POLICE VS. CITIZEN-BASED DATA:

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT?

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The paper discusses two related issues: (1) What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of police statistics vs. citizen-based data as measures of crime and law enforcement?; (2) What should the role of the social scientist be in the planning, conduct and analysis of studies in this area?

Data from studies conducted in Charlotte, North Carolina and other cities are used as evidence of the utility of citizen-based data in the areas of the measurement of crime, the delivery of non-law enforcement services, and the evaluation of community projects and programs. It is argued that recent developments in the use of citizen-based surveys provide communities and law enforcement professionals with more adequate measures and data not previously available from traditional data sources.

The role of the social scientist as a technician is criticized as an under-utilization of his/her skills. The role of applied social analyst is discussed as a preferred role model; such a role entails consideration of the relation between the social scientist and the funding agency, the utility of conceptual, analytical, and methodological skills in citizen-based studies, and the responsibility of social scientists to become more involved at the community level.

POLICE VS. CITIZEN BASED DATA: WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT?

Introduction

During the Spring of 1978, the authors served as consultants to a Mayor's Advisory Crime Commission in Charlotte consisting of representatives of law enforcement agencies, businesses, neighborhood associations and civic groups. Our task was to summarize police statistics, social science studies, and government reports in order to answer the question, "What do we know about crime in Charlotte?" In preparing our report to the Commission(1), we became increasingly aware of the dilemma that what we know about crime and law enforcement is a function of one's orientation and data sources. The different orientations of police departments, social scientists, and governments lead to an emphasis on different sources of data and measures reflective of these orientations. The differences often result in fragmented and contradictory findings. Our experiences with this dilemma were not new, as we had encountered it in our previous research in criminal justice. These experiences form the basis for the two issues which we address in this paper: (1) What are the primary strengths and weaknesses of police-generated and citizen-based data; and (2) What should be the role of the social scientist, at the community level, in facilitating data of use to both criminal justice professionals and the general public?

Our treatment of these issues is predicted upon our advocacy of citizen-based studies as a supplement to, or substitute for, traditional police-generated statistics. In the first section of the paper, we discuss some of the differences between these sources of data in relation to the understanding of the incidence of crime, the delivery of police services, and the evaluation of special programs and projects. Space limitations

prohibit full discussion of all the differences; instead, we illustrate the major differences through selected findings of studies conducted in Charlotte and other cities.(2) In the second section of the paper, we discuss the need for changing the relation between the social scientist and government sponsor. Our purpose in this latter section is to offer suggestions which will lead to the more effective use of social science skills at the community level.

POLICE VS. CITIZEN-BASED DATA

Crime and Crime Rates: Are Police Data Adequate?

Official crime statistics which are amassed from police records have long been the target of criticism. The basic criticisms include the fact that such statistics rely heavily upon: (1) the willingness of citizens to report incidents to the police; and (2) an investigating officer's evaluation and recording of the incident once it has been reported. The first point is significant: research suggests that from half to two-thirds of all offenses go unreported to the police, thus making fluctuations in the crime rate a potential artifact of changing reporting rates, rather than the crime rate itself.(3) The second criticism becomes significant as recent research indicates that as much as one-quarter of offenses reported to the police go unrecorded(because the police do not respond to the call), and another fourth of the offenses do not appear in statistics because the police choose not to classify the incident as a crime.(4) Given these findings, it is probably accurate to say that police-generated statistics tell us more about the activities and orientations of the police than they do about the incidence, patterning, or consequences of crime.(5) Moreover, reliance upon police statistics as the primary measure of crime ignores the political pressures under which the police

operate, and the selective enforcement of law (e.g., police discretion) in varying types of communities.(6)

Because of these inherent limitations, criminal justice planners and social scientists, under the auspices of the President's Crime Commission, LEAA, the Census Bureau, and the National Research Council, have begun investigating the utility of citizen based surveys as alternative data sources in the understanding of crime.(7) Some of the advantages indicated by this research is summarized in Table 1.

