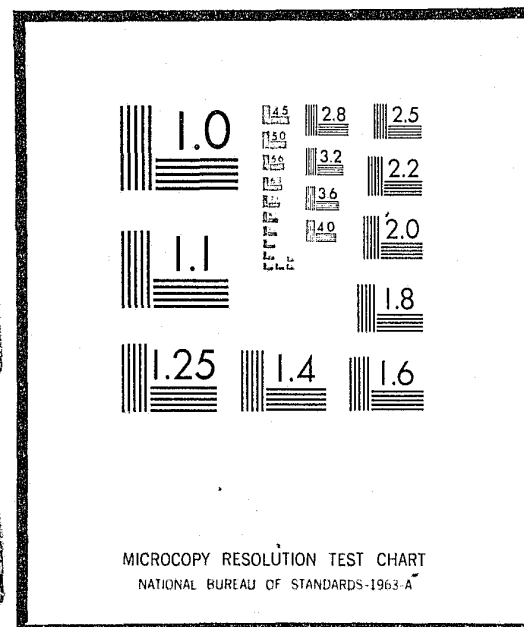


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## WORKSHOP IN POLITICAL THEORY & POLICY ANALYSIS

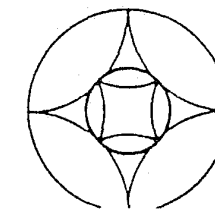
### Police Services Study Technical Report

T-13

VICTIM'S SATISFACTION WITH POLICE:  
THE RESPONSE FACTOR

by

Roger B. Parks



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**WORKSHOP**  
in  
Political Theory and Policy Analysis

Department of Political Science  
Indiana University  
Morgan Hall 121  
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

VICTIMS' SATISFACTION WITH POLICE:  
THE RESPONSE FACTOR

Roger B. Parks  
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What are the relationships between the experience of victimization and attitudes toward or perceptions of the police? Several studies in recent years have concluded that these relationships are weak or non-existent.<sup>1</sup> That is, victims, or those who report a victimization of another household member, generally rate their local police services about the same as their neighbors who are not victimized do.

These findings might be explained in two ways. One, citizens may not believe that police can alter the probability of their being the victim of criminal activity. If this were the case, citizens would be less likely to hold the police accountable when such an event occurs. Victims' ratings of police services ought to be, on the average, no lower than the ratings of non-victims.

Alternatively, citizens' ratings of local police service may be affected by the experience of individual or household victimization, but the ensuing police actions may act to suppress the relationships. Satisfactory police response to a victimization might, for instance, improve citizens' ratings of local police. An unsatisfactory police response may, on the other hand, produce unfavorable ratings. Combining ratings for these two groups could result in the weak or negligible relationships reported.<sup>2</sup>

This report explores the interaction between victimization and police response. This report also examines the types of police

actions positively associated with citizens' perceptions of a satisfactory response. Finally, some police agency characteristics that appear to be associated with more favorable police actions are represented.

#### The St. Louis Study

This report draws upon data collected during 1972 in a study of law enforcement services in the St. Louis, Missouri, metropolitan area. This study was conducted by an Indiana University team directed by Elinor Ostrom.<sup>3</sup> Information was collected on the levels of service provided by 29 separate police agencies to citizens residing in 44 neighborhoods in both the City of St. Louis and surrounding incorporated and unincorporated portions of St. Louis County. A complex "most similar systems" research design matched the 44 residential neighborhoods on criteria of home ownership and age distribution within three restricted ranges of neighborhood wealth.<sup>4</sup> Specific attention was given to the neighborhood racial composition. A final stratification took account of the size and type of police agencies providing primary police service to the neighborhoods.

In the St. Louis study, data were collected from a number of sources. This report focuses on data collected in interviews with a sample of citizens residing in each of the 44 neighborhoods. The sampling unit for these interviews was the household. Rather than attempt to randomize household respondents through enumeration and further sampling, fieldworkers were instructed to interview the first adult member of the household with whom they established contact. The hour and day of the interviews were controlled to facilitate a

distribution across household members. The demographics of the samples obtained in this fashion closely matched those of the neighborhoods as a whole, in most instances.<sup>5</sup>

Of the nearly 4,000 citizen respondents in the St. Louis study, 800 (20 percent) reported that they or a member of their household had been a victim of criminal activity in the past 12 months. About six percent reported victimizations that occurred outside their own neighborhood; 14 percent reported one or more victimizations within their neighborhood. The 20 percent figure is virtually the same as that reported for the NORC national sample in 1967.<sup>6</sup> Other studies finding higher levels of victimization tend to include a higher proportion of central city or ghetto respondents.<sup>7</sup> In the St. Louis study, the seven neighborhoods within the City of St. Louis had somewhat above average levels of victimization, but much variation was found among neighborhoods within the city and among neighborhoods outside the city.

