

ABSTRACT

WEINSTEIN, MEREDITH BLACKWELL. Public perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects in North Carolina: Testing conflict, attitude consistency, and ecological based theories. (Under the direction of Michael L. Vasu.)

This research study examines whether citizens of North Carolina perceive the existence of discrimination in the treatment of suspects by law enforcement officers. The study was undertaken to ascertain the factors which characterize persons who believe that law enforcement officers treat certain suspects differently than others versus people who do not believe differential treatment exists. Previous research has acknowledged that it is of equal importance to study public perceptions of bias in the criminal justice system as to study whether bias actually exists. As such, this study does not attempt to determine if discrimination actually occurs, but rather what the public perceives as occurring in the criminal justice system.

To study the factors influencing perceptions three models, proposed in previous research, were tested to explain differential attitudes: conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and ecological theory. Additionally, a combined model including the components of each theory was tested. The three models were analyzed based on data collected from samples of North Carolina residents in 1997, 1999, and 2001.

The findings suggest that none of the three models adequately explains differing perceptions. Furthermore, the model with the greatest explanatory ability was the combined model, thereby indicating that perceptions are multidimensional and a single theoretical explanation is insufficient.

Based on the research findings, several policy implications were identified:

- Policymakers must recognize the interdependence of the elements that compose the criminal justice system.
- Policymakers must recognize the need to close the gap between the public's perception of discrimination and reality.
- Policymakers must recognize the disparity in public opinion of specific segments of the population.
- Policymakers must recognize the importance of positive public opinion to the success of policing initiatives.

Public perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects in North Carolina:

Testing conflict, attitude consistency, and ecological based theories

by
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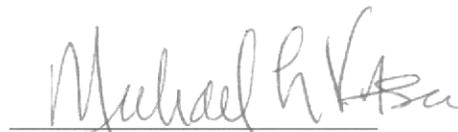
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BIOGRAPHY

Meredith Blackwell Weinstein was born in Syracuse, New York. She attended the State University of New York at Binghamton & earned a Bachelor of Arts degree, double majoring in Political Science and Law and Society. Fascinated by the practical aspects of government, she enrolled at North Carolina State University and completed a Master's of Public Administration. Meredith continued her studies to complete the Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration. She currently resides in the Raleigh area with her husband Jason.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

When one thinks about America, images of opportunity, equality, freedom, and justice come to mind. This is exemplified by the statement “Equal Justice Under Law” engraved above the entrance to the Supreme Court. However, these ideals, on which our society and government is based, do not always seem to apply to all. “The doctrine of ‘equality before the law’ is an ideal firmly entrenched in American legal culture. It establishes the principle that no person or class of persons may be subjected to discriminatory or arbitrary treatment” (Miethe & Moore, 1986: 217). Nevertheless, research suggests that not everyone is treated equally under the law. Perhaps more importantly, people perceive that not everyone is treated equally by the criminal justice system.

Social inequalities in the justice system have been studied by social scientists for the past century. However, the question comes to mind, “What is equal justice?” Especially when what one person perceives as just may be perceived as unjust by another. As such, it is similarly important to study public attitudes toward equality and justice as it is to study if bias does indeed occur. Jacob indicated that the importance of this examination stems from the idea that “justice lies in the eyes of the beholder” which depends on the “expectations of the customers, their perceptions of what treatment others receive, and the interpretation of their own experience in terms

of their personal values.” Jacob defines injustice as the “incongruence, or a gap between expectations and perceptions” (Jacob, 1971: 69). Jacob emphasizes the fact that perceptions of justice are subjective, as such, justice must be measured by public opinion (outcomes) as opposed to objective measures (outputs) such as expenditures or crime rates (Jacob, 1971: 70). The public’s attitude toward the criminal justice system’s treatment of individuals is an issue that receives a great deal of attention by both popular media sources and scholars alike. The elusive question of whether bias exists within the criminal justice system, as well as if the public perceives bias exists, has perplexed and stirred debate among scholars for decades and will continue to do so.

Research Problem

The current study examines the nature of differences in public attitudes toward the police in North Carolina. The focus of the study is on whether or not citizens of North Carolina believe that police treat all suspects the same¹. More importantly, the study seeks to explain what variables influence both favorable and unfavorable perceptions of police treatment of suspects. Three theories have been proposed in prior research: conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and ecology theory, to explain differing public perceptions of the criminal justice system. This study seeks

¹ Note: The dependent variable in this study is public perception of police treatment of suspects not citizens in general. No variables were included to determine if the respondents had prior direct arrest experience.

to test the three theories to determine which has the greatest explanatory power or if a combined model is more appropriate.

This study merits interest of police administrators, policy makers, and scholars stemming from the need to improve relations between the police and the community. As more cities shift to a community-policing paradigm, good police-community relations are necessary. This study has important policy and theoretical implications including: regulation of police behavior, revision of standard operating procedures, and the creation of additional safeguards to protect the rights of citizens.

The Study of Attitudes toward the Police

Researchers have been interested in studying the attitudes of the public toward law enforcement officers since the 1960s. Public riots occurring in the 1960s led researchers and police managers to study public attitudes because many of the riots were incited by actions of the police. Police administrators recognized the importance of the public to the maintenance of civil order. As a result, social scientists and policy makers began to focus their attention on the public's view of the police and the criminal justice system at large. A significant impetus for the study of public attitudes was the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) which examined the relationship between the police and the community. The task force noted that "police-community relationships have a direct bearing on the character of life in our cities, and on the community's ability

to maintain stability and to solve its problems. At the same time, the police department's capacity to deal with crime depends to a large extent upon its relationship with the citizenry" (144). The role of public attitudes toward the police is still seen, thirty-five years after the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, as an essential element of successful police work. As a public sector organization, the police need community support to meet their goals (Decker, 1981). The study of public perceptions of the police in particular, remained important from the mid 1960s through the 1970s; however, the topic received less attention in the 1980s. A number of publicized incidents in the 1990s, including the Los Angeles police brutality case involving Rodney King, the acquittal of accused murderer O.J. Simpson, and many publicized instances of racial profiling resulted in researchers revisiting the issue of public perceptions of the police. The study of public perceptions remains an important topic today.

The police in America are in a unique position when viewed in a historical context. Although crime rates are decreasing, the public perceives the police to be biased in their treatment of specific groups in society. In the past decade, the police have worked to build collaborations with the community. However, this method of policing is dependent on the assistance of the community. If large numbers of citizens perceive that the police are biased, they are less likely to contribute to policing efforts. The relationship between public attitudes and the ability of the police to effectively do their job is evident. This creates a challenge for police departments

to improve their public image in a situation whereby, “relations between the police and the community, between the police and minority groups particularly, are complex and multi-faceted” (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 193). The President’s Commission of Law Enforcement and Administration:

Poor police-community relations adversely affect the ability of the police to prevent crime and apprehend criminals. People hostile to the police are not so likely to report violations of the law, even when they are the victims. They are even less likely to report suspicious persons or incidents, to testify as witnesses voluntarily, or to come forward and provide information... Yet citizen assistance is crucial to law enforcement agencies if the police are to solve an appreciable portion of the crimes that are committed... (The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967: 144).

Police Decision Making and Discretion

To evaluate the police and the quality and equality of their service, one must understand the context of police decision-making. The primary role of police is to keep the peace and maintain order by enforcing legislated laws (Skolnick, 1966). The difficult role for the police in maintaining a positive perception by the public was identified by Wilson (1963): “The policeman is frequently in an adversary relation with his public... The policeman in the routine case is often (though not always) dealing with his clientele as an antagonist: he issues summons, makes arrests, conducts inquiries, searches homes, stops cars, testifies in court, and keeps a jail.” Due to the nature of this interaction, it is not surprising that police are perceived as hostile which, in turn, affects police morale and job satisfaction (Wilson, 1967).

The police are in a unique position in that they make legal decisions that are typically low in visibility (Smith & Visher, 1981: 167). The legal mandate of the police is to enforce laws uniformly; however, full enforcement is neither possible nor desirable. As such, one dimension of police work is selective enforcement (Smith & Visher, 1981: 167). The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted that police officers must decide whether an incident is criminal, if resources should be allocated to investigating the incident, the gravity of the incident, and what action should be taken (14).

The behavior exhibited by police officers is often a basis for how the public views the police. Thus, a challenge faced by police officers stems from police being expected to 'use their judgment'; however, they are not taught what 'judgment' is. Moreover, the public is quick to criticize the police if they act in a manner which the public dislikes (Wilson, 1968B: 3). Wilson notes that discretion is inevitable since it is impossible to observe every infraction and the public would not tolerate full enforcement (1968B: 7). Often the police are placed in a situation whereby they must make split second decisions to deal with the situation at hand. Police officers may choose to make an arrest, give a warning, or walk away. The challenge then, for the police and citizens, is a result of "neither a clear-cut set of rules for the police to follow nor is there a predetermined set of expectations that citizens can use to evaluate the police" (Alpert and Dunham, 1988: 129). In his 1966 book, Jerome H. Skolnick succinctly identified the controversy facing the police officer:

The police in democratic society are required to maintain order and to do so under the rule of law. As functionaries charged with maintaining order, they are part of the bureaucracy. The ideology of democratic bureaucracy emphasizes initiative rather than disciplined adherence to rules and regulations. By contrast, the rule of law emphasizes the rights of individual citizens and constraints upon the initiative of legal officials (6).

Police discretion is a critical element of a police officer's work. The existence of police discretion has led scholars to debate the equality of police decision-making (Smith, Visher, Davidson, 1984: 235). Skolnick (1966) coined the term 'symbolic assailant' for those who, because of membership in certain racial/ethnic groups, are considered, by police officers, as suspicious. Mann (1993) indicated that police identify symbolic assailants by the "way they are dressed, their language, the use of certain gestures, or their skin color" (1993: 142).

Discrimination in the Criminal Justice System

In order to study whether people perceive the existence of police discrimination in the treatment of suspects, one must examine the definition of discrimination as presented in the research literature. Walker et al. (1996: 16) define discrimination as "differential treatment of groups without reference to an individual's behavior or qualifications." Kennedy (1997) expands this definition by identifying discrimination occurring in two ways: unequal protection, which is characterized by discrimination against minority victims, and unequal enforcement characterized by discrimination against minority suspects.

Public Opinion

Public opinion surveys examining attitudes toward law enforcement have been conducted in numerous jurisdictions across the United States. Studies have focused on aspects of confidence, trust, bias, effectiveness, and a multitude of other dimensions. The current study examines public opinion specifically related to perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Public opinion has been defined as “the shared opinions of a collection of individuals on a common concern” (Yeric & Todd, 1983: 4). Scholars studying perceptions assert that individuals give meanings to the world around them and behave according to their perceptions (Carter and Radelet, 1999: 240-241). The way one perceives the world depends on one's unique situation (Carter and Radelet, 1999: 242). As a result, one's perceptions of equality in the justice system shape the opinions and behaviors of individuals. Whether or not discrimination actually occurs is often not as important in shaping opinions compared to the perception of discrimination.

Public Opinion and Democratic Governance

The criminal justice system in the United States was established by a democratic government. The assumption that government officials should take public sentiment into account is an enduring aspect of citizen expectations of a democracy. The importance of public opinion was explained by Walker and Richardson, “whatever the citizen thinks of the police, they can hardly be ignored. Whereas other public

bureaucrats are often lost from the public's view, locked in rooms filled with typewriters and anonymity, policemen are out in the world. They are on the sidewalks, and in the streets, in the schoolyard, and in the shopping mall, cruising, strolling, watching, as both state protectors and state repressors" (1974: 1). Jean Johnson succinctly identifies that public attitudes are important in relation to public policy in that, "public safety is the preeminent responsibility of government, involving expenditures by thousands of police agencies for the salaries of hundreds of thousands of sworn and nonsworn personnel. For that reason alone, policymakers seem obligated to take the public's assessment of law enforcement performance seriously" (1997: 9). Sacco further emphasizes the need to examine public opinion due to the new policing philosophies and recognition of citizens as customers. Sacco notes that traditional performance measures, such as response time or clearance rates, are not appropriate in an age of responsive community policing (1998: 123).

Public Attitudes toward the Police

Attitudes toward the police are often affected by one's perception of how well the police are adhering to set standards. Research in the field of social and cognitive psychology has shown "that people do not always use information in a rational, scientific manner. The way in which we respond to information depends on a number of factors, including our prior attitudes" (Roberts & Stalans, 1997, 13). Hagan and Albonetti emphasize the point that there is a distinct difference between actual and perceived discrimination in the administration of justice. As such, Hagan and

Albonetti contend that actual and perceived discrimination should be studied separately (1982: 354).

Several authors have reviewed works on attitudes toward the police (see Decker 1981; Sullivan, Dunham and Alpert, 1987; and Murty, Roebuck, and Smith, 1990). In general, studies have found that attitudes toward the police have been consistently favorable throughout the past 50 years. However, it is also evident that minorities hold significantly more negative views of the police than do whites. Throughout the literature addressing attitudes toward the police, race has been found to be the greatest factor influencing one's attitudes. Police departments must recognize that different cultures have different values, and police organizations must take these values into consideration to be effective (Sullivan, Dunham, and Alpert, 1988).

Public Opinion Polls

In an examination of public opinion polls over the past three decades it is apparent that a portion of Americans believe blacks² are discriminated against by the police and legal system. An early Harris Survey³ found that 29% of respondents believe the police discriminate against blacks. A dichotomy is apparent when one differentiates

²Throughout this study the term black is used to refer to individuals of the Negroid race including African or Caribbean descent. Similarly, the term white is used to refer to individuals of the Caucasian race including persons of European descent. The term Hispanic is used to refer to individuals of Mexican, Central American, or South American descent.

³ Conducted by Louis Harris & Associates, 11/21/72 to 11/22/72 and is based on a national adult sample of 1,505 persons. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

between black and white respondents. In a 1977 Harris Survey⁴, 71% of black respondents indicated that blacks are discriminated against by the police as compared to only 28% of whites expressing a similar view. A 1981 ABC News/ Washington Post poll⁵ also examined attitudes of white and black Americans regarding whether the police treat blacks as fairly as whites. This poll found that 56% of white respondents indicated that the races were treated equally as compared to only 31% of blacks indicating that the races are treated equally. A 1989 ABC News/Washington Post survey⁶ asking the same questions as in 1981 found that only 45% of whites believed the races are treated equally and only 23% of blacks indicated that the police treat blacks as fairly as whites. A 1993 survey by CNN⁷ found that 64% of Americans believe officers treat suspects in low income neighborhoods differently than their counterparts in high income neighborhoods. As one can see from the aforementioned public opinion surveys, polling agencies are interested in perceptions of the police. Moreover, a significant number of Americans believe that blacks and lower income residents are treated differently by the police. According to a 1995

⁴ Conducted by Louis Harris & Associates, 8/13/77-8/20/77 and is based on telephone interviews with a national adult sample of 1,491. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USHARRIS.091277.R08B and USHARRIS.091277.R08W].

⁵ Conducted by ABC News/ Washington Post, 2/26/1981-3/6/1981 and is based on a national adult plus black oversample sample of 1,872. Sample consists of 1426 whites and 446 blacks. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USABCWP.30.R22AA and USABCWP.30.R22BA].

⁶ Conducted by ABC News/ Washington Post, 9/28/1989-10/3/1989 and is based on a national adult sample of 1,620. Sample consists of 1249 whites and 371 blacks. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USABCWP.89RACE.R22AB and USABCWP.89RACE.R22AW].

⁷ Conducted by Gallup Organization 2/8/1993-2/9/1993 and is based on a national adult sample of 840. Sample includes 503 whites and 315 blacks. The results are weighted to correct oversampling. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USGALLUP.322045.R05].

Gallup poll⁸, 47% of blacks indicated that the police treat the races equally as compared to 76% of whites indicated the police treat the races equally (Johnson, 1997: 12). An ABC News poll conducted in 1997⁹ found that 61% of whites as compared to 19% of blacks say that minorities receive equal treatment by the criminal justice system (Johnson, 1997: 13). In addition to specific questions examining police treatment, a 1988 Harris poll¹⁰ examined police treatment of the races when arresting suspects. In this poll, 46% of white respondents as compared to only 19% of black respondents indicated that blacks are treated equally when suspects are arrested.

Polls in 1999 and 2002 demonstrated improved views of equal treatment by the police. In a 1999 Harris poll¹¹ 59% of respondents indicated the police treat all races fairly and in a 2002 Harris poll¹², 63% of respondents indicated the police treat all races fairly. A March 20, 2002 Harris poll¹³ found that 33% of Americans believe that the police treat one or more groups unfairly.

⁸ CNN/USA Today/Gallup, September 1995. National survey of 1,011.

⁹ ABC News, February, 1997.

¹⁰ Conducted by Louis Harris & Associates, 6/1988 and is based on a national sample of 3,013. Sample consists of 2008 whites and 1005 blacks. Data provided by UNC [Harris study no. 883006].

¹¹ Conducted by Louis Harris & Associates, 3/19/1999-3/23/1999 and is based on a national sample of 1,008. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USHARRIS.040799.R02].

¹² Conducted by Louis Harris & Associates, 2/13/2002-2/19/2002 and is based on a national sample of 1,021. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USHARRIS.032002.R2].

¹³ Conducted by Harris Interactive, February 13-19, 2002 and based on telephone interviews with a national adult sample of 1,021.

Consequences of Negative Public Opinion

Attitudes toward the police have a profound impact on the community's relationship with the police. Some authors such as Murty, Roebuck, and Smith (1990), argue that the public must hold positive attitudes toward the police in order for them to function effectively and efficiently. Negative perceptions of the criminal justice system tend to be based on two issues: certain groups are treated inequitably, and the system favors the suspect or accused (Roberts, 1992: 140). Negative opinions of the police result in a lack of respect, disorder, and inefficient police function. "When individuals perceive unfair decisionmaking or undignified treatment, they may be less willing to participate in the system as jurors or to seek assistance from the police and courts in resolving their own disputes or responding to victimization" (Roberts & Stalans, 1997: 128). Citizens who hold negative views of the police are less likely to report crimes or suspicious persons, to testify as witnesses, or to come forward and offer information (144). According to the work of Tyler (1990), those who demonstrate lower levels of support for the police are more likely to steal, speed and drive under the influence of alcohol. Likewise, Hirshi (1969) concluded that individuals with negative views of the police were more likely to commit serious criminal acts. Moreover, public dissatisfaction can result in police officers being reluctant to act, use unnecessary force, verbal abuse, or other improper procedures (145).

David Cole recognized the consequences of racial inequalities: “Where people view criminal justice procedures as unfairly biased, they will be especially likely to consider the law illegitimate, and therefore less likely to comply with the law” (Cole, 1999B: 172). Chambliss (1994) examines the consequences of police activities on the black community and finds that:

The intensive surveillance of black neighborhoods, and the pattern of surveillance of white neighborhoods has the general consequence of institutionalizing racism by defining the problem of crime generally, and drug use in particular, as a problem of young black men, it further ghettoizes the African-American community and destroys any possibility for normal family and community relations... Crime control policies are a major contributor to the disruption of the family, the prevalence of single parent families, and children raised without a father in the ghetto (183).

The level of public support of the police is essential due to the significant contribution of citizens to the success of crime control measures. The police are viewed as a symbol representing the entire criminal justice system simply because they are the most visible representative (Bell, 1979: 196). One's attitudes toward the police are, in essence, one's attitudes toward the institution of law, courts, legal representatives, prosecutors, judges and so forth (Davis, 1990: 233). However, Kennedy contends, “Racial bigotry has been and remains a significant pollutant within the administration of criminal justice” (Kennedy, 1997: 21).

Research Agenda – Filling the Research Gap

This study seeks to examine differences in public perception's of equality in the treatment of suspects by law enforcement officers in North Carolina. Several variables representing: individual characteristics, perceptions of other crime and criminal justice related issues, and community characteristics are included as explanatory factors.

Prior researchers have concluded that research on attitudes toward the police is typically atheoretical in nature. The primary goal of this research study is to examine three proposed explanations of differing perceptions. This study will test the pertinent elements of conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and ecology theory as they relate to perceptions of police equality in order to provide a theoretical foundation for the research. It is recognized that there are multiple explanations as to perceptions of the police treatment of suspects. This study looks at each of the models individually and as a joint model to determine which has the greatest explanatory power. This study is unique in that data was collected related to dimensions of each of the three theories identified in prior research. As a result of the available data, it is possible to test each of the three models.

A research gap identified in the literature was the lack of multi-year analysis of public perceptions of the criminal justice system. This study seeks to fill the gap by incorporating perceptions of North Carolina residents at three data points over a six-

year period. Tuch and Weitzer (1997: 642) recognized the gap in the literature of studies not examining time series attitudes data. As indicated by the authors, there have been numerous studies examining attitudes toward the police; however, they have been based on data collected from a single year. Tuch and Weitzer examine data in relation to attitudes before and after the infamous Rodney King incident and recommend that more research is done examining attitudes at multiple time points. Although this study is not considered a time series design, it does allow a comparison of attitudes and model fit at multiple points in time.

Another important aspect of this study is the examination of urban and rural attitude differences in perceptions of the police. The bulk of research on perceptions toward the criminal justice system has examined attitudes in urban areas, and researchers have not tested perceptions of rural populations. This study examines respondents from across North Carolina allowing an examination of both urban and rural residents.

Finally, the majority of studies examining attitudes toward the police were conducted during a time when policing was quite different. This research seeks to update prior studies of perceptions. Today, the number of minority law enforcement officers is at an all time high as well as the number of departments with minority police administrators. As part of increased government accountability, police departments have had to respond to accusations of racial bias and become more responsive to the

communities they serve. As such, this study is important in order to see whether efforts made in the last decade have shaped public attitudes toward law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

Research Statement - Organization of Chapters

Chapter one was provided for readers to gain a basic understanding of the context in which this study takes place. First, the nature of the research problem was addressed, identifying the importance of examining attitudes toward the police. Second, chapter one included background information on the study of public opinion, the relationship between public opinion and democratic governance, and the use of surveys to gauge public opinion. Finally, the research agenda of the project was addressed, identifying how this study will fill the gaps identified in prior research studies.

