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CITIZENS CONTACTING THE POLICE:

THE DYNAMICS OF POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTIONS

DURING TWO VOLUNTARY CONTACTS

By

Tracie L. Toscano

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Masters of Arts

Major: Criminal Justice

Under the Supervision of Dr. Solomon Zhao

Omaha, Nebraska

August 2005

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Master Of Arts in Criminal Justice, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Committee

Chairperson _____

Date 07/12/05

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ABSTRACT

CITIZENS CONTACTING THE POLICE:

THE DYNAMICS OF POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTIONS

DURING TWO VOLUNTARY CONTACTS

Tracie L. Toscano

University of Nebraska at Omaha, 2005

Advisor: Dr. Solomon Zhao, Ph.D.

The thesis investigates two types of citizen initiated contacts with the police using data from the Bureau of Justice, "Contacts Between Police And The Public: Findings From The 1999 National Survey." The two types of contacts examined are citizens asking for assistance from the police and citizens reporting neighborhood problems to the police. It was hypothesized that there are differences between citizens calling the police during these two contacts by demographic variables income, gender, age, and race. The descriptive findings were that people with higher income, females, between the ages of 25-44, and Whites call the police more than citizens with lower income, males, between the ages of 16-24 or over 65, and minority races. The findings suggest the importance of understanding police-citizen relations by demographic variables during voluntary contacts in order to strengthen police image and increase citizens' satisfaction with the police.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Eric Scott conducted a study in 1981 "Calls For Service: Citizen Demands And Initial Police Response." At the time, there had been few empirical studies examining the demands for police services although non-criminal services comprised a larger proportion of departmental work than law enforcement services. He was one of the first researchers to provide a breakdown for the distribution of calls (Scott, 1981: 2-3).

Using the actual telephone calls to 911 operators and citizen's survey data, he was able to survey citizen perceptions of the police along with their experiences and evaluation of the police agency (Scott, 1981: 20). Scott (1981) found that only twenty percent of police work was actually dealing with crime while the other eighty percent falls into the categories of order maintenance and services, unrelated to crime control. These calls range from traffic control and public nuisance to citizen wanting information (Scott, 1981: 3, 28). Scott (1981) concluded overlooking demand calls, which are one fifth of police calls and a significant amount of police work, cannot be ignored (Scott, 1981: 95).

Another study conducted by Black (1970) examined the police use of arrest during daily contacts. He was seeking to find out if police officers routinely use arrest or withhold their power to do so. He found that the daily routine of an officer infrequently leads to an arrest and, in fact, uniformed police officers spend half of their time responding to citizen calls for service (Black, 1970: 86-87).

Black (1970) also found the following: citizen initiated contacts are what consumes the average patrol officer's time; it is reactive work that leads an officer to have six dispatched calls to one proactive police initiated contact; and only thirteen percent of contacts came to the attention of the police without the assistance of a citizen. When the police initiated the contact it was more likely to be for a traffic violation (Black, 1970: 86-88).

Scott's (1981) and Black's (1970) work both establish that police work is citizen driven. It also demonstrates the reality of police work, contrary to the popular belief that police work is all about catching criminals and locking them up. Scott (1981) and Black (1970) establish police work during daily observations and conclude that police work revolves around citizen contact and citizen needs.

Purpose of Thesis

Unlike Scott's (1981) study that used actual 911 calls to operators, this thesis used data already collected by the BJS survey to examine who is calling the police, as self reported by individual citizens. Similarities can be seen between both the BJS survey and Scott (1981) study. For instance, calls for assistance represented twelve percent of the total calls in both studies (Scott, 1981:29; Langan et al., 2001: 7). The Police Public Contact Survey allows an opportunity to learn more about police-citizen contacts. This thesis can be used to compare the demand patterns during calls for assistance and reporting neighborhood problems between communities of varying sizes.

The relationship between citizens and the police during voluntary contacts should be examined in order to find out if these types of contacts reflect the citizens' trust, confidence, and satisfaction with the police. The increase of voluntary contacts between the police and citizens could extend the willingness of both parties to understand their role in making their communities more successful and pleasant to live in, as suggested by Kelling (1978).

There is extensive research on how income, gender, age, and race/ethnicity affect the police-citizen relations during involuntary contacts. During voluntary contacts, these variables have been less explored. To better understand the relationship between the police-citizen during everyday interactions, this paper takes a look at the importance of two of the everyday contacts. The purpose of this thesis is to explore exactly who is contacting the police to ask for assistance and to report a neighborhood problem. This will give a clear understanding for the police as well as the public about who is contacting the police during routine, voluntary contacts.

This thesis will examine the differences in the citizens contacting the police in these two voluntary contacts by income, gender, age, and race/ethnicity. It will not look at other variables affecting a citizen's trust, confidence, or satisfaction of the police such as the individual race of the officer or neighborhood context.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Expectations During Contact With The Police

Different police roles bring along different expectations placed on police officers by citizens in the community. Reisig & Chandek (2001) conducted a study that examined citizens' expectations of the police. They tested the expectancy disconfirmation model, which states that citizens' satisfaction with the police is a response to the agreement between the individual's [citizen] expectation and the actual performance of a product [police officer] (Reisig & Chandek, 2001: 88). The hypothesis stated that there is a disparity between citizens' expectations of police performance and the service citizens actually receive. In addition, Reisig & Chandek (2001) explained the police service expectations and public satisfaction are influenced by the type of contact they encounter, voluntary or involuntary. The study used two random samples of adults who had contacts with the police in a Midwestern city. The two samples used citizens who had either had voluntary or involuntary contacts with the police (Reisig & Chandek, 2001: 90-91).

The variables consisted of the expectation variable, defined by five items such as: arrival to the scene, giving advice, and calling after the initial report. The control variables were the demographic variables such as age and race. Reisig and Chandek (2001) found that services received and the officer's demeanor influences the citizens' satisfaction with the police (Reisig & Chandek, 2001: 92-94). They also found that citizen satisfaction with the police was contingent on

the individual's expectation of the police to the services rendered and how police handle themselves during the time services are being given (Reisig & Chandek, 2001: 995-96).

Similarly, Chandek (1999) examined expectations and whether the police failed to meet the expectations held by minority citizens. She established the nature of expectations by crime victims (Chandek, 1999: 676-678). The study collected data from burglary and robbery victims in 1995, using telephone surveys and official complainant records from a Midwestern police department. One hundred and twenty-two victims agreed to participate, with just over half of the victims being minority males. The dependent variable was the overall satisfaction with the police and the independent variable were demographic variables such as gender, age, and race of the crime victims and the police response variables including investigative effects and crime victim expectations (Chandek, 1999: 679).

Chandek (1999) found that victims who perceived police to display more investigative functions, such as note taking and questioning witnesses, had a higher level of satisfaction with the police. Chandek (1999) also found victim's satisfaction with the police was higher when the police or another agency re-contacted them about the crime. If a victim's expectations were unfulfilled, the victim's satisfaction with the police was rated lower (Chandek, 1999: 683-84).