Several respondent or household characteristics were associated with victimization, particularly victimization in one's own neighborhood. Black respondents were more likely to indicate that they or a household member had been the victim of criminal activity in their own neighborhood than were white respondents (21 percent to 13 percent). As the wealth of the neighborhood increased, respondents and members of their households were less likely to have been victimized (25 percent in the lower wealth stratum, 16 percent in the middle stratum, and 10 percent in the higher stratum).<sup>8</sup> Both race and neighborhood wealth were independently related to victimization. In each stratum, black respondents were more likely to report being victimized in their own neighborhoods than were white respondents (12 percent of blacks in

the higher stratum and 10 percent of the whites; 21 percent to 16 percent in the middle stratum; and 27 percent to 19 percent in the lower stratum).

The respondent's age and education level were also related to victimization. But the education relationship virtually disappears when the respondent's neighborhood wealth is controlled. Better educated respondents lived in wealthier neighborhoods where fewer victimizations occurred. Similarly, the age relationship disappears, with a single exception, when the respondent's race is controlled. Approximately 21 percent of the black respondents in any age category reported one or more victimizations in their own neighborhood. Twelve percent of the white respondents under 18 or between 31 and 64, and 10 percent of white respondents over 65 reported a victimization in their own neighborhood. Curiously, almost as many whites between 19 and 30 were victimized in their own neighborhood as were blacks (19 percent for whites in this category to 21 percent for blacks overall). Why this should be the case is unclear at this point.

The more than 550 respondents who reported one or more victimizations of themselves or another household member in their own neighborhood provide a pool of responses from which to examine the relationships among police actions, respondents' satisfaction with those actions, and respondents' evaluations and perceptions of local police services. First, however, the simple relationships between victimization and respondents' evaluations and perceptions will be discussed.

### Victimization, Evaluations, and Perceptions

A respondent's evaluation of local police service ought to be more sensitive to neighborhood happenings than to those which occur elsewhere. As the data in Table 1 show, this does seem to be the case. Respondents who indicated that the victimization occurred outside their own neighborhood, gave approximately the same evaluations of their local police as did their non-victim neighbors. Victimization within one's own neighborhood, however, is related to lower evaluations of local police. But the relationships are generally low or negligible.<sup>9</sup>

Each of the reported relationships is negative, indicating generally lower evaluations with the experience of victimization. That experience appears to be more severe for victimizations inside one's own neighborhood. This is clearly the direction to be expected if respondents connect victimization and evaluations of police service.

Potentially confounding factors in these relationships are respondent race and neighborhood. Whether lower levels of police service, abrasive contacts with the police, generally dissatisfaction with one's life chances, excesses of rhetoric on the part of local spokesmen, or some combination of these and other factors are the cause, blacks and/or residents of less wealthy neighborhoods generally evaluate their local police less favorably than do other citizens. Since individuals, we have noted, are also more likely to indicate that they or another member of their household has been a crime victim. The percentages in each evaluation category might thus reflect racial and neighborhood wealth variations rather than

TABLE 1. Household Victimization and Evaluation of Local Police

Respondent Rating of Local Police:	Percentage of Respondents by Evaluative Response and Victimization Category				Strength of Relation- ship (gamma)
	No Vict- imization	Victimization Outside Own Neighborhood	Victimization Once in Own Neighborhood	Victimization Twice in Own Neighborhood	
Police Service					
Outstanding	29	28	21	13	-0.21
Good	49	46	43	44	
Adequate	19	17	25	23	
Inadequate	2	7	7	10	
Very Poor	2	2	5	10	
N = (3861)*	(3079)	(230)	(464)	(88)	
Police-Community Relations					
Outstanding	19	17	11	16	-0.19
Good	55	52	51	39	
Adequate	18	22	21	27	
Inadequate	5	6	7	9	
Very Poor	3	3	10	10	
N = (3179)	(2536)	(185)	(376)	(82)	
Police are Honest					
Strongly Agree	20	20	17	16	-0.14
Agree	74	70	71	66	
Disagree	5	8	9	13	
Strongly Disagree	1	2	3	5	
N = (3201)	(2548)	(189)	(384)	(80)	
Police Are Courteous					
Strongly Agree	26	30	23	25	-0.07
Agree	70	64	69	63	
Disagree	4	5	5	11	
Strongly Disagree	1	2	2	1	
N = (3331)	(2649)	(197)	(405)	(80)	
Police Treat All Equally					
Strongly Agree	14	16	14	16	-0.14
Agree	70	62	62	46	
Disagree	12	16	17	25	
Strongly Disagree	4	5	8	13	
N = (3131)	(2499)	(184)	(372)	(76)	