Chapter two grounds this research study in three theoretical foundations. The chapter provides a review of the research literature related to perceptions of law enforcement. This research is based on ideas proposed by conflict theory which contends that there is conflict between the dominant groups in society (typically the wealthy and whites) and subordinates (typically the poor and minorities). This conflict is a result of the criminal justice system acting in ways to maintain the status of, and protect the interests of the dominant group. This study will also be grounded in attitude consistency theory which contends that a person's attitudes will be consistent across different aspects of a similar concept. Finally, this study is based on social

geography. It is believed that the characteristics of a person's community will shape their attitudes and perceptions of the police.

Chapter three discusses the research design utilized in this study. The data collection and sampling procedures will be identified and discussed including issues related to the reliability and validity of the study. Further, chapter three will discuss the operational definitions of the variables in the research model. Descriptive univariate findings for each variable are included and discussed. Finally, the data analysis methodology will be discussed.

Chapters four and five present the statistical findings of this study. Chapter four presents the results from the descriptive analysis of the data on perceptions of the criminal justice system in North Carolina for the years 1997, 1999, and 2001. The analysis will include the bivariate examination of the variables and their relationship with the dependent variable. Chapter five provides the multivariate findings testing the proposed research models.

Finally, chapter six provides a summary of the findings and recommendations to policy makers and future researchers. In sum, this research endeavor seeks to examine potentially useful theories to assist in the selection of factors influencing ones attitudes toward the police. Furthermore, the review of the literature provides the reader with a foundation and an understanding of the current state of research

related to public perceptions toward the police. Finally, this study seeks to fill the gaps identified in prior research by theoretically examining attitudes toward the police over time.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter identifies the three theoretical foundations utilized in the development of the research hypotheses for this study. The chapter is divided into three parts each representing a distinct theoretical foundation. The three sections will include the hypothesis being tested, background information on the theory, and a review of prior research addressing the variables proposed by the theory¹⁴.

The first theory, conflict theory, identifies the importance of social structure as a key element in understanding the criminal justice system. In essence, conflict theory is based on the idea that there is conflict between groups within society resulting in differential treatment and attitudes. Conflict theory relates to the current study in that several demographic characteristics are associated with subordinate groups and thus should be associated with increased levels of perceived bias.

The second theory discussed in this chapter is attitude consistency theory. Attitude consistency theory is based on the assumption that ones attitudes are part of a larger

¹⁴ Although numerous theories exist to explain variation in public opinion, only three theories were chosen because of support in the literature and because the dataset contained measures of these theories. One limitation of this study is the absence of both a media related theory and a theory involving contact with the police. As such, only literature focused on conflict, attitude consistency, and geographic models is included.

attitude structure. As such, ones attitudes toward the police should be similar to ones attitudes toward other dimensions of the criminal justice system.

The third theory discussed is geographical theory, a derivation of social disorganization and ecology theories. These theories emphasize the role of one's residential location on perceptions toward the police. This study includes county level characteristics to test the influence of these conditions on ones perceptions of the police and criminal justice system.

Conflict Theory

Hypothesis

H₁: Persons in subordinate groups are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

Theory description

A commonly cited theoretical explanation for bias within the criminal justice system is conflict theory (Free, 1995: 90). Conflict theory is based on the concepts of threat and subordination. Conflict theory holds that powerful members of society rely on social institutions to protect their interests. "Conflict theorists conceive of society as a collection of individuals and groups with separate and distinct interests struggling among themselves for power to protect and promote things beneficial to themselves" (Tittle, 1994: 33). Collins identifies the existence of three main conditions which

determine the position of an ethnic group in society: the level of participation in the economy, the level of political and economic monopolization by the dominant group, and the ability to distinguish the ethnic group from the dominant group (Collins, 1975: 85).

Conflict criminologists put forth the theoretical perspective that “social structure plays a critical role in shaping social control strategies” (McCarthy, 1991: 19). The law, according to conflict theorists, is used to maintain the power of dominant groups. Conflict theory, accordingly, links the criminal justice system to structural inequality. It follows from this perspective that authority granted to social control agencies, including the criminal justice system, results in exploitation of the least powerful groups (Farnworth & Horan, 1980: 382). Moreover, members of disadvantaged groups, such as blacks and youths, “are more likely to be the target of law enforcement efforts, both in terms of the frequency of their arrest as well as the quality of their treatment...” (Erez, 1984: 1276). Conflict theory is built upon the ideal that individuals are treated in accordance with their group status (Hawkins, 1987: 734). Conflict theorists contend that deprived groups; including the poor, minorities, females, and the young possess negative views of the criminal justice system (Farnworth & Horan, 1980: 382).

Conflict theory can be traced to the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx and Engels spoke of the eminent conflict

between segments of society stating: “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.” The conflict perspective is based on the Marxian position that power differentials exist between political and economic groups (Taylor et al., 1973). Ralf Dahrendorf’s *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (1959), is an attempt to reformulate Marx’s theory of class conflict. Dahrendorf recognizes that in a capitalist society there are people who have the role of controlling others and those whose role is to obey the commands (Collins, 1994:61). Dahrendorf alters the Marxian theory of class struggle by substituting authority for ownership. Dahrendorf contends that if a person is in a position of authority they are considered to be in the dominant class (Collins, 1994: 63). Max Weber added to Marx’s version of conflict theory by including multiple means of class division to Marx’s theory of conflict (Collins, 1975: 58). Weber recognized that society was composed of other classes rather than simply owners and non-owners as hypothesized by Marx.

Thorsten Sellin contributed to the development of conflict theory by proposing a culture-based conflict theory in 1938. Sellin’s theory identified different ‘conduct norms’ accepted by various cultural groups in society. According to Sellin, as society becomes more complex (less homogeneous), conflict between the cultures will result. As a result of the conflict, the laws developed in society would reflect the ‘conflict norms’ of the dominant group (Vold & Bernard, 1986: 270). Conflict theory was further expanded by George Vold in 1958. Vold proposed a group conflict theory whereby humans form groups within society and attempt to promote the interests of

their group. According to Vold, the values of the groups in authority positions are embedded in the law and thus result in conflict between the groups (Winfrey & Abadinsky, 1996: 269). In regard to obeying the law, Vold contends that those who were members of the group supporting the law are likely to obey it; whereas, those who were not in favor of the law will violate it (Vold & Bernard, 1986: 273).

The application of conflict theory by criminologists was recommended by Turk in 1969. Turk contends that the conflict perspective is the most relevant theory for conducting criminological research (1969: 33). According to Turk, “if order is seen as largely a pattern of conflict among parties seeking to protect and improve their life chances... then legality becomes an attribute of whatever words and deeds are defined as legal by those able to use to their advantage the machinery for making and enforcing rules” (1969: 31-32). Turk identifies the existence of two groups in society; the dominant who have the authority and decision-making ability and the subordinates who are affected by the laws (1969: 33). An additional dimension of current conflict theory was added by Quinney. In this version of conflict theory, Quinney links conflict to power when discussing the inter-relationship between groups in society. Quinney defines power as “the ability of persons and groups to determine the conduct of other persons and groups” (1970: 11). Quinney asserts that power is utilized to establish values for the population (1970: 11).

In its original form, conflict theory was centered on social class (Weitzer, 1996: 309). Class is defined by Seron and Munger (1996: 188) as “an individual’s position with respect to the central economic and cultural institutions of society and, in turn, relates that position to the social resources available to the individual.” However, a race-based variant was proposed by Hawkins (1987) where race and ethnic inequality predict disparity in the criminal justice system. Hawkins indicates nonwhites receive harsher punishment than whites for all crimes and in all situations (1987: 724). According to Weitzer (1996) race-based conflict theory holds that there are substantial differences in the treatment of whites and blacks due to racial discrimination (1996: 309).

Conflict theory is applicable to attitudes toward the police since police work is considered a dimension of social control. Members of disadvantaged groups, such as blacks and youths, “are more likely to be the target of law enforcement efforts, both in terms of the frequency of their arrests as well as the quality of their treatment, or in terms of police regard for their lives” (Erez, 1984: 1277). It follows that as subordinate groups have increased contact with the police, both directly and vicariously, negative perceptions will result.

Support in the Literature

One of the first studies focused on perceptions of the police was the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967). This task

force reported the findings from a 1966 National Opinion Research Center study which found nonwhites, males under age 35, and the poor were most critical of the police (1967: 146-149). The findings reported by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice support a conflict based explanation of public perceptions.

A pioneering study examining attitudes toward the police was conducted in Denver in 1966 by Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969). These researchers noted that minorities are less likely to call upon the police, possibly because they feel the police cannot or will not help them (85). They found that only 4% of whites reported that police behavior was unfriendly or prejudiced as compared to 23% of blacks and 27% of Hispanics (112). When asked if they thought persons with money were more likely to be given a break by judges, 64% of minorities agreed as compared to only 39% of white respondents (114). Overall, Bayley and Mendelsohn found that minorities are more critical of the police, more likely to perceive racial bias, more suspicious of the police, and more likely to be subject to mistreatment, harassment, and brutality (137). Bayley and Mendelsohn concluded that minorities tend to believe the worst about the police and the police are especially suspicious of minorities (1969: 194-195). Minorities see police having a symbolic value, the police "stand for power and authority and are visible signs of majority domination" (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 195). A study by Ennis examining attitudes toward the police throughout the United States in 1967 came to similar results, as did Bayley and Mendelsohn.

Although the study found that the majority of respondents possessed favorable attitudes toward the police, blacks were more critical in regard to the level of respect demonstrated by the police. Ennis also found that higher income respondents possessed more favorable views of the police than lower income respondents.

In an effort to examine the attitudes of black ghetto residents, Hahn (1971) conducted a study which analyzed public opinion data from the Detroit ghetto collected in 1967. The research found that 92% of the black ghetto residents denied the statement that “all laws are enforced equally” (Hahn, 1971: 184). Hahn also found that many residents expressed a lack of trust in the legal system including law enforcement. Hahn found that residents do not believe the legal system satisfies the concepts of equality and fairness. Moreover, the study found that black residents feel that race is the cause of the bias in that white residents receive better service than black residents (Hahn, 1971: 186-187).

In 1971, Herbert Jacob conducted an analysis of data collected in 1969 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin to ascertain attitudes toward the police, courts, and other legal agencies. Jacob selected three samples from three distinct neighborhoods: the first a black ghetto neighborhood; the second a white working-class neighborhood; and the third a middle class white neighborhood. Jacob’s study found that black respondents perceived the police as more corrupt, more unfair, harsher, weaker, lazier, and less friendly, than white respondents. Jacob found that both white samples had more

favorable opinions of the police than the black respondents; however, the middle class whites had higher opinions of the police than the working class white sample (Jacob, 1971: 73). Another interesting conclusion drawn by Jacob was the presence of within-race variations. Accordingly, Jacob concluded “one cannot predict on the basis of race alone how favorable or unfavorable a person’s perception of the police will be” (Jacob, 1971: 74). Jacob found that income and age also influence one’s perception of the police.

These four landmark studies conducted in the 1960s (Bayley & Mendelsohn, Ennis, Hahn, and Jacob) showed definitive signs of conflict within society regarding the criminal justice system. Persons of higher social status (whites, older respondents, and persons of higher income) expressed higher satisfaction levels than persons of lower status (blacks, younger respondents, and persons with lower income). The findings from these studies are consistent with the ideas expressed by conflict theory.

Support for the tenets of conflict theory are evident in studies examining public attitudes toward the police and the courts conducted in North Carolina from 1972 to 1974. Richardson et al. found that the vast majority (90.5%) of persons who had at least one contact with the police indicated they were satisfied with their dealings (1972: 40). However, Richardson and colleagues noted variations in individual levels of satisfaction. Specifically, persons under age thirty and blacks were less satisfied with police performance (1972: 41-42). Richardson et al. also examined perceptions

of fair treatment by the police and courts in North Carolina. The authors found that over 30% of respondents felt certain groups were treated unfairly. Respondents in the highest and lowest income groups, the young, and non-whites reported a higher perception of unfair treatment (1972: 54-55). Walker and colleagues (1973) found that blacks thought they are treated unfairly by the legal system. The study found that almost half (45.3%) of black respondents said the police do not treat everyone equally as compared to just over a quarter (28.6%) of white respondents who felt this was true (Walker et al., 1973: 66). Walker et al. also found significant relationships between both age and income and a person's perception of police performance. Younger respondents and respondents with lower incomes possessed more negative views of the police (Walker et al., 1973: 66-67). Walker and Richardson (1974) examined the relationship between contact with the police and public perceptions. They found that blacks, the young, and persons with low incomes are more likely to have involuntary encounters with the police. These involuntary encounters will result in more negative attitudes toward the police (Walker & Richardson, 1974: 9). Moreover, almost half of all black respondents (45.3%) indicated that the police do not treat everyone equally as compared to just over a quarter of white respondents (28.6%) indicating perceived unequal treatment of some groups within the population (1974: 21). They also found that age was significantly related to perceptions of police treatment. Respondents under age 30 were significantly less likely to indicate satisfaction with the police, more likely to indicate that the police do not treat all groups equally, and feel they are more likely to be treated unfairly (Walker & Richardson, 1974: 13, 21).

Finally, Walker and Richardson found that persons with low incomes were more likely to be dissatisfied with the police (1974: 22).

Also in 1974, Klyman and Kruckenberg conducted a study examining public perceptions of the police in Wichita, Kansas. The authors found a significant difference in white and nonwhite attitudes toward the police whereby non-white respondents held a more negative view of the police. The study concluded that 58.1% of white respondents had positive perceptions of the police as compared to only 19.4% of nonwhite respondents (1974: 219).

Peek, Alston, and Lowe (1978) examined public opinion gauged from a 1973 Gallup poll examining perceptions of widely known organizations. As compared to the other organizations, the local police were ranked quite high. Peek et al. found that the greatest amount of variation in opinions was related to race and age. The authors found that black respondents had less favorable views of the police than whites. They also found that of the white respondents the youngest had the most negative views of the police; however, when examining black responses, the youngest and oldest groups ranked the police relatively low (1978: 373, 375). Following the argument of conflict theory, the curvilinear aspect of age for black respondents indicates that those in the mid-age groups possess the greatest level of influence over society. Peek, Lowe and Alston re-examined the 1973 national poll data and found that race and nine other demographic variables accounted for very little variation in respondents attitude

toward the police. The authors examined ten demographic variables using multiple regression analysis and could only explain 5.9% of variation in attitudes. The strongest predictor variables were age and race (Peek et al., 1981: 366). When the authors conducted separate analyses for black and white respondents, socioeconomic variables (income, education, and occupational status) account for 35% of variance for black respondents but only 10% for white respondents. Further, gender accounts for 37% of the explained variance for blacks and only 2% of the explained variance for whites. In contrast, age accounted for 66% of the explained variance for whites but only 2% for blacks (Peek et al., 1981: 368).

Thomas and Hyman (1977) conducted a study of households in Chesapeake, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Virginia Beach, Virginia in 1973-1974. The most significant finding by Thomas and Hyman was that blacks and whites possessed different opinions regarding the police. An examination of the findings reveals that 60.3% of blacks had attitudes in the most negative quartile. Other significant indicators of perception of police as reported by Thomas and Hyman include older, more educated, males have more favorable views of the police. The strongest predictors of attitudes were race followed by age, and income. A Seattle, Washington public opinion survey was conducted by Smith and Hawkins in 1973. Race was strongly related to attitudes of police fairness. Additionally, the study found that younger respondents are more likely to have negative opinions. Similarly, Skogan examined residents in thirteen

cities in 1975 and concluded that the strongest determinant of police rating was race (1979: 33).

Hadar and Snortum conducted a study of perceptions of the police in Los Angeles, California in 1975. Their findings were consistent with prior research, finding that whites rated the police more positively than did blacks or Hispanic respondents.

Boggs and Galliher (1975) examined perceptions of the police in a mid-western Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. The authors examined intra-racial differences in attitudes toward the police by black respondents. The researchers found that social status and age had significant effects on the variance of attitudes toward the police by blacks (Boggs and Galliher, 1975: 400).

Attitude data from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania residents were examined by Scaglione and Condon (1980B). Using stepwise regression, the authors found that the most important factor related to attitude toward the police was an evaluation of police service, explaining more than 30% of variance. Race was also seen as an important factor explaining 6% of the variance in attitudes toward the police; however, no other socioeconomic variables were shown to affect attitudes toward the police (Scaglione and Condon, 1980B: 489). Scaglione and Condon also conducted a path analysis to investigate causal connections among the variables. The path analysis illustrated that race and evaluation of service were significant factors in determining public satisfaction with the police. However, it was also illustrated that race is not related to

ones evaluation of police service (Scaglione & Condon, 1980B: 490). Scaglione and Condon (1980A) reexamined their data from Pittsburgh, finding that black respondents reported less favorable attitudes than whites; 70% of whites expressed favorable attitudes as compared to 35% of blacks. The authors conducted a factor analysis examining dimensions of perceptions of both black and white respondents. The analysis found that white's opinions are based on variables such as politeness and laziness whereas black attitudes are based on issues of perceived brutality and impartiality (Scaglione & Condon, 1980A: 281).

Numerous studies examining public opinion of the police were conducted during the 1970s. Again, the findings support conflict theory that persons of lower status are less satisfied with the police and perceived higher levels of mistreatment and injustice.

Hagan and Albonetti (1982) applied conflict theory to a study of the perception of injustice whereby they include education, income, region, age, and urban or rural residence to the traditionally studied variables, race and class. They contend that these factors influence one's perceived level of injustice by increasing the level of conflict with social control agencies. Hagan and Albonetti found that race and class conflict do indeed exist (1982: 352). Hagan and Albonetti found that black Americans were more likely than whites to perceive injustice in the criminal justice system. When the researchers examined the impact of socioeconomic status on

perception they found race to be a better predictor of opinions of criminal injustice. Research conducted by Browning and Cao (1992) also supported the conflict perspective. The authors found that “African Americans were more likely to see injustices within society and in the criminal justice system... From this perspective, crime can be viewed as the direct result of poverty, social injustice, and racism” (696). The application of conflict theory has been used primarily to examine the perception of sentencing decisions. However, as noted by Hagan, “the irony is that no one has analyzed public perceptions of criminal injustice and assessed the capacity of conflict theory to explain them. Claims of criminal injustice represent a significant form of conflict because they raise fundamental doubts about the operational meaning of principles... on which democratic societies are based” (Hagan, 1989: 123-124).

The 1990s saw a resurgence in studies of public opinion toward the police. For instance, Davis examined attitudes toward the New York City police in 1990, finding that ethnicity and employment status are significantly related to attitudes. However, Davis found that sex, age, income, and education were not significantly related to attitudes (1990: 238). Also in 1990, Murty, Roebuck, and Smith examined the image of the police in black Atlanta, Georgia communities. Using a logit model, Murty et al. found that a positive image of the police was associated with respondents who were older, married, white-collar, more educated, and full-time employed (Murty et al., 1990: 253-255). Smith, Graham, and Adams (1991) examined citizen evaluations of the police and found that nonwhites had significantly lower assessments of police

service. When the authors controlled for neighborhood crime rate and poverty level, nonwhites still held more negative views of the police (25). Respondents reporting a more favorable perception of the police included females and persons with higher incomes (25, 27).

Webb and Marshall (1995) undertook a study of attitudes toward the police in Omaha, Nebraska. The authors examined five scales to measure attitudes toward the police: officer demeanor, responsibility for crime control, discretion, active patrol strategies, and officer characteristics. Webb and Marshall found that race had the greatest effect with age, gender, and police contact having smaller yet significant effects (56). Also in 1995, Jesilow, Meyer, and Namazzi examined attitudes of Santa Ana, California residents attitudes toward the police from a 1990 survey. The authors utilized two variables to measure attitudes toward the police; the first variable was measured by the total number of items the respondent liked about the police and the second attitude variable was measured by the total number of items the respondent disliked about the police (73). The authors examined a number of independent variables including ethnicity, gender, age, education, length of residence, contact with the police, neighborhood, and community association membership. The authors found that living in a residential neighborhood was the best predictor of positive attitudes toward the police. Age and making a request for police service were the only other variables found to be significantly related to attitudes, both positive and

negative, toward the police (83-84). Jesilow and colleagues did not find ethnicity a significant factor in contrast with prior research studies.

Henderson et al. (1997) conducted a survey examining attitudes in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1991. The dependent variable in the study was the perception of racial injustice in the criminal justice as measured by a four item scale (452). Henderson et al. found significant differences in perceptions of white and black respondents. For instance, 62.1% of white respondents indicated that blacks and whites would be treated equally as compared to fewer than 20% of blacks (454). When a series of control variables were added to the analysis, race remained a significant factor (454). The findings of Henderson et al. support the conflict perspective in that black respondents see the criminal justice system as biased whereas white respondents see the system as neutral (455).

Cao, Frank, and Cullen expanded the scope of research examining attitudes toward the police in their 1996 article. They examined two dimensions of crime experiences, fear of crime and prior victimization. The authors made the assumption that if crime is salient in ones life, confidence in the police will be diminished. To test the hypotheses proposed by Cao et al., a survey was administered in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1992. The authors concluded that race, gender, age, and income were related to a respondents confidence in the police (1996: 11). When the authors added crime related variables to the model, the aforementioned demographics remained

significant. Finally, when the authors added the neighborhood contextual variables, only race remained significant. The findings reported by Frank, Brandi, Cullen, and Stichman (1996: 330) contradicted to prior research. The authors found that being black increased the level of satisfaction toward the police. The authors also found that age was significantly related to attitudes toward the police in Detroit. The race dimension in this study was partially explained by the setting for the research. The study was conducted in Detroit, a city as reported by the authors, having a majority black population, a black mayor since 1973 as well as a large number of black government officeholders, 50% of the police force is black as well as a large number of administrators. The powerful black influence in the government of Detroit indicates the level of control and power had shifted from white dominated to black dominated (1996: 332).