A similar study on citizens' satisfaction and expectations was conducted by De Vries (2002). De Vries (2002) hypothesized that the criteria citizens use to judge

the police includes a discrepancy between police performances and the citizens' demands and wishes. In the study, she examined initiatives used to improve the quality of tailor-made services that could lead to a more satisfied citizen. Quality service is defined as meeting the citizen's expectations for the delivered services (De Vries, 2002: 303).

The survey asked questions regarding to police effectiveness, tradition, expertise, legality, and charisma. Respondents were also asked questions about police tasks and responsibilities. Responses emphasized police duties such as chasing criminals, fighting crimes, and solving serious crimes, like murder and armed robbery as important expectations (De Vries, 2002: 313). The respondents also stated that effectiveness and availability were the two most crucial aspects of police performance. De Vries (2002) stated other criteria for good policing included local orientation, procedure, maintenance, and tradition. She found that citizens were dissatisfied with the effectiveness, availability, and the local orientation of the police (De Vries, 2002: 314-317).

De Vries (2002) also found that negative attitudes toward the police were due to inequity of services. Such inequities include: the promises of increasing safety, improving the quality of police, and increasing clearance rates that are not being kept. De Vries (2002) stated that police should attempt to improve the service quality through reaffirming police actions and improving performance. De Vries (2002) also stated that citizens were more satisfied if services were tailor-made and met their wishes and expectations (De Vries, 2002: 302).

Although there are different roles and expectations placed on police functions, most of their work is spent on public service or other multiple functions, such as patrolling. Patrolling has led the police away from personal contact even though contact is important in helping police-citizen interaction. It has led to mutual withdrawal from the police-citizen interaction and an increase in citizens' expectations of the police. Citizens who expected the police to arrive promptly and who did not receive that, held a negative attitude toward the police (Kelling, 1978: 174-178).

Kelling (1978) examined the use of investigations, technology, and team policing on the effects of improving the quality and quantity of police-citizen contacts. He found that they failed to improve the interaction. He also found that they led police to ignore the importance of citizen interaction and police work effectiveness (Kelling, 1978: 183). He suggested the need to improve contacts between police and citizens by lowering the expectation of response time and examining what it is the police can and should do in society. Kelling (1978) argued that citizens should rely on police as a community aid, not the sole system for handling social problems like crime and order maintenance (Kelling, 1978: 183-184).

Citizen's Satisfaction With The Police

It is important to find out how police can become more responsive to the public through the nature of police services due to citizens' expectations and satisfaction with the police. In a study conducted by Furstenberg and Wellford

(1973), they asked how the police could be encouraged to become more responsive to the public they serve. They stated that redefining an officer's role and relationship to the community were needed (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973: 393).

Using data from the Inspectional Services Unit of the Baltimore Police Department, Furstenberg & Wellford (1973) interviewed one hundred people. They used an informal questioning technique and measured the citizen's satisfaction with the police response to calls. The assessment was measured by the courtesy and efficiency the officer displayed. They found the majority of the public were satisfied with the services they received, ranking police courtesy and understanding highest. Seventy-five percent were very satisfied, while twelve percent were very dissatisfied (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973: 399).

The researchers also found that confidence and satisfaction with the police increased when other services were more visible to the public. Answering sick calls, mediating family disputes, and removing illegally parked cars are tasks that take up three-fourths of the police officer's time but also offer positive aspects to the police image. Making the other services more visible made the police more responsive to the communities they served (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973: 394). Finally, the researchers found that citizens increased satisfaction and confidence in the police when the officer took the time to explain how they were going to handle the citizen's complaint. Citizens were more satisfied with the police when

the officer followed up the response call (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973: 402-403).

Similarly, Wiley & Hudik (1974) hypothesized that citizens would be more satisfied when the police explained the reason why the person was in their contact and they cooperated more depending on the citizen's perception of contact appropriateness (Wiley & Hudik, 1974: 121). The researchers used two hundred interviews from a south side Chicago neighborhood, interviewing black males between the ages of fifteen to sixty-five. The respondents were asked to rank the importance of police roles, defined as reporting crimes against a person, crimes against property, and victimless crimes (Wiley & Hudik, 1974: 121).

Wiley & Hudik (1974) found the average time length that a citizen spends during a police encounter, without being told why he/she has been contacted, determined the willingness to cooperate. Hence, the more time spent without a reason for the contact, the less willing the citizen was to cooperate (Wiley & Hudik, 1974: 124). Citizens were more willing to help when the contact was an investigation for a crime against a person verses against property or a victimless crime. There was a strong support for assisting the police when the officer was respectful and the reason for the contact was explained. Citizens more likely to cooperate and help the police had a more positive perception (Wiley & Hudik, 1974: 125).

Hawdon & Ryan (2003) stated that in order for the police to be effective, they depend upon citizen support. Community oriented policing has flourished in the

past two decades and relies on cooperation and trust between citizens and police (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003: 55-56). Community oriented policing places an emphasis on citizen input and face-to-face interaction between the police and citizens of the community. Police increase their effectiveness when they use community informal control mechanisms, such as intensive questioning about behaviors and verbal warnings for negative behaviors (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003: 57).

Hawdon and Ryan (2003) examined citizens' perceptions of local police in a small southern neighborhood. They interviewed one hundred and thirty citizens by telephone using a random selection. It was hypothesized that citizen-police interaction affected citizens' attitude toward the police effectiveness. They measured citizens' contact with the police, their knowledge of community policing, and police visibility. These factors predicted citizens' satisfaction with the police (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003: 56, 59).

They found that citizens who perceived the police to be patrolling the neighborhood trusted the police and they also had a positive perception toward the effectiveness of the police. The visibility of the officer in the community improved citizens' attitude toward the police (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003: 65-67).

Importance of Police-Community Relations

Reisig & Giacomazzi (1998) argued that positive attitudes toward police performance were important to police-citizen relations and also their partnership. In the spring of 1995, they used a random probability sample of adult citizens in a

small northwestern town. Three hundred and sixty-five people were interviewed (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998: 551). There were four different sections of the town, identified as College Park, McGee Bluffs, Sunnyside Acres, and Military Heights (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998: 551). Reisig & Giacomazzi (1998) found that police cannot fight crime and disorder without citizen help. Citizens act individually in helping police by reporting suspicious behaviors and participating in neighborhood block watch (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998: 547-48).

Similarly, Worrall (1999) states that police departments achieve positive relations with citizens through greater efficacy and a more positive image. Efficacy was defined as "the perceived power to produce an effect" (Worrall, 1999: 48). It was measured in the study by asking questions such as "how much confidence do you have in the police to protect you, solve crime, and prevent crime?" (Worrall, 1999: 48, 54). Image was defined as "the diffuse support for the law enforcement authorities." Image was measured by the rate of friendliness and fairness an officer displayed (Worrall, 1999: 48, 55).