(PUT TABLE 1 HERE)

The criticisms directed toward police statistics and the corresponding advantages of citizen-based data have generated pressures to develop citizen surveys in the study of crime at the local level. Such surveys shift the unit of analysis from what the police treat and record as crime to more objective legal definitions of crime and citizen experiences (i.e., victimizations). Properly designed and administered, such surveys provide law enforcement officials and the general public with more adequate indices of the incidence of crime, and with data not available in official reports: the incidence of victimizations, reasons for reporting and non-reporting, disposition of a victimization as it moves through the criminal justice system, injury and loss patterns, the impact of police actions on citizen attitudes, and data on patterns of friendly and unfriendly interaction between the police and the citizen.

Table 2 reports the benefits derived from utilization of citizen-based data are the following findings concerning crime patterns evidenced in national victimization survey and research conducted in Charlotte over the past four years: (8)

TABLE 1

CRITICISMS OF POLICE STATISTICS AND SELECTED ADVANTAGES OF CITIZEN-BASED DATA

CRITICISMS OF POLICE STATISTICS	ADVANTAGES OF CITIZEN-BASED DATA
The incidence of crime is measured by incidents reported to the police and defined by the officer in the field.	The incidence of crime is measured by sampling citizen's experiences with victimization, including offenses not reported to the police.
Police statistics focus on Part I offenses, which represent a small minority of criminal offenses.	Victimization surveys focus on the incidence of criminal victimization, thus gaining data on Part I and Part II offenses.
Police statistics reflect the department's classification of crime; the classification varies according to what a department defines as its responsibility.	Citizen-based data classifies offenses according to legal definitions; surveys may also adopt strict legal definitions to analyze types of offenses not normally studied (white collar crime, discrimination, consumer fraud, etc.).
Police statistics emphasize clearance rates (rates cleared by arrest or 'exceptional circumstances') as measure of success in handling crime.	Victimization surveys allow analysis of the handling of incidents from offense to police response to arrest to trial from the victim's point of view.
The focus of police data tends to be more on the incident than its consequence; where consequences are considered, the data are based on information available at the time of the incident and reported.	Victimization surveys allow analysis of the economic cost or degree of physical injury for all incidents, including those offenses not reported to the police.
Analysis of crime and crime rates questionable due to the high degree of under-reporting by citizens and the reclassification by police.	Analysis of crime rates are made more feasible because fuller incidence rate is considered, because different types of offenses may be considered and because changes in reporting rate can be taken into account.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF SELECTED FINDINGS IN RECENT VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS

*Although the absolute number of crimes in Charlotte is increasing, the actual rate of crime is staying about the same and even declining. Fluctuations in crime patterns appear to be more of a result of citizens' reporting patterns than of an actual change in the rate of crime;

*The rate of victimization for Part I offenses in Charlotte is almost double the rate reflected in police statistics;

*In Charlotte, for every 100 Part I offenses, only 15 lead to an arrest;

*Crimes against persons are much more likely to be reported to the police than crimes against property; since crimes against property occur approximately 8 times as often as those against persons, the clearance rate reported by official statistics masks the fact that the clearance rate for property crimes is one-third or less that for crimes against the person;

*The vast majority of victimizations are not violent;

*Violent victimizations lead to actual physical injury less than one-third of the time;

*Smaller cities report higher victimization rates than large urban areas. Charlotte, for example, has higher victimization rates than New York, Chicago, or Washington, D.C., but lower rates than found in smaller cities such as Dayton, Raleigh, or Gastonia;

*Men more than women are likely to be victims of crimes against the person;

*Minorities and low-income families are the most likely to experience a crime;

*Persons under the age of 24 are about twice as likely to have been a victim of crime than those over the age of 24; persons over the age of 65 are the least likely of all groups to have been a victim of crime, but display the highest fear of being victimized;

*Weapons are seldom used in assaults and robberies; when weapons are used, it is not likely that the victim will be injured;

*Victimizations involving injury are higher if the assailant is known to the victim.

In sum, traditional police statistics are characterized by significant limitations. Programs aimed at the reduction of crime which ignore offenses not reported to the police face the possibility that the actual incidence of crime may be decreasing without being reflected in official police statistics. Victimization surveys reduce just such a possibility and provide criminal justice planners and professionals with data not traditionally available: measures of economic and physical costs of crime on the individual, patterns of victimization among the population, and the patterned distribution of crime in the community.