More recently, Priest and Carter (1999) examined attitudes toward the police among black residents in Charlotte, North Carolina. Among black respondents, age had a positive effect on evaluation of police performance as did education level. Also in 1999, Weitzer and Tuch tested the argument that “institutionalized racism no longer affects blacks in a uniform manner and, in fact, class transcends race as a determinant of blacks’ life chances” (1999: 494). However, their research showed that although class is a significant factor, race is the strongest predictor. They found that better-educated white respondents had more favorable views than less educated whites. In

contrast, less educated blacks had more favorable views than more educated blacks (1999: 501).

Summary of Conflict Literature

Based on conflict theory, the current research study will examine four potential conflict measures; socio-economic status (measured by income, education, and employment status), race, age, and gender. Although conflict theory was originally devised to explain conflict due to social inequities, variants of the theory have developed in recent years. It is important to recognize that although race was not a component of conflict theory when originally developed, it has become an important element in current research. Prior research indicates that race is most influential in explaining variations in perceptions toward law enforcement. Socio-economic status has resulted in mixed findings being either significantly related to conflict and not being significantly related. Gender and age have also demonstrated in prior studies to be significant yet often weak factors related to conflict and thus respondents perceptions of law enforcement.

Attitude Consistency Theory

Hypothesis

H₂: Respondents with negative views of other aspects of the criminal justice system are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

Theory description

The structure of attitudes is a complex issue. A theory related to the study of public perceptions is attitude consistency theory which is based on the degree to which a person's attitudes cluster together. According to Albrecht and Green, "the concept of attitude is most useful when it is studied in context as a component of the broader personality of the individual. Any single attitude does not exist in isolation, but is part of a set of attitudes, sometimes assumed to constitute a value system" (1977: 70-71). Research conducted by Heider (1946), Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955), and Festinger (1957) are based on the assumption that attitudes are most useful when studied in the context of the broader attitudes of the person. This is important when studying attitudes toward the police in that "any single attitude does not exist in isolation... Attitudes toward the police are strongly intercorrelated with a set of attitudes toward the broader legal and political systems" (Albrich & Green, 1977: 70-71). Albrecht and Green (1977) concluded that one's attitude toward the police is interwoven into a general attitude complex. Albrecht and Green noted that persons who had negative perceptions of the police also tended to have negative perceptions of the courts. Furthermore, Lipset and Schneider (1983) found that a person's view of powerful institutions influences more specific attitudes. Specifically, one who has a negative attitude toward the criminal justice system will tend to respond negatively when asked about perceptions of the police. The research of Alpert and Dunham (1988: 96) supported this theory by demonstrating a linear relationship when moving

from general perceptions of social institutions to that of the justice system, then the police specifically.

Prior research on attitudes toward the police has examined several dimensions of policing. Brandl et al. noted that research on citizen attitudes toward the police has focused on: overall quality of service, police capabilities, equity of police actions, honesty and courtesy, and the proper role of the police (1994: 473). Moreover, studies have looked at both attitudes toward the local police as well as the general concept of the police. Brandl et al. examined a variety of attitudes toward the police in Cincinnati and found respondents having stable and uniform views of the police (1994: 479). Furthermore, “respondents tend to draw from their general outlooks in responding to any question designed to measure support for the police” (1994: 479). Albrecht and Green (1977) examined attitudes toward the legal system in Utah concluding that persons with the most negative attitudes toward the police also hold the most negative attitudes toward the courts and legal system. The authors also found that attitudes toward the police were related to ones perception of the role that wealth and power play in the administration of justice. In addition to a person basing specific attitudes on their general attitude structure, people tend to generalize from a single instance of behavior (Roberts, 1992: 121).

Racial profiling is an issue that emerged in the late 1990s and led many states to study the role of race in police action. A persons attitudes toward to use of racial profiling

should be consistent with their attitudes toward other aspects of the criminal justice system. Studies conducted in Maryland, New Jersey, Illinois, Florida, Ohio, Houston, and Philadelphia found that the police disproportionately target minorities (Cole, 1999A: 12). As a result of a New Jersey Attorney General study released in April 1999, North Carolina became the first state to require the state highway patrol to record and make public racial patterns in traffic stops (Cole, 1999A: 12).

Differences in public perceptions of racial profiling have been found to be related to one's race. An ABC News poll¹⁵ conducted in early 2000 found that 75% of blacks indicated that the police are more likely to pull over black drivers. In contrast, only 33% of white respondents indicated that the police are more likely to pull over black drivers. Racial profiling has been found to have an impact on a person's perceptions of the police. Opponents to racial profiling hold that it "damages the relationship between police departments and the communities they serve" (Harris, 2002: 12). The police alienate citizens and eliminate the trust people have for the police (Harris, 2002: 12). The perceived existence of racial profiling has been examined in a number of recent polls. For instance, in a 1999 Gallup poll¹⁶, 59% of respondents indicated that racial profiling is widespread. Moreover, 75% of Americans indicated in a 2000

¹⁵ Conducted by ABC News 1/26/2000-2/1/2000 and is based on a random national sample of 1,097 adults, including an oversample of 177 blacks. Results have a 3 point margin of error for the full sample and 7.5 points for blacks.

¹⁶ Conducted by Gallup Organization, 9/24/1999-11/16/1999 and is based on a national adult sample of 2,006. Sample included 1001 blacks and was weighted to be representative of the national adult population. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USGALLUP.120999.R1].

survey by the Democratic Leadership Council¹⁷ that racial profiling is a problem in the United States. In a 2001 NPR survey¹⁸, 75% of Americans disapproved of racial profiling.

According to Harris, blacks are more likely to be stopped by the police (12.3% of blacks versus 10.4% of whites) and blacks are 50% more likely to have experienced multiple traffic stops than whites (2002: 100). The resulting cost of racial profiling is “a strong negative impact on the attitudes of these people toward the police, toward courts, and toward the rule of law itself. These attitudes will damage the institutions that are important to all Americans, so we all pay part of this cost” (Harris, 2002: 102). Harris asserts that racial profiling puts the legitimacy of the criminal justice system at risk. If persons believe the system is biased, they are less likely to see the system as legitimate. Furthermore, Sanow linked the perception of inequality resulting from racial profiling to diminished public trust and confidence in government and democracy (2001: 49).

Support in the Literature

Support for attitude consistency theory, although not as voluminous as conflict theory, was found in the research literature. Shmuel Lock examined public opinion

¹⁷ Conducted by Penn, Schoen, and Berland Associates 6/10/2000-6/13/2000 and is based on a sample of 509 national registered voters. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USPENN.00DLCJ.R45].

¹⁸ Conducted by ICR 10/31/2001-11/12/2001 and is based on a national adult sample of 1,208. Data provided by The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research [USICR.01CIVIL.R09].

of courtroom outcomes. He asked respondents if they “believed blacks are accused and convicted of criminal acts more than whites, simply because they are black.”

Lock found that a majority of black respondents (61%) believed the system was unfair as compared to 36% of white respondents (Lock, 1999: 67). Lock’s analysis examined the support for civil liberties based on the race of the respondent. He found that black respondents were more likely to support increased civil liberties than whites. Lock proposes that the reason for this is that many blacks feel the criminal justice system as a whole is unfair (94).

Another dimension of the criminal justice system is the courts protection of defendant’s rights. In a 1985 USA Today study¹⁹, 70% of respondents agreed that the courts are more concerned with protecting the rights of criminals than with protecting the rights of victims. Furthermore, 81% of respondents to a 1982 Harris poll²⁰ indicated that the courts are too easy on criminals. According to a 1994 poll²¹, 86% of Americans say the court system does too much to protect the rights of the accused (Johnson, 1997: 11). According to Roberts and Stalans (1997) “most people view the criminal justice system as excessively lenient and tilted toward protecting the offender at the expense of the rights of the individual victim, or society in general” (2). Laura Myers notes the emphasis in the courts of legal guilt over factual guilt (1996: 48). However, as stated by Justice Hugo Black, “There can be no equal

¹⁹ USA Today, April 1985, Study no. 9046.

²⁰ Harris, March, 1982, study no. 822104.

²¹ ABC News, February 1994.

justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends on the amount of money he has” (Justice Hugo Black, *Griffin v. Illinois*, 351 U.S. 1956). David Cole associates the differential treatment of whites in the court system, as compared to blacks, to the ability to buy a good defense, facing jurors of their own race, and not being stereotypically associated with crime (1999B: 3). Owens and Bell examine research on bias in the court system. The authors conclude that “in the courts there seems to be a pattern of institutional racism which serves to keep the black and poor in an unequal position before the bar of justice. Since most blacks are poor, their defenses are often handicapped by court-appointed lawyers, who are usually white, upper or middle class, and sometimes biased” further they contend that “American justice is not nearly so blind as it is purported to be, and in spite of the claim of equality before the law, some groups are more equal than others; blacks, the poor, and the ignorant are less equal” (1977: 29). Albrecht and Green examined attitude consistency theory and found a strong relationship between attitudes toward the police and the idea that justice is dependent on ones level of wealth (1977: 77).

An examination of perceptions of judges was also included in the study conducted by Jacob (1971). Although judges are visible actors in the political system, people have less frequent contact with them as compared to the police. Jacob found that perceptions of the police and judges were quite similar (82, 87). Flanagan et al. (1985) found that negative opinions of the courts were held by older respondents, working class respondents, persons reporting vicarious victimization, gun owners,

and respondents living in predominantly white neighborhoods (75). The researchers also found that perceptions of the courts and the police were positively correlated (73). Fagan (1981) noted that “public opinion surveys consistently show that there are generally high levels of support for all levels of the judicial system. However, the level of support for the courts is significantly lower than that for the police” (403). Sweeney and Haney (1992) conducted a meta-analysis of race and sentencing and concluded “black defendants were punished significantly more harshly than their white counterparts” (190). Zatz also analyzed prior studies on the courts finding a large number of studies from the 1930s through the mid 1960s showing “clear and consistent bias against nonwhites in sentencing” (1987: 71). Following the civil rights movement, Zatz found that studies concluded that no discrimination was occurring in the courts or criminal justice system (73). However, research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s concluded that there are indeed racial disparities in sanctioning. Moreover, race both operates indirectly and interacts with other factors when considered in the context of court processing and sentencing (74-75).

Another aspect of the criminal justice system is the jury system. “The jury is one of our most democratic institutions. A random sample of the community is asked to render an impartial verdict in a case after hearing evidence from both sides...a jury’s verdict is assumed to reflect the collective sentiments and conscience of the community and therefore carries a legitimacy that cannot be attained by experts, no matter how intelligent and skillful they may be” (Fukurai, Butler, Krooth, 1993: 3).

The jury selection process begins by gathering a representative group of citizens and removes those who are not impartial so that the jury is able to make an unbiased decision based on the information before them. However, few deny that jurors enter the courtroom with ideas based on their background, beliefs, and experiences (Wrightsmann, Kassin, Willis, 1987: 81). Jurors rely on their judgment when coming to their decision on the facts of the case. Judgments are based on weighing and integrating the various beliefs held by the individual jurors (Kerr & Bray, 1982). Juror bias can take place on specific issues such as race of defendant or bias can occur because of a general philosophy such as presumed guilt of a defendant (Kerr & Bray, 1982). According to attitude consistency theory, one would assert that similar attitudes would be held by persons regarding the jury system. According to Kerr and Bray, “the juror brings to the trial a presumption of guilt or innocence, or of responsibility” (201). Constantini and King (1980: 10) found that pre-trial publicity has affected jury deliberations. As a result, there have been attempts in recent years to place restrictions on public access to criminal proceedings. In a classic study of the jury system, Kalven and Zeisel (1966) found that when the evidence is ambiguous, jurors will make decisions based on their personal values (Levine, 2000: 156). As stated by Levine: “the jury room is not impervious to social conflicts. Race is one of the great divides in American society, and it defies common sense to imagine that jurors can totally ward off the personal biases and distinctive perceptions associated with race that bear upon people’s judgments in the workplace, the school, and the ballot box” (2000: 156).

Summary of Attitude Consistency Literature

Public opinion has been said to be irrational at times, however, attitude consistency theory contends that persons formulate attitudes in relation to a larger attitude structure. Prior research has indicated that persons attitudes toward law enforcement tend to be similar to their attitudes toward other aspects of the criminal justice system. Based on an examination of prior research several variables measuring attitudes toward the criminal justice system were included in the research model.

Ecological Theory – Geographical Studies

Hypothesis

H₃: Respondents location of residence will influence their perception of whether the police treat all suspects the same.

Theory description

The third theory relevant to this research study is based on ecological theories of deviance. Several areas of social research including: ecological theory, social disorganization theory, and geographical theories have linked one's environment with levels of delinquency. Moreover, some have extended these community-based theories to the study of attitudes. It follows that one's perception of the police and criminal justice system are influenced by the community context.

Ecological studies were first utilized to examine delinquency in Chicago, Illinois. Park and others related the organization of neighborhoods to ecology in the sense that there were “natural areas” in the city where different types of people lived (Winfrey & Abadinsky, 1996: 141). Ernest Burgess, a colleague of Park, visualized five concentric zones differing according to land use, population type, and other economic and social characteristics (Winfrey & Abadinsky, 1996: 141). Park and Burgess conclude that “as opposed to the more stable rural lifestyle, the urban community ceases to function as an effective agency of social control...as a consequence, higher concentrations of social ills and the highest levels of social disorganization” (Winfrey & Abadinsky, 1996: 143).

Another influential work based on social disorganization was Shaw and McKay’s study which found that delinquency rates were related to the same ecological processes as the area’s socioeconomic structure. They found that highly delinquent areas were characterized as racially and ethnically heterogeneous and with high population turnover rates (large numbers of people moving in and out of the neighborhood). As such, these neighborhoods were unable to achieve common goals (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993: 33). Shaw and McKay concluded that neighborhoods with the highest delinquency rates were in close proximity to industrial areas, characterized by low economic status, and with a high proportion of nonwhite and foreign-born residents (Vold & Bernard, 1986: 169-170). In their book, *Neighborhoods and Crime*, Bursik and Grasmick (1993) develop a systematic model

integrating neighborhood social control and social disorganization theories. The foundation of their work was Shaw and McKay's social disorganization theory (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993: 29). The theory proposed by Bursik and Grasmick examined "the ability of neighborhoods to control themselves and their environment through formal and informal relational networks so that the risk of crime is minimized" (12). The authors believe that variations in crime rates can be attributed to the varying ability of communities to regulate themselves. According to their theory, the lower class tends to live in heterogeneous communities (racial/ ethnic heterogeneity) with high rates of turnover (residential stability) (1993: 39).

In recent years ecological theory has shifted to a more general theory examining spatial distributions and has, by some, more accurately been termed 'geographic' or 'environmental' studies of justice. The geographic distinctions in attitude structures have been studied by researchers to ascertain whether actual differences occur in perceptions of the criminal justice system. Based on ecological theory, persons in areas characterized by high levels of delinquency, high levels of poverty, densely populated and racially heterogeneous would tend to have negative views of the police and criminal justice system.

Although social disorganization theory was designed to explain crime rates, elements of this theory are applicable to an explanation of public perceptions. Prior research has examined the impact of one's community on perceptions of the police. Several

researchers have concluded that persons in lower class, crime infested neighborhoods have more negative views of the police. Many urban areas, according to Sung, provide for confrontations with the police due to a lack of consensus between the police and public (2002: 86). Citizen support is thus a direct function of the relative power status of a community. "Cooperation sprouts in places where there are ideological congruence and affective identification between police and the policed" (2002: 83). As noted by Sung, "the relative position of a residential area in the core/periphery scale determines whether cooperation or conflict prevails in the police-community interaction" (2002: 84).

Support in the Literature

Cao, Frank, and Cullen examined the idea that incivilities, specifically community disorder, will decrease ones opinion of the police. The authors hypothesized that a persons confidence in their neighborhood will impact confidence in the police. To test the hypotheses proposed by Cao et al. a survey was administered in Cincinnati in 1992. When the authors added the neighborhood contextual variables to their model, the neighborhood contextual variables and gender were shown to be significant (1996: 12). It is interesting to note that the proportion of variance explained increases significantly with the addition of the neighborhood contextual variables. The authors conclude that attitudes may be regulated by the social context within which one lives (1996: 13).

The percent of a neighborhood composed of minorities is another aspect relevant to ones perceptions of the criminal justice system. Jacob concluded in his 1971 study that respondents attitudes differed by neighborhood (73). Jacob attributes this difference in attitudes to the different level of contact between the police and citizens in different neighborhoods (75). According to Jacob, residents in minority dominated neighborhoods have more frequent contact with the police. Skogan examined residents in thirteen cities in 1975 and also concluded that cities with large black populations reported more negative views overall (1979: 33). Apple and O'Brien test the theory that blacks have a greater level of negative contacts with the police; thus, they are more likely to have a negative perception. The negative contacts blacks have will be brought into the neighborhood and result in others having negative attitudes toward the police (1983: 77). Apple and O'Brien found that an increase in the proportion of blacks in a neighborhood has a negative effect on individual black attitudes (1983: 81). Apple and O'Brien found that in neighborhoods with a large proportion of blacks there is a greater level of association with people who have had negative encounters with the police which, in turn, results in more negative attitudes (1983: 83). Smith, Graham, and Adams (1991) also examined citizen evaluations of the police and found that persons living in neighborhoods characterized by a high percentage of residents who are nonwhite held more negative opinions of the police. Lynch and Patterson found that race is a determinant of attitudes regarding quality of police service; however, this is conditional on the percent of residents who are nonwhite (1991: 27).

The level of crime within the community also contributes to perceptions of the criminal justice system. Parker, Onyekwuluje, and Murty (1995) analyzed the predictive power of six demographic variables on black attitudes toward the police. These authors found that among blacks, neighborhood crime rate was the only factor with a significant bivariate correlation with attitudes toward the local police (388). Murty, Roebuck, and Smith examined the image of the police in predominantly black Atlanta communities. Using a logit model, Murty et al. found that a positive image of the police was associated with respondents living in low crime areas (Murty et al., 1990: 253-255).

In a recent series of articles, Weitzer (1999; 2000a) examined the thesis that being a member of the lower class creates alienation and conflict resulting in negative relations (1999: 820-821). Examining attitudes in Washington D.C., Weitzer found that neighborhood class has the largest influence on attitudes (1999: 843). He also found that blacks identified racism as the cause of unequal treatment of black citizens; however, the degree to which this attitude is held differs between neighborhoods studied (2000a).

Zamble and Annesley (1987) examined factors influencing public attitudes toward the police. The authors identified the importance of determining whether people in smaller cities differ from those in large cities with regard to their attitudes toward the police. The authors contend that smaller areas tend to be more conservative and have

fewer total crimes thus resulting in a more favorable view of the police (285). Similarly, Thomas and Hyman (1977) concluded that residents living outside the inner city tended to have more favorable views of the police (314). Zamble and Annesley did support their hypothesis that attitudes in smaller cities were more favorable than in large cities with regard to both the local police and the police in general (288). Kusow et al. (1997) examined the interaction between race and residence. The authors found that whites living in the suburbs had the highest reported level of satisfaction with the police followed by blacks living in suburbs, whites in urban settings, and finally, blacks in urban settings (663). The authors concluded that residential location, not race, best explains satisfaction with the police (663). Jesilow, Meyer, and Namazzi (1995) examined attitudes of Santa Ana, California residents attitudes toward the police in a 1990 survey. The authors found that living in a residential neighborhood was the best predictor of positive attitudes toward the police (83-84). Smith (1984) examined police performance in rural areas using a path model that included the direct and indirect effects of sex, age, income, area of residence, victimization experience, and perception of crime. Smith did not include race in his model due to the small number of minorities in the sample. Smith found that age, victimization experience, and perception of crime were significant direct factors explaining the evaluation of police performance by members of a rural community (Smith, 1984: 162). The path analysis also showed that age, income, area of residence, gender, and victimization experience had indirect effects on the evaluation of police performance (Smith, 1984: 162).

Summary of Geographic Literature

Ecological models were developed to explain variations in crime rates, however, in recent years it has been proposed that ones surroundings can influence one's perceptions. Although there is only a few studies which incorporate geographic variables to explain variations in perceptions of law enforcement. This theory has been proposed as an alternative to describing attitudes. Based on geographic theory, several community level variables are included in the model to represent the characteristics of the county in which the respondent lives.

Summary of Theoretical Foundations

Three theories have been proposed in prior research to explain why people formulate different perceptions of the police. It is relevant to question why people sometimes draw different conclusions from similar situations. Research linking conflict theory to public perceptions is the most abundant explanation found in the literature. A persons social status determines their relative power in society. Persons with more power will hold more favorable views of law enforcement. The second explanation for differing attitudes centers around a persons general attitudes. Attitude consistency theory holds that a persons attitudes on similar issues will be consistent. Thus, if a persons has a negative view of the criminal justice system or some dimension of the criminal justice system, they will typically hold unfavorable views of the police. Finally, geographic based theories contend that ones community influences ones

attitudes and perceptions. If a person lives in a community where the majority of residents hold negative views they will also tend to have negative views of the police.