Worrall (1999) used telephone survey conducted in 1995 for collecting his data. A nationwide sample of one thousand five citizens was used to ask about attitudes and perceptions of the police. He found that citizens who had a favorable police contact were more favorable to the police and rated police ability to solve crime higher. Contact rating was the most influential in citizens' perception of police image (Worrall, 1999: 61).

A study that examined the concept of co-production during the police and citizens interaction in the communities was Huang & Vaughn (1996). They stated that police-citizen relations are important due to the reactive nature of police work, because police need citizens in order to make their work more effective. Co-production of police services was defined as a "symbiotic relationship between the police and public" (Huang & Vaughn, 1996: 31). Huang & Vaughn (1996) examined the affects of police contacts on attitudes by asking five hundred and forty seven respondents questions regarding their attitudes toward the police. Ten variables were used to measure the attitudes of citizens toward the police. The ten variables were male, African American, Hispanic, married, urban, education, income, conservatism, contact, and age (Huang & Vaughn, 1996: 42).

They found that the level of satisfaction with the police contact had a significant effect on the citizen's attitude toward the police. The greater the citizen's satisfaction with the contact, the more positive the overall attitude was toward police (Huang & Vaughn, 1996:42-43). Huang & Vaughn (1996) urged for the use of community programs. This, they argued, would increase positive contact between the citizen and police and help increase positive attitudes of the police. They also stated that police needed to do what they could to make the contact as positive as possible when helping crime victims and answering questions. Experiencing a positive contact was the single most determinant found in the study. The researchers argued that police contact explained the

variation in citizens' attitudes toward the police. Further, it explained the variation between citizen's attitude toward police friendliness and fairness. It was the citizen's perception and evaluation of the contact that made their attitude toward the police negative or positive (Huang & Vaughn, 1996: 44-45).

Types of Contacts

Huang & Vaughn (1996) argued that police need a cooperative citizenry if their work was going to be effective. Huang & Vaughn (1996) used the 1995 National Opinion Survey on Crime and Justice to examine perceptions and attitudes about the police. They found the majority of the respondents held favorable attitudes toward the police (Huang and Vaughn, 1996: 44).
They stated that police contact and experience had a major affect on attitudes toward police. Police contacts that are calls for help or assistance, such as a car accident, are more likely to result in a positive attitude. Involuntary contacts, such as being arrested or stopped for a traffic offense, are more likely to lead to negative attitudes. Personal contact with the police also determines the general satisfaction with the police (Huang & Vaughn, 1996:36).

Similarly, Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi (1995) conducted another study that examined the type of contact between police and citizens. Jesilow et al. (1995) used a stratified random sample of five hundred thirty eight residents in Santa Ana, California. Researchers used open ended questions and collected data on demographic variables. During the spring and summer of 1990, they conducted interviews by telephone and in person. The respondents were asked what they

liked and disliked about the police. Patrol officers are citizens' most visible representative of the criminal justice system and they are who citizens have the most constant contact with (Jesilow et al., 1995: 67, 69-71).

Among the respondents surveyed, sixty-seven percent of them did not have any contact with a police officer within the last twelve months. Sixteen percent reported they had one contact with them. The other seventeen percent had multiple contacts (Jesilow et al., 1995: 75). When a respondent reported having contact with the police, his/her attitude toward the police was influenced. The type of contact and satisfaction with the contact determined the favorable or unfavorable perception of the police (Jesilow et al., 1995: 75-77).

Jesilow et al. (1995) also found that a third of those with one contact, made the contact to ask the police for help. Positive and negative comments were associated with the calls for assistance. Those who admitted to being ticketed or arrested during the contact generally had negative attitudes toward the police. Request for service was associated with both positive and negative comments (Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, 1995: 78-80). Jesilow et al. (1995) recommended that programs be used that required the community involvement in helping the police improve neighborhoods (Jesilow et al., 1995: 85-86).

Another study conducted by Maxson, Henningan, and Sloane (2003) examined contacts with the police to determine their relevancy to citizens' perception of the police. They mailed surveys to four residential areas in Los Angeles. There were two types of contacts between police and citizens in this study: formal and

informal. Maxson, Henningan, and Sloane (2003) found that forty-eight percent of the citizens contacted through the survey had formal contacts while the forty-seven percent had informal contacts (Maxson, Hennigan, & Sloane (2003), ii-1).

Formal contacts included contacts such as citizen calling police to request services or police questioning the citizen about an alleged crime. Informal contacts included conversations with police on patrol and police-citizen interactions during community meetings (Maxson, Hennigan, & Sloane, 2003:ii-1). The findings suggested that informal contacts lessened the negative impact of residents' formal contact, such as during a motor vehicle stop or when being questioned by the police. It also gave police officers increased satisfaction in his/her job (Maxson, Hennigan, & Sloane, 2003: 5).

Maxson, Hennigan, and Sloane concluded that the type of contact with the police determined citizens' satisfaction with the police. The police improved police-community relations by increasing their informal contacts with citizens. In addition, residents' opinions on police performance and individual officer's demeanor were positively affected when increased interactions with citizens occurred, such as through community meetings, visibility in the neighborhoods, and talking with citizens (Maxson, Henningan, & Sloane, 2003: 3).

They also state that the social cohesion level and informal social control present influence the citizens' perception. If citizens got along with one another, shared the same values, and could be trusted to help with neighborhood problems, the perceptions of the police were more positive. These same citizens were found

to have more police informal contacts and were also more likely to believe that the community shares the responsibility of solving problems with the police (Maxson, Henningan, & Sloane, 2003: 3-4).

Another study conducted by Reisig & Parks (2002), examined the effects of the type of contacts the citizen had with the police and its influence his/her perception. Over five thousand residents were interviewed in fifty-eight neighborhoods in Indiana and St. Petersburg, Florida. The study examined whether or not personal experience with the police, through calls of service or traffic stops, had an impact on citizen satisfaction (Reisig & Parks, 2002: 1).

Reisig & Parks (2002) found that direct experience with an officer was the greatest factor contributing to the citizens' satisfaction with police. Furthermore, residents from the same neighborhood reported different levels of satisfaction with the police possibly due to individual experiences with the police. They concluded that it was "easier for the police officer to influence an individual's impression of him/her than to influence that individual's impression of the neighborhood" (Reisig & Parks, 2002: 5).

In addition, Reisig & Parks (2002) found that individuals who were stopped for a traffic violation were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those who made a service call. Therefore, improving the service quality when police had public contact enhanced the satisfaction level (Reisig & Parks, 2002: 2,4). Direct experience with the police was a key element for citizen's level of satisfaction with the police. The researchers suggested enhancing service delivery

would improve the public's overall evaluation of police. Citizens have more positive attitudes when an officer is respectful and meet or exceed service expectations. Explaining their course of action was an example given in this study of exceeding expectations (Reisig & Parks, 2002: 2).