The Delivery of Police Services

While the subject of police services has long been a focus of both social science and law enforcement research and evaluation, much of that focus has been on internal measures of service delivery. Studies of time-space allocation of officers, response time to calls for service, patrol pattern and frequency are set off against measures of cost for services, distances traveled, offenders apprehended, calls answered, number of complaints received, and person-hours spend in various activities. Manpower and efficiency studies seldom take into account social factors related to citizens or officers, let alone the consumer (citizen's) perceptions and feelings about the services received. It is only within the last few decades that serious attention has been focused on community attitudes toward the police and the services they receive, and most of this attention has come since the middle 1970's.(9)

In that citizen-based studies of police services are relatively new, we are just beginning to understand the impact of police services on both criminal victimizations and citizen perceptions and fears. It cannot be over-emphasized that since less than 20 percent of an officer's time is spent in direct law enforcement activities, how the officer spends his or her remaining time on patrol will have a great impact on both crime and citizen attitudes. In Charlotte, we have conducted three different sets of citizen-based surveys since 1975 for the City of Charlotte. In each of these surveys citizens were queried as to their experiences with and evaluation of the police services they receive, including both formal and informal contacts with police officers on patrol. Some of our findings and those of national studies are listed in Table 3.

TABLE 3

SELECTED FINDINGS OF CITIZEN BASED SURVEYS ON THE DELIVERY OF POLICE SERVICES

*Citizen attitudes about crime and its frequency are primarily a function of what they read and hear about crime in the media and from police statistics; neither personal or friends' experiences with crime were related to attitudes toward crime or crime trends;

*Most citizens feel that crime is a problem in neighborhoods other than their own; almost half of the respondents report altering behavior patterns to avoid those areas which they believe to be 'high crime areas';

*Most citizens do not feel that crime is any more of a problem in their neighborhood than the environment, or traffic.

*Most citizens believe that the police are doing a good job;

*How a citizen feels about the ability of the police to do something about crime determines, in part, their willingness to report crimes and to cooperate with the police in other activities;

*How an officer behaves toward citizens during the investigation of a reported offense is more important in shaping the citizen's attitude about police services than how fast the officer arrived or whether or not anyone was caught;

*Police-initiated contacts (driver license checks, aggressive patrol) were more likely to result in negative evaluations of police performance than interactions resulting from citizen-initiated requests for service;

*While most citizens feel relatively safe in their homes and in their neighborhoods, females, elderly persons, and blacks tend to feel that they are at greater risk than any other group; except for the case of blacks, these groups have the least risk of victimization;

*The majority of citizens would like to see increased patrol of their neighborhoods, especially foot patrol

Citizen based surveys in this area, then, indicate that attitudes toward the police, and willingness to cooperate with the police, are influenced strongly by day to day interactions of a non-law enforcement type. Further study in this area will allow criminal justice professionals to more adequately develop programs to improve police-community relations, and analyze possible patrol variations by neighborhood or section of the community.

Evaluation of Programs

Program evaluation is a third area where citizen-based data are being used.(11) While the focus on client evaluation is not new in the field of law enforcement, the scope of such studies has increased markedly in recent years. This increase represents an important change in orientation: traditionally, police departments have operationalized the success or failure of a program primarily in terms of reduction in the general level of crime. Such an orientation is problematic in two ways. First, as we noted earlier, to the extent that evaluation of a program rests upon police measured crime, the limitations inherent in the measures make meaningful analysis of the effectiveness of a program highly questionable. Second, as recent research has shown, the effectiveness of certain programs may actually lead to unanticipated consequences: for example, if a program has successfully improved the attitudes of citizens toward and confidence in the police, the consequence may be an increase in the level of reporting offenses and requesting services.(12) Unintentionally, the increased reporting of victimizations will be reflected in the police statistics as an increase in the rate of crime even when the actual level of victimization may be declining.