\*Number of respondents answering question. Some respondents were not asked, or did not answer, some of these questions.

victimization.

But controlling for race and neighborhood wealth provides evidence that this is not the case. For four of the five evaluation variables, the relationships between evaluation and victimization remain about the same for both blacks and whites considered separately, and for each wealth category taken separately. The single exception is the overall evaluation of police service variables. Here the relationship between increasing victimization and decreasing evaluations is stronger for blacks (gamma =  $-.31$ ) than for whites (gamma =  $-.17$ ). A similar differential effect is also found with neighborhood wealth for this relationship (gamma =  $-.28$  in the lower stratum,  $-.20$  in the middle, and  $-.11$  in the higher stratum), but much of this can be attributed to racial differences in the strata. The stronger relationship among blacks than among whites reflects the generally lower levels of satisfaction with police response found among black respondents.

Victimization outside one's own neighborhood does appear related to perceptions of neighborhood crime and general police response. Respondents who reported a victimization were more likely (Table 2) to respond that crime was increasing in their neighborhood (gamma =  $+.35$ ), and less likely to respond that the police came very rapidly when called to the neighborhood (gamma =  $-.15$ ). There is little variation in the relationship between victimization and perception of neighborhood crime trends across racial or wealth categories, but the relationship between victimization and perception of response rate does show some sensitivity to racial differences (gamma =  $-.21$  among blacks and  $-.12$  among whites). Black respondents consistently indicated longer

police response times than did whites when a specific victimization occurred and the police were called. This finding would explain the difference in strength of relationships found here. That is, if black victims do receive a slower response when they call the police than do whites, this may account for the more strongly negative relationships between victimization and perception of police response rate among blacks than among whites.<sup>10</sup>

#### Victims' Satisfaction with Police Response and Their Evaluations and Perceptions

If evaluations and perceptions are only weakly related to the experience of victimization, which of the two explanations posed earlier should be entertained? Is there no connection in people's minds between police activity and their experience of victimization, or does the police response to a reported victimization mask or alter any such connection?

Tables 3 and 4 provide evidence bearing on this question. Here, the analysis is limited to those cases where respondents or other household members were victimized in their own neighborhood, and who indicated that the police were called to report the victimization. The findings are striking. Respondents who were satisfied by the police response to the report of victimization gave virtually the same responses as did those who reported either no victimization or a victimization which occurred outside their own neighborhood. Only in their perception of neighborhood crime rate do they differ from their non-victim neighbors.

On the other hand, respondents who indicated dissatisfaction with the police response when called are much more negative in their

TABLE 2. Household Victimization and Respondent Perceptions

Respondent Perception of:	Percentage of Respondents by Perception Response and Victimization Category				Strength of Relationship (gamma)
	No Victimization	Victimization Outside Own Neighborhood	Victimization Once in Own Neighborhood	Victimization Twice in Own Neighborhood	
Neighborhood Crime Trend					
Increasing	24	34	48	62	+0.35
Staying Same	58	53	41	28	
Decreasing	9	8	7	7	
No Crime	9	6	4	3	
N = (3673)	(2931)	(217)	(436)	(89)	
Police Response Rate in Neighborhood					
Very Rapid	52	46	49	32	-0.15
Quickly Enough	41	41	34	32	
Slowly	6	10	12	14	
Very Slowly	2	4	6	8	
N = (3591)	(2835)	(223)	(445)	(88)	

evaluations and perceptions. All of the relationships between satisfaction (or the lack thereof) and evaluations are substantial, as is the relationship between satisfaction and perceived police response time. The relationship with perception of neighborhood crime trend is only moderate. Perhaps this indicates that while the police can take actions to restore victims' confidence in the police force, they cannot do as much to restore a previous sense of security in the neighborhood.