Involuntary Contacts: Traffic Stops and Arrests

Lundman and Kaufman (2003) used citizen self reports from a representative national sample of respondents to examine the citizens' perception of the police during traffic stops. They had a total of seven thousand thirty four respondents who had contact with the police. "Contacts Between Police and the Public: Findings from the 1999 National Survey" was used to look at the total traffic stops made. They used 'legitimate reason for Stop' and 'police acted properly' for their dependent variables and found total traffic stops made were related to the population size of the area. When a citizen was in a less populated area, he/she was more likely to be pulled over. The larger the population the less likely a citizen was to be pulled over (Lundman and Kaufman, 2003: 199-204).

Lundman and Kaufman (2003) found younger drivers and men were more likely to be pulled over than women. Black drivers were found to be pulled over significantly more than Whites and Hispanics. When asked if the stop was legitimate, Blacks, Hispanics, and males were less likely to perceive the stop as legitimate (Lundman and Kaufman, 2003: 204-07). Those who had other contacts with the police within the last twelve months were less likely to perceive the stop as legitimate. Those who had a lower income were also less likely to

perceive the stop as legitimate. When asked if the police acted properly, Lundman & Kaufman (2003) found Blacks, Hispanics, and males were less likely to perceive the police as acting appropriately (Lundman & Kaufman, 2003: 207).

Voluntary Contacts

Smith and Hawkins (1973) examined the following: citizen contact made while police were on duty, contacts in which the citizen was subjected to law enforcement, and contacts where no related roles of the police were present. The study was representative of Seattle (Smith & Hawkins: 1973: 138). Smith & Hawkins (1973) found that although most citizens held positive perceptions of the police and felt police were performing an important job effectively, there were several reasons why citizens hold negative attitudes toward the police. Such reasons included: age and race of the citizen, neighborhood context, officer demeanor, and type of contacts citizens had with the police. Younger, nonwhite respondents held more negative attitudes toward the police (Smith & Hawkins, 1973: 137-138). Citizens not satisfied with police action following a contact are more likely to have negative attitudes toward the police. On the other hand, citizens having informal contacts hold higher, more positive opinions of police performance and demeanor, while citizens who have only formal contacts hold less positive contacts (Smith & Hawkins, 1973: 136-37,140). Smith & Hawkins (1973) stated that police should be concerned with how the citizens perceived them, because the number one reported problem faced by officers was "relations with the public" (Smith & Hawkins, 1973: 147).

In addition, they found that dissatisfaction with police response calls for assistance after being victimized created negative perceptions of the police. Citizens who observed police brutality and drinking on the job held a more negative view of the police than those who did not witness these things. They also found persons having direct contact with the police, when being arrested, held a more negative perceptions. Receiving a ticket appeared to have a negative affect, especially for those in a low-income area (Smith & Hawkins, 1973: 141).

Dependent And Independent Variables

Type of contact was found to be significant when affecting a citizens' satisfaction with the police. Cheurprakobkit (2000) examined the impact of police contacts and found that citizens' attitudes toward police performance were more favorable when the citizen initiated police contact and when it was a service contact rather than a crime-related one. Citizens who initiate police contact viewed them more favorably and police contact is likely to be a result of a service call than for a crime fighting reason (Cheurprakobkit, 2000: 325).

Cheurprakobkit (2000) stated that it was the creative partnership between police and citizens that helped improve the interaction between the two. Police contact and visibility have an effect on citizen attitudes. Personal contact between the police and citizens had a strong impact on the citizens' general satisfaction with police service. The citizen's perception of being treated fairly leaves a more favorable attitude as well (Cheurprakobkit, 2000: 325-26).

In addition, Cheurprakobkit (2000) also stated that the types of contacts with the police influenced the citizens' satisfaction, such that one physical police contact found the residents with a favorable attitude compared to the citizen with only a visual contact (Cheurprakobkit, 2000: 326). Police contacts that were positive service calls left the citizens with a positive attitude about police. Involuntary contacts such as arrest or traffic violations led to negative attitudes (Cheurprakobkit, 2000: 326).

As discussed earlier, Huang & Vaughn (1996) used the National Opinion Survey on Crime and Justice (1995) to examine citizens' attitude toward the police. They found that a majority of the respondents held favorable attitudes toward the police (Huang & Vaughn, 1996: 36). Huang and Vaughn (1995) stated a need for an increase of positive interaction between the police and citizen in order to have more favorable attitudes among the community (Huang and Vaughn, 1996: 44). Thus is the rationale for the use of these two voluntary contacts: asking for assistance and reporting a neighborhood problem in this thesis.

A study conducted by Thomas and Hyman (1977) examined the relationship between demographic variables (age, sex, and educational attainment) to attitudes toward the police. Randomly selected households in four cities of Virginia during 1973-74 were used in the study. Telephone interviews were given to over three thousand households. They found that most citizens had favorable attitudes toward the police; and they felt police had an important job, and that the police

were effective (Thomas & Hyman, 1977: 308). In this thesis, the demographic variables are the four independent variables used to examine citizens' perceptions of police during voluntary contacts. The four independent variables include: income, gender, age, and race.

I. Income

Income is more than just the dollar amount earned during the year. It also encompasses the life style one has because of the yearly earnings and the social status acquired by such earnings. Robert Merton (1938) stated that economic success cannot be obtained through anomie, defined as "the disjunction between socially approved means to success and legitimate goals" (Schmalleger, 2002: 208). The lack of economic success through legitimate goals depends upon an individual's ability and decision making. Acceptable ways of achieving wealth and social status through income are education and hard work (Schmalleger, 2002: 208).

Weitzer & Tuch (2002) conducted a study in which they examined the perception of racial profiling on race, income, and personal experience. The data was drawn from a Gallup poll surveyed of more than two thousand residents nationally in the months of September, October, and November of 1999 (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 439-440). They found that income was significant in predicting the respondent's attitude toward the police, with higher income respondents having a more favorable opinion of the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 448).

II. Gender

The second independent variable in this thesis is gender. Males are more likely to have a negative attitude toward the police than females (Thomas & Hyman, 1977; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 448). There are studies that assess the impact of gender attitude toward police in conjunction with other demographic variables. In general, these studies find that young, minority males tend to have a negative attitude toward the police, while older Caucasian females tend to have a more positive attitude toward them (Thomas & Hyman, 1977; Hadar & Snortum, 1975).

III. Age

The third demographic variable is age. Leiber et. al. (1998) examined the contact between juveniles and police and found that juveniles make up a disproportionate amount of the population that comes into contact with the police. The initial contact with police at a young age had a lasting affect on that individual's attitude toward the police (Leiber, Nalla, & Farnworth, 1998: 152). Leiber et al. (1998) used an Iowa study that had an overrepresented group of minorities. It had a random sample of three hundred and thirty six juveniles known to be delinquents. The contact was measured by the frequency of three components. These three components included: frequency of encounters with the police in which the juvenile was warned and released, the juvenile was taken to the stations, or when the juvenile believed him/herself to be wrongly accused (Leiber, Nalla, & Farnworth: 1998: 159-160).