Citizen-based evaluations have played a significant role in overcoming at least the first of these limitations. Recent studies, such as the Kansas City Preventative Patrol Experiment(13), the Washington, D.C. Policewomen on Patrol(14), and the Charlotte High Crime Experiment (of which one of the authors of this paper was the principal investigator)(15), have indicated the utility and scope that such data sources offer to the law enforcement professional. In this type of study, victimization data are collected along with various behavioral, observational, and attitudinal data to facilitate the development of multiple operational measures of effectiveness.

Three recent studies illustrative of this type of research, all of which were conducted in Charlotte on a contractual basis, may be described briefly. In 1976, an analysis was done (based on data collected in 1975) of citizen-based evaluations of police effectiveness, crime prevention activities of citizens, and a comparison of crime experiences, attitudes toward and interactions with the police as a result of a reorganization of the department into team policing areas.(16) A second study evaluated the effectiveness of mini-team policing in reducing the crime experiences of citizens while improving police-community relations.(17) Interviews and observational data were collected on a variety of measures and compared with other control neighborhoods in the surrounding areas. A third study, now in the latter stages of analysis, involved interviews with approximately 1,300 individuals last summer.(18) The focus of the study was to compare citizen evaluations toward the delivery of city services. Standardized victimization data were collected, along with information on general attitudes toward the police, treatment by the police in citizen-initiated vs. police-initiated situations; evaluations of the quality of service received from the police, parks and recreation facilities, and sanitation were compared by area of the city. The data gathered in this study will make possible trend analyses of rates of victimization and the patterns of police patrol. A few of the findings of the first two surveys may be mentioned:

*Many special police projects which attempt to attack specific crimes, such as robbery or prostitution, through saturation patrol, stop-and-frisk activities, and the use of special teams appear to have little effect on crime in the long run, often displace crime to other areas, and have a negative impact on the citizens living in the area

*A service model employing foot patrol may be more effective a both reducing crime and improving citizen attitudes than either a saturation patrol or an aggressive patrol model.

*Programs such as Neighborhood Watch and Operation Owner may be more effective in improving citizen's attitudes about the police than in reducing crime,
*Participation in police-sponsored programs not only improves citizen attitudes about the police but also increases their willingness to report offenses and to cooperate with the police once they've reported a victimization.

In the first part of the paper, we have summarized the basic limitations of police-generated statistics, particularly as they relate to the measurement of crime and crime trends, the delivery of police services, and the evaluation of special programs or projects. We have further suggested that citizen-based surveys have and will continue to provide useful data for law enforcement professional and the general citizenry. While still in its infancy, we have described a series of studies conducted in Charlotte over the past few years to illustrate the variety of data congruent with citizen based surveys.

We now turn our discussion to the role of the social scientist in advocating and participating in such studies. The focus will be upon becoming more active in this type of community research, not only for professional reasons, but also to bring a social science perspective within the context of citizen-based research. While victimization surveys have brought us a great deal of useful data, we argue that social science has particular skills to bring into the research arena, particularly in the conceptualization and measurement of the survey instruments. In order for these skills to be fully utilized, however, a change must occur in the traditional role of the social scientist as technician.

The Role of the Social Scientist

In the first part of the paper, we suggested that citizen-based surveys offer various advantages and insights when compared to traditional police statistics. While this point has been increasingly accepted by national criminal justice planners and social scientists, it should be noted that the utilization of such surveys may be resisted at the community level, particularly by the police department. This resistance, where it occurs, is based on three factors. First, many departments reject the notion that traditional police statistics are limited and inaccurate measures of crime and law enforcement. Second, when citizen-based surveys are used, the results often make a department look 'bad': clearance rates, measures of the incidence of crime, and data on the department's reclassification of offenses differ strongly between the two sources of data and the community is left with the perception that crime is a lot worse and police services are less effective than previously assumed. Third, the cost (19) of conducting citizen-based surveys appear prohibitive to many communities. With the development of other alternatives, such as random digit dialing surveys, this latter point is perhaps not as problematic as it once was.