Summary of the Literature

The literature on perceptions of the police is vast and equally diverse in conclusions. Since the 1960s researchers and public officials have been interested in determining public opinion on issues related to crime and justice, many of the studies have been discussed in this review. The three theories introduced in Chapter 2 have been tied to prior research on public perceptions of law enforcement. A brief summary of the key research studies is found in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Key studies examining factors related to public perceptions of the police (1967-1999)

Author	Significant Factors	Insignificant Factors
Ennis (1967)	race, income	
Bayley & Mendelson (1969)	Race	
Jacob (1971)	race, experience with police, socio-economic status	

Table 2.1 (continued)

Author	Significant Factors	Insignificant Factors
Richardson et al. (1972)	race, age, income	
Walker et al. (1973)	age, race	Income
Albrecht & Green (1977)	income, race, urban/ rural, attitude toward criminal justice system	
Thomas & Hyman (1977)	race, gender, age, income	education, victimization, occupational prestige
Peek, Alston, Lowe (1978)	age, race	
Smith & Hawkins (1979)	race, age	education, income, occupation, gender
Scaglione & Condon (1980A)	race, evaluation of police service	religion, income, gender, marital status, education
Peek Lowe, Alston (1981)	age, race	city size, income, occupation, education, gender, region, party identification, religion
Apple & O'Brien (1983)	quality of police service	proportion black

Table 2.1 (continued)

Author	Significant Factors	Insignificant Factors
Davis (1990)	race, employed	gender, age, income-education interaction
Murty, Roebuck, & Smith (1990)	age, socio-economic status, crime rate, marital, education, employed	gender
Webb & Marshall (1995)	race, age, contact	gender, income, education, neighborhood race, neighborhood poverty rate
Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi (1995)	race, age, residential neighborhood, contact with police	gender, length of residence, education
Parker & Onyekwuluje (1995)	neighborhood crime rate	marital status, age, residence, gender, income
Cao, Frank, & Cullen (1996)	race, income, gender, fear, age, victimization, collective community security, incivilities	education, crime ideology
Frank, Brandi, Cullen & Stichman (1996)	race, age, victimization	gender, income, education
Henderson et al. (1997)	race, political ideology	contact with system, fear, victimization, neighborhood of residence
Priest & Carter (1999)	age, education, victimization, neighborhood evaluation, police response time	

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

Chapter Introduction

This chapter contains a description of the data collection strategy, sampling design, and survey instruments. Issues related to data limitations including a discussion of data screening procedures as well as reliability and validity, will be addressed. In addition to presenting background information on the data, the present chapter identifies relevant variables used in this study and the theoretical justification for including each. The research model and hypothesis to be subsequently tested are discussed. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the statistical techniques used for data analysis.

North Carolina Background Information

This study is based on data gathered in the State of North Carolina, located in the southeastern portion of the United States. North Carolina is 48,711 square miles in size and borders the Atlantic Ocean²². The population of the state is just over eight million persons. From 1990 to 2000 the population of North Carolina increased by 21.4%. The population density of North Carolina is 165.2 persons per square mile, nearly double the national rate of 79.6; however, much of North Carolina is considered rural in nature. According to the 1990 Census, 50.4% of North Carolina residents live in urban areas and 49.6% live in rural areas (2000 Census data has not

²² All North Carolina information in this section was obtained from the 1990 and 2000 US Census.

been released for urban/ rural dimension at time of writing). North Carolina is comprised of 100 counties in three distinct geographic regions, separated by essentially North-South divisions (coastal, piedmont, and mountain regions). There are six cities in North Carolina with populations over 100,000 and 17 urban areas, as defined by the United States Department of Commerce in the 2000 Census.

According to the 2000 census, the median age of North Carolina residents was 35.3 years. The racial breakdown of residents is: 72.1% white or Caucasian, 21.6% black or African American, and 6.3% other races. In North Carolina 4.7% of residents are of Hispanic origin, up from 1.2 percent in 1990. The state population is almost equally split between males and females (49% male and 51% female). In North Carolina, the median household income is \$35,320 and 69.4% of residents are homeowners. However, 12.6% of the population lives in poverty.

Data Source

Data for this research study were collected by North Carolina State University for the North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission. Data collection took place in the fall of 1997, 1999, and 2001. The survey instruments were identical in 1997 and in 1999; however, the 2001 survey included several additional questions but none were eliminated. Respondents were contacted by telephone and qualified for participation by (1) being a North Carolina resident, and (2) being over the age of 18.

Sampling

The population from which the samples were drawn included all North Carolina residents over age 18 with a home telephone. The sample selection was based on a stratified random method. Stratification was based on residence in one of four regions of the state to assure adequate geographical representation of respondents. Sample sizes are as follows: in 1997, 3007 respondents; in 1999, 3054 respondents; and in 2001, 2451 respondents. Survey non-response was a result of several potential factors including: non-residential phone number, language barrier, out of service number, attempts exhausted, refusal/ termination of interview. In 1997, 46.2% of the total attempts were successful, 25.7% of attempts were not eligible for participation, 15.9% refused to participate or terminated the interview, and 12.2% of attempts were not completed because the household could not be contacted. In 1999, 31% of the interviews were completed successfully, 28% of the attempts were not eligible for participation, 12% refused to participate, and 27% of attempts were unsuccessful because the household could not be contacted. In 2001, 36% of the interviews were completed, 34% of attempts were ineligible numbers, 7% refused to participate, and 21% were unsuccessful as a result of being unable to reach the household.

Instrumentation

Data was collected by telephone surveys of North Carolina residents in the fall of 1997, 1999, and 2001. The surveys began with questions on issues related to victimization incidents occurring in the past year. Next, the surveys addressed the

respondent's concern of crime levels and fear of victimization. The survey also included dimensions measuring respondents' opinions of the criminal justice system and its components. Finally, the surveys concluded with individual demographic questions. The survey instruments can be found in Appendix A.

Data Screening

Data screening techniques were utilized to assess the accuracy of the data files as well as the ability of the variables to meet the assumptions of ordinal logistic regression analysis. Four techniques were utilized in the data screening process; a check for accuracy of the data file, an examination of missing values and subsequent imputation, an examination of outliers, and a test for multicollinearity.

The first step in data screening was a check of the accuracy of the data file. This was achieved by examining the univariate frequency distributions for each variable. All values were determined to be within the acceptable range of values. An examination of means and standard deviations indicated plausible values for each variable. Missing value codes were re-checked and were found to be properly assigned.

The second step in data screening was an examination of missing values. SPSS 11.0 Missing Value Analysis was used to analyze the distribution of missing values. The results from separate variance t-tests and crosstabulations of categorical versus indicator variables were analyzed to determine if there is a random or nonrandom

pattern of missing cases. Based on an examination of missing value patterns it was determined that the missing values were randomly distributed. Due to the random distribution of missing values through cases and variables, estimation of missing data and subsequent imputation was conducted to prevent substantial data loss (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001: 59). Estimation of missing values was conducted using mean imputation, a conservative technique for replacing missing values (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001: 62).

The third step in data screening was an examination of outliers. Outlier cases were identified for continuous variables as cases falling outside the range ($Q1-1.5*IQR$, $Q3-1.5*IQR$). Boxplots were also examined to determine the distribution of outlier cases. Three continuous variables had outlier cases in 1997 and 1999; county racial heterogeneity, county poverty rate, and county crime rate and two variables had outliers in 2001; county racial heterogeneity and county poverty rate. An examination of data for the outlier counties indicated correct data entry. An examination of the values indicated the scores were only slightly above the established threshold for standard scores. Furthermore, Tabachnick and Fidell note that with large sample sizes a few standardized scores above the threshold are expected (2001: 68). To test for outlier cases with the dichotomous variables, uneven splits between categories (in excess of 90-10 split) were considered outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001: 67). None of the dichotomous variables met the

condition of being an outlier. Based on an examination of the individual outlier cases, it was determined that the cases would be included in the analysis.

The final data screening technique was a test for multicollinearity. Bivariate correlations were examined for each combination of the independent variables. Using the standard of .90 as variables being too highly correlated (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001: 83). Based on an examination of the correlation matrix for each year of the study, none of the bivariate correlations are greater than .90 indicating that multicollinearity is not a problem.

Statistical Conclusion Validity

Statistical conclusion validity relates to the necessity of covariation to infer causation. Threats to statistical conclusion validity relate to the ability to draw conclusions about covariation based on statistical evidence (Cook & Campbell, 1979: 37). Seven threats to statistical conclusion validity (Cook & Campbell, 1979: 42-44) will be addressed individually.

Violated assumptions of statistical tests

The statistical test utilized in this analysis is ordinal logistic regression. The assumptions for logistic regression are less restrictive than OLS (Ordinary Least Squares) regression. For instance, logistic regression does not assume a linear relationship, the dependent variable does not need to be normally distributed, the

dependent variables does not need to be homoscedastic for each level of the independents, normally distributed error terms are not assumed, does not require the independent variables to be interval or unbounded (Garson, 2002). Nonetheless, other assumptions of OLS regression are still relevant. First, all relevant independent variables must be included in the regression model. Based on a review of the literature, each aspect of the theories being tested are included in the analysis. Second, all irrelevant variables are excluded. Since variables were selected based on the finding from past researchers, it can be reasonable assumed that irrelevant variables are not included. Third, error terms are assumed to be independent. Since the samples were not correlated such as in instances of before and after data, cluster sampling, or matched pair studies, independence of the error terms is not a concern. Fourth, low error in the explanatory variables. This assumption does present some difficulties in based on the survey data analyzed. Logistic regression assumes no missing cases; however, there are instances within the dataset where respondents refused to answer specific questions. Cases which were represented by missing data were imputed based on mean values, persons of races other than black and white were excluded from the analysis. Fifth, logistic regression assumes linearity between the logit of the independents and the dependent. Sixth, logistic regression models assume additivity. Based on a review of prior research, no interaction terms have been included. Sixth, logistic regression uses maximum likelihood estimation; thus, requires a large sample size. In each of the years studied, the sample size is sufficiently large. Finally, the model has expected dispersion of the variance of the

dependent. Based on an analysis of deviance, standard errors are neither over nor under estimated.

Error rate problem

The error rate problem relates to making a Type I error, the conclusion that covariation exists when it, in fact, does not. The alpha level for statistical significance testing was set at .05 resulting in a 5% probability of finding a relationship that occurred as a result of chance.

Reliability of measures

The reliability of the measures has been established by the selection procedures of question selection and development. Questions were selected from prior research with established reliability. Reliability can be increased if the instrument was longer to allow for testing intercorrelation of the measures.

Other threats to statistical conclusion validity

- The reliability of treatment implementation is not a concern because there was no application of a treatment.
- Random irrelevancies in the experimental setting are not relevant because there was no application of a treatment.

- Random heterogeneity of respondents is not relevant because this study is not based on an experimental design.

Internal Validity

Internal validity is defined as the “approximate validity with which we infer that a relationship between two variables is causal or that the absence of a relationship implies the absence of cause” (Cook & Campbell, 1979: 37). Internal validity refers to the determination of a causal relationship and the direction of causality between variables. To establish the internal validity of the study, each of the seven threats to internal validity will be discussed. This research study used a stratified random sample of North Carolina residents which eliminated many of the threats to internal validity.

History

History is a threat which refers to a situation when the effect is due to another event, and is controlled by random sampling. Even though the surveys were administered randomly, history may have been a problem in the 2001 survey. The timing of the survey may have influenced the results; some respondents were surveyed prior to the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington DC. Thus those surveyed prior to September 11 may have different responses than those surveyed

after September 11. An analysis of pre-post September 11 surveys was conducted and found that very few (286) of the total respondents (2451) were surveyed prior to September 11, 2001. A bivariate analysis which posed the variable pre/post September 11 was analyzed with each of the independent variables and found some significant relationships; however, they were quite weak in strength of association (see Appendix B).

Other threats to internal validity

- Maturation is a threat which involves the natural change in a person between pre and post tests. This study is cross-sectional in nature without a pre and post test; therefore, maturation is not a relevant threat.
- Testing refers to effects of the respondents' familiarity with the test. Since this was a randomly selected sample, it is unlikely that respondents would have prior knowledge of the instrument. Thus, testing is not a threat in this study.
- Instrumentation refers to a change in survey instrument. Since the three survey administrations contained identical question wording instrumentation is not a threat. Moreover, this is not a pre-post test design therefore instrumentation will not influence the drawing of conclusions.

- Statistical regression refers to the selection of participants based on extreme scores. Respondents were randomly selected, thus statistical regression does not pose a threat to the research design.
- The threat of selection results from differences in the individuals in the experimental groups. In this study selection is not a problem because the respondents were randomly selected and the study is not based on an experimental group design.
- Experimental mortality refers to differences as a result of people terminating participation in the study. Due to the nature of this study, a brief phone survey, mortality was not a threat.

External Validity

External validity is defined as “the approximate validity with which we can infer that the presumed causal relationship can be generalized to and across alternate measures of the cause and effect and across different types of persons, settings, and times” (Cook & Campbell, 1979: 37). External validity refers to the ability to generalize the research findings. This study is intended to explain attitudes toward the police in North Carolina. External validity was established by discounting the potential threats.

Interaction of selection and treatment

The interaction of selection and treatment is not a problem in this study because the study was based on a random sample. Thus, the problem of generalizing to North Carolina residents is not a concern. The stratified random sample process was intended to select a sample which mirrors the general population of North Carolina.

Interaction of setting and treatment

The current study was a telephone survey, thus the setting of the study is not a relevant threat to the external validity of the study.

Interaction of history and treatment

History could be a potential threat to the external validity of the study for the 2001 administration. One must be cautious in interpreting the results and generalizing that responses obtained just after a major terrorist incident are representative. The threat of history was examined by comparing overall trends in attitudes from 1997 to 1999 to 2001. The difference in attitudes in 1997 and 1999 as compared to 2001 were not extremely different. Any difference could also be attributed to a general trend that was seen from 1997 to 1999 and continuing to 2001 (see Tables 4.1-4.11).

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study was selected to ascertain a person's perceived level of bias in police treatment of suspects. The respondents were asked if they

agreed or disagreed that “police treat all suspects the same.” Respondents were provided a five point response set ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Persons who agree with this statement believe the police are not biased in their treatment of individuals; whereas, people who disagree with the statement believe the police are biased in their behavior.

As seen in Table 3.1, the majority of all respondents in each of the years studied either disagrees or strongly disagrees with the statement that the police treat all suspects the same. It is interesting to note that since 1997, respondent’s negative perception has slightly improved, in 1997, 63.7% responded in a negative manner, in 1999, 57.1% responded in a negative manner, and in 2001 only 53.8% responded in a negative manner.

Table 3.1 Frequency distribution for the dependent variable “Do you strongly disagree, disagree, have no opinion, agree, or strongly agree that the police treat all suspects the same” (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	419	13.9	353	11.6	219	8.9
Disagree	1388	46.2	1389	45.5	1101	44.9
No Opinion	371	12.3	337	11.0	286	11.7
Agree	804	26.7	901	29.5	802	32.7
Strongly Agree	25	.8	74	2.4	43	1.8
Total	3007	100	3054	100	2451	100

Conflict Variables

The first set of variables was selected based on the tenets of conflict theory. Conflict between groups in society will result in differing views of the police. The following

conflict variables are included in the research model: race, income, employment status, educational attainment, age, and gender.

Race

The first variable included in the research model is race. The history of conflict between black and white Americans is well documented. Blacks are more likely to perceive injustice than whites (see Jacob, 1971; Hagan, 1989; Scagilion & Condon, 1980A&B; Goldberg, 1993; Wilbanks, 1987). Based on the findings of the aforementioned studies, as well as numerous others, race has been deemed a significant factor influencing a person's perception of the police. In this study, race is measured by asking respondents to state their race. The categories white and black will be used in the analysis, other races mentioned were coded as system missing and excluded from the analysis due to the extremely small proportion of cases they represent.

The racial breakdown for the sample is consistent across all years studied. In each of the three years the sample consisted of approximately 80% of the valid cases being white respondents and 20% of the valid cases representing black respondents (as seen in Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2 Frequency distribution for the independent conflict variable race
(1997, 1999, 2001)**

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
White	2348	81.6	2382	80.9	1859	80.3
Black	529	18.4	562	18.4	456	19.7
Total	2877	100.0	2944	100.0	2315	100.0
Missing	130		110		136	
Total	3007		3054		2451	

Socio-economic status

Prior research has indicated that socioeconomic status influences police-community relations. Research has found that persons of lower socioeconomic status have more negative perceptions than wealthier respondents (see Jacob, 1971; Walker et al., 1973; and Peek, Lowe, & Alston, 1981). Based on prior research findings, income is included as a proxy of a persons socioeconomic status. Income was originally measured as an ordinal variable with 14 income categories. For this study the categories were collapsed into three categories which included approximately 1/3 of respondents in each group. The first category represents the lower class, persons with household incomes less than \$25,000 per year. The second income category represents the working class, persons with incomes between \$25,000 and \$39,999. The third income category represents the middle to upper class, persons with incomes over \$40,000.

As seen in Table 3.3, the income situation for survey respondents increased from 1997 to 2001. In 1997 each of the three income categories represented approximately

a third of respondents; however, by 2001 fewer respondents reported incomes in the lower two income categories.

Table 3.3 Frequency distribution for the independent conflict variable income (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
\$24,999 or less	833	37.7	677	22.2	466	19.0
\$25,000-\$39,999	1158	38.5	1253	41.0	1195	48.8
\$40,000 or more	1016	33.8	1124	36.8	790	32.2
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

In addition to examining income, employment status was also analyzed as a proxy for socio-economic status. Respondents were asked if they were employed. Based on an analysis of the aforementioned question, over 65% of respondents in each year were employed (as seen in Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Frequency distribution for the independent conflict variable employment status (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Employed	2058	68.4	2081	68.1	1616	65.9
Unemployed	949	31.6	973	31.9	835	34.1
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

Education

Collins (1971; 1975; 1979) argues that conflict exists among persons at different educational levels. According to Collins, as one becomes more educated they adopt customs of the dominant culture. As such, one would expect persons of lower educational status to perceive greater levels of injustice. Education was also found to

be a significant factor by Murty, Roebuck, and Smith (1990) and Priest and Carter (1999). The education variable for this study was collapsed into three categories representing persons with less than a high school degree, persons with a high school degree or some college, and persons who completed a college or graduate degree. As seen in Table 3.5, the majority of respondents in each of the survey administrations had a high school diploma and/ or some college. The next largest educational category was college graduates followed by the smallest category, persons with less than a high school education.

Table 3.5 Frequency distribution for the independent conflict variable educational attainment (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Less than HS	478	15.9	477	15.6	307	12.5
HS/ some college	1664	55.3	1649	54.0	1400	57.1
College grad or higher	865	28.7	928	30.4	744	30.4
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

Age

Several studies have linked age to perceptions of the police (see Richardson et al., 1972; Walker & Richardson, 1974; Peek, Alston, & Lowe, 1978; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Murty et al., 1990). Prior research has generally indicated that younger Americans are more likely to have negative views of the police than older Americans. Age was coded as an interval level variable measuring year of birth. Year of birth was slightly skewed as indicated by negative skewness values and a median value higher than the mean. Although results indicated slight skewness, the extent was

considered small. In 1997, the respondent ages ranged from 18 to 93 with a mean age of 48 years old (standard deviation=16.65) and a median age of 46 years old²³. In 1999, the respondent ages ranged from 18 to 93 with a mean age of 47 years old (standard deviation=16.41) and a median age of 45. In 2001, respondent ages ranged from 18 to 96 with a mean age of 48 years of age (standard deviation=16.75) and a median age of 46.

Gender

Prior studies have shown that men are less satisfied with police performance when compared to women (Austin & Vogel, 1995; Murty et al., 1990). However, other researchers indicate that males have more favorable views of the police (Thomas & Hyman, 1977). Based on conflicting findings, gender was included in the model. Respondents were classified as either male or female. As seen by an examination of Table 3.6, the samples were almost equally split between males and females.

Table 3.6 Frequency distribution for the independent conflict variable gender (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Male	1473	49.0	1566	51.3	1069	43.6
Female	1534	51.0	1488	48.7	1382	56.4
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

²³ Year of birth was converted to age for simplicity of interpretation.

Attitude Consistency Variables

The primary focus of attitude consistency theory is based on the premise that attitudes on related issues and institutions tend to cluster together. Prior research has indicated that perceptions of the courts, juries, and criminal justice system are related to attitudes toward the police. Attitude consistency theory will be tested by including six variables measuring various aspects of the criminal justice system. The first four variables are directly related to the justice system and the last two are based on personal experiences and attitudes.

Opinions of the criminal justice system

The first variable measuring attitudes toward the criminal justice system ascertains the respondent's perceived change in crime over the prior three years. Respondents indicated if they felt violent crime had increased, decreased, or stayed the same over the prior three years. As seen in Table 3.7, few respondents indicated that there was a decrease in the level of violent crime. However, it is important to note that over the period 1997 to 2001 a smaller percentage of respondents indicated there was an increase in violent crime.

Table 3.7 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable change in violent crime (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Decreased	168	5.6	380	12.4	341	13.9
Stayed the same	1226	40.8	1504	49.2	1260	51.4
Increased	1613	53.6	1170	38.3	850	34.7
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

The second variable measuring attitudes toward the criminal justice system examines the respondent's perception of the courts. Respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed that the courts protect the constitutional rights of defendants. This variable was measured on a five-point Likert scale. When examining Table 3.8, one sees that the majority of respondents do indeed believe that the courts protect the constitutional rights of defendants.

Table 3.8 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable the courts protect the constitutional rights of defendants (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	96	3.2	89	2.9	56	2.3
Disagree	529	17.6	641	21.0	394	16.1
No Opinion	386	12.8	346	11.3	279	11.4
Agree	1646	54.8	1745	57.2	1578	64.4
Strongly Agree	350	11.6	233	7.6	144	5.9
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

The third variable measuring attitudes toward the criminal justice system examined the respondents perception of juries. Respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement that juries were biased and unfair in their decision-making. This variable was measured on a five-point Likert scale. Based on an examination of the frequency distribution, the majority of respondents in all three years do not believe that juries are biased and unfair (Table 3.9).

