is crime, indicating its strong relative ranking with other issues.

Finally, respondents were asked of the items they had identified as important, which one problem they felt was the most important. Each of the items they had responded "yes" to as a problem were reread to them and they were asked to select the most important. Of the 1,103 respondents, 26.9 percent identify high cost of living; 22.6 percent choose the Vietnam war; and 22.0 percent select crime.

Table I-1

Response to Issues as Problems Facing Society Today*

	Percent	N
1. High cost of living	93.9	(1,136)
2. Crime	91.3	(1,142)
3. Vietnam war	86.4	(1,135)
4. Pollution	83.5	(1,142)
5. Problems between Negroes and whites	82.7	(1,139)
6. Riots	78.0	(1,140)
7. Unemployment	73.5	(1,139)
8. Too many poor people	73.4	(1,134)
9. Student protests	67.8	(1,136)

*"I'm going to read a list of 9 things some other people have said are important problems. Would you tell me whether or not you think they are important? Just answer yes or no." (The numbers in parentheses are the base on which the percentages were computed.)

Concern About Crime

By all the attitudinal measures utilized, crime is seen as a major national problem by North Carolinians, second only in importance to the high cost of living. One cannot conclude, however, from these responses that it is seen as an immediate problem for the citizen himself since many social problems do not directly touch the lives of the local citizenry. How does the individual feel about crime as it directly affects him, what is the extent of his concern, and what measures has he taken to respond to this concern? For example, how worried is the citizen that

he will have property stolen or damaged or that someone in his household or himself will be physically attacked by a criminal? Table I-2 compares the magnitude of worry for property and physical damage.

Table I-2

Magnitude of Worry About Property Stolen and Physical Attack

	Property* (N=1,138)	Physical** (N=1,139)
Very worried	13.6	14.1
Somewhat worried	43.1	43.1
Not worried	43.2	42.8

*"How worried are you that someone in your household or yourself will have some property stolen from them or damaged by a criminal? Would you say you are very worried, somewhat worried, or not at all worried?"

**"How worried are you that someone in your household or yourself will be physically attacked or hurt by a criminal? Would you say you were very worried, somewhat worried, or not at all worried?"

The data suggest that while only a small sector of society is "very worried" that crime will directly touch them in terms of property stolen or physical attack, a very substantial proportion of the citizenry exhibits "some worry" about both manifestations of crime. Indeed, over half of the population in the sample reveals some worry about personal contact with crime. Interestingly, the magnitude of worry is almost identical for property being stolen or damaged as for being physically attacked. Thus, in terms of both property loss and personal violence, sense of security and peace of mind are lacking for many of the state's citizens.

Probability of Victimization

It is important to distinguish worry about crime from the more cognitive estimate of the likelihood of crime happening to one's property or person. Respondents were asked to indicate the likelihood that property would be stolen or damaged by a criminal anytime soon, as well as the likelihood that they or someone in their household would be physically attacked or hurt anytime soon. From a "ladder" with 10 rungs, they gave their estimate of likelihood from 1 (not likely to happen) to 10 (very likely to happen). The results are shown with histograms in Tables I-3 and I-4.

Again, the similarity between property loss and physical attack is marked. About one-fourth of the sample feels that it is not likely at all that they will be subjected to either criminal act. In contrast, less than 10 percent (7.4 for property; and 6.2 for physical) feel that it is very likely that they will be victimized anytime soon. However, if one combines responses 5 through 10 on the ladder to obtain some measure of those who feel moderate to strong that the likelihood of victimization is great, one finds that 40.2 percent of the population feels some likelihood that property loss will occur to them soon and 36.4 percent of the sample estimate some likelihood of physical attack or injury. In this respect, the perception of likelihood of crime happening is somewhat less than the worry about crime shown in Table I-2. In each of the upper levels of high likelihood of crime (numbers 7 through 10), a greater percentage of black respondents than white see themselves in a more dangerous situation in terms of both physical and property loss, as shown in Table I-5.

Table I-3

How Likely One Will Have Property Stolen or Damaged*

Not likely at all	1	I *****	23.9 %
	2	I *****	12.4 %
	3	I *****	12.5 %
	4	I *****	9.0 %
	5	I *****	14.9 %
	6	I *****	6.4 %
	7	I *****	4.4 %
	8	I *****	4.4 %
	9	I *****	2.7 %
Very likely	10	I *****	7.4 %

*"This ladder shows how likely you feel it is that your property will be stolen or damaged by a criminal anytime soon. The line with the number 10 means that you think it is very likely to happen. The number 1 means that you think it is not likely at all to happen. In other words, the higher the number, the more likely it is to happen. Now, how likely is it that you or someone in your household will have property stolen anytime soon? Just tell me the number you think is right." (The average is 4.1; the median, 3.5.) (N=1,122)

Table I-4

How Likely One Will Be Physically Attacked*

Not likely at all	1	I *****	26.6 %
	2	I *****	14.8 %
	3	I *****	11.9 %
	4	I *****	8.2 %
	5	I *****	12.5 %
	6	I *****	6.1 %
	7	I *****	4.6 %
	8	I *****	4.5 %
	9	I *****	2.5 %
Very likely	10	I *****	6.2 %

*"Now look at the ladder again. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your household will be physically attacked or hurt anytime soon?" (The average is 3.8; the median, 3.1.) (N=1,120)

Table I-5

Likelihood of Property Crime, by Race

	Black (N=205)	White (N=884)	Totals
1	27.8	24.2	24.9
2-3	15.1	27.6	25.3
4-6	25.4	31.9	30.7
7-10	31.7	16.3	19.2

$\chi^2=34.1$, sig.=.001, v=.177, c=.174

Likelihood of Personal Crime, by Race

	Black (N=207)	White (N=880)	Totals
1	21.4	28.9	27.5
2-3	22.3	28.5	27.3
4-6	29.1	26.8	27.0
7-10	27.2	16.1	18.2

$\chi^2=17.5$, sig.=.001, v=.127, c=.126

Protection Against Crime

If substantial sectors of North Carolina society are both worried about crime and feel that the likelihood of it happening to them is great, to what extent do respondents take household and personal security measures to protect themselves from criminal victimization? Two sets of questions sought to provide answers on the kinds of things citizens are doing to protect themselves. Respondents were asked if they had taken any passive defense such as buying special locks, or safes or strongboxes, or alarms or

night lights because of their concern. In addition, they were asked if they had taken retaliatory protective action, including the purchase of a watchdog, knife or gun, noisemaker or teargas dispenser, or taken self-defense training. The results are shown in Table I-6.

Table I-6

Percentage of Population Who Have Purchased Safety Devices and Self-Defense Items

	Safety Devices* (N=1,142)	Self-Defense** (N=1,139)
No	81.2	80.0
Yes	18.8	20.0

*"Have you bought any special locks, or safes or strongboxes, or alarms or night lights--because you were worried about crime or criminals?"

**"Have you bought a watchdog, knife or gun, noisemaker or teargas dispenser, or have you taken self-defense training--because you were worried about crime or criminals?"

In terms of both safety devices and more aggressive self-defense protection, less than one-fifth of the population has taken measures to protect household and person against criminal victimization in response to their worry. The kinds of protection taken include the distributions listed in Table I-7.

Table I-7

Type of Protection Taken in Response to Worry About Crime

Device	Number of Respondents*
Firearms	151
Locks	141
Watchdog	96
Night lights	83
Safes and strongboxes	22
Alarms	14
Teargas dispensers	13
Knife	7
Self-defense training	7
Noisemaker	3
Door peep-hole	3

*Absolute frequencies rather than relative percentages are reported, because some respondents report buying more than one device.

A few respondents have taken multiple measures of protection. The most frequent protection sought is that of firearms and special locks. In taking special safety precautions, there is a gradual rise in the percentage of respondents according to the size of place in which they live. Almost one-fifth (17.2 percent) of the population who take safety measures are rural dwellers, 18.5 percent are living in other-urban areas (i.e., suburbs and small towns), 23.1 percent are residents of metropolitan areas. This distribution, however, is not statistically significant ($N=1,142$, $\chi^2=4.3$, sig. = 0.1).

The use of safety devices is but one way citizens can modify their behavior because of concern for crime. Fear of property or physical damage may also cause people to restrict their movements from their houses and/or prevent others in their households from leaving at night. Citizens were asked if this had happened to them or to those in their household. The responses are noted in Table I-8.

Table I-8

Staying in Because of Worry About Crime*

	Percent (N=1,143)
Yes	36.1
No	63.9

*"Do you ever decide to not go out--or not to let someone in your household go out--because you are worried about crime or criminals?"

Almost two-thirds of the sample has not restricted its behavior or behavior of those in the household because of worry about crime. In contrast, one-third has restricted movement because of fear of property loss or attack. In most instances this restriction was for others, usually children, less often wives. (81 instances for self; 96 instances for self and others; 151 instances for others.)

Again, black respondents indicate a higher incidence of staying in their homes because of worry as shown by Table I-9.

Table I-9

Staying in Because of Worry About Crime, by Race

	Black (N=216)	White (N=893)	Totals
Not staying in	57.4	65.8	64.2
Yes, staying in	42.6	34.2	35.8
$\chi^2=5.03, sig.=.03, phi=.07$			

The study reveals, however, that only a few citizens have been so concerned about crime that they have moved their place of residence or employment. In response to the question, "Have you ever moved your place of work, or where you lived, because you were worried about crime or criminals?" 96.8 percent (N=1,139) of the survey population replied in the negative.

CHAPTER II

THE INCIDENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION

Law enforcement agencies, in assessing the extent and nature of crime, have relied largely on arrest statistics and the Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which draw on local police reports. While police reports are, and will likely remain, the basic measure of crime, the problems of relying solely on this measurement have become widely known to most practitioners and social scientists.

As a supplement to the widely used arrest statistics, criminal victimization data obtained from household interviews can be utilized to assist in assessing the nature of crime. In order to draw meaningful interpretations and conclusions from criminal victimization data both the limitations as well as the advantages of the survey method should be understood. Clearly a survey of crime obtained from individual victims does not tap all of the dimensions of crime as obtained in the more traditional police arrest statistics. It is useful as a supplement to crime statistics to tap dimensions of crime which generally are not known to police due to nonreporting; and when defined in the broadest sense, to identify behavioral and nonlegal activities which normally are not considered as crime by law enforcement officials. Such information provides us with important insights about crime from the victim perspective.

Definitional Ambiguity: Behavioral and Legal Criteria for Victimization

Criminal victimization data should be understood as a survey of individual victims and their households. It considers only those victimization incidents which victims encounter in their immediate experience. Although considerable effort has been expended to retrieve data on indirect and psychic victimization (i.e., via the respondent's employer, group, church, school, community, etc.), the universe of such events are only partially tapped. Thus, costs incurred by the individual due to more remote victimizations--the corporation he owns stock in, the store where he shops, the legal system whose tax burden he bears--are not assessed. Even if we were capable of measuring with the survey device the effect of these less proximate incidents on the respondent, we would still confront a legion of competing definitions of "crime." In a sense, our perspective is on the victim regardless of how he got to be that way. A criminal statute, however, would not normally define the incident as a crime if the offender was a six-year-old child; nor would a court of law, if it ruled the offender insane. Conversely, a Virginia consumer would not be represented in our survey, even though the incident by which he was victimized involved a North Carolina firm.