Approximately 100 respondents did not report a victimization to police are not included in these tables. Generally speaking, their range of responses were quite similar to those who were satisfied with police action. Most of those who stated that the incident was not brought to police attention indicated that it was not a very serious matter and/or that they did not want to bother the police.

If satisfaction with the police response to a report of victimization is an important determinant of victim attitudes toward the police, an important question is what police actions lead to citizen satisfaction with the police response? One thing noted in a number of studies is the quickness of police response to calls. While a particular incident may not seem of grave importance to a veteran police officer, to the victim it is likely to be a very unexpected and most disheartening shock. In cases where there is a long wait for a police response, the wait alone may so alienate the victim that any further police activity will have little effect on resulting satisfaction. A very rapid response on the other hand, might convince the victim that the police care about the problem, even if they can do little.

TABLE 3. Satisfaction with Police Response and Evaluation to Local Police: Victimization in Own Neighborhood

Respondent Rating of Local Police:	Percentage of Respondents by Evaluative Response and Satisfaction with Police Response		Strength of Relationship (gamma)
	Satisfied with Police Response	Not Satisfied with Police Response	
Police Service			
Outstanding	26	0	+0.75
Good	48	27	
Adequate	20	33	
Inadequate	4	22	
Very Poor	3	17	
N = (428)	(329)	(99)	
Police-Community Relations			
Outstanding	16	2	+0.62
Good	55	29	
Adequate	19	29	
Inadequate	6	11	
Very Poor	4	28	
N = (353)	(271)	(82)	
Police are Honest			
Strongly Agree	20	6	+0.66
Agree	74	62	
Disagree	5	22	
Strongly Disagree	1	9	
N = (449)	(364)	(85)	
Police are Courteous			
Strongly Agree	30	6	+0.78
Agree	67	67	
Disagree	2	22	
Strongly Disagree	1	6	
N = (382)	(294)	(88)	
Police Treat All Equally			
Strongly Agree	19	4	+0.67
Agree	65	42	
Disagree	12	32	
Strongly Disagree	4	23	
N = (351)	(267)	(84)	



TABLE 4. Satisfaction with Police Response and Respondent Perceptions:  
Victimization in Own Neighborhood

Respondent Perception of:	Percentage of Respondents by Perception Response and Satisfaction with Police Response		Strength of Relation- ship (gamma)
	Satisfied with Police Response	Not Satisfied with Police Response	
Neighborhood Crime Trend			
Increasing	45	63	-0.33
Staying Same	43	31	
Decreasing	7	6	
No Crime	5	0	
N = (406)	(312)	(94)	
Police Response Rate in Neigh- borhood			
Very Rapid	58	17	+0.69
Quickly Enough	32	37	
Slowly	7	29	
Very Slowly	3	17	
N = (417)	(315)	(102)	

Perceived speed of response when called to the scene of the victimization has a substantial association with resulting citizen satisfaction. Table 5 shows a marked drop-off in satisfaction with police response to a reported victimization as the length of time taken to respond increases.

Wesley Skogan suggests that the lower evaluations of police services found among black respondents may be partly explained by a slower police response to reports of victimizations from blacks than to such reports from whites.<sup>11</sup> In St. Louis, blacks who reported a victimization tended to indicate that the police took longer to get to the scene when called. Although only 17 percent of whites reported over 20 minute response times in such situations, more than a third (36 percent) of blacks reported that police took at least 20 minutes to arrive. The statistical relationship between longer response times and a respondent's race (in this case, being black) is a moderate one (gamma = +.38). Taken together with the findings relating response time to satisfaction with response, and those linking satisfaction with evaluations of police service, these data provide some support for Skogan's suggestion.

In addition to rapid response, it seems likely that what the police do after their arrival would be related to citizen satisfaction. Negligible or perfunctory action once on the scene could easily negate any favorable effect of a rapid response. Data in the lower portion of Table 5 address this point.

When police do something, satisfaction increases. Filling out a report satisfies 80 percent of the respondents. Further actions, such as questioning a suspect, checking the premises, or recovering

TABLE 5. Satisfaction With Police Response When Notified, Speed of Police Response, and Actions Taken by Police: Victimization in Own Neighborhood.