Hurst & Frank (2000) found that the overall juveniles' attitudes toward the police were not supportive. Less than forty percent favored anything about the police, over sixty-eight percent either disagreed or remained neutral to liking the police (Hurst & Frank, 2000: 195). The researchers stated the most favorable attitudes came from different types of police services. For example, juveniles were pleased with how well the police kept the neighborhood quiet at night. Approximately half of the high school respondents thought police would help them if their car had broken down. Over half the juveniles thought the police would help someone if they were sick and needed assistance (Hurst & Frank, 2000: 195). In general, juveniles did not show police support and less than forty percent agreed to any of the general attitude questions about liking the police (Hurst & Frank, 2000: 199).

A study that examined the elder population was conducted by Zevitz & Rettammel (1990). The attitudes and level of satisfaction for elder citizens to police services were examined in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Zevitz & Rettammel (1990) found that older victims favored specialized police services. The respondents in the study were satisfied when referrals were made as a follow up to their service call. Such referrals were to elderly victim assistant programs or to other social services. Referrals affected the perception of quality service even if the clearance rate for the call was not increased (Zevitz & Rettammel, 1990:31-33).

Zevitz & Rettammel (1990) found elderly that had lived in the neighborhood longer and had a higher level of education also perceived the police more favorably (Zevitz & Rettammel, 1990:34). They also found that positive interaction between police and elderly helped the victim recover faster and left them with positive attitudes toward the police for the next interaction (Zevitz & Rettammel, 1990: 36).

IV. Race/Ethnicity

The fourth independent variable is race/ethnicity. Race/ethnicity has been the most researched variable of the independent variables used. Tuch and Weitzer (1997) conducted a time series analysis of the effect of well-publicized brutality incidents on citizens' perception of the police. The three incidents used during this study had all took place in Los Angeles: the killing of an African American woman, Eulia Love, in 1979; the beating of Rodney King in 1991 by the Los Angeles Police Department; and a videotaped baton beating of two Mexican immigrants by Los Angeles sheriff deputies in 1996 (Tuch & Weitzer, 1997: 643).

All three incidents involved minority citizens being the brunt of police brutality. They found that attitudes are strongly affected by celebrated, well-publicized incidents of police brutality at the national level, with African Americans and Caucasians having different reactions to brutality incidents. There is a greater longevity of impact on African Americans and Latinos. Because of these types of situations, it can be argued that race is the greatest factor in determining attitudes toward the police (Tuch & Weitzer, 1997: 647).

In addition, Weitzer & Tuch (1999) conducted a study that examined race as a factor in citizen's perception of police. This study used 1993 and 1995 Gallup polls as the data set. They measured attitudes toward police with questions concerning police protection and treatment between Black and White citizens. African Americans had less favorable attitudes toward police than Caucasians and were more likely to report they have personally seen or experienced police misconduct (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999: 494-498).

African Americans express greater dissatisfaction with the police more often than Caucasians. African Americans believe that Caucasians receive better police protection and have little confidence in the police's ability to treat African Americans and Caucasians equally. Majority of African Americans view racism among police as very or fairly common. Race remained a significant predictor of attitudes toward the police. African Americans were significantly more likely than Caucasians to see their race as bearing the brunt of harsh treatment (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999:498-500).

A third study conducted by Weitzer and Tuch (2002) examining race, found that the citizens' race and personal police experience were strong predictors of negative attitudes toward the police. A national survey was conducted in 1999 to examine the affect racial profiling had on citizen perception of police. Racial profiling is "the use of race as a key factor in police decision to stop and interrogate citizens" (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 435). African Americans are more likely to see racial profiling as widespread. Younger African American men,

between the ages of 18-34, perceived a traffic stop as racial profiling, whereas, the majority of Caucasians regardless of age did not. African American women were also more likely to perceive a traffic stop as racially motivated compared to a very small percentage of Caucasian females (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 443).

This study also found that African Americans are more likely to disapprove of racial profiling and report a widespread belief in it as a result of experiencing it personally (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 449). Caucasians are less likely to view police as treating one racial group differently than another, rather stating African Americans are disproportionately involved in street crimes and violence. They go as far as using this to legitimize the police use of minority suspicion and surveillance (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 437).

When traffic stops are perceived as being motivated by race/ethnicity, it generates distrust of the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 436). African Americans and Hispanics who were stopped for traffic violations were more likely than Caucasians to be ticketed, arrested, handcuffed, and searched by the police. They are also more likely to report officers threatening them or using force, thus leading them to be more critical of profiling than Caucasians (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 436).

Weitzer and Tuch (2002) found African Americans were also more likely to perceive the police treating Caucasians better than African Americans during traffic stops and in the community (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 443). Race/ethnicity and personal contact with perceived racial profiling leave young African

Americans with negative attitudes toward police. They also lead them to believe that racial profiling is widespread and this leaves them feeling unfairly treated by the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 447-48).

Weitzer and Tuch (2002) also found personal experience with the police can be affected by pre-existing opinions. An unfavorable experience with an officer, due to an involuntary contact, tends to leave the citizen with a negative attitude. It appeared that personal African American contacts with the police have a stronger impact on attitudes than for Caucasians (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002: 438-39).

In comparison, Asian race and Hispanics have been researched less than African American and Caucasians. A study conducted by Song (1992) examined the attitudes of Chinese Immigrants and Vietnamese Refugees toward the police. These two major Asian populations were interviewed in Orange and Los Angeles counties through an hour long unstructured questioning (Song, 1992: 704-705). There were one hundred twenty-three Vietnamese refugee respondents and one hundred and forty-three Chinese immigrants included in the sample (Song, 1992: 708).

The findings indicate that Vietnamese were more afraid of crime and stayed home at night more than the Chinese interviewed. They both agreed that the police need to understand their individual cultures if police wish to gain citizens' cooperation in the community. Only forty-five percent of the Vietnamese and fifty percent of the Chinese respondents had called the police for help and they

did not have contact with a bilingual officer during their contact (Song, 1992: 710-11).

Asian respondents reported a lack of communication, prejudice toward them, and poor reporting of crime as problems to be concerned with for the police and public relations. Vietnamese are less likely to see the police as accepting. They reported a perception of less satisfied help (Song, 1992: 712). Song (1992) suggested that the police educate the Asian population about how the American police differ from the native system. However, the greater task is the communication between the two parties because unlike with other minorities such as African Americans and Hispanics, Asian culture difference causes different problems for the police and the bilingual officer is in even more scarce availability than is found with the Hispanic culture (Song, 1992: 717).