We also know that crime assumes different dimensions as it is processed by the legal system. Crime is defined differently by police records of citizen-initiated investigations, by police records of police-initiated investigations, by prosecutorial discretion, by judicial verdicts and sentences, and by penal institutions. We know that these agencies are also geographically differentiated, so that some handle violations of interstate regulations, and others deal with violations of international law. We know

that a victimization survey is unlikely to measure adequately illegal-market crimes, "crimes without victims," white-collar crimes, societal crimes such as pollution, and such regulatory crimes as milk-pricing and compulsory school attendance. We also know that a victimization survey is likely to overcount incidents affecting many people, such as an odiferous city dump, a noisy family, the neighborhood racing enthusiast, a riot, embezzlement by a county commissioner. In brief, the survey is likely to exclude some incidents that would be considered victimizations by some other criteria.

In the use of the survey device to estimate the extent of victimization in North Carolina, we must enter the standard caveat that some errors inevitably result from the fact that we have interviewed a sample of the population and not the entire population. Due to scientific methods based on probability statistics, however, we are able to claim that our measurement error due to sampling is probably well within ± 2 percent. (See Appendix I.) A less manageable source of error, however, is the need to restrict our respondents' reports of victimizations to a specific time frame. This is necessary to establish some roughly comparable base period out of which different respondents may draw their reports of potential events. That is, if we failed to do this, we would very probably have some respondents who were reporting events from the time frame of a decade, while others simply reported events from the previous year. The problem cannot be resolved so simply, unfortunately, for we also know that respondents vary widely in their recall abilities. In addition, as the length of time the survey is in the field increases,

individual time frames become less comparable. We deal with this problem below by redefining the time frame, so that it is specific to each respondent.

The Extent of Victimization

A total of 67.6 percent of the 1,145 respondents interviewed in this study felt that they had been directly or indirectly victimized by crime at some time in their lives. (The mean is 1.46; the median, 1.08.) We obtain this assessment of the number of people who feel that they in some way have been affected by crime when employing the broadest definition of criminal incident or activity. It includes all incidents that the respondents could recall as having occurred, which could reasonably be said to be a violation of his individual or legal rights. Thus it is neither limited by any time frame nor restricted to incidents which occurred within the state.

This broad definition of victimization results in what by most assessments is an extremely large number of individuals in the state who feel they have been the victim of criminal activity. While many of these incidents are not crime in the legal sense or would not be considered serious incidents either as legal or nonlegal violations, we feel that this broadest assessment of victimization is a measure of the number of people in this state who feel affected by the crime problem. Later in this chapter, we present a more restricted definition.

In addition to the 67.6 percent who considered themselves victims of crime, several other statistics are revealing of the extent of the crime problem from the standpoint of victims. Including both victims and those respondents who did not consider themselves victims of crime, the average number of victimizations per respondent was 1.46.

But crime is not evenly distributed among all sectors of society. Later we present a statistical picture that answers more fully the question, "Who are the victims?" In an overall sense, 32.4 percent of the respondents could not recall any incident occurring to them which they would consider criminal in nature. On the other hand, among those who did report victimizations, there was an average of 2.16 (median=1.7) incidents per victim. This means that not only are some people not victimized but that among those who are, there was a rate of multiple incidents of victimization which averages to two criminal incidents per victim.

By permitting respondents to recall all victimizations that have occurred to them, there is the possibility of an exaggeration effect in some respondents. That is, because of personal history, recent exposure to some stimuli, some respondents may exaggerate reports of victimization. Similarly, we may encounter an understatement effect in other respondents or the tendency to sublimate or repress unpleasant experiences. The first tabulation of victimization permits the possible existence of the exaggeration effect. In an effort to provide some control, further analysis is based on victimizations reported since January 1970.

For this period of time, since January 1970, 52.8 percent (N=1,145) of the respondents feel they have been directly or indirectly victimized in some way. This results in a 1.0 average number of victimizations per respondent and 1.9 victimizations per victim.

The Nature of Victimization

In Table II-1 the incidents related by alleged victims have been grouped into 17 broad areas of victimization incidents. The table includes

the percent of respondents who reported being victimized by each type of incident. To give more meaning to the content of each category, we have detailed each type of victimization. In statistical terms, the percentages are accurate to within $\pm .42$ percent at a 99 percent confidence interval. This means that one would be correct 99 percent of the time--given that he employed the same survey methods and sample size--if he said that the percentage of adult, noninstitutionalized North Carolinians who felt they had been victimized was no more than .42 percent or no less than .42 percent of the percentages shown in the table.

Table II-1

Percent Victimized, by Type of Victimization, Since January 1970

Type of Victimization	Percent (N=1,145)	Content of Victimization
1. Theft	16.9	Attempted, completed thefts from respondent or member of his household: from vehicles, persons or their property.
2. Consumer fraud	11.3	Includes non-delivery of mail-ordered goods; defective merchandise not replaced or refunded; deficient repair work; interest charges greater than original agreements; fraudulently billed telephone calls; refusals to make repairs by landlords, builders, and realtors.
3. Affinity group	10.4	Incidents against respondent's employer, co-workers, school, church, club, and the like.
4. Neighborhood nuisances, disturbances	9.3	Disorderly neighbors, public drunkenness, and loud and speeding vehicles.

(continued)

5. Obscene telephone calls	7.6	Those in which a caller uses profane, obscene, or abusive language on the phone. Not included are obscene home calls which explicitly threaten sexual or physical assault. These are included under the appropriate assault category.
6. Vehicular	6.8	Instances in which the respondent or a member of his household was injured, or his vehicles or property damaged, by someone the respondent felt was a drunken or reckless driver.
7. Assault	5.5	Threatened, attempted and executed assaults--with and without weapons--against respondent or member of his household. Also includes assaults threatened over telephone; armed robberies, both attempted and completed.
8. Credit fraud	5.7	Forging and uttering bad and worthless checks; illegal use of credit devices.
9. Property damage, vandalism	5.4	Destruction, disfigurement or defacement of any person's property. Damage resulting from a reckless or drunken driver excluded and coded under vehicular.
10. Riots and affrays in community	5.1	Primarily racial riots and school integration affrays. If such incidents injured the respondent's person or property directly the victimization was not coded here but under appropriate property or personal injury category. This does not include peaceful demonstrations that did offend the respondent.

(continued)

11. Trespass, illegal entry	4.0	Incidents in which offenders come into the house or onto property against will of victim. Excluded are break-ins resulting in property damage, or attempted theft, and window peeping.
12. Pornographic mail	2.7	Unsolicited advertisement for sexual devices, films, and pictures.
13. Bribery, embezzlement by public official	2.5	Illegal acceptances of funds or favors by public officials or misuse of public monies.
14. Slander, defamation	2.1	Incidents in which an individual feels his character has been defamed by malicious and untrue utterances by another person.
15. Familial	1.8	Abandonment or nonsupport of spouse or children in direct violation of court orders.
16. Drug offenses	1.1	The attempted sale or attempted transfer of drugs.
17. Sexual assault and molestation	0.3	Sexual assault and abuse of any kind.

Restricted Definition of Victimization

In order to make our assessment of victimization incidents more rigorous, several restrictions have been imposed on the incidents related by alleged victims in the household survey.

First, we have eliminated all incidents which the respondent says occurred more than one year before the month of the interview. This means that the extent of victimizations is now limited to those which occurred within a year's period of time. When we impose the common one-year frame upon the victimizations we find the following distribution (Table II-2):

Table II-2

Percent of Victimization, by Broad Definition, One Year from Interview Date

	Percent (N=1,145)
No victimization	52.4
Single victimization	25.0
Multiple victimization	22.6
$\bar{x} = .85$	

By imposing the one-year time frame on the data, we find that the number of victimizations diminishes from 52.8 percent to 47.6 percent. Second, we have eliminated certain types of incidents--either on the basis that they were not serious offenses (including those which were not serious enough for the police to be called) or that they did not affect the respondent or a member of his household directly. For example, we have eliminated victimizations of the respondent's church, school, place of work and community. These affinity group incidents in many respects are real crime, but including them tends to inflate measurements of victimization since such incidents are usually known to several or many persons in the neighborhood. A similar overreporting occurs with riots and affrays in the community and with incidents of official malfeasance and these too have been eliminated, except when they directly affect a respondent or member of his household. Thus, while we have eliminated reported incidents to a respondent's church, school, or business, we have not excluded such an incident when it involved a self-employed respondent's business or firm. Similarly, obscene telephone calls and pornographic mail have been eliminated because of varying and conflicting personal and

legal definitions. Finally, we exclude those victimizations committed by an offender less than eleven years old, since such children are not recognized as criminal defendants.

When we restrict victimization incidents in these ways, we find that 35.3 percent of the sample has been victimized. Table II-3 shows the distribution by the percent of respondents who reported no victimizations, single victimizations, and multiple victimizations. By restricting the concept of victimization to a one-year frame and eliminating some incidents of alleged victimizations, we find that 35.3 percent of the sample have been victims of at least one incident during the one-year period. Of this number--which represents slightly more than one-third of the respondents--13.5 percent have been victims of two or more, or multiple victimizations.

Table II-3

Percent of Victimization, by Restricted Definition,
One Year from Interview Date

	Percent (N=1,145)
No victimization	64.7
Single victimization	21.8
Multiple victimization	13.5
$\bar{x} = .55$	

Table II-4 gives a distribution of the percent of both respondents and victims by the type of victimization. We now find that thefts, consumer fraud, and neighborhood nuisances and disturbances are the most prevalent types of victimization.

Table II-4

Percent of Respondents and Victims, by Types of Victimization, by
Restricted Definition

Type of Victimization	Percent of Respondents (N=1,145)	Percent of Victims (N=404)	Content of Victimization
1. Theft	13.2	37.4	Defined as before; thefts involving property damage reported separately.
2. Consumer fraud	9.3	26.5	Excludes incidents in which the respondent incurred no monetary loss.
3. Neighborhood nuisances, disturbances	8.6	24.5	Excludes incidents in which police were not called; includes slander, window-peeping, and trespass.
4. Property damage	4.5	12.6	Defined as before; also includes unsuccessful theft attempts in which property was damaged.
5. Credit fraud	3.6	10.1	Defined as before; excludes compensated worthless checks.
6. Threatened assault	3.0	8.4	Threats in person or by phone, threatened sexual assaults and threatened assaults accompanying property damage or attempted theft.
7. Vehicular	2.8	7.9	Excluded are incidents in which presumed offender did not leave scene or where defender was found not guilty.
8. Assault	2.6	7.4	Attempted and executed assaults with and without weapons; assault and property damage, theft, and attempted theft.

(continued)

9. Familial	1.7	4.7	Defined as before.
10. Theft with property damage	1.4	4.0	Breaking and entering of vehicle and structures pursuant to larceny.
11. Drug offenses	1.0	2.7	Defined as before.
12. Sexual assault and molestation	0.2	0.5	Defined as before.

Who are the Victims?

We have shown the extent and types of criminal victimization. It is now possible to analyze in more specific terms the characteristics of people reporting victimizations. When analyzed by sex, there is no significant difference in the percentage of respondents reporting victimizations.