**Table 3.9 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable
juries are biased and unfair (1997, 1999, 2001)**

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	123	4.1	113	3.7	117	4.8
Disagree	1520	50.5	1438	47.1	1216	49.6
No Opinion	467	15.5	501	16.4	395	16.1
Agree	813	27.0	882	28.9	662	27.0
Strongly Agree	84	2.8	120	3.9	61	2.5
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

The final perception measure asked respondents if they agreed that the criminal justice system is effective in controlling crime. Respondents answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree to the statement that the criminal justice system is effective in controlling crime. The results in Table 3.10 indicate that respondents are fairly split on this attitude dimension. However, as indicated in the table, when moving from 1997 to 2001 respondents have a more favorable attitude regarding the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

**Table 3.10 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable
the criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective in controlling crime
(1997, 1999, 2001)**

	1997		1999		2001	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	321	10.7	182	6.0	92	3.8
Disagree	1252	41.6	1004	32.9	664	27.1
No Opinion	375	12.5	313	10.2	293	12.0
Agree	1043	34.7	1461	47.9	1346	54.9
Strongly Agree	16	0.5	94	3.1	56	2.3
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

Fear of crime

The second attitude consistency dimension is based on fear of crime. Fear of crime was measured by creating an additive index of five measures representing the level of worry about crime. The additive score was divided by five to return the measure to the original scaling format. The Standardized Chronbach's alpha for these measures is 0.6889 for the 1997 data, 0.6752 for the 1999 data, and 0.7088 for the 2001 data indicating adequate internal consistency (see Appendix C). In each of the three years the standardized alpha was higher than any of the alpha if item deleted values indicating that the internal consistency would not be improved by eliminating any of the variables. The five measures represent: worry about personal safety, worry about safety of property, worry about people taking property, feelings of safety during the day, and feelings of safety at night. In each of the survey administrations, the median fear score was in the neutral response category.

Victimization status

The third dimension of attitude consistency measured prior victimization. Prior research has indicated that victimization experiences result in negative attitudes toward the police (see Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Koenig, 1980; Kusow, Wilson, Martin, 1997). To measure victimization status, any respondent who indicated they had been a victim in the past year of at least one of the seven stipulated crimes²⁴. In

²⁴ See Appendix A survey questions 1,3,5,8,11,14,17.

each of the years studied, less than 16% of the sample reported being a victim in the prior year (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable victimization status (1997, 1999, 2001)

	1997		1999		2001	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Non-victim	2600	86.5	2584	84.6	2076	84.7
Victim	407	13.5	470	15.4	375	15.3
Total	3007	100.0	3054	100.0	2451	100.0

Additional variables from the 2001 survey

Three additional variables were included in the 2001 survey administration: role of race in the criminal justice system, role of class in the criminal justice system, and police use of racial profiling. All three questions were measured on a five-point Likert scale coded to represent level of agreement or disagreement that each condition exists in North Carolina. Respondents were fairly split in response to their attitudes on whether race is a major factor in the criminal justice system (Table 3.12); however, more respondents indicated that social class is a major factor (Table 3.13). With regard to racial profiling, responses are dispersed with the largest percent of persons indicating that they disagreed that law enforcement routinely uses racial profiling (Table 3.14).

**Table 3.12 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable
race is a major factor in the criminal justice system (2001)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	74	3.0
Disagree	944	38.5
No Opinion	364	14.9
Agree	900	36.7
Strongly Agree	169	6.9
Total	2451	100.0

**Table 3.13 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable
social class is a major factor in the criminal justice system (2001)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	39	1.5
Disagree	655	26.7
No Opinion	313	12.8
Agree	1182	48.2
Strongly Agree	264	10.8
Total	2451	100.0

**Table 3.14 Frequency distribution for the independent attitude consistency variable
law enforcement routinely uses racial profiling (2001)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Strongly Disagree	65	2.7
Disagree	988	40.3
No Opinion	598	24.4
Agree	715	29.2
Strongly Agree	85	3.5
Total	2451	100.0

Geographic Variables

In addition to conflict and attitude consistency variables, this research study will include seven variables representing geographic characteristics: percent of county residents living in municipal areas, county population density, region of the state,

county poverty level, county racial heterogeneity, county violent crime rate, and respondent's length of residence. According to McCarthy, "for a variety of reasons, counties represent an ideal unit of analysis for studies of social structure...The county unit is small enough to justify the expectation that arrest practices will be sensitive to variation in local social structure and crime rates. Counties include all geographic areas within the state, not just incorporated cities" (McCarthy, 1991: 22).

Urban /rural

According to McCarthy, the use of counties provides researchers with an opportunity to study the impact of urbanization by examining counties containing SMSAs and less urban counties (1991: 22). As noted by Weisheit and Wells, in 1996, 76 percent of the counties in the United States were nonmetropolitan (fewer than 50,000 people) (1996: 382). As such, greater attention should be paid to the perceptions of suburban and rural residents. Benedict et al. (2000) and Ball (2001) recognize the lack of empirical research on rural perceptions as a gap in the existing literature.

The difficulty in including an urban/ rural variable is the designation of what constitutes urban and rural. Ball (2001) notes that rural can be defined in several ways. Rural areas can be designated by their low population density or by the type of economy, the character of social life, cultural attitudes, or values (38-39). Ken Deavers identifies three characteristics of rural areas: small scale and low-density

settlement, distance from large urban centers, and specialization of economy (1992: 185-186).

Prior research on urban / rural attitudes has arrived at differing conclusions regarding the impact of urbanization. Some researchers found that urbanization increases the number of persons subject to legal sanctions and thus increases the need to rely on formal means of social control (Liska & Chamlin, 1984; McCarthy, 1991).

Furthermore, measures of urbanization have been utilized as control variables in conflict analysis (McCarthy, 1991: 22). Quinney (1966) found that more rigid law enforcement occurs in nonmetropolitan areas due to increased conflict between subordinates and dominants. Additionally, Hagan (1977) as well as Austin (1981) found that differential treatment of minorities exists to a greater extent in rural areas. In contrast, Frank (1967) and Hagan (1989) see increased levels of conflict and feelings of injustice are greater in the central city.

Two measures representing the urban/ rural distinction are utilized in this study. The first dimension of urban / rural is the percent of persons living in incorporated municipalities. This information was obtained from 2000 County Municipal Totals prepared by the state of North Carolina. Additionally, county population density will be included to measure county population as a factor of land area. County population density is based on United States Census Department estimates for July 1995.

Region

North Carolina has traditionally been divided into three regions; coastal plain, piedmont, and mountains each with distinct characteristics and populations. Based on this regional distinction, each region is analyzed to determine if geographic region influences ones perceptions of the police. The county breakdown by region can be found in Appendix D.

Poverty level

Prior research on crime and perceptions indicates that persons surrounded by poverty are more likely to participate in criminal acts, be crime victims, and hold more negative views of the police (see Cao, Frank & Cullen, 1996). Weitzer found that neighborhood class has the greatest influence on attitudes toward the police. As such, a county level poverty variable is included, measured by the 1995 estimate of percent of persons in poverty, compiled by the United States Census Bureau.

Racial heterogeneity

An additional variable to explain differences in perceptions of the police based on location of residence is county racial heterogeneity. Prior research has found that people living in areas with a large black population possess more negative views than those living in predominantly white areas. Several research studies have concluded that respondent attitudes differ by neighborhood and the racial composition of each neighborhood (Jacob, 1971; Skogan, 1979; Apple & O'Brien, 1983; Smith, Graham

& Adams, 1991; and Lynch and Patterson, 1991). Data obtained from the 2000 United States Census will be used to determine the percent of the county which is black.

Crime rate

Community crime rate has been viewed as a factor influencing public perceptions. Both Parker, Onyekwuluje, and Murty (1995) and Murty, Roebuck, and Smith (1990) found that perceptions of the police was better in communities with low crime rates. A measure of county violent crime rate was obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation records for the years 1997, 1999, and 2001 and included in each corresponding model. The rate measured total violent crime rate by county.

Length of residence

Research based on neighborhood characteristics indicates that persons who live in their community for longer periods of time tend to establish stronger community bonds than those who are more transient. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of years they have lived in their current residence. Due to the highly skewed distribution of the variable length of residence, the variable was recoded into three categories representing short (0-4 years), medium (5-15 years), and long (16 or more years) length of residence.

Research Model and Hypotheses

Based on the previously mentioned variables, three research models will be utilized to test public perceptions of the police. The models are based on conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and geographic theory. Each of the three theories will be tested individually, and then a combined model will be formed to determine the model with the greatest explanatory power. The combined model is additive in nature; each model will be tested for each year of survey administration (1997, 1999, and 2001).

The first model tests the six dimensions representing conflict theory.

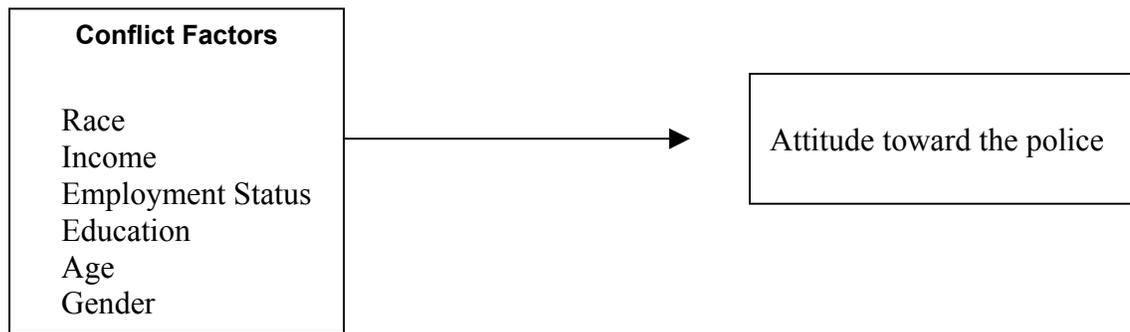


Figure 3.1 (Model 1) Conflict explanation of respondent's attitudes toward the police treatment of suspects, 1997, 1999, and 2001

Based on Model 1, the following hypotheses will be tested:

H₁: Persons in subordinate groups are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{1.1}: Black respondents are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{1.2}: Low income respondents are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{1.3}: Unemployed respondents are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{1.4}: Persons with low levels of education are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{1.5}: Younger respondents are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{1.6}: Males are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

The second research model tests the six dimensions of attitude consistency theory (two models will be tested for the 2001 data, the first includes the original six dimensions; the second includes the three additional dimensions as designated by the * in the model).

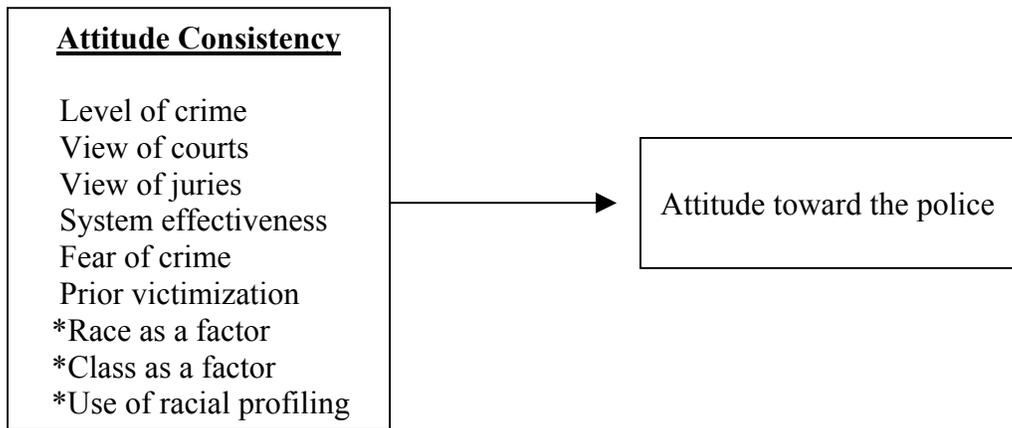


Figure 3.2 (Model 2) Attitude consistency explanation of respondent’s attitudes toward the police treatment of suspects, 1997, 1999, and 2001

Based on model 2, the following hypotheses will be tested:

H₂: Respondents with negative views of other aspects of the criminal justice system are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.1}: Respondents who believe violent crime has increased over the past three years are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.2}: Respondents who believe the courts do not protect the constitutional rights of defendants are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.3}: Respondents who believe juries are biased are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.4}: Respondents who believe the criminal justice system is not effective in controlling crime are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.5}: Respondents with high levels of fear are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.6}: Victims are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

For the 2001 survey data the following three hypotheses will also be tested:

H_{2.7}: Respondents who believe race is a major factor in the criminal justice system are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.8}: Respondents who believe class is a major factor in the criminal justice system are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{2.9}: Respondents who believe law enforcement routinely uses racial profiling are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

The third model tests the dimensions of the community context to determine the effects of ones community on perceptions of police bias.

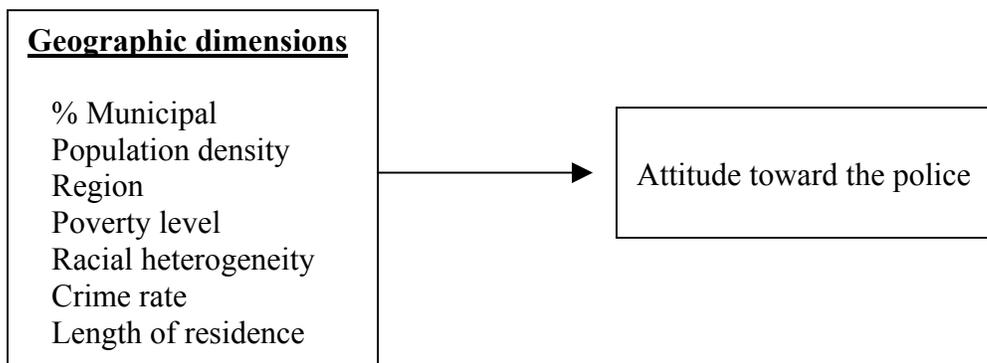


Figure 3.3 (Model 3) Neighborhood model explanation of respondent's attitudes toward the police treatment of suspects, 1997, 1999, and 2001

Based on model 3, the following hypotheses will be tested:

H₃: Respondents location of residence will influence their perception of whether the police treat all suspects the same.

H_{3.1}: Respondents living in counties with a large percentage of residents living in municipal areas are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{3.2}: Respondents living in densely populated counties are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{3.3}: The region of the state will influence a respondents perception of whether the police treat all suspects the same (unknown direction of difference).

H_{3.4}: Respondents living in counties with a higher percent of persons living below the poverty level are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{3.5}: Respondents living in counties with a higher percent of minority residents are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{3.6}: Respondents living in counties with a higher crime rate are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

H_{3.7}: Respondents living in their residence for shorter periods of time are more likely to perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same.

After testing each of the individual models, a joint model will be tested which incorporates the dimensions of each of the three models. Subsequent models will also be tested which exclude variables found to be insignificant in explaining perceptions of the police.

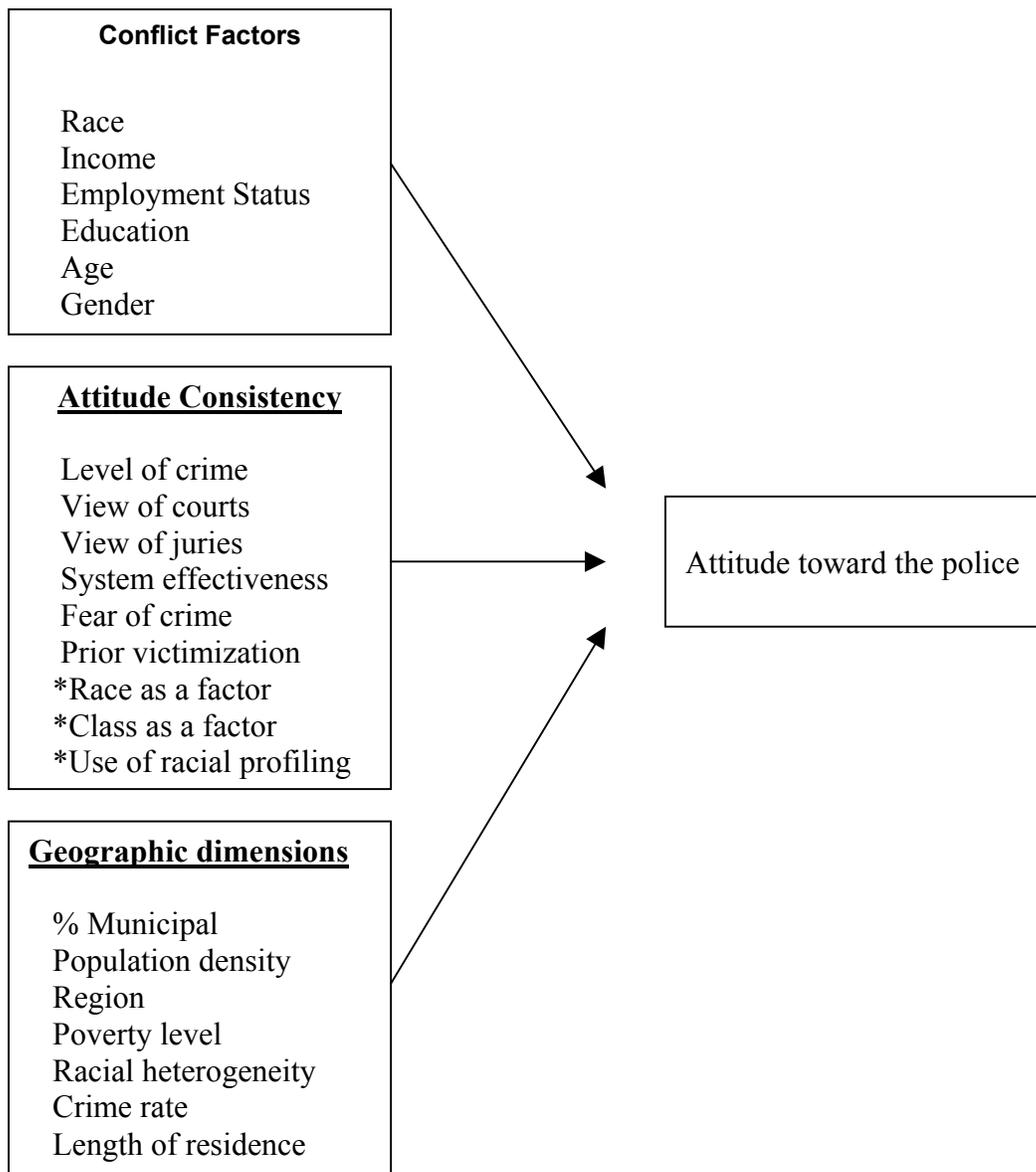


Figure 3.4 (Model 4) Conflict, attitude consistency, and geographic explanation of respondent's attitudes toward the police treatment of defendants, 1997, 1999, and 2001

Statistical Methods

Statistical analysis will be conducted to test the effects of the independent variables on respondent's perceptions of the police. The hypothesized relationships will be examined for each of the three models for each of the three data points. In total, the multivariate analysis will include 17 logistic regression models.

Univariate analysis

Prior to conducting a multivariate analysis, univariate distributions for each of the variables will be examined. SPSS 10.0 for Windows is used to conduct a frequency analysis for each variable in the model. Separate frequency analyses are conducted for each year of data. Based on the frequency analysis, descriptive information was presented earlier in this chapter to determine sample characteristics and attitudes.

Bivariate analysis

Following the univariate analysis, two-way contingency analysis will be conducted to determine statistically significant relationships using the chi-square test of statistical significance. Furthermore, correlations will be examined in cases involving continuous variables. The bivariate analysis will add to the descriptive analysis by providing information on the relationship between the dependent variable and each independent variable separately. The descriptive findings obtained from the bivariate analysis are presented in Chapter 4.

Multivariate analysis

Multinomial logistic regression analysis will be conducted using SPSS 11.0 for Windows. In instances where the dependent variable is ordinal, logistic regression is the most appropriate statistical test for model building. Separate logistic regression models will be conducted for each of the five models for 1997, 1999, and 2001. The results of the multivariate analysis are presented in Chapter 5. A second analysis will be conducted for the 2001 attitude consistency model with the addition of the three extra variables. Based on the results of the multivariate analysis several conclusions will be drawn: (1) what variables are significant factors in determining perceptions of the police; (2) which model has the greatest predictive ability; and (3) if the results differ based on the year of the survey administration or are attitudes consistent over time.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Introduction

Prior to conducting a multivariate analysis of the data, bivariate analyses were run for combinations of the dependent variable and each independent variable. The bivariate analysis was performed by examining bivariate frequency tables, chi-square tests of statistical significance, gamma, and Pearson's correlation coefficient. Bivariate correlations were also examined for combinations of the independent variables to test multicollinearity among the predictor variables (see Appendix E for the full correlation matrix). The current chapter presents the results of the bivariate analysis organized by year of survey administration.

1997 Bivariate Analysis Results

The bivariate analysis between the dependent variable, law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same, and race of the respondent demonstrates a statistically significant relationship ($\chi^2=99.886$, $df=4$, $p<.05$). The value of gamma (0.329) indicates a weak to moderate association between respondents race and the dependent variable. It was hypothesized that black respondents would be more likely than white respondents to hold the view that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same. As seen in Table 4.1, the bivariate relationship does indeed indicate that perceptions of black respondents toward law enforcement were more negative than

white respondents; however, the relationship is not as strong as expected. Specifically, a larger percentage of black respondents when compared to white respondents indicate they disagreed that law enforcement officers treated all suspects the same.

Table 4.1 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and race of the respondent (1997)

			race		Total
			Black	White	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	141	262	403
		Percent	26.7%	11.2%	14.0%
	Disagree	Count	244	1089	1333
		Percent	46.1%	46.4%	46.3%
	No Opinion	Count	49	303	352
		Percent	9.3%	12.9%	12.2%
	Agree	Count	92	674	766
		Percent	17.4%	28.7%	26.6%
	Strongly Agree	Count	3	20	23
		Percent	.6%	.9%	.8%
Total	Count	529	2348	2877	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and gender is also statistically significant ($\chi^2=39.593$, $df=4$, $p<.05$); however, the association is extremely weak ($\gamma= -.060$). As seen in Table 4.2, males are more likely than females to agree with the statement that law enforcement treats all suspects the same (30.8% compared to 24.4%). Interestingly, a larger percentage of females than males have neutral opinions.