A study looking at Hispanics was conducted by Cheuroprakobkit (2000). A 1997 survey was used on citizen's attitudes toward the Texas police, Cheuroprakobkit (2000) examined the attitude toward police among Hispanic and non-Hispanic respondents. The study used two hundred and fifty one respondents who had contact with the police (Cheuroprakobkit, 2000: 327). The study found that citizen initiated police contact to reporting a crime. Traffic tickets were the most reported contact for a police initiated encounter. Citizens see crime prevention as a partnership between the police and themselves and were willing to report crimes. Most citizens had positive contacts but race and ethnicity play a significant part in contacting the police. Hispanics citizens were

least likely to report a crime but more likely to be arrested than White respondents (Cheuroprakobkit, 2000: 329).

Hispanics reported three positive experiences with the police: response time; helpfulness; and active participation in the neighborhoods. The positive can help neutralize and even leave a greater impact on the Hispanic respondents (Cheuroprakobkit, 2000: 329, 333). The Hispanic respondents' attitudes toward the police fell between the African American, who had more negative attitudes, and the Caucasians, who had the more favorable attitudes. As with the Asian population, language can affect the interaction between police and Hispanic community (Cheuroprakobkit, 2000: 332).

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Research Question and Hypotheses

The dependent variables of asking for assistance and reporting a neighborhood problem to the police were chosen due to the nature of the type of contact these two calls lead to with the police. The research question is, Who is more likely to initiate contact with the police to ask for assistance and report a neighborhood problem? These two voluntary contacts between police and the public during daily encounters can reflect the citizen's trust, satisfaction, and attitudes towards the police. The research question asked if the interaction during

the two chosen voluntary contacts affects citizens' attitude and trust of the police determined by the four demographic variables. The following are the four hypotheses used in the thesis:

Hypothesis 1:

1a. Respondents with a higher income will be more likely than those with a lower income to call the police and ask for assistance.

1b. Respondents with a higher income will be more likely than those with a lower income to call the police and report a neighborhood problem.

Hypothesis 2:

2a. Female respondents will be more likely than males to call the police for assistance.

2b. Female respondents will be more likely than males to call the police to report a neighborhood problem.

Hypothesis 3:

3a. Older respondents will be more likely than youth respondents to call the police for assistance.

3b. Older respondents will be more likely than youth respondents to call the police to report a neighborhood problem.

Hypothesis 4:

4a. Caucasian respondents will be more likely than African American or Hispanics to call the police for assistance.

4b. Caucasian respondents will be more likely than African Americans or Hispanics to call the police to report a neighborhood problem.

General Data Information

This thesis used the Bureau of Justice Statistics "Contacts between Police and the Public: Findings from the 1999 National Survey" conducted by Langan et al. (2001). The survey was conducted in the last six months of 1999 and was the largest self-report survey by citizens of their encounters with the police (Langan et al., 2001: iii). One type of encounter the respondents could have had with the police was a face-to-face contact. Of the twenty percent of face-to-face contacts between police and the public, there were voluntary or involuntary contacts (Langan et al., 2001: 3).

The face-to-face contacts were initiated by the resident, by the police, or by either party. Police initiated, or involuntary contacts, included contacts such as traffic stops and being questioned about a crime as a suspect, witness, or victim. Citizen initiated, or voluntary contacts, included contacts such as reporting a crime, asking for assistance, and reporting a neighborhood problem (Langan et al., 2001: 1). The two voluntary contacts asking for assistance and reporting a neighborhood problem accounted for twenty one percent of all face-to-face contacts with the police. Asking for assistance accounted for twelve percent of the contacts with the police while reporting a neighborhood problem accounted for over nine percent of face-to-face contacts (Langan et al., 2001: 7). These two voluntary contacts were chosen as the dependent variables due to the amount of trust that was needed to be present in a citizens' perception of the police in order to call them to ask for help.

Out of all the face-to-face contacts in this study, the police had more contacts with Caucasians, males, and younger adults and two-thirds of the time it was single incident face-to-face contact. Age and gender were important factors in the contacts. One in every 4.4 males had a contact with the police and the youngest age group (16-19) had the highest contact rate (Langan et al., 2001: 4). Sixty-five percent stated they had one contact with the police, eleven percent had multiple contacts for the same reason, sixteen percent had multiple reasons for police contacts, and eight percent had multiple contacts for multiple reasons (Langan et al., 2001:4-6).

Description of Sample/Population and Data Collection

The survey was given to persons sixteen and older as a supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) for fifty thousand households using a stratified multi-stage cluster sample. The original sample included 94,717 persons with an eighty-five percent response rate or 80,543 persons being interviewed. Thirty one percent of these interviews were conducted in person while sixty-nine percent were done over the phone. The data set used in this thesis was a questionnaire supplement asked after the NCVS screener determined the respondent had contact with the police in the last twelve months (Langan et al., 2001: iii, 3-4).

Of the original ninety-four thousand seven hundred and seventeen respondents in the study, one thousand five hundred and twenty-two respondents had citizen initiated, voluntary contacts with the police. Within this citizen initiated contact,

one thousand nine hundred and sixty respondents stated they had called the police for assistance and one thousand five hundred and seventeen respondents stated they called the police to report a neighborhood problem.

Measurements

The respondents were asked screening questions about his/her contacts with the police. In question 1a, they were asked if they had had contact with the police within in the last twelve months. If they answered yes, they were asked question 1b, which asked if they had contacts that were face-to-face. If they answered yes, they were read a list of reason for the face-to-face contact in question 1c, of which they could have stated "to ask for assistance or information" and "to let the police know about a problem in the neighborhood" (Langan et. al, 2001: 57-58). Of those who had a face-to-face contact, two thirds stated they had only one face-to-face contact within the year (Langan et al., 2001: 6).

The thesis used four demographic factors of income, gender, age, and race as its independent variables. The four independent variables are respondent sex, respondent age, respondent race, and respondent income. The two dependent variables, or the reasons for the contact, are Resident Contacted The Police: Ask For Assistance and Resident Contacted the Police: Problem In Neighborhood (Langan et al., 2001: 15).

The independent variable of income was given the ordinal choices of income making $20,000 or less, making $20,000-$49,999, or making $50,000 and more. They were left in the original categorizes during the analysis. The independent

variable of gender is a nominal question asking either a) female or b) male. The independent variable of age is interval asking to state his/her age. The ages were between sixteen and ninety nine. During the descriptive analysis section, the age variable was categorized into four categories to make it easier for the reader to understand. The categories were: ages 16-24 (youth), ages 25-44 (young adults), ages 45-64 (older adults) and ages 65+ (elderly). During the logistic regression analysis, the age categories were placed back into the original interval state.