As shown by Table II-5, there does appear to be a difference, by race, in reporting victimization. Blacks are much less likely to say that their households have been victimized once, and this results in an overall lower incidence of victimization for blacks.

Table II-5

Victimization, by Race

	Nonwhite (N=216)	White (N=894)	Totals
0	54.6	44.7	46.7
1	19.9	29.1	27.3
2+	25.5	26.2	26.0

$\chi^2=9.04, sig=.01, v=.09, c=.09$

As shown by Table II-6, middle-aged and elderly respondents are less likely to say that their households have been victimized more than once, and elderly

respondents are least likely to say they have been victimized.

Table II-6

Victimization, by Age

	Under 26 (N=139)	26-30 (N=126)	31-45 (N=336)	46-65 (N=368)	Over 65 (N=154)	Totals
0	30.2	34.1	40.8	54.9	66.9	46.9
1	28.8	31.7	25.9	29.3	19.5	27.2
2+	41.0	34.1	33.3	15.8	13.6	25.9

$\chi^2=84.96, sig=.001, v=.19, c=.27$

As shown by Table II-7, respondents with upper-middle family incomes are more likely to say that their households have been victimized, and much more likely to report multiple victimizations.

Table II-7

Victimization, by 1971 Household Income Before Taxes

	Under \$3,000 (N=209)	\$3,000- 7,499 (N=366)	\$7,500- 14,999 (N=388)	\$15,000+ (N=114)	Totals
0	57.9	51.9	39.9	29.8	46.4
1	20.1	25.7	33.2	20.7	27.5
2+	22.0	22.4	26.8	39.5	25.7

$\chi^2=39.3, sig=.001, v=.13, c=.19$

As shown by Table II-8, there is no consistent relationship between region and victimization--with the two slight exceptions of mountain and southern coastal plains respondents being less likely to report single victimizations, and thereby less likely overall to say their households have been victimized.

Table II-8

Victimization, by Region

	Mountain (N=92)	Northern Piedmont (N=339)	Southern Piedmont (N=304)	Northern Coastal Plain (N=199)	Southern Coastal Plain (N=210)	Totals
0	50.0	45.7	45.1	46.2	51.9	47.1
1	20.7	31.0	30.3	26.6	20.0	27.2
2+	29.3	23.3	24.7	27.1	28.1	25.7

$\chi^2=11.9$, sig.=.15, v=.07, c=.10

Surprisingly, size of place makes little difference, except for other-urban dwellers, who report a disproportionate number of multiple victimizations (Table II-9).

Table II-9

Victimization, by Size of Place

	Rural (N=618)	Other-Urban (N=262)	Urban (N=264)	Totals
0	50.5	41.6	44.7	47.1
1	25.6	27.5	30.7	27.2
2+	23.9	30.9	24.6	25.7

$\chi^2=8.93$, sig.=.06, v=.06, c=.09

Thus, victimization as detected by the survey is distributed almost proportionately through several major strata in the population. This inference is reinforced by recognition of a common measurement problem in survey research: certain respondents are more likely to answer questions than others. White, younger,

upper-income persons give more answers to questions, any questions, because of their lack of reluctance to engage in social interaction and verbal communication. This inference received added support in Table II-10, which controls the victimization responses for the education of the respondent.

Table II-10

Victimization, by Education

	Elementary School (N=240)	High School (N=532)	Junior College, Technical (N=146)	College, Professional (N=210)	Totals
0	63.3	44.4	44.5	36.2	46.9
1	21.3	28.6	26.7	30.5	27.1
2	15.4	27.1	28.8	33.3	26.0

$\chi^2=39.57$, sig.=.001, v=.13, c=.18

The policy implications of these results are open to interpretation, of course, but one conclusion may be justified. If those respondents reporting victimizations in our survey are representative of the population strata that make demands upon the criminal justice system, then the system may unintentionally (or consciously) bias its policy responses toward the upper social and economic strata in North Carolina.

Offender Characteristics

What types of offenders are involved in these victimizations? The next distribution (Table II-11) shows that by far the most frequent type is the individual person, or group of persons, and that a group is nearly as likely as an individual to be the offender. When the offender is an organization, it is most likely to be a retail sales firm.

Table II-11

Offender Types

	Percent (N=404)
1. Single individual	39.1
2. Two or more individuals	31.7
3. Sales firm	8.4
4. Landlord, builder, realtor, manager	7.2
5. Repair firm	4.0
6. Officials, semi-public firms	4.2
7. Mail-order firm	2.0
8. Loan firm, bank	0.2

The frequent observation that crimes are often committed by someone with whom the victim is familiar is supported by the 44.3 percent of the respondents who say they knew the offender before the victimization. As for other characteristics, 64.1 percent of the respondents report that male offenders committed the victimizations; 22.8 percent that females are involved; 30.4 percent that the offenders are eleven to twenty-five years old; 43.3 percent that the offenders are over twenty-five; 22.3 percent that blacks are among the offenders; and 55.7 percent that whites are among the offenders. It is important to recall that, in principle, these figures are not necessarily exact with respect to the population of offenders. They represent offenders as perceived and recalled by victims or members of their households.

CHAPTER III
REPORTING CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION

This chapter deals with the reporting and nonreporting of observed crime and alleged victimization incidents, and the response of law enforcement and judicial authorities to citizen and victim-initiated complaints.

The reporting or nonreporting of observed crime by citizens and the failure to notify police when one is the victim may be the least understood aspect of public involvement in the criminal justice system. Partly this is so because authorities have the least information about incidents that go unreported and, as of yet, research has not provided many of the answers to such questions as (1) how much crime goes unreported and (2) why do people who observe crime or are its victims fail to notify authorities?

It is commonly assumed that the normal thing to do is to call the police when one has been the victim of a crime. Likewise there is considerable normative pressure to notify authorities when one has observed an incident which obviously should be reported. Yet it has been estimated that as much as one-half of all illegal activity is never reported to law enforcement agencies. The national victimization study found that half of all victimizations were not reported to the police.

These findings--that half of all people who observe crime and half of all people who are the victims never notify authorities--may not be as disturbing as the magnitude of nonreporting would indicate. Certainly, it

would be erroneous to picture half of all the people who observe a brutal attack on an isolated street failing to help the victim, running away from the scene of the crime, or not calling the police for assistance. Incidents such as this have been reported in the news media, but probably the majority of unreported citizen-observed victimizations are much less serious than the publicized incidents.

Similarly, nonreporting by victims varies considerably according to the seriousness of the crime. The National Opinion Research Center found that 65 percent of aggravated assaults are reported to the police but only 46 percent of simple assaults; 60 percent of grand larcenies, but only 37 percent of petty larcenies. For what may be a range of reasons--from a feeling that the incident is not serious enough to bother authorities to the influence of insurance recovery--nonreporting varies considerably, apparently among individual victims and types of criminal incident. Although the motivations and factors influencing nonreporting are generally not well established, it is possible to explore its magnitude and some of the reasons why observers and victims do not call upon the law enforcement agencies for assistance.

We do this first with persons who have known about or observed crime and have not reported it; and second, with those who were victims of an incident which they said they did not report.

Reporting of Known or Observed Crimes

To obtain some measure of how frequently citizens are likely to notify authorities concerning incidents of known or observed crime, we asked all respondents:

"There are many times when we see things happen, or hear of things happening, and we are not sure whether or not we should call the police. Was there any time during 1970 when you saw something happen and you thought that maybe the police should be called?"

Almost twenty percent (19.7) said yes--that they had known about or observed an incident and thought the police should be notified.

Of these respondents, we asked: "Were the police called?"

Nearly half, 49.8 percent (N=213), said that so far as they knew the police were not notified.

In situations where the police were called, 52.7 percent (N=150) of respondents knowing about or observing crime said they were not the individual who called the police. As we have indicated there are many motivations for either reporting or not reporting apparent observed crime. Among the North Carolina respondents, the most frequent reasons are reported in Table III-1.

Table III-1

Reasons for Not Calling Police When Apparent Crime Was Observed

Reason	Percent (N=1,009)
1. No reason; person did not want to; the individual was advised not to call the police	12.5
2. To avoid involvement or trouble; afraid of being harmed by the offender; felt it was someone else's responsibility; did not want to harm the offender.	26.5
3. Felt that there was not enough evidence; thought calling police would do no good; felt police would not be able to do anything about the incident.	20.6
4. The incident was resolved satisfactorily; the incident was not serious enough; individual was not sure a crime had occurred; would have called police if the incident had become serious enough.	14.0
5. Individual said he could not contact police or did not know how to contact police.	11.8
6. Someone else called the police.	14.7

From the standpoint of persons who know about or observe crime but who do not involve the police, one interpretation is that many nonreporting decisions involve cost-benefit calculations, where the costs of summoning the police outweigh the benefits. Clearly this is the situation with the majority of persons who did not report an incident. They felt there was no particular reason to call; that there was not enough evidence or even with evidence, it was a type of situation where the police would not be able to resolve the incident or make restitution for the damage done; or that the incident, at the time of their involvement, was not serious enough to involve themselves or the police.

While many incidents of nonreporting might be dismissed in this manner,

several other reasons for not summoning police would appear to be of more serious concern.

Clearly the largest number of people who said they knew about or observed a crime and did not notify police were individuals who said they did not want to become involved, felt it was someone else's responsibility, or feared some harm from the offender if they did become involved. This represents 26.5 percent of the people who did not call the police. Also of interest are the 11.8 percent who did not know how to contact the police or for some reason could not contact the police.

Nonreporting by Victims

One might expect that the casual observer would be less likely to report suspicious behavior to the police than the individual, or member of his household, who is the actual victim of what could be considered illegal activity. This, however, is not the case.

After probing the circumstances of each alleged incident which a respondent said occurred to him, we asked finally, "Did someone call the police?"

Using the more rigorous conceptualization of victimization, which eliminates the least serious incidents, we found that only 31.7 percent of the people who told us about incidents which had occurred to them which they considered to be an illegal activity had at some time or always notified the police.

The frequency with which alleged victims reported that they had notified the police is shown in Table III-2. "Never" means that the

respondent did not call the police at any time when he considered himself victimized; "sometimes" means that the police were called on some, but not all victimizations; and "always" means that each alleged victimization was reported.

Table III-2

Extent to Which Alleged Victimization Are Reported by Victims or Members of Their Households

	Percent (N=404)
Never	68.3
Sometimes	9.2
Always	22.5

A number of factors could be analyzed in an attempt to explain the nonreporting of crime to the appropriate legal officials. As shown in Table III-3, when we look at the victims of crime by race, we find negligible differences between blacks and whites in the tendency to report. Whites are, however, somewhat more likely to call the police consistently.

Table III-3

Victimization Reporting, by Race

	Black (N=76)	White (N=319)	Totals
Never	64.5	70.2	69.1
Sometimes	17.1	7.5	21.5
Always	18.4	22.3	9.4

In addition, income and size of place make no difference, and region makes little difference, in the frequency of victimization reporting.

These results lead to the obvious and familiar hypothesis that major variations in reporting are due to the nature of the victimization itself, rather than attributes of the victims.