Table 4.2 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and gender of the respondent (1997)

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	186	233	419
		Percent	12.6%	15.2%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	698	690	1388
		Percent	47.4%	45.0%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	135	236	371
		Percent	9.2%	15.4%	12.3%
	Agree	Count	442	362	804
		Percent	30.0%	23.6%	26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	12	13	25
		Percent	.8%	.8%	.8%
Total	Count	1473	1534	3007	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The bivariate relationship between the respondents perception that law enforcement treats all suspects the same and the respondents income is also statistically significant ($\chi^2=39.640$, $df=8$, $p<.05$), with a weak inverse association ($\gamma = -.076$). The hypothesized relationship contended that as a person's income increases they would have more favorable views of the police. As seen in the cross-tabulation (see Table 4.3), as a person's total household income increases, they are generally more likely to disagree with the statement that law enforcement treats all suspects the same. This finding contradicts the original hypothesis which held that as a result of conflict, persons with lower incomes would hold more negative views of the police.

Table 4.3 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and total household income of the respondent (1997)

			household income			Total
			0-24,999	25,000-39,999	40,000 +	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	118	160	141	419
		Percent	14.2%	13.8%	13.9%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	339	521	528	1388
		Percent	40.7%	45.0%	52.0%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	122	167	82	371
		Percent	14.6%	14.4%	8.1%	12.3%
	Agree	Count	247	300	257	804
		Percent	29.7%	25.9%	25.3%	26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	7	10	8	25
		Percent	.8%	.9%	.8%	.8%
Total	Count	833	1158	1016	3007	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

A statistically significant relationship exists between the respondents perception that law enforcement treats all suspects the same and employment ($\chi^2=90.496$, $df=4$, $p<.05$). The relationship is inverse and weak to moderate in strength ($\gamma= -.198$) indicating that employed persons were more likely than unemployed to disagree with the statement that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.4). This finding contradicts the original hypothesis that persons who are unemployed would hold more negative views of the police as a result of conflict.

Table 4.4 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and employment status (1997)

			Are You Employed		Total
			No	Yes	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	108	311	419
		Percent	11.5%	15.1%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	354	1034	1388
		Percent	37.6%	50.1%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	182	189	371
		Percent	19.3%	9.2%	12.3%
	Agree	Count	290	514	804
		Percent	30.8%	24.9%	26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	8	17	25
		Percent	.8%	.8%	.8%
Total	Count	942	2065	3007	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

A statistically significant relationship exists between the respondents perception that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same and the respondents educational level ($\chi^2=64.902$, $df=8$, $p<.05$). A weak inverse relationship between education and perception of the police exists ($\gamma = -0.156$) which indicates that respondents with

higher levels of education are more likely to hold negative perceptions of the police than persons with lower levels of education (see Table 4.5). As seen in Table 4.5, 68.8% of respondents with at least a college degree do not believe law enforcement treats all suspects the same, compared to only 48.5% of persons with less than a high school degree and 58.9% of persons with at least a high school degree. Again, this finding is contradictory to conflict theory and the original hypothesis that persons with lower levels of education hold negative perceptions of the police.

Table 4.5 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and educational attainment (1997)

			education level			Total
			Less than high school	High school, some college	College degree or higher	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count Percent	48 10.0%	246 14.8%	125 14.5%	419 13.9%
	Disagree	Count Percent	184 38.5%	734 44.1%	470 54.3%	1388 46.2%
	No Opinion	Count Percent	88 18.4%	200 12.0%	83 9.6%	371 12.3%
	Agree	Count Percent	154 32.2%	471 28.3%	179 20.7%	804 26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count Percent	4 .8%	13 .8%	8 .9%	25 .8%
Total	Count Percent	478 100.0%	1664 100.0%	865 100.0%	3007 100.0%	

The bivariate relationship between respondents perception of law enforcement and the respondents perception of the courts protecting the constitutional rights of defendants is statistically significant ($\chi^2=556.834$, $df=16$, $p<.05$), weak to moderate in strength ($\gamma=.248$). Persons who disagree that the courts protect the constitutional rights of defendants are also more likely to disagree that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.6). This finding is consistent with the stated hypothesis and the tenets of attitude consistency theory that respondents would have similar perceptions among various segments of the criminal justice system.

Table 4.6 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and perception of the courts protecting the constitutional rights of defendants (1997)

			Courts Are Concerned With The Defendant's Constitutional Rights.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	60	121	28	167	43	419
		Percent	62.5%	22.9%	7.3%	10.1%	12.3%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	25	294	132	804	133	1388
		Percent	26.0%	55.6%	34.2%	48.8%	38.0%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	4	30	138	163	36	371
		Percent	4.2%	5.7%	35.8%	9.9%	10.3%	12.3%
	Agree	Count	6	81	88	502	127	804
		Percent	6.3%	15.3%	22.8%	30.5%	36.3%	26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	3		10	11	25
		Percent	1.0%	.6%		.6%	3.1%	.8%
Total	Count	96	529	386	1646	350	3007	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Results of the bivariate relationship between the respondent's perception of law enforcement and the perception that juries are unfair and biased is also consistent with attitude consistency theory. The relationship is statistically significant ($\chi^2=325.411$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) yet fairly weak in strength ($\gamma= -.174$). The bivariate relationship indicates that respondents who do not believe law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same, also believe that juries are biased and unfair when rendering decisions (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and perception of jury bias (1997)

			Juries Are Biased And Unfair When Deciding Cases.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	30	155	50	143	41	419
		Percent	24.4%	10.2%	10.7%	17.6%	48.8%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	36	724	173	428	27	1388
		Percent	29.3%	47.6%	37.0%	52.6%	32.1%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	19	146	133	66	7	371
		Percent	15.4%	9.6%	28.5%	8.1%	8.3%	12.3%
Agree	Count	32	484	110	171	7	804	
	Percent	26.0%	31.8%	23.6%	21.0%	8.3%	26.7%	
Strongly Agree	Count	6	11	1	5	2	25	
	Percent	4.9%	.7%	.2%	.6%	2.4%	.8%	
Total		Count	123	1520	467	813	84	3007
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

The relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement and the perception of the effectiveness of the criminal justice system is statistically significant ($\chi^2=306.5$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) and weak in strength ($\gamma=.199$). The results of the cross tabulation analysis indicate that persons who do not believe the system is effective are more likely to indicate that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.8). This finding is consistent with the original hypothesis as related to attitude consistency theory.

Table 4.8 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and perception of the criminal justice systems effectiveness (1997)

			The NC Criminal Justice System Is Effective In Controlling Crime.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	105	166	41	103	4	419
		Percent	32.7%	13.3%	10.9%	9.9%	25.0%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	115	664	149	458	2	1388
		Percent	35.8%	53.0%	39.7%	43.9%	12.5%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	31	112	102	125	1	371
		Percent	9.7%	8.9%	27.2%	12.0%	6.3%	12.3%
	Agree	Count	64	303	82	349	6	804
		Percent	19.9%	24.2%	21.9%	33.5%	37.5%	26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	6	7	1	8	3	25
		Percent	1.9%	.6%	.3%	.8%	18.8%	.8%
Total	Count	321	1252	375	1043	16	3007	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The relationship between prior victimization and perception of law enforcement is also statistically significant ($\chi^2=27.971$, $df=4$, $p<.05$) but demonstrates weak association ($\gamma= -.112$). Respondents who reported at least one incident of

victimization during the past year are more likely to believe law enforcement officers do not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and prior victimization (1997)

			crime victimization		Total
			nonvictim	victim	
Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	343	76	419
		Percent	13.2%	18.9%	13.9%
	Disagree	Count	1198	190	1388
		Percent	46.0%	47.1%	46.2%
	No Opinion	Count	339	32	371
		Percent	13.0%	7.9%	12.3%
	Agree	Count	708	96	804
		Percent	27.2%	23.8%	26.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	16	9	25
		Percent	.6%	2.2%	.8%
Total	Count	2604	403	3007	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The respondent’s age is significantly related to the perceived treatment of suspects by law enforcement. It was hypothesized that older respondents hold more favorable views of the police; the findings support this hypothesis in that as the age of the respondent increases, they are more likely to perceive law enforcement treats all suspects the same ($r=.186, p<.05$). The amount of time a respondent lived in their current residence is also significantly correlated with attitudes toward law enforcement’s treatment of suspects ($r=.110, p<.05$). The longer a person lives at their current residence, the more likely they are to agree that law enforcement treats all suspects the same, a finding consistent with the hypothesized relationship.

The following independent variables are not statistically related to respondent's reported perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects: respondent's level of fear of victimization, perceived change in crime over the past three years, region of the state of residence, percent of the county population non-white, county violent crime rate, county population density, percent of the county population living in municipal areas, percent of persons in the county living in poverty.

1999 Bivariate Analysis Results

The bivariate analysis between the dependent variable, law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same, and race of the respondent indicates a statistically significant relationship ($\chi^2=78.514$, $df=4$, $p<.05$). The relationship demonstrates weak to moderate association among race and the dependent variable ($\gamma=.317$). As hypothesized, the bivariate relationship indicates that the perceptions of black respondents toward law enforcement are more negative than white respondents.

Specifically, a larger percentage of black respondents (71.3%) when compared to white respondents (53.5%) indicate they disagreed that law enforcement officers treated all suspects the same (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and race of the respondent (1999)

			race		Total
			Black	White	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	107	226	333
		Percent	19.0%	9.5%	11.3%
	Disagree	Count	294	1048	1342
		Percent	52.3%	44.0%	45.6%
	No opinion	Count	47	280	327
		Percent	8.4%	11.8%	11.1%
	Agree	Count	103	766	869
		Percent	18.3%	32.2%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	11	62	73
		Percent	2.0%	2.6%	2.5%
	Total	Count	562	2382	2944
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The bivariate relationship between the respondents perception that law enforcement treats all suspects the same and the respondents income is also statistically significant though extremely weak ($\chi^2=28.466$, $df=8$, $p<.05$, $\gamma= -.027$). As seen in the cross-tabulation (see Table 4.11), as a person’s total household income increases, they are generally more likely to disagree with the statement that law enforcement treats all suspects the same, persons with household incomes below \$25,000 are more likely

than other income levels to have a neutral opinion. Again, this finding is contradictory to the original hypothesis that as a result of conflict, persons with lower incomes hold more negative views of the police.

Table 4.11 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and total household income of the respondent (1999)

			income			Total
			<\$25,000	\$25,000-\$39,999	>\$40,000	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	76	162	115	353
		Percent	11.2%	12.9%	10.2%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	280	556	553	1389
		Percent	41.4%	44.4%	49.2%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	99	143	95	337
		Percent	14.6%	11.4%	8.5%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	208	355	338	901
		Percent	30.7%	28.3%	30.1%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	14	37	23	74
		Percent	2.1%	3.0%	2.0%	2.4%
	Total	Count	677	1253	1124	3054
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

A statistically significant relationship is seen between the respondents perception that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same and educational level of the respondent ($\chi^2=28.811$, $df=8$, $p<.05$). Gamma indicates a weak inverse relationship between education and perception of the police ($\gamma = -0.098$). Respondents with higher levels of education are more likely to hold negative perceptions of the police than persons with lower levels of education (see Table 4.12). Again, this finding is

contradictory to the original stated hypothesis, based on conflict theory, that persons with lower levels of education will hold negative perceptions of the police.

Table 4.12 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and educational attainment (1999)

			Level of education			Total
			Less than HS	HS, Some college	College graduate or higher	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	40	206	107	353
		Percent	8.4%	12.5%	11.5%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	187	744	458	1389
		Percent	39.2%	45.1%	49.4%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	69	175	93	337
		Percent	14.5%	10.6%	10.0%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	167	479	255	901
		Percent	35.0%	29.0%	27.5%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	14	45	15	74
		Percent	2.9%	2.7%	1.6%	2.4%
Total	Count	477	1649	928	3054	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The relationship between the respondents perception that law enforcement treats all suspects the same and employment status is statistically significant ($\chi^2=99.995$, $df=4$, $p<.05$). The relationship is inverse and weak to moderate in strength ($\gamma= -.234$), indicating that persons who are employed are more likely to disagree with the statement that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.13).

In 1999, 52.2% of employed persons did not believe that law enforcement treats all suspects the same compared to only 45.3% of unemployed respondents. This finding once again contradicts the original hypothesis that persons who are unemployed hold more negative views of the police as a result of conflict.

Table 4.13 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and employment status (1999)

			Employment status		Total
			Unemployed	Employed	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	76	277	353
		Percent	7.8%	13.3%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	364	1025	1389
		Percent	37.5%	49.2%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	167	170	337
		Percent	17.2%	8.2%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	337	564	901
		Percent	34.7%	27.1%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	27	47	74
		Percent	2.8%	2.3%	2.4%
Total	Count	971	2083	3054	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The bivariate relationship between perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and gender is also statistically significant ($\chi^2=26.075$, $df=4$, $p<.05$), however, extremely weak ($\gamma= -.040$). When compared to males, females are slightly more likely to disagree that law enforcement treats all suspects, and more likely to hold a neutral opinion (see Table 4.14).

Table 4.14 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and gender (1999)

			Gender of Respondent		Total
			Male	Female	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	183	170	353
		Percent	11.7%	11.4%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	705	684	1389
		Percent	45.0%	46.0%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	134	203	337
		Percent	8.6%	13.6%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	502	399	901
		Percent	32.1%	26.8%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	42	32	74
		Percent	2.7%	2.2%	2.4%
Total	Count	1566	1488	3054	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The bivariate relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement and the respondents perception of the courts protecting the constitutional rights of defendants is statistically significant ($\chi^2=758.213$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) and weak to moderate in strength ($\gamma=.284$). Persons who disagree that the courts protect the

constitutional rights of defendants are also more likely to disagree that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.15). This finding is consistent with the stated hypothesis and is supported by attitude consistency theory.

Table 4.15 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and perception of the courts protecting the constitutional rights of defendants (1999)

			Courts are concerned with the defendant's constitutional rights.					Total
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	63	108	25	118	39	353
		Percent	70.8%	16.8%	7.2%	6.8%	16.7%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	16	382	108	805	78	1389
		Percent	18.0%	59.6%	31.2%	46.1%	33.5%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	4	35	101	184	13	337
		Percent	4.5%	5.5%	29.2%	10.5%	5.6%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	4	108	104	616	69	901
		Percent	4.5%	16.8%	30.1%	35.3%	29.6%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	2	8	8	22	34	74
		Percent	2.2%	1.2%	2.3%	1.3%	14.6%	2.4%
Total	Count	89	641	346	1745	233	3054	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The bivariate results for the relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement and the perception that juries are unfair and biased is also consistent with attitude consistency theory. The relationship is statistically significant ($\chi^2=410.116$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) yet weak in strength ($\gamma= -.140$). The bivariate relationship indicates that respondents who do not believe law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same also believe that juries are biased and unfair when rendering decisions (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and perception of jury bias (1999)

			Juries are biased and unfair when it comes to deciding cases.					Total
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	25	105	42	129	52	353
		Percent	22.1%	7.3%	8.4%	14.6%	43.3%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	28	708	184	433	36	1389
		Percent	24.8%	49.2%	36.7%	49.1%	30.0%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	9	127	122	76	3	337
		Percent	8.0%	8.8%	24.4%	8.6%	2.5%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	39	477	138	234	13	901
		Percent	34.5%	33.2%	27.5%	26.5%	10.8%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	12	21	15	10	16	74
		Percent	10.6%	1.5%	3.0%	1.1%	13.3%	2.4%
Total	Count	113	1438	501	882	120	3054	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%	

The relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement and the perception of the effectiveness of the criminal justice system is also statistically significant ($\chi^2=241.851$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) and weak to moderate in strength ($\gamma=.313$). The results of the cross tabulation analysis indicate that persons who do not believe the system is effective are more likely to indicate that law enforcement does not treat

all suspects the same (see Table 4.17). This finding is consistent with attitude consistency theory and the hypothesized relationship.

Table 4.17 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and perception of the criminal justice systems effectiveness (1999)

			The criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective in controlling crime.					Total
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	89	123	27	104	10	353
		Percent	48.9%	12.3%	8.6%	7.1%	10.6%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	50	562	124	626	27	1389
		Percent	27.5%	56.0%	39.6%	42.8%	28.7%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	12	79	88	152	6	337
		Percent	6.6%	7.9%	28.1%	10.4%	6.4%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	28	227	67	555	24	901
		Percent	15.4%	22.6%	21.4%	38.0%	25.5%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	3	13	7	24	27	74
		Percent	1.6%	1.3%	2.2%	1.6%	28.7%	2.4%
	Total	Count	182	1004	313	1461	94	3054
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The relationship between prior victimization and perception of law enforcement is statistically significant ($\chi^2=52.847$, $df=4$, $p<.05$) and demonstrates a weak to moderate association ($\gamma= -.228$). Respondents who reported at least one incident of victimization during the past year are more likely to believe that law enforcement officers do not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.18).

Table 4.18 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and prior victimization (1999)

			Prior victimization		Total
			nonvictim	victim	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	263	90	353
		Percent	10.2%	19.1%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	1157	232	1389
		Percent	44.8%	49.4%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	313	24	337
		Percent	12.1%	5.1%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	788	113	901
		Percent	30.5%	24.0%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	63	11	74
		Percent	2.4%	2.3%	2.4%
Total		Count	2584	470	3054
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The bivariate relationship between perceptions of law enforcement and perceived change in crime over the past three years is statistically significant ($\chi^2=22.012$, $df=8$, $p<.05$) but weak in association ($\gamma= -.051$). The findings indicate a slight curvilinear relationship, as seen in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and perceived change in crime (1999)

			Change in violent crime			Total
			Decrease	Stay the same	Increase	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly disagree	Count	49	142	162	353
		Percent	12.9%	9.4%	13.8%	11.6%
	Disagree	Count	177	670	542	1389
		Percent	46.6%	44.5%	46.3%	45.5%
	No opinion	Count	40	181	116	337
		Percent	10.5%	12.0%	9.9%	11.0%
	Agree	Count	110	471	320	901
		Percent	28.9%	31.3%	27.4%	29.5%
	Strongly agree	Count	4	40	30	74
		Percent	1.1%	2.7%	2.6%	2.4%
Total		Count	380	1504	1170	3054
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The age of the respondent is significantly related to the perceived treatment of suspects by law enforcement. As the respondents age increases, they are more likely to perceive that law enforcement treats all suspects the same ($r=.223$, $p<.05$).

Measures representing the urban/ rural dimension are statistically significant yet weak in strength. The percent of county residents living in municipal areas is statistically correlated with the perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects ($r= -.042$, $p<.05$). The negative correlations indicate that persons living in more densely populated counties hold more negative perceptions of law enforcement.

The length of time a respondent indicates they lived at their current residence has a weak positive correlation with perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects ($r=.140$, $p<.05$). The longer a person has lived in their current home, the more likely they are to have a positive view of the police.

The following independent variables are not statistically related to respondent's reported perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects: region of the state of residence, respondent's level of fear of victimization, percent of the county population non-white, county population density, county violent crime rate, and percent of persons in the county living in poverty.

2001 Bivariate Analysis Results

The bivariate relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement's equal treatment of suspects is significantly related to the race of the respondent ($\chi^2=72.915$, $df=4$, $p<.05$). The relationship can be characterized as being weak to moderate in strength ($\gamma=.324$). As seen in Table 4.20, black respondents are more likely than white respondents to disagree that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.

Table 4.20 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and race (2001)

			race		Total
			Black	White	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	77	142	219
		Percent	16.9%	7.1%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	230	871	1101
		Percent	50.4%	43.7%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	53	233	286
		Percent	11.6%	11.7%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	90	712	802
		Percent	19.7%	35.7%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	6	37	43
		Percent	1.3%	1.9%	1.8%
Total	Count	456	1995	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The respondents level of education and the perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects are statistically related ($\chi^2=37.476$, $df=8$, $p<.05$). Although the relationship is statistically significant, it is weak in strength ($\gamma= -.125$). As one's education level increases, the more likely they are to disagree that law enforcement

treats all suspects the same (Table 4.21). This finding contradicts the original hypothesized relationship.

Table 4.21 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and highest level of school completed (2001)

			education level			Total
			Less than HS	HS or some college	College grad	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	19	123	77	219
		Percent	6.2%	8.8%	10.3%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	111	629	361	1101
		Percent	36.2%	44.9%	48.5%	44.9%
	No opinion	Count	59	143	84	286
		Percent	19.2%	10.2%	11.3%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	113	476	213	802
		Percent	36.8%	34.0%	28.6%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	5	29	9	43
		Percent	1.6%	2.1%	1.2%	1.8%
Total	Count	307	1400	744	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%	

The relationship between the respondents employment status (if they are employed either full or part time) and their perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects is statistically significant ($\chi^2=59.594$, $df=4$, $<.05$) yet weak in strength ($\gamma= -.189$). Persons who are employed (48.6%) are more likely to disagree that law enforcement treats suspects the same versus persons who are not employed (44.5%), as seen in Table 4.22. A greater percentage of unemployed respondents (16.9%) hold neutral attitudes when compared to those who are employed (9.0%).

Table 4.22 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and employment status (2001)

			Employment status		Total
			Unemployed	Employed	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	52	167	219
		Percent	6.2%	10.3%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	320	781	1101
		Percent	38.3%	48.3%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	141	145	286
		Percent	16.9%	9.0%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	309	493	802
		Percent	37.0%	30.5%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	13	30	43
		Percent	1.6%	1.9%	1.8%
Total	Count	835	1616	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The respondents age is positively correlated with attitudes toward law enforcement’s treatment of suspects ($r=.180$, $p<.05$). As a persons age increase they are more likely to agree that law enforcement treats all suspects the same.

Female respondents are more likely to disagree that all suspects are treated the same as well as hold neutral opinions, when compared to males (see Table 4.23). Males are more likely than females to perceive that law enforcement treats all suspects the same. This relationship is extremely weak ($\gamma= -.051$) yet significant ($\chi^2=8.774$, $df=4$, $p<.05$).