The independent variable of race was given the choices of White, Black, and Other. The Other category included American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut, Asian, Pacific Islander. There was a separate question of Hispanic origin given the nominal choice of yes or no (Langan et al., 2001: 57). In defining racial categories used from the study, White refers to non-Hispanic Whites and Black refers to non-Hispanic Blacks. Other, for other races, refers to non-Hispanic stating "Other" for the race. White Hispanics, Black Hispanics, and Hispanics of other races are categorized under Hispanics (Langen et al, 2001: 4). In the analysis, the four race categories of White, Black, Hispanic, or Others were used. In the logistic regression, the race categories are a series of dummy variables, with White respondents as the reference category.

The dependent variables of asking for assistance and reporting a neighborhood problem were asked during question 1c and given the coding of out of universe/missing, once, more than once, or not at all (Langan et al., 2001: 57-58). The graphs were altered from the original data to state whether the citizen had

contact with the police or did not have contact with the police. The decision to combine the data into the two choices of no contact or contact was made due to low numbers in the missing and more than one contact answers. There are four categories for each of the first four tables. The first category is of all contacts with the police. The second category is of all citizen initiated contact with the police. The third and fourth categories, the dependent variables, are a subcategories from the original 'citizen initiated contact' category.

The limitations to the thesis are that there are no descriptions on perception of the police by individual respondents, as this was not in the original data set to assess. Other limitations of this data set include it does not distinguish between Asian races in the codebook even though it was asked in the original question. Hence the findings are limited to the four categories and cannot summarize the findings for Asian races or Native Americans, or others living in America. There is also no other national data set on informal contact with the police to compare this thesis to. Even with the limitation, this thesis can be resourceful because it will better assist police officers in assessing who has trust in the police to call for these voluntary contacts. It will also be useful in gathering information pertaining to the perceptions/attitudes of citizens during voluntary contacts as there is no current data on this topic.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

The Income Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study

Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics for the income of the citizens during four contacts with the police. Among the respondents in the category making the least amount of money, thirty-eight percent had contact with the police. Thirty percent initiated the contact while twenty seven percent of initiated calls were to ask for assistance. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents who initiated contact with the police called to report a neighborhood problem.

Of the respondents who made the middle income, thirty-one percent had contact with the police. Thirty-three percent initiated the contact with the police. Of the initiated contact with the police, thirty-three percent called to ask for assistance while thirty-four percent called to report a neighborhood problem.

The respondents who made the most money had thirty-one percent of all contact with the police. Thirty-seven percent initiated contact with the police. Of those who initiated police contact, forty percent called to ask for assistance and thirty-seven percent called to report a neighborhood problem. Citizens who contacted the police to ask for assistance were more likely to have a higher income and were more likely to call the police to report a neighborhood problem than citizens who made less income. This supported hypothesis 1a and 1b.

The Gender Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for the gender of the citizens reporting contact with the police in the four types of contact categories. Of the citizens in 'All Contacts With The Police', females were more likely than males to have contact with the police. However, in the second contact category 'Citizens Initiated Contact With The Police', the ratio for men and women becomes even with each gender initiating fifty percent of the time. The gender of the respondents who ask for assistance from the police changed drastically compared to the first two contact categories as females initiated this contact fifty-eight percent while men were forty-two percent. When respondents stated they contacted the police to report a neighborhood problem, they were also more likely to be female than male, with females initiating the contact fifty-seven percent of the time and males only forty-three percent. Females are more likely to initiate contact with the police than males to ask for assistance and to report a neighborhood problem, supporting hypothesis 2a and 2b.

Ages Of The Respondents In The 1999 BJS

Table 3 displays the ages of the citizens reporting contact with the police during all four contact categories. Citizens in the young adults category had the most contact with police in 'All Contacts With The Police', with forty percent, followed by older adults, elderly, and youth at thirty, sixteen, and fourteen percent respectively. The police were least likely to have contact with youth respondents.

There was an increase of contact with the police during 'Citizen Initiated Police Contact' for young adults and youth while there was a decrease in citizen initiated contacts with the older adults and elderly. However, when respondents initiated the police contact 'Asking For Assistance', younger and older adults increased when comparing contact category B and B1. Youth and elderly decreased when comparing contact category B and B1. These descriptive statistics support hypothesis 3a, which stated that citizens who contacted the police to ask for assistance were more likely to be older.

When citizens reported a neighborhood problem, younger and older adults increased when compared to 'Citizens Initiated Contact'. Youth and elderly decreased when comparing contact category B and B2. When citizens were reporting a neighborhood problem to the police, they were more likely to be the young and older adults. This supports hypothesis 3b which stated that older respondents were more likely to call the police than youth.

The Race/Ethnicity Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study

Table 4 displays the descriptive statistics for the race/ethnicity of the citizens reporting contact with the police during all four categories. In 'All Contacts With The Police', White accounted for seventy-four percent of the population while Blacks accounted for eleven, Hispanics for ten, and category 'Other' accounted for four percent of the total population in the survey. Whites had more 'Citizen-Initiated' contacts with the police, while Blacks and Hispanics, 'Other' had significantly less citizen-initiated contacts.

Whites accounted for eighty-one percent of all citizens calling to ask for assistance. Blacks accounted for eight percent of those call to ask for assistance while Hispanics accounted for only seven percent. The race/ethnicity category 'Other' remained the same at three percent of the population asking for assistance and initiating contact with the police. White were more likely than minorities to ask the police for assistance. This supported hypothesis 4a.

Those respondents who reported a neighborhood problem to the police were more likely to be White, accounting for eighty-two percent of the surveyed population. Blacks accounted for eight percent, Hispanics accounted for seven percent, and 'Other' accounted for two percent. Whites were more likely than all other race/ethnicity categories to report neighborhood problems. This supports hypothesis 4b.

Logistic Regression

Table 5 and Table 6 display the logistic regression coefficients, standard errors, odds ratios for the variables estimated in the equation, and the significant for each of the demographic variables. Table 5 is the logistic regression for citizens asking police for assistance and Table 6 is the logistic regression for citizens reporting a neighborhood problem to the police.

Overall, in Table 5 the model is statistically significant (-2 Log Likelihood = 11534.302, X2 – 92.1777, p<.000, 6 df). Income, Gender, and Age were statistically significant in respondents who were asking police for assistance and those who did not contact police to ask for assistance. Odds ratios for these

three variables indicated the following: respondents contacting the police to ask for assistance were 1.104 times more likely to have a higher income; respondents were 1.461 times more likely to be female; and respondents were 1.006 times more likely to be older. Surprisingly, race was not found to be statistically significant.