An initial inspection of our data suggests that those victims least likely to report are victims of theft, credit fraud, and consumer fraud; and, taken together, these types constitute nearly three-fourths of the victimizations. Conversely, vehicular victimizations are most likely to be reported.

Perhaps better explanations than the relationships within the data are those provided by the respondents themselves. The most frequent reason for not having called the police is simply that someone else has already called. Other than that, we again note that the most common reasons for not reporting relate to the comparison of certain costs against indeterminate outcomes. The respondents feel that the police cannot really do anything about it; or that calling the police is inappropriate; or that the incident is not serious enough to bother the police; or the incident is resolved to the respondent's satisfaction without legal intervention; or that it is not worth the time or important enough.

Having explored the nonreporting of victimization, it is now possible to look at the criminal justice system's response to those individuals who do report such incidents.

Criminal Justice System Response to Victimization

The criminal justice system has often been understood as a process

through which individuals or cases "flow" from one stage to the next. Employing this model, we note that at each successive stage of the process, fewer cases are being processed. The jail and prison population is a subset of the court case population, which is a subset of the population of cases dealt with by prosecuting attorneys, which is a subset of those cases investigated by the police or complained about by private citizens, which is a subset of the population of criminal activities known to the police and citizens, which is a subset of the total population of behaviors declared illegal by statute or norm. We know that some illegal behaviors are never detected: for example, the stolen hat that the victim presumes lost through negligence. Yet, we suspect that far greater attrition takes place but is not reported because of lack of citizen concern or citizen cynicism toward the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. Tables III-4, III-5, III-6, and III-7 demonstrate that the next stage in the process which "loses" cases is that between the time the police respond to reported presumably illegal activity, and the time of police arrest and legal action takes place in a courtroom.

Table III-4

Police Came After Victimization	
	Percent (N=403)
Never*	58.1
Sometimes	23.6
Always	18.4

Table III-5

Police Made Arrest After Victimization	
	Percent (N=402)
Never*	87.3
Sometimes	8.0
Always	4.7

Table III-6

Case Went to Court	
	Percent (N=403)
Never*	88.3
Sometimes	8.7
Always	3.0

*"Never" means that in each of one or more victimizations, the police did not come (or the case did not go to court). "Sometimes" means that there was more than one victimization and that in one or more of them the police came (or there was court action). "Always" means that in each of one or more victimizations the police came (or there was court action).

Table III-7

Court Outcome	
	Percent (N=37)
Guilty	70.3
Not guilty, pending	29.7

Since the proportion of cases resulting in court action is very nearly the same as the proportion resulting in arrest, we can infer that prosecutorial discretion does not contribute significantly to the attrition of cases between law enforcement response and court action. Whether or not police discretion is the primary cause of this attrition is beyond the scope of these data.

CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE LEGAL SYSTEM: CONTACT AND ASSESSMENT

A large segment of the interview was devoted to ascertaining what percentage of the population had come into contact with the legal justice system, the nature of the contact, and the public's satisfaction with the encounter. In addition, other questions were aimed at defining the people's assessment of the services being provided by the courts, correctional institutions, and law enforcement agencies, and the level of support for the actors and institutions that compose the legal justice system. The survey was designed to ascertain both a general public assessment of the job being performed by the system and specific information about which programs and policies enjoy citizen favor and which are potential and actual points of friction between North Carolinians and the legal justice system.

The Police

All of the questions on the survey used to measure attitudes toward the police show a consistently high level of support for the North Carolina police and other law enforcement officers. Eight hundred and ninety-eight of 1,129 respondents or 79.5 percent say that they have had some type of contact with the police. Respondents were asked about a wide range of law

enforcement contacts, from service contacts such as requesting police help or having a policeman offer assistance, to nonvoluntary contacts, such as police questioning and arrest. Table IV-1 shows the frequency of each type of contact throughout the population. The findings suggest that nonvoluntary contacts of citizens with the law enforcement officers have a higher frequency of occurrence than voluntary contacts.

Despite the nonvoluntary nature of many of the contacts, satisfaction with the police-citizen encounter is widespread. Eight hundred and seventeen or 90.5 percent of all those who had had one or more contacts say that they were satisfied in their dealings with the police (N=903). Only 9.5 percent say that they were dissatisfied.

Table IV-1

Percentage of Population Having Contact with the Police and Percentage Satisfied

Volunteered information ¹	24.6	(N=1,128)
Called police for help ²	41.1	(N=1,126)
Had police help ³	31.0	(N=1,123)
Questioned by police ⁴	43.3	(N=1,116)
Stopped by police ⁵	52.7	(N=1,121)
% with one or more types of police contact	79.5	(N=1,129)
% satisfied ⁶	90.5	(N=903)

¹"Have you ever volunteered information to the local police, the sheriff, the FBI, the state police, or other law enforcement officers?" ²"Have you ever called the police to ask for help or advice of any kind?" ³"Have you ever had the police help you in any way, like changing a tire or finding a lost pet?" ⁴"Have you ever been asked questions by the police?" ⁵"Have you ever been stopped by the police for a traffic violation or anything?" ⁶"Based on your experiences with the police, how satisfied were you in your dealings with them? Were you satisfied or not satisfied?"

When analyzed by age (Table IV-2), the data show that those under thirty are less likely than those in older age groups to be satisfied with police contact. Or stated alternatively, they are more likely to express dissatisfaction in their dealings with the police, while those forty-five and over are less likely to express dissatisfaction with the encounter.

An analysis of satisfaction with police contact, by income shows no clear relationship ($\chi^2=2.44$, sig.=.49).

Table IV-2

Satisfaction with Police Contact, by Age

	18-25 (N=116)	26-30 (N=112)	31-45 (N=302)	46-65 (N=272)	Over 65 (N=93)	Totals
Satisfied	82.8	87.5	90.4	94.1	93.5	90.5
Not satisfied	17.2	12.5	9.6	5.9	6.5	9.5

$\chi^2=14.4$, sig.=.006, v=.13, c=.13

Table IV-3 shows that a disproportionate number of blacks are dissatisfied in dealings with the police. While 7.9 percent of all whites having police contact say that they were dissatisfied, 17.9 percent of blacks express dissatisfaction.

Table IV-3

Satisfaction with Police Contact, by Race

	Black (N=145)	White (N=746)	Totals
Satisfied	82.1	92.1	90.4
Not satisfied	17.9	7.9	9.6

$\chi^2=12.77$, sig.=.001, Phi=.13, c=.13

Thus there is a high level of satisfaction with contact with law enforcement throughout the population. Yet there is evidence that the young and blacks are less likely to be satisfied with police contact than are older, white citizens.

All respondents, both those with contact and those without were asked how good a job they thought the police were doing. Again, the responses reflect a high level of support for the police. Four-fifths (82.2 percent) or all those interviewed rank the job done by police as either "good" or "very good," while only 17.8 percent of the population judge the job as either "not so good" or "not good at all" (Table IV-4).

Table IV-4

Evaluation of Job Done by Police*

	Percent (N=1,107)
Very good	25.0
Good	57.2
Not so good	15.6
Not good at all	2.2

*"How good a job do you think policemen and other law enforcement officers in North Carolina are doing: very good, good, not so good, or not good at all?"

If we break the responses down by age as in Table IV-5, we see a consistent relationship between age and a positive evaluation of the job performed by police. The older the respondent the more likely he is to feel that the police are doing a good job. Those under thirty are less likely than those in the older age groups to evaluate the job of the police as good or very good, while those in the age groups over thirty are more likely to be positive in their evaluation. The percentage

of those evaluating the police as "good" or "very good" increases with age. The only deviation from this trend is in the age group 46-65. Here 83.1 percent (N=356) either judge the job of the police as good or not so good. This figure, though 1.3 percentage points lower than for those 31-45 (N=327), still exceeds the 82.4 sample estimate (N=1,089).

Table IV-5

Evaluation of Job Done by Police, by Age

	18-25 (N=138)	26-30 (N=123)	31-45 (N=327)	46-65 (N=356)	Over 65 (N=145)	Totals
1. Very good	14.5	14.6	19.9	30.6	42.1	25.1
2. Good	57.2	61.8	64.5	52.5	49.0	57.3
3. Not so good	22.5	22.8	13.8	14.9	8.3	15.5
4. Not good at all	5.8	0.8	1.8	2.0	0.7	2.1

$\chi^2=68.18, \text{sig}=.001, v=.14, c=.24$

Table IV-6 shows that as income increases, the percentage of people who call the job of the police either "good" or "very good" also increases. Those with incomes less than \$7,500 are slightly less likely to feel that the police are doing a good or very good job.

Table IV-6

Evaluation of Job Done by Police, by Income

	Under \$3,000 (N=202)	\$3,000- 7,499 (N=354)	\$7,500- 14,999 (N=376)	\$15,000+ (N=112)	Totals
1. Very good	32.2	22.6	21.3	27.7	24.5
2. Good	45.0	57.6	64.4	59.8	57.9
3. Not so good	20.3	16.7	13.6	11.6	15.7
4. Not good at all	2.5	3.1	0.8	0.9	1.9

$\chi^2=27.22, \text{sig}=.001, v=.09, c=.16$

The percentage of blacks (Table IV-7) evaluating the job of the police highly (74.0 percent; N=211) is less than the percentage of whites (84.0 percent; N=863). Blacks are much more likely to be negative in their evaluation of law enforcement; 26.0 percent of all blacks interviewed say that the job done by the police was either "not so good" or "not good at all," while the white percentage is 16.0 and the sample estimate is 17.9 percent.

Table IV-7

Evaluation of Job Done by Police, by Race

	Black (N=211)	White (N=863)	Totals
1. Very good	24.2	25.5	25.2
2. Good	49.8	58.5	56.8
3. Not so good	19.9	14.7	15.7
4. Not good at all	6.2	1.3	2.2

$\chi^2=23.42, \text{sig}=.001, v=.15, c=.15$

The responses to the evaluation question lead us to conclude that there is generally high regard for the job done by the police. It is highest among whites and in older and high-income groups and lowest in young, black and low-income groups.

In addition to the above questions, respondents were asked if there was anything that a policeman had done or said, that he particularly liked or disliked. Two hundred and forty-five of the 1,145 interviewed, or 21.5 percent (N=1,137) name something about the police which they particularly like, while 204 or 18.0 percent (N=1,136) of those interviewed name something that they do not like.

There are a wide range of answers given to the question of specific likes and dislikes about the police. The most frequent responses appear to be those motivated by personal contact with law enforcement officers. Respondents who report that they like or are pleased with the action of the police--with regard to them or someone known to them--account for the largest single group of responses to this question. Similarly a large number of individuals responding to this question state that they have found the police courteous, polite, helpful. Others name a specific policeman, or law enforcement official, or department that they think performed well.

As with the above, it is contact with the police which is the basis of most of the specific dislikes listed by respondents. Those who report that they were dissatisfied in their interaction with the police, or those who feel that someone known to them was mistreated or treated unfairly by the police, account for the largest single group of dislikes mentioned. A large number of the respondents state that they had found policemen to be impolite,

impertinent, disrespectful, crude, or arrogant.