Percentage of Respondents Who Report Satisfaction by Speed of Police Response					Strength of Relationship (gamma)
0 to 4 Minutes	5 to 10 Minutes	11 to 20 Minutes	Over 20 Minutes		
90 (57)*	87 (173)	75 (68)	43 (83)		-0.61
Percentage of Respondents Who Report Satisfaction by Action Taken by the Police					Strength of Relationship (gamma)
Recovered Property	Checked Premises	Questioned Suspect	Took Report	Questioned Complainant	Took No Action
100 (27)	91 (100)	88 (26)	80 (148)	56 (36)	13 (30)
					-0.72

\*Number of Respondents

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TABLE 6. Police Response to Reported Victimizations by Size of Police Agency

Size of Police Agency	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents Served by Agency Who Indicated That the Police Arrived In:				Strength of Relationship (gamma)
		0 to 4 Minutes	5 to 10 Minutes	11 to 20 Minutes	Over 20 Minutes	
0 to 10 Sworn Officers	106	15	47	21	17	+0.17
11 to 75 Sworn Officers	186	17	51	16	17	
Over 400 Sworn Officers	100	11	34	21	34	

Size of Police Agency	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents Served by Agency Who Indicated That the Police:						Strength of Relationship (gamma)
		Recovered Property	Checked Premises	Questioned Suspect	Took Report	Questioned Complainant	Took No Action	
0 to 10 Sworn Officers	105	9	24	11	37	13	7	+0.04
11 to 75 Sworn Officers	177	6	32	7	40	9	6	
Over 400 Sworn Officers	99	8	23	4	44	6	14	

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controlling for speed of response, shows hardly any difference in the strength of relationship between police actions and satisfaction expect when the response time was more than 20 minutes. There, the strength of the relationship increases considerably, indicating that if the police are very late in arriving, they had better be sure to take positive actions to satisfy the complainant. Examining the satisfaction-speed of response relationship while controlling for the actions taken after arrival also provides some interesting findings. As the degree of favorability of the action taken increases -- that is, as the actions taken change from doing nothing through questioning, report taking, questioning suspects, checking premises, and recovering property -- the relationship between satisfaction and speed of response diminishes in strength quite markedly. This supports the notion that favorable actions after arrival can ameliorate the negative effects of a slower response. Both sets of controlled relationships are based on relatively small numbers of cases, however, and thus should not be given too much weight. In order to investigate these and other relationships resulting from direct police-citizen encounters, it will be necessary to sample from a population which is known to have had such encounters, rather than from the general public. Our present Police Services study is collecting and analyzing such information.

The findings reported here have prescriptive value in that they indicate significant payoffs in terms of citizen satisfaction for relatively little additional commitment of police time. If officers responding to reported victimizations are willing to make some additional effort to show the complainant they are seriously concerned

about the incident, evaluations and perceptions of the local police ought to be considerably higher, at least among this class of the citizenry. Once can speculate that those who have had a direct experience with the local police in an instance of victimization may be more attentive to police matters in the future, and more or less supportive of the police dependent upon their experience. If this is so, some extra effort while responding could be well rewarded.

#### Police Agency Characteristics and Police Response

What are the relationships between police agencies' characteristics and their officers' ability to respond rapidly to reported victimizations, and to take favorable actions after arrival? With the limited number of cases available for analysis, only preliminary analyses of these questions can be made. But the relationships of two important characteristics -- agency size and the proportion of an agency's officers who have some higher education to the speed of response and action taken -- can be explored.<sup>12</sup>

Table 6 displays the relationships of police agency size to the speed of response provided by the agency, and to the type of actions taken by the agency's officers after arrival. Agency size is broken into three categories. The first is that of departments having 10 or fewer full-time sworn officers, a size often argued to be too small to provide effective policing.<sup>13</sup> The second category is that of medium-sized agencies, those employing between 11 and 75 full-time sworn officers. The third category consists of the larger departments, in this case the St. Louis County Police Department with 426 sworn officers and the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department with 2,220

sworn officers.

Small and medium-sized agencies responded somewhat more rapidly than did the two large agencies. More than a third of the responses by the largest agencies took at least 20 minutes, and more than one-half required more than 10 minutes. In contrast, approximately two-thirds of the responses by small and medium-sized agencies took 10 minutes or less. While the relationship between size and response time is only a low one ( $\gamma = +.17$ ), it does indicate that on this measure of effectiveness, the small and medium-sized agencies are more than able to hold their own.