While none of these points of resistance are incapable of being overcome, the strength of citizen-based data does not in and of itself lead to a change in data base. Indeed, as we noted earlier, the use of citizen-based data should be used to supplement, not to supplant, official police statistics. In saying this, we acknowledge that a certain degree of tension should be expected when both sources are utilized to measure, for example, the incidence of crime, but this tension may be necessary to insure appropriate attention to issues of concern to citizens.

Assuming that more communities move toward increased use of citizen-based surveys, we need to consider the options confronting a community and the role of the social scientist in relation to these options. First, a community might choose to reproduce existing research instruments, such as those developed by the National Crime Survey.(20) Such an option would have the benefit of aiding in the national accumulation of crime statistics on the basis of victimization surveys. Should a community opt for this, however, they may perpetuate emphasis upon Part I offenses as the primary indicator of crime and ignore issues and problems of concern to the community. The role of the social scientist in this situation would be primarily that of technician, a role which we will discuss more fully below. A second option might be termed a 'cookbook' orientation. Communities might pick and choose questions or scales from national or local studies, assuming that the measures chosen validly tap the intended phenomena.(21) Such an orientation, while pragmatic, faces the possibility of being fragmented and of questionable use. The social scientist here may be of benefit in aiding in the selection of measures and subsequent analysis. Unless however, he/she is involved in the designation of goals of the project, it is likely that their responsibility be a general consultative role. A third approach by a community might be termed a mixed strategy: parts of national studies are incorporated with specifically designed measures.(22) This orientation offers the greatest flexibility in both generalizability and specificity for community needs. The social scientist in this situation would have the greatest responsibility but also the highest potential rewards. As we discuss below, it is here that the conceptual and methodological skills which set the social scientist off from other types of technicians and/or consultants. A final type of orientation could be

defined as the "community-specific orientation." Here the funding agency attempts to construct an entirely new research design, for example, to evaluate a special or innovative program. A strength of such an approach is that the research design is specifically oriented toward the uniqueness of the problem under study. At the same time, however, there is the limitation that such a design normally entails a greater degree of pretesting and is not generalizable beyond the specific context. Moreover, it runs the risk of ignoring factors which other studies have shown to be important out of a belief that the programs or community problem is unique. The social scientist in this situation may be responsible for the development of the instrument and for its administration and subsequent analysis.

Each of these options, then, have important ramifications for the role of the social scientist. Traditionally the role played has been that of the technician: one is relegated to being a technical consultant and survey coordinator.(23) One is requested to employ scientific methods to achieve ends defined by the contracting agency. The primary responsibilities here involve the drawing of an appropriate sample, the training and supervision of interviewers, the coding and punching of the data, and the provision of limited and specific types of analysis. Such a role severely under-utilizes the contributions social science has to offer. It also presents a series of ethical, pragmatic, and theoretical issues. First, ethical questions arise concerning the use of the data and the individual's role as a scientist; lacking some control over the formulation of questions and issues to be studied, it is possible for the survey instruments to introduce biases such that results desired by the agency will be obtained.(24) Second, the social scientist is confronted with theoretical questions dealing with the choice of variables which will

be examined, the interconnection between one set of influences and another set of outcomes, the nature of the sampling design vis-a-vis the purposes of the survey, and even the necessity of conducting surveys if other sources of data can be found. Finally, practical questions arise concerning the organization of the survey and the dissemination of the results: (1) unless the social scientist has considerable experience conducting citizen surveys or unless there is some guarantee that such surveys will be conducted on a regular basis, the frustrations to be encountered in performing the technicians role may be better left to professional survey firms; (2) the limitations placed on the social scientist concerning the analysis of data may result in unanticipated findings being overlooked or if discovered, being ignored because it does not fit with the original contracted analysis.

These ethical, theoretical, and pragmatic issues face most researchers in the applied setting. However, given the fact that it was as a result of social science studies that citizen-based surveys have now come to be acceptable alternatives to official statistics, we would argue that there is a unique opportunity for the role of the social scientist to move from that of general technician. Specifically, we suggest that an emerging role of applied social analyst is necessary if the benefits of citizen-based surveys are to be realized.