Thus, the answers to the questions about specific likes and dislikes seem to have been formed largely on the basis of personal contact or specific knowledge about policemen or law enforcement officers, rather than on the basis of media-provoked theories about how well the police perform some specific function, or how well they deal with certain elements in the society. There is only one deviation in this general pattern. Complaints about police brutality and the use of violence in apprehension and questioning also account for a large number of the specific dislikes listed. Here we may assume that some, but certainly not all of the complaints about police brutality, resulted from a personal contact with the police, that is, from police treatment of the respondent or someone known to him.

Despite the high level of support evidenced by the public for law enforcement officers, several friction points between the police and the public are apparent. Almost half (43.6 percent) of the population feel that there is something that "law enforcement officers in North Carolina can do to increase public support and cooperation." A large majority of those who make specific recommendations for improving public respect, suggest that the police and other law enforcement officers should be more courteous in citizen encounters. The number of times that this is mentioned underlines the value which the public places on simple courtesy and respect. Similarly, a large number of respondents suggest that police departments develop better communications with the community of which they are a part, and that they develop public relations programs to improve relationships with the community at large, and with special groups

within the community such as youth. Another closely related and frequently mentioned citizen request is that law enforcement be made less arbitrary, less discretionary, and more reasonable. Another section of the population calls for law enforcement to employ more men of high character, with better training and education. Some respondents request stricter, more rigorous, and more effective law enforcement. The responses are both numerous and varied in their content. The public evaluates the job being performed by the police highly, and support for law enforcement officers is high; but, the public also feels that there are concrete steps which can be taken to improve the quality of law enforcement and its effectiveness in the community.

It should be noted here, and in all cases where respondents were asked to name something they specifically liked or disliked, that, because of the relatively small proportion of the sample who responded to such questions and because of the broad range of answers, even the most frequently mentioned responses account for only about 6 percent of the total population. Thus, while answers do not reflect the sentiments of the entire population, the responses of those who are articulate and for whom the police have salience, provide a useful index to the issues which create general public satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

The Courts

Contact with the courts in North Carolina is somewhat less widespread than with the police. Seven hundred and twenty-seven respondents, or 65.6 percent (N=1,109) have had some kind of contact with the state courts, either as spectator, juror, witness, plaintiff or defendant. Table IV-8 shows the distribution of this contact.

Table IV-8

Percentage Having Contact with the Courts

Spectator ¹	48.1	(N=1,097)
Jury ²	24.1	(N=1,106)
Witness ³	25.7	(N=1,102)
Brought suit ⁴	10.0	(N=1,106)
Been sued ⁵	7.4	(N=1,079)
% with one or more contact	65.6	(N=1,109)

¹"Have you ever attended a courtroom trial as a spectator in the audience?"
²"How about serving on jury duty? Have you ever done that?" ³"What about being a witness in a trial? Have you ever done that?" ⁴"Have you ever sued anybody or brought a complaint against them in court?" ⁵"Has anyone ever sued you or brought a complaint against you in court?"

Satisfaction with court contact is also high, though not as high as with the police. Of those who have had contact with the courts, 80.2 percent (N=708) say that they were satisfied, while 19.8 percent say that they were dissatisfied. Again, an analysis of the data shows that those under thirty are more likely than the average to evidence dissatisfaction over how they were treated or what they saw in court, while those over thirty are less likely to voice such dissatisfaction (Table IV-9).

Table IV-9

Satisfaction with Court Contact, by Age*

	18-25 (N=66)	26-30 (N=72)	31-45 (N=220)	46-65 (N=252)	Over 65 (N=90)	Totals
Satisfied	71.2	73.6	80.5	82.1	86.7	80.3
Not satisfied	28.8	26.4	19.5	17.9	13.3	19.7

$$x^2=8.33, \text{ sig.}=.08, v=.11, c=.11$$

*"Based on your experiences with the court, how satisfied were you with the way the courts operate? Were you satisfied or not satisfied?"

As with police contact, there is no visibly consistent relationship between income and satisfaction with a court encounter. The large middle-income group, those with incomes from \$7,500-14,999 were slightly more likely to evidence dissatisfaction with the courts (Table IV-10).

Table IV-10

Satisfaction with Court Contact, by Income

	Under \$3,000 (N=121)	\$3,000- 7,499 (N=231)	\$7,500- 14,999 (N=237)	\$15,000+ (N=81)	Totals
Satisfied	81.0	83.1	76.4	82.7	80.3
Not satisfied	19.0	16.9	23.6	17.3	19.7

$$x^2=3.81, \text{ sig.}=.28, v=.08, c=.07$$

Unlike the level of satisfaction with police contact, satisfaction with court contact does not vary by race. Blacks are only slightly less likely than whites to be satisfied with court proceedings, and this difference is not statistically significant (Table IV-11).

Table IV-11

Satisfaction with Court Contact, by Race

	Black (N=130)	White (N=558)	Totals
Satisfied	80.0	81.2	81.0
Not satisfied	20.0	18.8	19.0

$$x^2=.03, \text{ sig.}=.85, \text{ Phi}=.01, c=.01$$

The evaluation of the job done by the courts in North Carolina is generally lower than the evaluation of the job done by the police and other law enforcement officers (Table IV-12). Two thirds (66.1) of the population say that the courts are doing either a "good" or "very good" job; 33.9 percent say that they are doing either "not so good" or "not good at all."

Table IV-12

Evaluation of the Courts*

	Percent (N=1,064)
Very good	11.2
Good	54.9
Not so good	29.1
Not good at all	4.8

*"How good a job do you think the courts here in North Carolina are doing - very good, good, not so good, or not good at all?"

There is a slight, positive relationship between age and the tendency to evaluate the job of the courts as good or poor. As in the

case of evaluating the police, those in age groups under thirty are more likely to evaluate the job of the courts as "not so good" or "not good at all," and least likely to evaluate them as "good" or "very good." Those over sixty-five seem to be the most uncritical; only 27.1 percent (N=133) of those in this age group evaluate the courts performance as less than good (Table IV-13).

Table IV-13

Evaluation of the Courts, by Age

	18-25 (N=134)	26-30 (N=122)	31-45 (N=316)	46-65 (N=343)	Over 65 (N=133)	Totals
1. Very good	3.0	5.7	8.2	12.5	28.6	11.3
2. Good	59.7	56.6	58.2	53.4	44.4	54.9
3. Not so good	29.9	28.7	32.0	28.0	24.8	29.1
4. Not good at all	7.5	9.0	1.6	6.1	2.3	4.8
$\chi^2=72.4, sig.=.001, v=.15, c=.25$						

An analysis of the responses by income fails to show any consistent relationship between income and evaluation ($\chi^2=17.78, sig.=.04, N=1,008$). An analysis by race (Table IV-14) shows blacks slightly more likely than whites to praise the state courts by evaluating the job they are doing as "good" or "very good." Whites are slightly more likely to be critical, though the percentage difference between the two groups is not great, and the distribution in the table is not statistically significant.

Table IV-14

Evaluation of the Courts, by Race

	Black (N=204)	White (N=828)	Totals
1. Very good	15.2	10.6	11.5
2. Good	52.5	55.4	54.8
3. Not so good	27.0	29.3	28.9
4. Not good at all	5.4	4.6	4.7
$\chi^2=3.77, sig.=.29, v=.06, c=.06$			

Almost a quarter (24.1 percent; N=1,136) of the sample name something about the courts which they particularly dislike, thus providing some insight into the generally controversial issues which decrease public support for the court system. A large number of those who cite a specific dislike cite a specific decision or group of decisions made by the state courts. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg school bussing decision is the decision cited most often. Other respondents state more broadly that they dislike the "integration decisions" of the courts. Unlike the responses to a similar question about the police, specific likes and dislikes about the courts do not center around personal contact with the courts; they are more general, broadly based comments. Some respondents complain about the sentencing practices of the court. Some feel that the state courts are generally too lenient with drug offenders. Only 13.0 percent (N=1,137) of those interviewed name something about the courts that they specifically like. These answers are far more diverse than the stated dislikes. Again the integration decisions of the courts are frequently mentioned, this time

as something about which the respondent specifically approves. The remainder of the specific likes are scattered evenly among a wide range of specific decisions, types of decisions, and court practices.

It is interesting that a large number of likes and dislikes are incorrectly attributed to the courts: Supreme Court decisions, congressional acts, certain actions of the police or the department of corrections. Thus, the courts are praised or condemned for actions taken by other actors and institutions.

Fair Treatment

Another dimension of public support is revealed by responses to questions designed to ascertain whether the respondent believes that there are any groups of people in society that are treated unfairly by the police or courts. The questions were aimed at ascertaining whether or not the respondent feels that he or someone like him would be treated fairly in encounters with the police and courts. More than 30 percent (31.7 percent; N=1,086) of those interviewed feel that there are groups of people treated unfairly. Economically disadvantaged groups (the poor and working class) and blacks and other minority groups are most often cited as those who are not treated fairly. Youth, hippies, women, groups without political power, the middle class, and whites are also cited, though minority groups and the poor account for most of the responses.

Table IV-15 shows that a higher percentage of those with incomes over \$15,000 and those with incomes less than \$3,000 view some groups in society as mistreated. Thus, those in the highest and lowest income groups exhibit the greatest tendency to cite some groups in society as mistreated

by police and the courts. The relationship is not statistically significant, however.

Table IV-15

Groups Treated Unfairly, by Income

	Under \$3,000 (N=191)	\$3,000- 7,499 (N=349)	\$7,500- 14,999 (N=376)	\$15,000+ (N=113)	Totals
No	64.9	69.1	70.2	63.7	68.1
Yes	35.1	30.9	29.8	36.3	31.9

$$x^2=2.81, \text{ sig}=.42, v=.05, c=.05$$

According to Table IV-16 a disproportionately high percentage of those under thirty cite groups that are treated unfairly by the police or courts. Those over forty-five are less likely to feel that some groups are mistreated.

Table IV-16

Groups Treated Unfairly, by Age

	18-25 (N=137)	26-30 (N=125)	31-45 (N=321)	46-65 (N=344)	Over 65 (N=142)	Totals
No	60.6	60.0	66.7	73.5	73.9	68.3
Yes	39.4	40.0	33.3	26.5	26.1	31.7

$$x^2=14.6, \text{ sig}=.02, v=.12, c=.12$$

There is a considerable difference between blacks and whites on this issue. As shown in Table IV-17, nearly half (45.3 percent) of all blacks

interviewed feel that some groups are treated unfairly while only 28.6 percent of all whites share such a view.

Table IV-17

Groups Treated Unfairly, by Race

	Black (N=201)	White (N=853)	Totals
No	54.7	71.4	68.2
Yes	45.3	28.6	31.8
$\chi^2=20.1, sig.=.001, Phi=.14, c=.14$			

Similarly, when asked if they, or someone like them, would be treated fairly by the police and courts (see Table IV-18), blacks are more than three times as likely as whites to say no. While 20.1 percent of all blacks say that they would probably not be treated fairly, only 8.9 percent of all whites express such a view. Of all respondents, 13.2 percent (N=1,080) say that they do not believe that, if they are accused of a crime, they will be treated fairly by the police and the courts. An additional 4.8 percent (N=1,080) are uncertain about fair treatment.