Table 4.23 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and gender (2001)

			Gender of Respondent		Total
			Male	Female	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	94	125	219
		Percent	8.8%	9.0%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	471	630	1101
		Percent	44.1%	45.6%	44.9%
	No opinion	Count	108	178	286
		Percent	10.1%	12.9%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	373	429	802
		Percent	34.9%	31.0%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	23	20	43
		Percent	2.2%	1.4%	1.8%
Total		Count	1069	1382	2451
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The relationship between ones perception of the courts protection of the constitutional rights of defendants and law enforcement's treatment of suspects is statistically significant ($\chi^2=539.003$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) and moderate in strength ($\gamma=.323$).

Respondents attitudes tend to be similar, persons who believe the courts do not protect the constitutional rights of defendants are more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.24).

Table 4.24 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and perception of the courts protection of constitutional rights (2001)

			Courts are concerned with the defendant's constitutional rights.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	32	59	17	96	15	219
		Percent	57.1%	15.0%	6.1%	6.1%	10.4%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	15	251	97	686	52	1101
		Percent	26.8%	63.7%	34.8%	43.5%	36.1%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	3	24	97	152	10	286
		Percent	5.4%	6.1%	34.8%	9.6%	6.9%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	3	56	66	626	51	802
		Percent	5.4%	14.2%	23.7%	39.7%	35.4%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	3	4	2	18	16	43
		Percent	5.4%	1.0%	.7%	1.1%	11.1%	1.8%
Total	Count	56	394	279	1578	144	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%	100%	

Respondent attitudes toward jury bias and law enforcement's treatment of suspects are also consistent (see Table 4.25) and statistically significant ($\chi^2=310.133$, $df=16$, $p<.05$, $\gamma= -.148$). Persons who agree that juries are biased and unfair are also more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same.

Table 4.25 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and perception of jury bias (2001)

			Juries are biased and unfair					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	22	70	33	74	20	219
		Percent	18.8%	5.8%	8.4%	11.2%	32.8%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	31	567	150	336	17	1101
		Percent	26.5%	46.6%	38.0%	50.8%	27.9%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	6	98	118	59	5	286
		Percent	5.1%	8.1%	29.9%	8.9%	8.2%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	48	467	91	182	14	802
		Percent	41.0%	38.4%	23.0%	27.5%	23.0%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	10	14	3	11	5	43
		Percent	8.5%	1.2%	.8%	1.7%	8.2%	1.8%
Total	Count	117	1216	395	662	61	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

A moderately strong relationship ($\gamma=.322$) between the perception of the effectiveness of the criminal justice system and treatment of suspects of law enforcement exists ($\chi^2=435.355$, $df=16$, $p<.05$). Persons who do not believe the criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective are also more likely to believe that law enforcement officers do not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.26).

Table 4.26 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and perception of the effectiveness of the criminal justice system (2001)

			The criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	38	87	25	64	5	219
		Percent	41.3%	13.1%	8.5%	4.8%	8.9%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	30	368	110	578	15	1101
		Percent	32.6%	55.4%	37.5%	42.9%	26.8%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	6	54	85	137	4	286
		Percent	6.5%	8.1%	29.0%	10.2%	7.1%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	15	149	68	549	21	802
		Percent	16.3%	22.4%	23.2%	40.8%	37.5%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	3	6	5	18	11	43
		Percent	3.3%	.9%	1.7%	1.3%	19.6%	1.8%
Total	Count	92	664	293	1346	56	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The three extra variables, which were included in the 2001 survey administration, are all correlated with perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects.

Respondents who believe that race is a factor in the criminal justice system are more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.27). This relationship is moderate in strength ($\gamma= -.388$) and statistically significant ($\chi^2=720.639$, $df=16$, $p<.05$).

Table 4.27 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and race as a factor in the criminal justice system (2001)

			Race is a major factor in the criminal justice system in North Carolina.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	12	27	17	86	77	219
		Percent	16.2%	2.9%	4.7%	9.6%	45.6%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	18	377	126	518	62	1101
		Percent	24.3%	39.9%	34.6%	57.6%	36.7%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	3	78	128	71	6	286
		Percent	4.1%	8.3%	35.2%	7.9%	3.6%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	34	444	92	215	17	802
		Percent	45.9%	47.0%	25.3%	23.9%	10.1%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	7	18	1	10	7	43
		Percent	9.5%	1.9%	.3%	1.1%	4.1%	1.8%
Total	Count	74	944	364	900	169	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%	

Similar findings are found for the relationship between the perception that a person's social class is a factor in the criminal justice system and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Persons who believe class is a factor are more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.28). This relationship is statistically significant ($\chi^2=567.667$, $df=16$, $p<.05$) and moderate in strength ($\gamma= -.414$).

Table 4.28 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and social class as a factor in the criminal justice system (2001)

			A person's social class is a major factor in the criminal justice system in North Carolina.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	7	21	12	92	87	219
		Percent	18.9%	3.2%	3.8%	7.8%	33.0%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	5	224	109	638	125	1101
		Percent	13.5%	34.2%	34.8%	54.0%	47.3%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	1	53	99	116	17	286
		Percent	2.7%	8.1%	31.6%	9.8%	6.4%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	18	345	91	316	32	802
		Percent	48.6%	52.7%	29.1%	26.7%	12.1%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	6	12	2	20	3	43
		Percent	16.2%	1.8%	.6%	1.7%	1.1%	1.8%
Total	Count	37	655	313	1182	264	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Respondents who believe that the police routinely use racial profiling are more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same (see Table 4.29).

This relationship is moderate in strength ($\gamma = -.386$) and statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 678.994$, $df = 16$, $p < .05$).

Table 4.29 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects and the routine use of racial profiling (2001)

			Law enforcement uses racial profiling routinely.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	7	44	37	83	48	219
		Percent	10.8%	4.5%	6.2%	11.6%	56.5%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	10	400	239	429	23	1101
		Percent	15.4%	40.5%	40.0%	60.0%	27.1%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	4	64	156	57	5	286
		Percent	6.2%	6.5%	26.1%	8.0%	5.9%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	33	465	160	139	5	802
		Percent	50.8%	47.1%	26.8%	19.4%	5.9%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	11	15	6	7	4	43
		Percent	16.9%	1.5%	1.0%	1.0%	4.7%	1.8%
Total	Count	65	988	598	715	85	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Respondents who reported being a crime victim are more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same when compared to nonvictims (see Table 4.30). Nonvictims are more likely than victims to hold either a neutral or positive perception of equal treatment . This relationship is statistically significant ($\chi^2=59.364$, $df=4$, $p<.05$) but weak ($\gamma= -.202$).

Table 4.30 Bivariate relationship between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and prior victimization (2001)

			Prior victimization		Total
			nonvictim	victim	
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Disagree	Count	150	69	219
		Percent	7.2%	18.4%	8.9%
	Disagree	Count	934	167	1101
		Percent	45.0%	44.5%	44.9%
	No Opinion	Count	261	25	286
		Percent	12.6%	6.7%	11.7%
	Agree	Count	698	104	802
		Percent	33.6%	27.7%	32.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	33	10	43
		Percent	1.6%	2.7%	1.8%
Total	Count	2076	375	2451	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

A weak though significant relationship was found between perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and age ($r= -.18$, $p<.05$). Older respondents were more likely to have positive views of the police. A weak yet statistically significant relationship ($r=.111$, $p<.05$) is found between the amount of time the respondent has lived at their current residence and their perception of law enforcement. Persons who lived at their residence for longer periods of time are more likely to agree that law enforcement treats all suspects the same.

The relationship between the respondents perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and each of the following variables are not significant: income, level of crime in past three years, region, fear of crime, violent crime rate, population density, percent living in municipal areas, percent of county population living in poverty, and percent of county population non-white.

Summary of Bivariate Findings

A summary of findings from the statistical significance tests measuring relationships between the respondent’s perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects and each independent variable is presented in Table 4.31.

Table 4.31 Summary of Bivariate Findings

	1997 Significant Relationship with DV (Yes/No)	1999 Significant Relationship with DV (Yes/No)	2001 Significant Relationship with DV (Yes/No)
Race	Yes	Yes	Yes
Income	Yes	Yes	No
Employment status	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 4.31 (continued)

	1997 Significant Relationship with DV (Yes/No)	1999 Significant Relationship with DV (Yes/No)	2001 Significant Relationship with DV (Yes/No)
Gender	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age	Yes	Yes	Yes
Perceived change in crime rate	No	Yes	No
Perception of courts	Yes	Yes	Yes
Perception of juries	Yes	Yes	Yes
Perception of system	Yes	Yes	Yes
Perceived role of social class	N/A	N/A	Yes
Perceived role of race	N/A	N/A	Yes
Perceived racial profiling	N/A	N/A	Yes
Prior victimization	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fear of crime	No	No	No
Length of time in current residence	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region	No	No	No
Percent non-white	No	No	No
Violent crime rate	No	No	No
Population density	No	No	No
Percent municipal	No	Yes	No
Percent in poverty	No	No	No

Three models were proposed to account for variation in individual perceptions of law enforcement. Based on the bivariate contingency analysis, some dimensions, but not all, are significantly related to perceptions of law enforcement.

Conflict theory is the first theoretical basis for independent variable selection. Based on conflict theory the following variables were examined: race, income, employment status, education, gender, and age. Each of these variables, except income in 2001, were statistically related to the respondent's perception of a suspects treatment by law enforcement.

The second theory utilized in the model building process is attitude consistency. Based on this theory, six variables (nine in 2001) were analyzed related to the dependent variable. The first variable, perceived change in violent crime rate, was only significantly related to the dependent variable in 1999. The respondents perception of the courts, juries, effectiveness of the criminal justice system, and prior victimization were significantly related to perceptions of law enforcement in all three years. The independent variable, fear of crime, was not significant in any of the three years.

The final theory subject to testing is geographically based. Very few of the seven geographically tested variables were found to be statistically related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement. The amount of time the respondent lived in their

current home is the only variable significantly related to perception of law enforcement in each of the three years. One additional variable, percent of county residents living in municipal areas, was significant in 1999 only. The remaining variables were not statistically related to perception of law enforcement in any of the three years.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS: MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Introduction

The bivariate findings presented in Chapter 4 report the statistical significance and strength of the relationships between the dependent variable and each independent variable. Although this provides important information about each of the hypotheses tested, it does not allow for testing of each model as a combination of the independent variables. As such, a multivariate analysis of each model is necessary. Ordinal logistic regression analyses were conducted using SPSS 11.0 for each of the three theories tested: conflict, attitude consistency, and geographical; as well as two full models, one including and one excluding insignificant factors. Each model was tested separately for 1997, 1999, and 2001.

Several dimensions influence an individual's perception of law enforcement. As discussed earlier, conflict theory has had varied success in explaining perceptions of the police. Persons who experience high levels of conflict with mainstream society are more likely to hold negative perceptions of law enforcement. Based on an examination of variables incorporated in prior research studies, five measures of conflict were tested in this analysis: race, income, employment status, education, gender, and age. Each of these factors was hypothesized to influence a respondent's attitude toward law enforcement. As seen in the previous chapter, most conflict

factors are indeed related to perceptions when analyzed in a bivariate format; however, one must also examine these factors in a multivariate format.

Conflict Model

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the conflict model was determined by examining the Model chi-square (G_M). Model chi-square is a test used in Logistic Regression, analogous to the F-Test used in Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression. G_M is based on the difference in the -2 Log Likelihood for the intercept model and the full model, which results in a chi-square distribution. Model chi-square tests the null hypothesis that none of the independent variables are linearly related to the log-odds of the dependent variable (Garson, 2002). It is important to emphasize that a significant model chi-square indicates that at least one of the variables is a significant predictor. As seen in Table 5.1, the model as a whole is statistically significant. Specifically, the inclusion of the set of independent variables is more predictive than the intercept only model.

Table 5.1 Goodness of fit for the 1997 conflict model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	5659.771			
Final	5451.245	208.526	8	.000

A second method of assessing model goodness of fit is deviance. Deviance is analogous to error sum of squares in OLS regression which measures how poorly the model fits (Menard, 1995: 20). When analyzing model deviance, the desired outcome

is statistical non-significance. As seen in Table 5.2, the deviance value is not significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Table 5.2 Badness of fit for the 1997 conflict model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	3876.100	5704	1.000

Based on an examination of Tables 5.1 and 5.2, inclusion of the independent variables in the conflict model results in better prediction of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects than a model including only the intercept.

Strength of association

There is much debate surrounding analogous measure to the R^2 utilized in OLS regression. Several R^2 -like measures have been proposed to measure the strength of association within the model. However, it is important to note that R^2 in OLS regression measures "percent of variance explained" which is not appropriate when analyzing categorical variables (Garson, 2002). Nonetheless, R^2 -like measures are widely reported when interpreting logistic regression models. The R^2 measure analyzed in this research is Nagelkerke's R^2 , a modification of the Cox and Snell coefficient which adjusts the value to achieve a 0 to 1 range (Garson, 2002). The value of R^2 for the 1997 conflict model is .074, indicating weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

In order to test the statistical significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients, three methods are commonly used: the Wald statistic, the difference in model chi-square, and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). The Wald statistic has been criticized for inflated standard errors resulting in Type II errors (finding an effect to be insignificant when it actually is). As such, both the Wald statistic and the BIC are interpreted in this analysis when determining statistical significance of the independent variables. Table 5.3 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC. Based on the Wald statistic, race, education, gender, and age are statistically significant in predicting public perceptions of law enforcement.

Table 5.3 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1997 conflict model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race						
Black	-0.805	0.09	73.96	1	0.00	65.95
White	-					
Income						
Less than \$25,000	0.151	0.10	2.30	1	0.13	-5.71
\$25,000-\$39,999	0.065	0.08	0.59	1	0.44	-7.42
\$40,000 or more	-					
Employment status						
Unemployed	0.012	0.09	0.02	1	0.89	-7.99
Employed	-					
Education						
Less than high school	0.463	0.12	15.63	1	0.00	7.62
High school graduate	0.300	0.08	13.33	1	0.00	5.32
College graduate	-					
Gender						
Male	0.184	0.07	6.93	1	0.01	-1.08
Female	-					
Year born	-0.019	0.00	54.36	1	0.00	46.35

Based on the tenets of conflict theory, six hypotheses were proposed. The hypothesis that black respondents would be more likely to perceive that law enforcement treats suspects differently was supported. Additionally, the relationship between age and perceptions was significant, younger respondents perceive that the police do not treat all suspects the same. However, both socioeconomic variables (income and employment status) were not statistically related to perception of law enforcement. The hypothesized relationship between education and perception of law enforcement could not be supported due to the finding that persons with higher levels of education perceived that unequal treatment exists in contrast to the original hypothesis that persons with lower levels of education would perceive the existence of unequal treatment. Likewise, the hypothesized relationship between gender and perception of law enforcement could not be supported resulting from female respondents holding more negative views of police treatment of suspects than male respondents.

In addition to examining the Wald statistic, the BIC is also utilized. The first step in calculating the BIC is to determine the z-score (logit estimate/ standard error) for each coefficient. This value is then squared (note: this is equivalent to the Wald value). The value of BIC is equal to $z^2 - \ln n$. In order for a coefficient to be statistically significant the BIC must be greater than 0. Based on a sample size of 3007 in 1997, the value of z^2 must be greater than 8.01 ($\ln 3007$). As seen by the BIC values in Table 5.3, race, education, and age are statistically significant independent variables. The conclusion drawn based on the Wald statistic and BIC are consistent

with one another except with regard to gender. An additional benefit of BIC is the established “grades of evidence” for including a variable (Pampel, 2000: 31). A BIC value between 0-2 is considered weak, 2-6 is positive, 6-10 is strong, and greater than 10 is very strong (Pampel, 2000: 31). As seen in Table 5.3 the evidence for including the age and race variables are considered very strong, and education is weak to positive.

Reduced conflict model

In an effort to achieve parsimony, the insignificant variables, representing the socioeconomic status of the respondent, were removed from the logistic analysis. The interpretation of the test of goodness-of-fit for the reduced model indicates a statistically significant model (at least one of the variables is a significant predictor), see Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Goodness of fit for the 1997 reduced conflict model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	3887.950			
Final	3675.953	211.997	5	.000

The strength of the model slightly increased when respondent income and the respondent’s employment status were removed. The value of Nagelkerke’s R^2 for the reduced model is .076

Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients using the Wald statistic all variables are statistically significant, see Table 5.5. However, based on the BIC values, gender is not significant though all remaining variables indicate strong evidence for inclusion in the model.

Table 5.5 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 1997 conflict model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race						
Black	-0.796	0.09	74.13	1	0.00	66.12
White	-					
Education						
Less than high school	0.533	0.11	22.93	1	0.00	14.92
High school graduate	0.335	0.08	17.32	1	0.00	9.31
College graduate	-					
Gender						
Male	0.181	0.07	6.73	1	0.01	-1.28
Female	-					
Year born	-0.020	0.00	80.45	1	0.00	72.44

Summary of 1997 conflict findings

It was originally hypothesized that six conflict variables influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. Overall, the conflict model explains perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects better than chance. However, based on an analysis of the logistic regression output, income and employment status are not statistically significant, as originally hypothesized. The fact that the socioeconomic variables are not significant challenges the original thesis behind conflict theory of class conflict influencing perceptions. Although four of the original six variables are statistically significant, the ability of this model to 'predict' is quite low as seen by

Nagelkerke's R^2 . In turn, there are other factors which may help explain a respondent's perception, other than those included in the conflict model.

1997 Attitude Consistency Model

Attitude consistency theory is based on the assumption that people's attitudes tend to cluster together. This leads to the hypothesis that a person who has positive attitudes toward law enforcement will also have positive attitudes toward the courts, juries, the criminal justice system, and so forth. The attitude consistency model for 1997 included six dimensions hypothesized to be in some way related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, these dimensions are discussed below.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the attitude consistency model was determined by examining the Model chi-square (G_M). As seen in Table 5.6, the model as a whole is considered significant when examining the chi-square value based on the -2 Log Likelihood. Specifically, the inclusion of at least one of the independent variables allows better predictions of public perceptions of the police.

Table 5.6 Goodness of fit for the 1997 attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	5506.575			
Final	5167.243	339.332	16	.000

The significance of model fit is confirmed by examining the deviance (badness of fit) results. As seen in Table 5.8, the deviance chi-square is not significant indicating that the model predicts better than chance.

Table 5.7 Badness of fit for the 1997 attitude consistency model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	3732.178	5332	1.000

When both goodness of fit and badness of fit are analyzed, the results indicate that the 1997 attitude consistency model, as a whole, is statistically significant. As such, the inclusion of the independent variables result in a model shown to be an improvement over an intercept only model.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 1997 attitude consistency model is .114, indicating weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Although this value is weak, it is slightly greater than the R^2 for the conflict model.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC are interpreted to identify the significance of the

individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.8 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC. Interpreting the Wald statistic and BIC indicate that change in crime, court protection of constitutional rights, perception of jury bias, and effectiveness of the criminal justice system are statistically significant in predicting the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Furthermore, the four significant factors are each related to perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects in the hypothesized direction.

Table 5.8 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1997 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Fear of crime	0.005	0.05	0.01	1	0.92	-8.00
Change in crime						
Decrease	-0.449	0.15	8.65	1	0.00	0.64
Stay the same	-0.150	0.07	4.07	1	0.04	-3.94
Increase	-					
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.306	0.23	97.87	1	0.00	89.86
Disagree	-1.179	0.13	79.52	1	0.00	71.51
Neutral	-0.222	0.14	2.46	1	0.12	-5.55
Agree	-0.423	0.11	14.45	1	0.00	6.44
Strongly Agree	-					
Jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	0.999	0.27	13.33	1	0.00	5.33
Disagree	1.110	0.23	24.26	1	0.00	16.25
Neutral	1.150	0.24	23.49	1	0.00	15.48
Agree	0.755	0.23	11.01	1	0.00	3.00
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-1.668	0.49	11.70	1	0.00	3.69
Disagree	-1.373	0.48	8.19	1	0.00	0.18
Neutral	-1.241	0.49	6.51	1	0.01	-1.50
Agree	-0.973	0.48	4.10	1	0.04	-3.91
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.097	0.10	0.94	1	0.33	-7.07

Reduced attitude consistency model

In an effort to achieve parsimony, the insignificant variables representing the fear of crime and prior victimization were removed from the logistic analysis. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicates a statistically significant model, see Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Goodness of fit for the 1997 reduced attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2254.702			
Final	1900.018	354.684	14	.000

The strength of the model slightly increases when fear of crime and prior victimization are removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .120. Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients, all remaining independent variables in the model remain statistically significant according to the Wald and BIC, see Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 1997 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Change in crime						
Decrease	-0.462	0.15	9.12	1	0.00	1.11
Stay the same	-0.153	0.07	4.38	1	0.04	-3.63
Increase	-					
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.391	0.24	101.52	1	0.00	93.51
Disagree	-1.218	0.13	82.88	1	0.00	74.88
Neutral	-0.225	0.14	2.46	1	0.12	-5.55
Agree	-0.432	0.11	14.71	1	0.00	6.70
Strongly Agree	-					

Table 5.10 (continued)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	1.030	0.28	13.72	1	0.00	5.71
Disagree	1.156	0.23	25.40	1	0.00	17.40
Neutral	1.196	0.24	24.56	1	0.00	16.55
Agree	0.787	0.23	11.52	1	0.00	3.51
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-1.768	0.50	12.68	1	0.00	4.67
Disagree	-1.443	0.49	8.72	1	0.00	0.71
Neutral	-1.309	0.50	6.98	1	0.01	-1.02
Agree	-1.029	0.49	4.43	1	0.04	-3.58
Strongly Agree	-					

Summary of 1997 attitude consistency findings

It was originally hypothesized that six attitude consistency variables influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. Overall, the attitude consistency model explains public perception's better than chance. However, based on an analysis of the logistic regression output, fear of crime and prior victimization are not statistically significant, as originally hypothesized. Although three of the original six variables are statistically significant, the ability of this model to 'predict' is quite low (similar to the conflict model). As such, there are factors beyond those included in the attitude consistency model which contribute to a respondent's perception of law enforcement.