The notion of applied social analyst places the social scientist more integrally within the research process. It is predicated on the following: First, social scientists must become active critics of official statistics at the community level; second, they must be willing to offer better alternatives; third, that they negotiate with funding agencies a role that utilizes their conceptual and analytical skills; fourth, that they ensure that issues related to crime and law enforcement are addressed by local

officials; and finally, that they be involved in the communication of findings to the general public.

As applied social analysts, social scientists first have an obligation not only to their profession for the accumulation of knowledge, but also to the communities in which they live. This latter obligation involves becoming seriously involved in research focused on local problems and also in other types of civic participation. Social scientists all too often criticize police statistics and police operations within their classrooms but remain silent within their own communities; they often refer to studies which are critical of the police role in society and which suggest different models of policing, but they seldom seek to examine that role in their own neighborhoods; they demand that their students understand the limitations of the criminal justice system without pushing for a similar understanding within their own community; in their classes they discuss the contradictory data which exists relative to crime, but eschew an involvement in their communities which might bring about a reduction of those contradictions.

Second, the social scientist must be able to offer better alternatives to the existing data on crime and law enforcement. As noted before, while it could be argued that this has occurred at the national level, it does not mean that communities are necessarily willing to adopt the citizen-based survey as a more adequate data source. Building on our first point, the social scientist should be expected to argue for the benefits of different measures and foci at the local level. Essentially this means being able to argue that such data is useful to communities for planning, evaluation, and measures of the incidence of crime.

Third, the social scientist that becomes involved in research in this area should negotiate an alternative to the traditional relationship with

appropriate funding agencies. This point is fundamental if the conceptual, methodological, and analytic skills of the social scientist are to be benefically utilized. These skills reflect the distinction between the role of the technician and that of the social analyst. We turn to these skills briefly and suggest the ramifications of each point as they relate to social research in this area.

While the conceptual frameworks applicable to an understanding of crime and law enforcement are varied, the applied social analyst brings a sensitivity to the competing definitions as to what is significant about the incidence of crime, the pressures under which the police operate, and the various ways the police are viewed within the community. This background knowledge facilitates research in both the avoidance of issues and measures which have been studied in depth before, and applicability of attempts to measure areas not under traditional focus (e.g., discrimination). Questions which seem direct and useful to community officials may often need reformulation to ensure that program and survey goals become clarified and consistent with the capabilities of the research endeavor. Too often officials seek answers for questions which are not answerable by survey research, or at least not without a more rigorous research design. In some cases, it may be preferable to argue that a study not be done because of inadequate resources, research instruments, or validity. Overall, the conceptual skills brought by the applied analyst lessen the tendency for citizen-based studies to perpetuate inadequate data and facilitate the opportunity to move into areas which will become helpful at the local level.

Related to the theoretical skills the social analyst brings are the methodological and analytical skills. Drawing upon recent developments in the measure of victimizations and its consequences and building new

indices of local interest, the social analyst role can add measurably to the quality of the data. Various decisions which demand continual interaction between the social scientist and the funding agency, such as sampling design, pretesting, reliability of the measures, draw on the skills to focus the research design to its most parsimonious development. Our own experience in this area indicates that funding agencies often wish to cover such a breadth of material (e.g., city services studies) that useful data in any one area becomes problematic. The analysis of the data also falls within this range of issues. Unless specific expectations are agreed upon at the outset of the study, its utility is open to question. This does not mean that more in-depth analysis should not be expected to be conducted subsequently; rather we have found that analysis is often seen as an adjunct to the study and is often limited to a percentage distribution of responses.

The various skills of the social analyst can only emerge in a reciprocal fashion. For this role to be effective, the analyst must be sensitive to the needs and orientations of the funding agency. Most community research of this type requires an understanding of the political nature of the research and the interests reflected in the goals of the agency. On the one hand, this may mean that evaluations of various agencies should be explained to them before the study starts and suggestions should be elicited for ways to improve the instrument. On the other hand, this may mean that the analyst continually keeps the granting agency advised of the directions in which the analysis is moving, otherwise it may be found that the analyst indicates issues not conceptualized before by the funding agency. Overall, the crucial aspect is that the analysts relate to the funders as skilled analysts, and not just technicians.