Table IV-18

Fair Treatment by Police, Courts, Police and Courts, by Race

	Black (N=196)	White (N=854)	Totals
No	30.1	8.9	12.9
Yes	69.9	91.1	87.1
$\chi^2=62.09, sig.=.001, Phi=.25, c=.24$			

Respondents who say that they do not think that they, or someone like them will be treated fairly, were asked to specify whether they thought they would be treated unfairly by the police, the courts, or both.

Table IV-19 shows the results. Most of those who say that they would be treated unfairly feel that they would be treated unfairly by the courts and the police. Those who think that they would be treated unfairly by the court exceed the percentage of those who think they would be treated unfairly by the police. This is consistent with the earlier findings of higher police support. Note that the percentage of blacks who do not expect fair treatment by either the police or the courts is nearly three times as high as the same figure for whites.

Table IV-19

Unfair Treatment by Police, Courts, Police and Courts, by Race

	Black (N=53)	White (N=70)	Totals
Police	11.3	20.0	16.3
Courts	18.9	37.1	29.3
Both	69.8	42.9	54.5
$\chi^2=8.86, sig.=.01, v=.27, c=.26$			

Jails and Prisons

Public support for jails and prisons appears to be considerably lower than the public support for either police or courts. As shown in Table IV-20, only slightly over one-half (52.2 percent) of those interviewed judge these correctional institutions to be doing a "good"

or "very good" job. Fully one-third (33.9 percent) say that they are doing "not so good" or "not good at all."

Table IV-20

Evaluation of Jails and Prisons*

	Percent (N=985)
Very good	11.3
Good	49.2
Not so good	32.9
Not good at all	6.6

*"How good a job do you think that jails and prisons in North Carolina are doing: very good, good, not so good, or not good at all?"

Blacks and whites evaluate jails and prisons similarly (Table IV-21). More than half (61.5 percent; N=195) of all blacks interviewed say jails and prisons are doing either a "good" or "very good" job, and 60.3 percent (N=760) of all whites so evaluate them. The proportion who feel that the job being performed is "not so good," or "not good at all," is about the same in both racial groups.

Table IV-21

Evaluation of Jails and Prisons, by Race

	Black (N=195)	White (N=760)	Totals
1. Very good	16.4	10.3	11.5
2. Good	45.1	50.0	49.0
3. Not so good	32.3	33.0	32.9
4. Not good at all	6.2	6.7	6.6
$\chi^2=5.94, \text{sig}=.11, v=.08, c=.08$			

Age again is a factor which is consistently associated with the evaluation of an institution within the criminal justice system. Those in age groups under thirty are much less likely to evaluate correctional institutions highly. Note (Table IV-22) that more than half of those in the age group 18-30, evaluate the jails as "not so good" or "not good at all." Those in age groups over forty-five are more likely than average to give a positive evaluation to these institutions. Only 23.7 percent (N=118) of those over sixty-five evaluate the performance of jails and prisons in the lower two categories.

Table IV-22

Evaluation of Jails and Prisons, by Age

	18-25 (N=130)	26-30 (N=117)	31-45 (N=290)	46-65 (N=315)	Over 65 (N=118)	Totals
1. Very good	3.8	3.4	9.7	14.0	23.7	11.2
2. Good	44.6	39.3	49.7	53.7	52.5	49.4
3. Not so good	39.2	49.6	33.4	27.6	21.2	32.8
4. Not good at all	12.3	7.7	7.2	4.8	2.5	6.6
$\chi^2=66.73$, sig.=.001, v=.15, c=.25						

When the data are analyzed by income we see that those with incomes under \$7,500 are more likely to be positive in their evaluation than those in higher income groups (Table IV-23). The tendency to be critical in evaluating the performance of jails and prisons sharply increases as income increases.

Table IV-23

Evaluation of Jails and Prisons, by Income

	Under \$3,000 (N=170)	\$3,000- 7,499 (N=329)	\$7,500- 14,999 (N=338)	\$15,000+ (N=100)	Totals
1. Very good	21.2	13.1	6.8	4.0	11.3
2. Good	44.1	51.4	51.2	43.0	49.1
3. Not so good	26.5	32.2	35.2	40.0	33.1
4. Not good at all	8.2	3.3	6.8	13.0	6.5
$\chi^2=45.17$, sig.=.001, v=.13, c=.21					

Over twenty-five percent (25.2 percent; N=1,130) of those interviewed name something about North Carolina jails and prisons that they particularly like, while a high 36.4 percent (N=1,139) name something that they specifically do not like. Both figures are relatively high and indicate public awareness of correctional institutions. Those who name specific likes frequently state that they think jails and prisons are doing a good job rehabilitating prisoners. They praise the work-release program, and express approval for programs which allow prisoners to be educated and trained while in prison. Approval is also expressed for providing prisoners with the opportunity of obtaining religious instruction and attending church services. Another large group of respondents expresses approval over the general improvements being made in the prison system and praise corrections for its efforts at reform--reform of the physical facilities of these institutions and in the recreational and educational programs provided.

A large number of the stated dislikes center primarily on the physical facilities of the prisons. Most of the respondents here express concern over poor buildings and the crowded and unsanitary condition of the facilities. Some complain that the young are mixed with hardened criminals, and first offenders with experienced criminals. One frequent complaint is brutality; that is, the harsh treatment of prisoners both by prison personnel and fellow prisoners. The prevalence of homosexuality in prison is frequently cited as a specific dislike. Both the number of responses and their variety lead us to conclude that the public has a great interest in and concern for correctional institutions.

CHAPTER V
PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM:
CITIZEN POLICY PREFERENCES

Sections of the questionnaire were designed to ascertain the policy preferences of citizens on a series of issues related to the criminal justice system. These include public policy issues related to correctional and law enforcement policies; selection of judges; highway safety; and problems of drug use. Through survey research, it should be possible to ascertain levels of citizen support for general policies, such as public acceptance of innovative correctional and law enforcement programs. Hopefully, agencies typically respond to public opinion by accepting citizen preferences as meaningful inputs.

Correctional Policies

In general, our results indicate that many citizens are recognizing that traditional correctional philosophies do not accomplish the aims of deterring crime and preparing inmates for assimilation into society. There is a high degree of acceptance of innovative correctional programs in the state. While the public recognizes that programs such as work-release, vocational training of prisoners, and allowing prisoners to begin reorientation to outside life, are best undertaken selectively among certain groups of convicts the responses to a series of policy questions indicate

that many accept these approaches. In fact, a majority would accept wide-spread use of work-release and programs to prepare prisoners for productive life after imprisonment (Tables V-1 and V-2).

Table V-1

Acceptance of Work-Release*

	Percent (N=1,126)
Agree	55.4
Disagree	20.1
It depends	24.5

*"In general, prisoners should be allowed to work during the day and return to prison at night."

Table V-2

Acceptance of Programs to Prepare Criminals for Productive Life*

	Percent (N=1,141)
Agree	94.0
Disagree	3.2
It depends	2.9

*"Criminals should be given education and training while in prison."

There is a lower level of support for programs that would enable prisoners to begin making a transition to life outside of prison. This includes pre-release programs such as visits outside prison, and halfway houses, where inmates live and work under less supervision than in prisons.

As shown in Table V-3, almost half of the respondents do not like the idea of allowing prisoners to go outside prisons without supervision. Only 28.8 percent agree that such a program would be wise; another 29.7 percent apparently would accept such a policy selectively.

Table V-3

Acceptance of Visits Outside of Prisons*

	Percent (N=1,137)
Agree	28.8
Disagree	41.4
It depends	29.7

*"In general, prisoners should be allowed to go home occasionally, like on weekends."

The halfway house concept is somewhat more acceptable; but 58.8 percent (N=1,139) of the respondents have not heard of halfway houses. As shown in Table V-4, of those who have knowledge of halfway houses, 26.5 percent (N=458) say it would bother them if one were set up in their neighborhood.

Table V-4

Bothered by a Halfway House in Their Neighborhood*

	Percent (N=1,085)
Yes	48.3
No	51.7

*"Would it bother you if a halfway house were set up in your neighborhood?"

We hypothesized that rural dwellers might differ from urban dwellers in their acceptance of halfway houses, due to the relative isolation of homes in rural areas. Conversely, urban dwellers might be more bothered because of their greater proximity to a halfway house in a densely populated neighborhood. Table V-5 rejects both hypotheses.

Table V-5

Bothered by a Halfway House, by Place of Residence

	Rural (N=584)	Other Urban (N=250)	Urban (N=251)	Totals
Yes	52.7	50.0	50.6	48.4
No	47.3	50.0	49.4	51.6
$\chi^2=0.66, sig.=.72, v=.02, c=.02$				

In general, the public does not feel that prisoners are retained in prison too long. This response may be related to criticism directed at the courts. Earlier, we indicated that a frequent criticism of the criminal justice system was that courts do not give enough active sentences and often impose sentences that are too short (Table V-6). (See Chapter IV.)

Table V-6

Favor Shorter Terms for Prisoners*

	Percent (N=1,135)
Agree	15.0
Disagree	50.6
It depends	34.4

*"Most people in prison should be kept there for shorter terms than they now are."

As shown in Table V-7, abolishing the death penalty remains a controversial issue among North Carolinians, with the public about equally divided on abolishing or retaining capital punishment: 44.9 percent would abolish the death penalty without qualification; 41.4 percent favor retaining the death penalty. About 14 percent, however, would abolish the death penalty under certain conditions. Including those who would abolish the death penalty outright and those who would do so under certain circumstances and for certain crimes, 58.6 percent of the respondents would favor some change in the present use of the death penalty in the state.

Table V-7

Favor Abolishing Death Penalty*

	Percent (N=1,136)
Agree	44.9
Disagree	41.4
It depends	14.7

*"The death penalty should be done away with."

Selection of Judges

Two of the survey questions involved the selection of judges and qualifications for judgeships. As shown in Table V-8, over 70 percent of the respondents feel that judges should be elected.

Table V-8

Selection of Judges*

	Percent (N=1,130)
Elected	71.8
Appointed	20.3
Not sure, no opinion	7.9

*"Do you think that Judges in North Carolina should be elected or appointed?"

One of the highest levels of agreement on any policy question asked in the survey concerns the qualification of judges. Almost 92 percent agree that judges should have law degrees; only 6.8 percent said no when asked if a person should have a law degree. The others (1.5 percent) were not sure (N=1,140). The question made no explicit distinction between district court judges and superior court judges, and only a handful of respondents made this distinction. Most apparently feel that all judges should have legal training.

Highway Safety

As shown in Table V-9, over 57 percent feel that more could be done to reduce highway accidents and promote highway safety.

Table V-9

More Could Be Done to Reduce Accidents

	Percent (N=1,142)
Yes	57.2
No	42.8

*"Do you think there is anything the state of North Carolina can do, other than what it is doing now, to reduce automobile accidents?"

When asked what the state could do to reduce accidents, 626 respondents have specific suggestions (Table V-10). The first-mentioned responses to the question of what the state could do to reduce accidents were grouped into five categories: road improvements, vehicle improvements, driver qualification improvements, stricter enforcement, and improved enforcement capabilities. The responses were as follows:

Table V-10

What State Could Do to Reduce Accidents

	Percent (N=626)
1. Road improvements	9.7
2. Vehicle improvements	13.1
3. Driver qualification improvements	13.4
4. Stricter enforcement	52.0
5. Improved enforcement capabilities	7.3
6. Miscellaneous: no-fault insurance, equal enforcement, mass transit, <u>et al.</u>	4.5

Clearly, many citizens prefer stricter regulation of drivers, more stringent enforcement of laws, and improved enforcement capabilities as major ways in which the state can accomplish highway safety.