Overall, in Table 6 the model is statistically significant (-2 Log Likelihood = 9739.408, X2 = 92.261, p<.000, 6 df). Gender and Age were statistically significant in respondents who were reporting neighborhood problems to the police and those who did not contact the police to report neighborhood problems. Odd ratios for these to variables indicate that females were 1.325 times more likely to report a neighborhood problem than males and respondents were 1.010 times more likely to be older when reporting neighborhood problems to the police. Although the race/ethnicity category 'Other' was statistically significant, one should take into consideration the total population in the analysis was twenty-three people. Income and race/ethnicity for Blacks, as well as Hispanics, were not statistically significant.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis was an opportunity to use data that had already been collected but had never been used to examine two voluntary contacts: asking the police for assistance and reporting a neighborhood problem. It was also an opportunity to see the significant differences reflected in citizen's trust and attitude toward the police determined by demographic variables of income, gender, age, and race/ethnicity. The police need to earn the trust of the citizens in order to form partnerships because of the need for citizen cooperation in making police work more successful. To increase trust, cooperation, and positive attitudes toward the police, the police need to increase number of causal contacts with the public and have more voluntary, favorable contacts.

Police-citizen relations, their partnership, and citizen satisfaction with the police are contingent on the individual's expectation of the police to the services rendered and how police handle themselves during the time services are being given. Although the police have different roles, the majority of their work is service oriented and the effectiveness of the police is measured by visibility and availability to the public. Police contact has a significant effect on the citizen's attitude toward the police.

The need to examine voluntary contacts during police-citizen interaction is desperate due to the lack of research currently available. A suggestion would be to do a follow up study on these two types of contacts to see if the findings are

replicable. Key findings such as seen in this thesis can help police departments understand who is making the calls and who is more likely to trust and have positive attitude toward the police in order to help improve police-citizen relations. Women and older respondents were found to be significant in citizens calling the police for both voluntary contacts. Income was significant only for calling the police to ask for assistance. Race was not significant during either voluntary contact. Race not being found as a significant variable in the reflection of attitudes towards the police is a surprising finding due to citizens surveying attitudes differing from their actual behaviors toward the police.

Explanations for the first findings on gender and age could be that older residents in a neighborhood live in the neighborhood longer and own the property. This leads them to care more about the area and hence be more likely to call the police when they need help or see problems arising (Zevitz & Rettammel, 1990). Juveniles may be having early, involuntary contacts with the police, leading them to have a negative attitude and less satisfaction with the police (Leiber et al, 1998; Hurst & Frank, 2000).

Females may have more satisfaction with the police to ask for assistance and report neighborhood problems due to having less involuntary contacts with the police than males do and greater visibility of the police in their neighborhoods (Thomas & Hyman, 1977; Hadar & Snortum, 1975). Citizens with higher income could be calling the police for similar reasons as the older respondents, having more invested in the community and neighborhoods they live in. They

are more likely to be better educated and be more satisfied with the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002).

Race was not significant during either voluntary contact. One explanation for low rates of Hispanics calling the police to ask for assistance or report a neighborhood problem could be the results of a language barrier between the officer and citizens. Police departments could help with the language barrier by hiring more bilingual officers. Black citizens may not trust the police due to racial profiling and having more involuntary contacts with the police. Increased voluntary causal contacts, community visibility, and patrolling in the neighborhood could increase Black citizens' trust in the police (Tuch & Weitzer, 1997).

The dynamics of this relationship from the role of the police in society, and the type of contacts that leave the citizen with a better image of the police all contribute to the complex and diverse relationship the role of the police department has in the community. The majority of the community citizens have positive attitudes toward the police but it is essential to continue monitoring who is contacting the police and why in order to better serve the entire community. The communities citizens live in are complex and diverse and every person counts. Police work is order maintenance and delivering services. Thus is why it is important to find out how police can become more responsive to the public; serve them through personal, causal, and voluntary contacts; and increase citizens' satisfaction with the police.

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Table 1. Income Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study By Numbers And Percentages.

	Category A	Category B	Category B1	Category B2
INCOME	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
Less Than $20,000	35,662	4,444	534	433
$20,000 to $49,999	29,892	5,016	638	525
$50,000 or more	29,163	5,562	788	559
Total	94,717	15,022	1,960	1,517

INCOME	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
Less Than $20,000	38%	30%	27%	29%
$20,000 to $49,999	31%	33%	33%	34%
$50,000 or more	31%	37%	40%	37%

Table 2. Gender Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study By Numbers And Percentages.

	Category A	Category B	Category B1	Category B2
GENDER	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
Males	44,702	7,503	819	659
Females	50,015	7,519	1,141	858
Total	94,717	15,022	1,960	1,517

GENDER	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
Males	47%	50%	42%	43%
Females	53%	50%	58%	57%

Table 3. Ages Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study By Numbers And Percentages.

	Category A	Category B	Category B1	Category B2
AGES	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
16-24 (Youth)	13,540	2,800	237	125
25-44 (Young Adults)	37,534	7,008	1,019	799
45-64 (Older Adults)	28,076	4,049	557	483
65+ (Elderly)	15,567	1,165	147	110
Total	94,717	15,022	1,960	1,517

AGES	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
16-24 (Youth)	14%	18%	12%	8%
25-44 (Young Adults)	40%	46%	52%	53%
45-64 (Older Adults)	30%	27%	28%	32%
65+ (Elderly)	16%	9%	8%	7%

Table 4. Race/Ethnicity Of Respondents In The 1999 BJS Study By Numbers And Percentages.

	Category A	Category B	Category B1	Category B2
Race/Ethnicity	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
Whites	69,903	11,843	1,583	1,248
Blacks	10,289	1,380	166	125
Hispanics	10,179	1,214	132	100
Others*	4,346	495	55	23
Missing	0	90	24	21
Total	94,717	15,022	1,960	1,517

Race/Ethnicity	All Contacts With The Police In BJS Study	Citizen Initiated Contacts With The Police	Asking For Assistance From The Police	Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police
Whites	74%	79%	81%	82%
Blacks	11%	9%	8%	8%
Hispanics	10%	8%	7%	7%
Others*	4%	3%	3%	2%

*Others includes Asians, Pacific Islanders, Native Hawaiians, American Indians, and Alaskan Natives.

Table 5. Logistic Regression Of Asking The Police For Assistance By Demographic Variables.

Variables	Estimates	S.E.	T Value	Odds
Demographic Variables				
Income	.099	.031	.001 *	1.104
Gender(= 0)				
Male	.379	.049	.000 *	1.461
Age	.006	.002	.000 *	1.006
Race (White=0)				
Black	-.088	.088	.316	.915
Hispanic	-.156	.097	.107	.855
Other	-.163	.146	.265	.850
-2 Log Likelihood	11534.302			
Chi-Square	92.1777	df=6		

* P<.000

Table 6. Logistic Regression Of Reporting A Neighborhood Problem To The Police By Demographic Variables.

Variables	Estimates	S.E.	T Value	Odds
Demographic Variables				
Income	.012	.034	.717	1.012
Gender (=0)				
Male	.281	.055	.000 *	1.325
Age	.010	.002	.000 *	1.010
Race (White=0)				
Black	-.156	.100	.117	.855
Hispanics	-.187	.110	.089	.830
Other	-.818	.216	.000 *	.441
-2 Log Likelihood	9739.408			
Chi Square	92.261	df=6		

* P<.000