A fourth alteration refers to the orientation that the analyst takes in regard to the research results. As noted above, too often social scientists do not adequately follow the consequences of their work. For the analyst role to be effective at the community level, one must ensure that local officials address the major findings. If the findings are generally negative with regard to a program or policing style, one should be willing to ascertain why changes were not made. Rather than being seen as a gadfly, we would argue that such an orientation facilitates respect from funding agencies as indicated by a willingness to be committed to change at the local level.

Finally, our conceptualization of the social analyst includes a responsibility to communicate the findings to not only peer professionals but also to the community. Media outlets, educational forums, etc., while often subsumed under the heading of university service, should be seen as the opportunity for the work of social science to be taken as integral to a community. It should be noted that positive and negative findings be disseminated at the local levels, and not just the positive aspects. The responsibility for more effective communication should also be seen as congruent with the larger issue of citizen-based data: citizens have a right to know the findings of projects and surveys in which they participate.

Summary

Our answer to the question what do we know about crime and law enforcement is that it depends upon the person or agency asked. There is general agreement within social science that citizen-based studies offer us more adequate information than that of official statistics. It is our contention that social scientists must persuasively argue this and participate more fully in the conduct of such studies. The use of studies is one

step. Their skills (conceptual and methodological) are crucial to facilitating data to be used at the local level. For this to occur, the role of the social scientist must be viewed not as a technician but rather as an applied social analyst. The outcome of a change in the role of a social scientist, and in the source of data to insure community input is the generation of more useful, accurate and comprehendible information.

Footnotes

1. Our report, Crime in Charlotte: Patterns, Problems, Prospects, was written with the assistance of Jo Anne Miles. The report is available through either the Mayor's Office, City of Charlotte, or the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

2. The studies include a series of 44 National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service (NCJISS) Reports on victimization surveys and public attitudes about crime. The NCJISS reports began in 1974 with the release of Crimes and Victims: A Report on the Dayton-San Jose Pilot Survey; this was the major developmental study of the citizen-based survey methodology which became the basis for subsequent research. The latest reports to be released by the NCJISS present the findings concerning citizen attitudes and fears about crime in the 26 cities across the nation in which continuous victimization (citizen-based) surveys have been conducted since early in the 1970s. In addition to these reports, we also draw information from 14 studies of crime and crime patterns in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The earliest of these studies was a study conducted for the Charlotte Mayor's Crime Prevention Committee by the Queens College Department of Sociology in 1963; this study examined police statistics and arrest data by census tract for the city as a whole. The most recent of the studies include victimization studies conducted by the authors of this paper.

3. For discussions of the artificality of fluctuations in crime rates the reader is directed to the following sources: William Chamblis and R. H. Nagasawa, "On the Validity of Official Statistics," Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency, V.6 (1969), pp. 71-77; Donald J. Balck, "The Production of Crime Rates," American Sociological Review, V. 35 (1970), pp. 733-748; Wesley G. Skogan, "Crime and Crime Rates," in

Wesley G. Skogan (ed), Sample Surveys of the Victims of Crime (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 105-120.

4. Phillip Ennis, "Crime, Victims, and the Police," in James F. Short (ed), Modern Criminals (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), pp. 87-104.

5. Skogan, op cit., p. 117.

6. David Seidman and Michael Couzens, "Keeping the Crime Rate Down: Political Pressure and Crime Reporting," Law and Society Review, V. 8 (1974), pp. 459-493.

7. The President's Crime Commission (i.e., the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice) issued its first report on victimization surveys in 1967: Field Surveys I: Report On A Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office). Since that time the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration with the cooperation of the Census Bureau have been conducting victimization surveys in 26 cities throughout the nation; a report of the utility of these surveys has been issued by James Garofalo, Local Victim Surveys: A Review of the Issues (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977). The National Research Council has also examined many of the issues concerning the use of these surveys and what they tell us; their report is Surveying Crime (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1976).