There is an interesting result in policy preferences, based on the responses to the two other questions shown in Tables V-11 and V-12.

Table V-11

Approval of Speed Limit Devices*

	Percent (N=1,135)
Yes	59.1
No	40.9

*"Some people have said that cars should be fixed so they cannot go over 65 miles an hour. Do you think this is a good idea?"

Table V-12

Approval of Drunkenness Checks*

	Percent (N=1,134)
Yes	85.4
No	14.6

*"Would you approve of policemen stopping persons like yourself to see if they have been drinking too much to drive safely?"

If these questions are understood as indicators of the respondent's willingness to incur restrictions on his personal freedom in the interest of traffic safety, one can interpret these results as an indication of the

importance our respondents attach to policy efforts directed at driving under the influence of alcohol.

Severity of Drugs and Policy Alternatives

The prevalence of drug use, the seriousness of drug use as a problem for the individual user, and the manner in which correctional and rehabilitative agencies might deal with the problem were issues which interested a number of state agencies. Specifically these agencies wanted to know (1) how the public views the seriousness of the drug use problem, and (2) how much rehabilitative or punitive action the public expects and supports.

The salience of drug use for the state's citizens is indicated by the fact that 54.9 percent have heard about drug arrests in North Carolina, primarily through press and television. Not only are they aware of drug use, but they also view it as a serious problem. Respondents were asked whether the problems caused by drug use are greater than or less than the problems caused by the use of alcohol. A majority (59.8 percent) feel that drug use is the more serious problem (Table V-13). Equally important and perhaps more unexpected is that one-fourth (29.1 percent) view drug use problems as "about the same" as the use of alcohol and 11.2 percent view drugs as less of a problem than alcohol.

Table V-13

Drug Use Compared to Alcohol*

	Percent (N=1,084)
Drug problem greater than alcohol problem	59.8
Drug problem about the same as alcohol	29.1
Drug problem less than alcohol	11.2

*"While we are speaking about drugs, I'd like to get some of your opinions. Do you think the problems caused by drug use are greater than, about the same, or less than the problems caused by the use of alcoholic beverages?"

The fact that a sizeable proportion of the population does not view drugs as any more harmful than alcohol may be important from an enforcement standpoint.

Do some segments of the public, more than others, view drugs as having serious consequences? Table V-14 suggests that those individuals with the least education and those with the most education view the drug problem similarly. They are somewhat less likely than those in middle-education groups to view the drug problem as greater than the alcohol problem. The entire bivariate distribution, however, is not statistically significant.

Table V-14

Drug Use Compared to Alcohol, by Education

	Elementary (N=278)	High School (N=514)	Some College (N=161)	College (N=118)	Totals
Drug problem greater than alcohol problem	55.0	62.3	63.4	56.8	59.9
Drug problem about same as alcohol	35.6	27.2	23.6	28.0	28.9
Drug problem less than alcohol	9.4	10.5	13.0	15.3	11.1

$\chi^2=11.81$, sig.=.07, v=.07, c=.10

Age is not significantly related to the perceived relative severity of drug use. Table V-15 does show, however, that a greater proportion of persons under forty-five are somewhat more likely to view the problem of drug use as more serious than those in younger age groups.

Table V-15

Drug Use Compared to Alcohol, by Age

	Under 25 (N=135)	26-30 (N=124)	31-45 (N=324)	46-65 (N=350)	Over 65 (N=138)	Totals
Greater than	61.5	66.1	63.3	56.0	57.2	60.2
Same as	24.4	24.2	27.8	30.6	35.5	28.9
Less than	14.1	9.7	9.0	13.4	7.2	10.9

$\chi^2=13.22$, sig.=.10, v=.08, c=.11

Despite the fact that the drugs are viewed as a serious problem by most groups in the population the public overwhelmingly favors rehabilitative rather than punitive treatment of users. As shown in Table V-16, over three-fourths of the public think it would be best if drug users were given medical treatment. Only 9.3 percent think it is best to put drug users in jail.

Table V-16

Public Preference for Handling Drug Users*

	Percent (N=1,101)
Best to put drug users in jail	9.3
Best to put drug users in hospitals	76.6
Either jail or hospital, depends	14.2

*"Some people say that drug use is a crime, and the user should be put in jail. Other people say that drug use is an illness, and the user should be put in a hospital. Which do you think is better; put in jail or put in a hospital?"

As shown in Tables V-17 and V-18, agreement with the position that drug users should be treated rather than jailed is consistent across all age and educational groups.

Table V-17

Public Preference for Handling Drug Users, by Age

	Under 25 (N=138)	26-30 (N=126)	31-45 (N=324)	46-65 (N=357)	Over 65 (N=145)	Totals
Jail	9.4	10.3	10.5	7.3	11.0	9.4
Hospital	76.8	74.6	77.5	77.0	75.2	76.6
Either jail or hospital, depends	13.8	15.1	12.0	15.7	13.8	14.0

$\chi^2=4.52, sig=.81, v=.05, c=.06$

Although there is no significant relationship between educational level and the preference for handling drug users, those respondents with a college education were somewhat more likely than average to favor hospitalization rather than imprisonment.

Table V-18

Public Preference for Handling Drug Users, by Education

	Elementary (N=293)	High School (N=519)	Some College (N=161)	College (N=117)	Totals
Jail	9.9	10.2	6.8	7.8	9.4
Hospital	76.8	75.3	78.3	80.2	76.7
Either jail or hospital, depends	13.3	14.5	14.9	12.1	14.0

$\chi^2=2.85, sig=.83, v=.04, c=.05$

We also attempted to measure the respondents' more basic orientations toward legal policy. They were asked to agree or disagree with each of two general statements, one on poverty programs and another on expenditure of funds on arrest of criminals (Tables V-19 and V-20).

Table V-19

Approval of Poverty Programs*

	Percent (N=1,135)
Agree	56.0
Disagree	44.0

*"Some people say we ought to get at the causes of crime by spending more money on poverty programs--like getting people jobs and building public housing and things like that. Do you agree or disagree?"

Table V-20

Approval of Enforcement Programs*

	Percent (N=1,133)
Agree	66.7
Disagree	33.3

*"Some people say we ought to get at the causes of crime by spending more money on arresting criminals and putting them in jail. Do you agree or disagree?"

Respondents who agreed with both proposals were then asked which of the two was the more important. Table V-21 combines the results from all three questions.

Table V-21

Legal Policy Orientation

	Percent (N=1,111)
Agreed with poverty programs only, or thought poverty programs more important	35.2
Agreed with enforcement programs only, or thought enforcement programs more important	46.2
Agreed with neither proposal	13.0
Insisted both programs important	4.2

Apparently, there is public support for both general policies of "eliminating the causes of crime" and "deterring criminals."

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Public Attitudes Toward Crime

North Carolina citizens see crime as a serious problem, both in absolute terms and in comparison with other problems in the society. At least half of the survey population indicates some worry that property or personal victimization will occur to them; and the likelihood of this happening sometime soon is perceived by about 40 percent of the sample, although few have taken any precautionary measures. Finally, blacks more than whites, and in most instances urban more than rural dwellers, find the fear of crime a greater reality in their daily lives.

Victimization

Victimizations against property by means of theft, damage, or fraud, and against tranquility, peace or order are most frequent. The distribution, however, is confounded by the tendency of more articulate respondents to report more victimizations. If this factor is controlled, sample surveys should become an accurate and reliable device for measuring victimization, if carefully defined. Under the more general conceptualization of victimization, almost one-half of the households in the sample have been victimized. By stricter definitions, one-third of the households have been victimized during a year's time.

Fewer than one-half of observed illegal incidents, and fewer than one-third of victimizations are reported to law enforcement authorities. Nonreporting seems to reflect a rational assessment of the costs and benefits associated with reporting.

With and without reporting, police actively respond to more than one-fourth of all victimizations and make arrests in 5-10 percent of the cases. A slightly smaller percentage of victimizations then result in court action, and nearly three-fourths of these result in guilty verdicts.

Offenders are most likely to be individuals or groups of individuals, although about one-fifth of the respondents report victimizations by such organizations as business firms. Almost one-half of the offenders are known to the respondent. Offenders are more likely to be white, male, and over twenty-five years old.

Police

All measures used in the study show a high level of support for the police. Those respondents who have come into contact with the police are generally satisfied with the encounter though blacks and the young are less likely to evidence satisfaction. There is a high level of public support evidenced by the fact that most respondents believe that the police are doing a "good" or "very good" job. Those most likely to evaluate the job of the police highly are whites, over thirty, with incomes over \$7,500. While 21.5 percent of the population could name something about the police that they liked, only 18.0 percent had specific complaints. Contact with the police seems to be the basis of most of the comments in both cases. Despite a favorable evaluation,

almost half of those interviewed recommend that law enforcement officers take steps to increase the level of public respect.

Courts

Contact with the courts in North Carolina is widespread, though not as widespread as contact with the police. There is also a lower level of satisfaction with the court encounter, though more than 60 percent of those who have had contact say that they are satisfied. Those in age groups under thirty appear most likely to be dissatisfied. Satisfaction does not seem to vary by income, though those in middle-income groups are slightly more likely to be dissatisfied. Similarly, satisfaction does not seem to vary greatly by race. The evaluation of the job being performed by the courts is considerably lower than that of the police. Here blacks are slightly more likely than whites to evaluate the performance of the courts highly. This is not inconsistent with the finding that integration generally and bussing in particular seem to be the most salient issues to those who name something about the courts that they particularly like or dislike. The percentage of respondents who can name some particular thing that they dislike exceeds the percentage of those who can name something that they like by fully 10 percentage points--another evidence of lower public support for the courts. Both of these groups of answers are marked by the frequency of incorrect responses, that is, the attribution of actions and characteristics to the courts which might more accurately and appropriately be attributed elsewhere. This suggests, perhaps, that the courts may be scapegoats for the controversial acts of other related actors and institutions.

Fair Treatment

Although the previously reported measures of attitudes toward the police and courts tend to show high levels of public support and satisfaction, there is evidence of some unsupportive attitudes. More than 30 percent of the entire sample and almost half of all blacks feel that the courts or police do not treat some groups in the population fairly. In addition, almost a third of all blacks interviewed express the belief that they and people like them would not be treated fairly by the police and courts.

Jails and Prisons

In public evaluation jails and prisons do not fare as well as the police and courts. On the other hand, blacks, young people, and lower- and middle-income respondents reverse their stance towards the two former institutions, and regard the jails and prisons somewhat more favorably than do white, older, and upper-income strata. In specific responses, many individuals support reform efforts, and criticize those conditions in need of reform.

Additional Observations

In addition to reiterating the specific conclusions emerging from the analysis of the data, some additional interpretations can be offered. In spite of our abstract theory and conscientious methodology, what we have done essentially is to talk to over a thousand North Carolinians. The depth and texture and richness of their attitudes and experiences is not adequately represented by statistics and generalizations. Some additional observations seem warranted by the interviews, and may suggest avenues for further research and provide the basis for policy recommendations.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

1. Our respondents' accounts of affinity group victimizations, suggest that churches and schools are virtually defenseless against theft and vandalism. The fact that such crime is reported to us so frequently indicates that citizens are both concerned about it and feel personally victimized by its occurrence.