There is a negligible relationship between size of agency and the actions taken by the agency's officers after arrival on the scene of a victimization. Officers from police agencies in each size range were about equally likely to take comparable actions.

It has been argued that better educated police officers will provide higher levels of police service than those with lesser education.<sup>14</sup> College education in particular is often seen as a broadening or liberalizing influence on police officers that will enable them to be more compassionate in their dealings with citizens. Others argue that the nature of the jobs assigned to the police are such that college education is unlikely to be related to better job performance.<sup>15</sup> Examining this argument with the St. Louis data, some relationship between college education and police response to a reported victimization does appear. Police agencies are categorized here by whether 50 percent or more of their officers had received some college education or not. An officer was coded as having "some" college education if he or she had attended only one or more courses,

so this criterion is not overly strict.

Police agencies having a higher percentage of officers with some college education were more likely to respond rapidly than were those with a lower proportion of officers with some college. This relationship (Table 7) is moderate. It is unlikely that college education enables officers to drive more rapidly. Rather, departments that have adopted a "service" orientation, emphasizing rapid response as an important service component, also tend to emphasize college education for their officers. Officers in departments where a higher percentage of officers have some college education also tend to take more favorable actions after arrival on the scene. The relationship is weak but suggests that officers having some college experience may be more willing to satisfy the victim with additional actions.

None of the data reported here are clearcut enough to enable one to make strong recommendations regarding police agency organization or officer qualifications. It is interesting that the findings on agency size do not support the dominant recommendations regarding police organization, that is, increase departmental size to increase effectiveness. As Elinor Ostrom has argued, those recommendations are based almost exclusively on untested assumptions.<sup>16</sup> The findings here are one more case for marshalling evidence rather than assumptions prior to instituting organizational reforms.

#### Summary and Conclusions

In this report the relationships between the experience of victimization -- either personally or that of a household member --

and citizen evaluations and perceptions of the police service which they receive have been explored. Although the simple relationships were quite weak, further analysis indicated that the police response to a reported victimization acts to mask a stronger relationship. In cases where the police response satisfied citizens, evaluations and perceptions were unrelated to the victimization experience. Citizens who were unsatisfied with the police response were, on the other hand, much more likely to evaluate local police unfavorably.

The police response to a reported victimization -- both the speed of response when called and the actions taken after arrival -- was found to be substantially related to citizen satisfaction. Some preliminary exploration, limited by the low number of cases available, indicated that favorable actions taken after arrival may overcome ill feelings caused by a longer response time.

Small and medium-sized departments responded somewhat faster than the largest departments. The proportion of a department's officers having some college education was positively but weakly associated with faster response times and with more favorable actions taken after arrival.

These findings suggest that the substance of police activity is recognized by the public. What police do is important. These findings also suggest, as have a number of other recent empirical studies, that the dominant organizational reform recommendation may not lead to better service. Before such reforms are adopted, further exploration of the likely effects ought to be undertaken.

## NOTES

1. Among these are Jennie McIntyre, "Public Attitudes toward Crime and Law Enforcement," The Annals, 374 (November, 1967), pp. 34-46; Richard L. Block, "Police Action, Support for the Police, and the Support for Civil Liberties," paper read at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington, D.C., August 1970; Elinor Ostrom and Gordon P. Whitaker, "Community Control and Government Responsiveness: The Case of Police in Black Neighborhoods," in Improving the Quality of Urban Management edited by David Rodgers and Willis Hawley (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 303-334; Elinor Ostrom, William H. Baugh, Richard Guarasci, Roger B. Parks, and Gordon P. Whitaker, Community Organization and the Provision of Police Services (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Professional Papers in Administrative and Policy Studies 03-001, 1973); Paul E. Smith and Richard O. Hawkins, "Victimization, Types of Citizen-Police Contacts, and Attitudes Toward the Police," Law and Society Review, 8 (Fall, 1973), pp. 135-152; and Roger B. Parks, "Complementary Measures of Police Performance," in Public Policy Evaluation edited by Kenneth M. Dolbeare (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Yearbooks in Politics and Public Policy, 1976), pp. 185-218.
2. A simple discussion of how one variable can mask or "suppress" the relationship between two other variables in this way can be found in James A. Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 95-96. I am indebted to John McIver for this citation.
3. For a detailed description of this study, see Elinor Ostrom, Roger B. Parks, and Dennis C. Smith, "A Multi-Strata, Similar Systems Design for Measuring Police Performance," paper read at the Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, May, 1973.
4. The "most similar systems" research design is discussed in Chapter Two of Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970), pp. 31-46.
5. The study team believed that interviews dealing with local police might appear somewhat threatening to some respondents. To begin such an interview by requesting a complete list of all adult household residents could certainly aggravate any such feelings. Care was taken to ensure that the sample would, nevertheless, closely match the neighborhoods. The demographics and simple breakdowns of findings for each of the jurisdictions in the study are provided in a series of reports prepared by Nancy M. Neubert and Virginia Dodge Fielder. These reports, collectively entitled "Law Enforcement in (Name of Jurisdiction): Citizen and Police Perceptions," were