8. For a good review of the literature on the advantages of citizen-based studies see Wesley G. Skogan (ed), Sample Surveys of the Victims of Crime (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1976); Wesley Skogan, Victimization Surveys and Criminal Justice Planning (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978); and James Garofalo, Local Victim Surveys: A Review of the Issues (Washington, D.C.: U.S.

Government Printing Office, 1977).

9. Data supporting these conclusions can be found in the 44 NCJISS publications referenced in Footnote 2. The NCJISS publication Myths and Realities About Crime: A Nontechnical Presentation of Selected Information from the National Prisoner Statistics Program and the National Crime Survey (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1978) is especially useful. Research conducted in Charlotte includes the following: Department of Budget and Evaluation, An Evaluation of Selected Aspects of Police Services (Charlotte, NC: City of Charlotte, 1976); John G. Hayes and Raymond Michalowski, The Charlotte Citizen Safety Survey: Criminal Victimization and Citizen Perceptions of Crime and the Police in Charlotte, North Carolina (Charlotte, NC: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, UNC-Charlotte, 1976); John G. Hayes, Gerald Ingalls, and Wayne Walcott, The Dalton Village High Crime Neighborhood Project: An Evaluation of Mini-Team Policing (Charlotte, NC: University of North Carolina at Charlotte, June, 1978); and, results from a recent survey conducted for the City of Charlotte by Michael A. Pearson and John G. Hayes (major analysis of the results is being done by the City of Charlotte).

10. Two very good examples of the increased attention being given to the use of citizen-based surveys for evaluating police services are (1) the work of James Garofalo, op cit., and (2) Harry P. Hatry, et al., How Effective Are Your Community Services? Procedures for Monitoring the Effectiveness of Municipal Services (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1977).

11. See Joseph H. Lewis, Evaluation of Experiments in Policing: How You Begin? (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1972), and Anne L. Schneider, "Victimization Surveys and Criminal Justice System Evaluation," in Wesley

G. Skogan, op cit., 1976, pp. 135-149.

12. Frank F. Furstenburg, Jr. and Charles Wellford, "Calling the Police: The Evaluation of Police Services," Law and Society Review, V. 7 (1973), pp. 343-406.

13. Kelling, et al., The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment (Washington, D.C.: The Police Foundation, 1974).

14. Peter Bloch and Deborah Anderson, Policewomen on Patrol (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1974).

15. Hayes, Ingalls, and Walcott, op cit.

16. Hayes and Michalowski, op cit.

17. Hayes, Ingalls, and Walcott, op cit.

18. Part of this study was done under contract from the City of Charlotte. The analysis is currently being done by the Office of Budget and Evaluation, City of Charlotte; questions about this survey should be directed to that office.

19. The cost of running in-person interviews can run as much as $30 per interview including the collection of the data, sampling data processing, and administrative functions; this does not include survey design or the analysis of data. There are ways of reducing costs of in-person interviews, such as using volunteers or students at a local university, but, even then, the cost will run about $20-$25 per interview. The costs of conducting telephone interviews will be less, usually about one-third as much as in-person interviews (see Alfred J. Tuchfarber, Jr., et al., "Reducing the Cost of Victim Surveys," pp. 207-221 in Skogan, 1976, op cit.). The limitations of each type of survey and the associated costs are further examined by Garofalo, 1977, op cit.

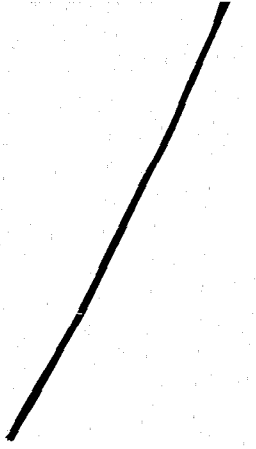
20. See Garofalo, 1977, op cit.

21. See Hatry, et al., op cit., for an example of the pick and choose method.

22. An example of this approach is found in the study by Hayes, Ingalls and Walcott, op cit.

23. See Robert C. Angell, "The Ethical Problems of Applied Sociology," pp. 725-740 in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell, and Harold L. Wilensky (eds), The Uses of Sociology (New York: Basic Books, 1967).

24. Angell, op cit., p. 733.



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