2. Although the absolute number is very small, a scan of those cases involving persons who are repeatedly victimized (say, more than four or five times in a year) indicates that the female head of a household is particularly vulnerable to physical assaults, trespass, slander, and fraud.

3. The data show consumer fraud to be a much more widespread phenomenon than anticipated. Although respondents do not always see it as crime, it is also clear that they would welcome access to some institution that could arbitrate their losses.

4. If the severity of victimization is measured in terms of personal injury and dollar loss, then vehicular accidents and negligence are clearly a most severe victimization. Furthermore, not only is this one of the more frequent types, but many other types of victimization involve the automobile directly and indirectly: e.g., neighborhood nuisances, property damage, and thefts. One line of argument on this point is that the criminal justice system, despite its best efforts, will continue to encounter many of its current enforcement problems as long as the automobile remains our society's primary transportation mode.

5. Similarly, there are other victimization problems that the legal system will continue to deal with only ineffectively as long as some

other social practices and institutions remain unchanged. As just one example, note that many of our victimizations are neighborhood nuisances and invasions of privacy. These incidents will continue and increase as long as overpopulation and housing shortages force individuals and families with divergent lifestyles to live in close proximity. It is clear then that anyone who claims to be concerned with the problem of criminal victimization, must also be concerned with a broad range of social and political issues, and must be capable of proposing policy innovations far more fundamental and imaginative than higher salaries, more buildings, and new personnel."

6. The police are in a unique position with regard to public respect and cooperation. The public is willing to give them high support if the police have dealt with the public tactfully and fairly. Perhaps if law enforcement officers made an even greater effort to be deferential in contacts with the public, particularly the young, the poor, and the black, their tasks could be performed more efficiently.

7. The courts, on the other hand, suffer from confusion in the public mind over what they do. Their best prospect for improved public support may be found in an overall increase in the responsiveness and visibility of government, as well as increased political information and participation of the citizenry.

8. As has already been noted, public tolerance for penal reform is great, while the public evaluation of penal institutions is critical. If reform takes too long to develop and have noticeable impact, a rare opportunity for consensual legal policy could be lost. Specifically, there seems to be public support for innovative and dramatic changes in rehabilitative programs and visitation policies.

APPENDIX I

THE SAMPLE PROCEDURE; STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Our goal was a stratified random sample of the adult, noninstitutionalized population of North Carolina. Ideally, the sample would be unbiased and efficient, allow precise point and internal estimation, and evade the "zero-cell" dilemma of nonexperimental designs if possible. We also wished to avoid having to weight the data, due to excessive stratification, oversampling, or cluster sampling. For descriptions of potential designs, we referred to Hubert M. Blalock's Social Statistics (McGraw-Hill, 1960) and Leslie Kish's Survey Sampling (John Wiley, 1967). Angell Beza, Associate Director, and Mary Junck, Research Associate, Institute for Research in Social Science were consulted on the design. Richard C. Rockwell, Director of the Social Science Data Library of the Institute for Research in Social Science, made the 1970 Census Summary Count data accessible. These resources enabled us to combine a rigorous strategy with concern for theoretical considerations.

The Sample Procedure

By region, the state was stratified into 5 areas: mountain, northern piedmont, southern piedmont, northern coastal plain, and southern coastal plain. These regional strata were justified by: (1) the desire to generate a sample with good geographical spread; and (2) the known

variations in culture and demography that distinguish the mountains, the piedmont, and the coastal plain. Each region, in turn, was stratified by size of place: urban, places with 50,000 or more residents; other urban, places with between 2,500 and 50,000 residents; and rural, places with less than 2,500 residents. Stratification by size of place seemed especially crucial in this case, since criminal victimization has strong theoretical relationships to urbanization and its correlates. A list of 1970 census enumeration districts was then generated for each of these 15 strata, resulting in 15 lists. The population, by enumeration district, was cumulated within each strata. This cumulated sum, divided by the total population of the state, provided the percentage of sample points to be drawn from that strata. A sample point is simply an enumeration district or its urban equivalent, a block group. The use of enumeration districts has three advantages. One, enumeration districts are areas defined by natural geographic boundaries: roads, rivers, railroad tracks. This sometimes simplified the interviewer's tasks of listing and locating households. Two, enumeration districts are approximately equal in population. (Each district encompasses about 200 households, or 1,000 residents. Unfortunately, deviations from this benchmark are frequent and sometimes extreme.) Three, and most important, census data are available by enumeration district. Thus, secondary analysis of the data can be supplemented by census data.

For each list of enumeration districts, a random number was drawn, such that the number was between 0 and the cumulated sum for that list. Assume that a number drawn for the "mountain-other-urban" list, with a total population of 10,000, was 4,121. The enumeration district in which that number

occurred then became a sample point. Thus, the probability of an enumeration district being chosen was proportionate to its size in the stratum.

The process was repeated for each sample point to be drawn from that list, and the process was repeated for all lists until the total of 120 sample points had been drawn.

Interviewers then listed all households within that enumeration district, or sample point. Assume that our "mountain-other-urban" sample point had been listed, and was found to contain 240 households. With the desired sample size of 1,200 and the 120 sample points, we needed to complete an average of 10 interviews per sample point. Since we projected unlimited callbacks and allowed no substitutions, we would oversample by 240, or 2 interviews per sample point. Thus, we had to select 12 households from the 240 in our sample point. First, we divided 12 into 240, and obtained the quotient 20. Next, we drew a random number between 0 and 20. Assume this number was 7. We then attempted interviews in households numbered 7, 27, 47, 67, etc. This systematic procedure was employed in order to avoid contaminating interviews, and risking double-counting due to geographical proximity of households. For example, if we drew 2 consecutive households, both might have been victimized by the same crime, e.g., the noisy bar across the street.

Once the interviewer had contacted the selected household, he or she listed all adult members of the household by age and sex. (An "adult" was defined as anyone over twenty-one years old, or any married individual or household head over eighteen years old.) The interviewer then employed the assigned version of one of eight selection tables which, taken in

total, assured every adult member of the household an equal probability of being selected as the eventual respondent.

The distribution of sample points among geographic regions and urban-rural places is as follows:

Distribution of Sample Points: Size of Place by Region

	Mountain	Northern Piedmont	Southern Piedmont	Northern Coastal Plain	Southern Coastal Plain	Total
Urban Areas	2	16	6	2	3	29
Other Urban	1	4	9	7	4	25
Rural Areas	7	15	18	13	13	66
	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 33	<hr/> 22	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 120

The interviews were conducted between March and August of 1971. More than 1,350 interviews were attempted from a sample of 1,440. (The Charlotte-Mecklenburg metropolitan area was oversampled, so that the data could be used for planning purposes there, but these interviews are excluded from this study.) The completion rate was 79.5 percent, based on a return of 1,145 interviews. A preliminary analysis shows that this completion rate results in no appreciable bias among any strata of the sample--geographical, population, or demographic. Failure to complete an interview was a consequence either of refusal (with and without callbacks) and residents not being at home (after multiple callbacks). Substitutions were allowed only in the cases of vacant or seasonal dwellings, or respondents too infirm to be interviewed. Interviews

were generally more difficult to complete when they involved respondents in urban areas, or respondents who were male or black. The noninstitutionalized population, of course, excludes many military personnel and college students as well as all correctional inmates. These individuals are disproportionately male. (The 1970 census shows that the population not in group quarters is 53.6 percent female.) Those dwelling in hospitals, nursing homes, and mental institutions are also excluded. The sample includes 54.9 percent who are females, and 19.1 percent who are nonwhites.

Statistical Analysis

With a sample of 1,145, the confidence interval of percentage can be said to be ± 0.06 percent, at the 99 percent confidence level. This is based on a conservative test, given maximum variance of proportions, $P_s=Q_s=.5$, and the formula $P_s \pm 2.794 \sqrt{\frac{P_s Q_s}{N}}$. The approximate interpretation for this calculation is that one would be correct 99 percent of the time, assuming one employed the same sample design, if one estimated the "true" population percentage as being within the interval of ± 0.06 percent of the sample percentage (see Blalock, p. 164).

In the significance tests for bivariate distributions, we chose nonparametric tests for the presence of a relationship (χ^2 , Cramer's V, and Pearson's contingency coefficient C) rather than higher measurement level indicators of the strength of relationship (Spearman's rho, Kendall's tau beta, Pearson's product-moment correlation). In a sense, we chose consistency and suffered a loss of information. This seemed justified, given the crudeness of our hypotheses. We had always intended this stage of the study to be ideographic rather than nomothetic.

The exception is in the case of a two-by-two table, in which case Phi is reported. Phi, of course, equals r in this case, and can be given an analogous interpretation.

APPENDIX II

A PARTIAL COMPARISON WITH THE NORC STUDY

As indicated in Chapter II, our more rigorous definition of victimization resulted in 35.2 percent of our respondents being classified as victims. The NORC study, however, concluded that 20 percent of a national sample had been victimized (see Ennis, p. 5). Obviously, either our results are very wrong, or the NORC results are very wrong, or North Carolina has proportionately much more crime than the nation as a whole, or our methods differed from those of NORC. That this last possibility explains the 15 percent difference between the two studies is evidenced by the table below, which crudely compares our results to those of NORC.

<u>N.C. Victimization</u>			<u>NORC Victimization (Ennis, p. 106)</u>
Theft; theft and property damage	41.4	52.4	Larceny, vehicle theft, burglary, robbery
Assault; threatened assault	16.1	10.0	Homicide; kidnapping; simple assault; aggravated assault
Property damage	12.8	16.8	Malicious mischief
Vehicular	7.9	7.1	Auto offense
Familial	4.3	3.3	Family
Credit fraud	9.7	4.7	Fraud; forgery; counterfeiting
Sexual assault	0.5	3.0	Rape; other sex

(continued)

Consumer fraud	27.3	2.6	Consumer fraud; building violations
(No comparable category)	--	0.1	Bribery
Neighborhood	24.7	--	(No comparable category)
Drugs	0.5	--	(No comparable category)

Obviously our consideration of consumer fraud and neighborhood disturbances is different from the NORC study. In the latter, reported consumer frauds were eliminated if no law had apparently been violated; and no specific questions were asked about neighborhood disturbances.¹ This distinction between the two studies may best be explained by their diverse policy orientations. The NORC survey attempted to determine if victim reports could be viable indicators of crime. Consequently, comparability to FBI Uniform Crime Reports was emphasized. Since NORC had already extensively resolved doubts about the utility of victimization surveys, we assumed the burden of refining the concept of victimization. In particular, consumer law is a rapidly emerging issue in North Carolina and the nation; and, neighborhood disturbances amount to a substantial demand on law enforcement capabilities. Furthermore, we wanted to be thoroughly confident that we had tapped not only the phenomenology of victimization, but its psychological dimensions as well.

¹ This difference in method should also explain the difference in reporting, by victims, to the police. Our result is a one-third reporting rate, while the NORC study reported about one-half (p. 49).

APPENDIX III
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