provided to each of the cooperating police chiefs. Copies are available from the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University.

6. Philip H. Ennis, Criminal Victimization in the United States, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Field Surveys II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 5.
7. Paul E. Smith and Richard O. Hawkins, op. cit., for example, report that 55 percent of their respondents from Seattle were victimized within the previous 12 months, p. 136. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration reports a 40 percent household victimization rate in the cities of Dayton and San Jose. See their Crimes and Victims: A Report on the Dayton-San Jose Pilot Survey of Victimization (Washington, D.C.: National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, 1974), p. 10. In their subsequent surveys of victimization in the larger American cities, there are differences in the base used for reporting which prevent direct comparisons with the St. Louis data. See their Criminal Victimization Surveys in the Nation's Five Largest Cities, and Criminal Victimization Surveys in 13 American Cities, both (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).
8. The wealth strata were restricted to less than the full range available using a criterion based on median value of owner occupied housing. The upper stratum included neighborhoods where this ranged from \$15,000 to \$24,999, the middle stratum from \$10,000 to \$19,999, and the lower stratum included neighborhoods where the median was below \$10,000. The top two strata were further differentiated where they overlapped by a median contract rent criterion. See Elinor Ostrom, Roger B. Parks, and Dennis C. Smith, op. cit.
9. In this report, the strength of relationships reported is measured by Goodman and Kruskal's statistic, gamma. See L. A. Goodman and W. H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 49 (December, 1954), pp. 732-764. The phraseology used to describe the strength of relationship is taken from that suggested by James A. Davis, op. cit., p. 49. A gamma with a magnitude greater than 0.7 will be called a very strong relationship; one from 0.5 to 0.69 a substantial relationship; 0.3 to 0.49 a moderate relationship; 0.1 to 0.29 a low relationship; 0.01 to 0.09 a negligible relationship; and a gamma of zero, no relationship. As Davis notes, these are essentially arbitrary designations made a priori for the sake of consistency.
10. All of the relationships in Tables 1 and 2 are statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ), with the exception of the evaluation of police courtesy. Statistical significance is, however, partly an artifact of the number of cases involved. But statistical significance is never a sufficient reason to argue that a relationship has any substantive significance.

11. Wesley G. Skogan, "Public Policy and Public Evaluations of Criminal Justice System Performance," in Crime and Criminal Justice, edited by John A. Gardiner and Michael A. Mulkey (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1975), pp. 43-61.
12. The variable of officer training can also be explored using the St. Louis data set, but any relationships are confounded by colinearity with agency size. See Dennis C. Smith and Elinor Ostrom, "The Effects of Training and Education on Police Attitudes and Performance: A Preliminary Analysis," in Problems in the Criminal Justice System, edited by Herbert Jacob (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Criminal Justice System Annuals).
13. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Report on Police (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973). See Standard 5.2.
14. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), Charles B. Saunders, Upgrading the American Police, (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970).
15. James Q. Wilson, "Dilemmas of Police Administration," Public Administration Review, 28 (September-October, 1968), pp. 226-235.
16. Elinor Ostrom, "Righteousness, Evidence, and Reform: The Police Story," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 10 (June, 1975). See, also, Elinor Ostrom and Roger B. Parks, "Suburban Police Departments: Too Many and Too Small?" in The Urbanization of the Suburbs, edited by Louis J. Masotti and Jeffrey K. Hadden (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Urban Affairs Annual Reviews No. 7, 1973), pp. 367-402, and Elinor Ostrom, Roger B. Parks, and Gordon P. Whitaker, "Do We Really Want to Consolidate Urban Police Forces: A Reappraisal of Some Old Assertions," Public Administration Review, 33 (September-October, 1973), pp. 423-432.

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