1997 Geographic Model

The third theory tested is geographic theory, based on social ecology theories.

According to this theory, the characteristics of the community in which the respondent lives will influence their perception of law enforcement. The geographic model for 1997 includes seven dimensions hypothesized to be in some way related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the geographic (community characteristics) model was also determined by examining the Model chi-square (G_M). As seen in Table 5.11, the model as a whole is considered significant when examining the chi-square value based on the -2 Log Likelihood. Specifically, the inclusion of the set of independent variables provides a better prediction of the dependent variable.

Table 5.11 Goodness of fit for the 1997 geographic model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2400.633			
Final	2355.458	45.176	9	.000

The significance of model fit is confirmed by examining the deviance (badness of fit) results. As seen in Table 5.12, the deviance chi-square is not significant, indicating that the model does predict better than chance.

Table 5.12 Badness of fit for the 1997 geographic model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	1037.797	1119	.960

When both goodness of fit and badness of fit are analyzed, the results indicate that the 1997 geographic/ community characteristics model, as a whole, is statistically significant. As such, the inclusion of the independent variables results in a model that is an improvement over one containing only the intercept.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 1997 geographic model is .016, indicating an extremely weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. The R^2 value for this model is less than both the conflict model, and the attitude consistency model thereby indicating this set of variables has the least predictive ability of the three models tested.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC were interpreted to identify the significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.13 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC. Interpreting the Wald statistic and BIC indicates that length

of residence is the only statistically significant variable in predicting the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. As such, only one of the original hypotheses can be supported.

Table 5.13 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1997 geographic model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.503	0.08	35.46	1	0.00	27.45
5-15 years	-0.326	0.08	15.00	1	0.00	6.99
16 or more years	-					
County racial heterogeneity	-0.005	0.00	0.98	1	0.32	-7.03
County violent crime rate	0.000	0.00	1.51	1	0.22	-6.50
County population density	0.000	0.00	0.29	1	0.59	-7.71
Percent of county municipal	-0.002	0.00	0.32	1	0.57	-7.69
County poverty rate	-0.006	0.02	0.08	1	0.78	-7.93
Region						
Mountains	-0.007	0.15	0.00	1	0.96	-8.01
Piedmont	-0.076	0.12	0.38	1	0.54	-7.62
Coast	-					

Reduced geographic model

In an effort to achieve a parsimonious geographic model, only the length of residence was analyzed. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicates a statistically significant model, see Table 5.14.

Table 5.14 Goodness of fit for the 1997 reduced geographic model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	134.223			
Final	94.180	40.043	2	.000

The strength of the geographic model slightly decreases when the insignificant variables are removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .014.

Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients, length of residence remains statistically significant, see Table 5.15.

Table 5.15 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 1997 geographic model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.515	0.08	38.54	1	0.00	30.53
5-15 years	-0.329	0.08	15.62	1	0.00	7.61
16 or more years	-					

Summary of 1997 geographic findings

It was originally hypothesized that seven neighborhood characteristics would influence a respondent’s perception of law enforcement. Overall, the geographic model does a poor job of classifying perceptions. The only significant factor is the length of residence. However, it must be noted that the geographic model explains perceptions of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects better than chance. Once again, one can reasonably conclude that other factors exist which contribute to a respondent’s perception of law enforcement’s treatment of suspects.

1997 Full Model

A combined model was analyzed which included all 19 independent variables. The full model was examined to determine goodness of fit, level of association, and significance of the individual logistic coefficients.

Model goodness of fit

Two measures of model fit were examined to determine overall model significance. As seen in Table 5.16, the model chi-square is significant, indicating overall model significance. This conclusion is supported by examining the results of the test of deviance, see Table 5.17.

Table 5.16 Goodness of fit for the 1997 full model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	7591.889			
Final	7117.430	474.459	33	.000

Table 5.17 Badness of fit for the 1997 full model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	6064.001	11363	1.000

The results of the -2 Log Likelihood chi-square test, as well as deviance, indicate that the full model is statistically significant. The inclusion of at least one of the 19 independent variables allow for better prediction of the dependent variable than what would be expected solely as a result of chance.

Strength of association

The strength of association for the full model was determined by interpreting Nagelkerke's R^2 . The value of R^2 is .159, a value higher than any of the individual models. This value indicates that the full model has more explanatory ability than any of the individual models.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The individual logistic regression coefficients for the full model were examined to determine the statistical significance of each factor. The following variables are statistically significant when included in the full 1997 model based on the Wald statistic: race, education, gender, age, courts protect constitutional rights, existence of jury bias, and effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

Table 5.18 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1997 full model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.724	0.10	53.89	1	0.00	45.88
Income						
Less than \$25,000	0.113	0.10	1.23	1	0.27	-6.78
\$25,000-\$39,999	0.001	0.09	0.00	1	0.99	-8.01
\$40,000 or more	-					
Unemployed	-0.049	0.09	0.28	1	0.59	-7.72
Education						
Less than high school	0.558	0.12	20.87	1	0.00	12.87
High school graduate	0.425	0.08	25.17	1	0.00	17.16
College graduate	-					
Gender (Male)	0.184	0.07	6.45	1	0.01	-1.56
Year born	-0.016	0.00	33.13	1	0.00	25.12
Change in violent crime						
Decreased	-0.256	0.16	2.67	1	0.10	-5.33
Stayed the same	-0.040	0.08	0.28	1	0.60	-7.73
Increased	-					
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.156	0.24	80.50	1	0.00	72.49
Disagree	-1.073	0.14	62.60	1	0.00	54.59
Neutral	-0.321	0.15	4.77	1	0.03	-3.24
Agree	-0.357	0.11	9.84	1	0.00	1.83
Strongly Agree	-					

Table 5.18 (continued)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Existence of jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	0.723	0.28	6.74	1	0.01	-1.27
Disagree	0.904	0.23	15.54	1	0.00	7.53
Neutral	0.941	0.24	15.17	1	0.00	7.16
Agree	0.545	0.23	5.56	1	0.02	-2.45
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-1.689	0.49	12.08	1	0.00	4.07
Disagree	-1.323	0.48	7.66	1	0.01	-0.34
Neutral	-1.220	0.49	6.32	1	0.01	-1.69
Agree	-0.945	0.48	3.91	1	0.05	-4.10
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	-0.017	0.10	0.03	1	0.87	-7.98
Fear of crime	0.001	0.05	0.00	1	0.99	-8.01
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.105	0.10	1.14	1	0.29	-6.87
5-15 years	-0.022	0.09	0.06	1	0.81	-7.95
16 or more years	-					
Region						
Mountains	0.041	0.15	0.07	1	0.79	-7.94
Piedmont	-0.016	0.12	0.02	1	0.90	-7.99
Coast	-					
County racial heterogeneity	0.001	0.01	0.06	1	0.80	-7.94
County violent crime rate	0.000	0.00	0.56	1	0.46	-7.45
County population density	0.000	0.00	0.00	1	0.97	-8.01
Percent of county municipal	-0.002	0.00	0.34	1	0.56	-7.67
County poverty rate	-0.006	0.02	0.07	1	0.79	-7.93

1997 Reduced Model

A reduced model was analyzed for 1997 which included all variables found to be significant in the full model. This model represents all significant independent variables from conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and geographic based theory. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicates a statistically significant model, see Table 5.19.

Table 5.19 Goodness of fit for the 1997 reduced model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	7131.093			
Final	6656.959	474.135	17	.000

The strength of the model slightly decreases when the insignificant variables are removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .159, still higher than any of the individual models. Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients for the reduced model, all included variables remain significant.

Table 5.20 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 1997 model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.715	0.09	58.93	1	0.00	50.92
Education						
Less than high school	0.614	0.11	29.71	1	0.00	21.70
High school graduate	0.456	0.08	31.65	1	0.00	23.64
College graduate	-					
Gender (Male)	0.167	0.07	5.65	1	0.02	-2.36
Year born	-0.017	0.00	60.57	1	0.00	52.56
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.190	0.24	83.23	1	0.00	75.22
Disagree	-1.079	0.14	63.83	1	0.00	55.82
Neutral	-0.305	0.15	4.36	1	0.04	-3.65
Agree	-0.367	0.11	10.49	1	0.00	2.48
Strongly Agree	-					
Existence of jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	0.723	0.28	6.76	1	0.01	-1.24
Disagree	0.892	0.23	15.22	1	0.00	7.21
Neutral	0.947	0.24	15.42	1	0.00	7.41
Agree	0.521	0.23	5.10	1	0.02	-2.91
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-1.700	0.49	12.20	1	0.00	4.19
Disagree	-1.349	0.48	7.93	1	0.00	-0.08
Neutral	-1.273	0.49	6.85	1	0.01	-1.16
Agree	-0.993	0.48	4.29	1	0.04	-3.72
Strongly Agree	-					

Summary of 1997 Findings

Each of the three models tested included significant factors; however, when model comparisons were made, the full model had the greatest predictive ability. This leads to the conclusion that based on the 1997 survey responses; none of the three theoretical foundations are adequate for examining perceptions of law enforcement. People's perceptions are multi-dimensional and require a more comprehensive model to describe attitudes.

1999 Conflict Model

Conflict theory was tested for the second time using 1999 survey responses. Based on an examination of variables incorporated in prior conflict studies, five measures were analyzed: race, income, employment status, education, gender, and age.

Model goodness of fit

Goodness of fit for the 1999 conflict model was determined based on the -2 Log Likelihood and deviance measures. As seen in Table 5.21, the model as a whole is considered significant; specifically, the inclusion of the set of independent variables provides better prediction of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Further, as seen in Table 5.22 the deviance value is insignificant, confirming a well fit model.

Table 5.21 Goodness of fit for the 1999 conflict model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	5827.567			
Final	5588.396	239.171	8	.000

Table 5.22 Badness of fit for the 1999 conflict model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	3924.723	5844	1.000

Based on an examination of Tables 5.20 and 5.21, the inclusion of the independent variables in the 1999 conflict model does result in better prediction of the dependent variable than an intercept only model.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association of the 1999 conflict model, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of the R^2 value is .083, indicating weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The significance of the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance, as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC, are presented in Table 5.23. As seen in the table, the Wald statistic and BIC identify race, education, and age as statistically significant in predicting the respondent's perception of law

enforcement's treatment of suspects. Consistent with the original hypothesis, there are greater odds that black respondents will hold more negative views of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Furthermore, younger respondents are more likely to possess negative views of law enforcement than older respondents. Finally, the direction of the relationship between education and perception of law enforcement was reverse of the original hypothesis. College educated respondents were more likely to perceive that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same.

Table 5.23 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1999 conflict model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race						
Black	-0.683	0.09	57.26	1	0.00	49.23
White	-					
Income						
Less than \$25,000	-0.021	0.10	0.04	1	0.84	-7.98
\$25,000-\$39,999	-0.079	0.08	0.95	1	0.33	-7.07
\$40,000 or more	-					
Employment status						
Unemployed	0.131	0.09	2.26	1	0.13	-5.77
Employed	-					
Education						
Less than high school	0.350	0.11	9.29	1	0.00	1.26
High school graduate	0.132	0.08	2.69	1	0.10	-5.33
College graduate	-					
Gender						
Male	0.124	0.07	3.18	1	0.07	-4.85
Female	-					
Year born	-0.023	0.00	88.63	1	0.00	80.61

Reduced conflict model

In an effort to achieve parsimony, the insignificant variables were removed from the logistic analysis. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.24.

Table 5.24 Goodness of fit for the 1999 reduced conflict model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	3095.480			
Final	2852.669	242.811	4	.000

The strength of the model slightly increases when income and employment status are removed from the model. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .085. Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients using the Wald test, all remaining independent variables in the model remain statistically significant, see Table 5.25. The BIC values for race and age indicate strong evidence for including these two variables in the model.

Table 5.25 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1999 reduced conflict model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race						
Black	-0.723	0.09	64.29	1	0.00	56.26
White	-					
Education						
Less than high school	0.370	0.11	11.58	1	0.00	3.56
High school graduate	0.127	0.08	2.64	1	0.10	-5.39
College graduate	-					
Year born	-0.025	0.00	133.92	1	0.00	125.90

Summary of 1999 conflict findings

It was originally hypothesized that six conflict variables influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. Overall, the conflict model does explain perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects better than chance. However, gender, income and employment status are not statistically significant, as originally hypothesized. Although four of the original six variables are statistically significant, the ability of this model to 'predict' is quite low as seen by Nagelkerke's R^2 .

1999 Attitude Consistency Model

Recall, attitude consistency theory is based on the assumption that people's attitudes tend to cluster together. Resultantly, persons who have positive attitudes toward law enforcement will also have positive attitudes toward the courts, juries, the criminal justice system, and so forth. The attitude consistency model for 1999 includes the same six dimensions as 1997, which are hypothesized to be related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the attitude consistency model was determined by examining the Model chi-square (G_M). As seen in Table 5.26, the model as a whole is considered significant. Specifically, the inclusion of the set of attitude consistency variables allows better predictions of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Table 5.26 Goodness of fit for the 1999 attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	5706.488			
Final	5217.135	489.353	16	.000

The significance of model fit is confirmed by examining the deviance (badness of fit) results. As seen in Table 5.27, the deviance chi-square is not significant, indicating that the model does predict better than chance.

Table 5.27 Badness of fit for the 1999 attitude consistency model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	3836.041	5504	1.000

When both goodness of fit and badness of fit are analyzed, the results indicate that the 1999 attitude consistency model, as a whole, is statistically significant. As such, the inclusion of the independent variables results in a model that is improved over one containing only the intercept.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 1999 attitude consistency model is .157, indicating weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Although this value is weak, it is once again

greater than the R^2 for the conflict model, indicating this model has more predictive ability than the conflict model.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC were interpreted to identify the significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.28 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC. The Wald statistic and BIC indicate that courts protection of constitutional rights, perception of jury bias, effectiveness of the criminal justice system, and prior victimization are statistically significant in predicting a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. The relationship between respondent perceptions of other aspects of the criminal justice system and law enforcement, specifically the courts, juries, and the effectiveness of the system, supported the original hypothesized relationships. Furthermore, as hypothesized, victims are more likely to believe that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same.

Table 5.28 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1999 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Fear of crime	0.083	0.05	2.80	1	0.09	-5.23
Change in crime						
Decrease	-0.195	0.11	2.96	1	0.09	-5.07
Stay the same	0.075	0.08	0.95	1	0.33	-7.08
Increase	-					
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.811	0.27	112.22	1	0.00	104.19
Disagree	-1.009	0.15	46.30	1	0.00	38.27
Neutral	-0.108	0.16	0.43	1	0.51	-7.60
Agree	-0.274	0.13	4.12	1	0.04	-3.91
Strongly Agree	-					
Jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	1.140	0.26	19.78	1	0.00	11.76
Disagree	0.735	0.20	13.42	1	0.00	5.39
Neutral	0.853	0.21	16.28	1	0.00	8.25
Agree	0.561	0.20	7.74	1	0.01	-0.29
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.700	0.25	114.48	1	0.00	106.45
Disagree	-1.605	0.21	55.81	1	0.00	47.79
Neutral	-1.408	0.23	36.43	1	0.00	28.41
Agree	-1.111	0.21	27.37	1	0.00	19.35
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.371	0.10	14.76	1	0.00	6.73

Reduced attitude consistency model

In an effort to achieve parsimony, the insignificant variables identified by the Wald statistic were removed from the logistic analysis. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.29.

Table 5.29 Goodness of fit for the 1999 reduced attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2249.601			
Final	1741.570	508.031	13	.000

The strength of the model slightly increases when fear of crime and prior victimization are removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .165. Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients, all remaining independent variables in the model are statistically significant using the Wald statistic and BIC, see Table 5.30.

Table 5.30 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 1999 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.939	0.27	115.39	1	0.00	107.36
Disagree	-1.041	0.15	47.67	1	0.00	39.65
Neutral	-0.095	0.17	0.32	1	0.57	-7.70
Agree	-0.278	0.14	4.11	1	0.04	-3.92
Strongly Agree	-					
Jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	1.201	0.26	21.13	1	0.00	13.11
Disagree	0.787	0.20	14.79	1	0.00	6.76
Neutral	0.913	0.22	17.92	1	0.00	9.90
Agree	0.620	0.21	9.06	1	0.00	1.04
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.832	0.26	120.72	1	0.00	112.69
Disagree	-1.683	0.22	58.59	1	0.00	50.56
Neutral	-1.496	0.24	39.40	1	0.00	31.37
Agree	-1.191	0.22	30.03	1	0.00	22.00
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.382	0.10	15.61	1	0.00	7.58

Summary of 1999 attitude consistency findings

Overall, the attitude consistency model explains perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects better than chance and slightly better than the conflict model. It was originally hypothesized that six attitude consistency variables influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. Based on an analysis of the logistic regression output, fear of crime, and perceived change in violent crime were not statistically significant, as originally hypothesized. The low strength of association demonstrated by the attitude consistency model indicates the existence of other factors influencing respondent perceptions.

1999 Geographic Model

The third theory tested based on the 1999 survey is geographic theory. According to this theory, the characteristics of the community will influence a person's perception of law enforcement. The geographic model for 1999 included seven dimensions which are hypothesized to be related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects: length of residence, racial heterogeneity, violent crime rate, population density, percent municipal, poverty rate, and region.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the geographic (community characteristics) model was also determined by examining the Model chi-square (G_M). As seen in Table 5.31, the model as a whole is significant when examining the chi-square value.

Table 5.31 Goodness of fit for the 1999 geographic model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2547.024			
Final	2473.916	73.108	9	.000

The significance of model fit is confirmed by examining the deviance (badness of fit) results. As seen in Table 5.32, the deviance chi-square is not significant, indicating that the model does predict better than chance.

Table 5.32 Badness of fit for the 1999 geographic model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	1134.780	1119	.365

When both goodness of fit and badness of fit are analyzed, the results indicate that the 1999 geographic/ community characteristics model, as a whole, is statistically significant. As such, the inclusion of the independent variables results in a model that is improved versus one containing only the intercept.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 1999 geographic model is .026, indicating an extremely weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. The R^2 value for this model is notably less than both the conflict model and the attitude consistency model. This indicates that this set of variables has the least predictive ability of the three models tested.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC were interpreted to identify the significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.33 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC. Both the Wald statistic and BIC indicate that length of residence is the only statistically significant variable predicting the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Table 5.33 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1999 geographic model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Length of residence						
Less than 4 years	-0.658	0.08	60.74	1	0.00	52.72
5-15 years	-0.412	0.08	24.11	1	0.00	16.08
16 or more years	-					
County racial heterogeneity	-0.002	0.00	0.13	1	0.71	-7.89
County violent crime rate	0.000	0.00	0.66	1	0.42	-7.36
County population density	0.000	0.00	0.01	1	0.92	-8.01
Percent of county municipal	-0.005	0.00	2.58	1	0.11	-5.45
County poverty rate	-0.002	0.02	0.01	1	0.94	-8.02
Region						
Mountains	-0.171	0.15	1.34	1	0.25	-6.68
Piedmont	0.022	0.12	0.03	1	0.86	-7.99
Coast	-					

Reduced geographic model

The geographic model was re-analyzed including only the length of residence. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.34.

Table 5.34 Goodness of fit for the 1999 reduced geographic model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	184.105			
Final	115.872	68.234	2	.000

The strength of the model slightly decreased when the insignificant variables were removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .024. Finally, the logit coefficient for length of residence was statistically significant when using both the Wald test and BIC, as seen in Table 5.35.

Table 5.35 Significance of logit coefficient for the reduced 1999 geographic model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Length of residence						
Less than 4 years	-0.677	0.08	66.19	1	0.00	58.16
5-15 years	-0.424	0.08	25.86	1	0.00	17.84
16 or more years	-					

Summary of 1999 geographic findings

It was originally hypothesized that seven neighborhood characteristics would influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement; however, the only significant factor is the length of residence. Overall, the geographic model does a notably poor job of classifying perceptions.

1999 Full Model

A combined model for the 1999 dataset was analyzed which included all 19 independent variables. The full model was examined to determine goodness of fit, level of association, and significance of the individual logistic coefficients.

Model goodness of fit

Two measures of model fit were examined to determine overall model significance. As seen in Table 5.36, the model chi-square is significant, indicating overall model significance. Model significance is confirmed by examining the non-significance of the deviance measure, see Table 5.37.

Table 5.36 Goodness of fit for the 1999 full model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	7913.929			
Final	7277.735	636.194	33	.000

Table 5.37 Badness of fit for the 1999 full model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	6191.410	11719	1.000

The results of the -2 Log Likelihood chi-square test as well as deviance indicate that the full model is statistically significant. Inclusion of the 19 independent variables allow for better prediction of the dependent variable compared to a conclusion based on chance.

Strength of association

The strength of association for the full model was examined by interpreting Nagelkerke's R^2 . The value of R^2 is .202, a value higher than each of the individual models, indicating that the full model has more explanatory ability than any of the individual models.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The individual logistic regression coefficients for the full model were examined to determine the statistical significance of each factor. The following variables from the 1999 model are statistically significant based on the Wald statistic: race, education, age, courts protect constitutional rights of defendants, existence of jury bias, effectiveness of the criminal justice system, prior victimization and percent of county residents living in municipal areas; however, based on BIC, prior victimization and percent in municipal areas are not significant.

Table 5.38 Significance of logit coefficients for the 1999 full model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.606	0.10	39.87	1	0.00	31.85
Income						
Less than \$25,000	-0.030	0.11	0.08	1	0.78	-7.94
\$25,000-\$39,999	-0.037	0.08	0.20	1	0.66	-7.83
\$40,000 or more	-					
Unemployed	0.073	0.09	0.69	1	0.41	-7.34
Education						
Less than high school	0.393	0.12	10.75	1	0.00	2.72
High school graduate	0.222	0.08	7.26	1	0.01	-0.76
College graduate	-					
Gender (Male)	0.103	0.07	2.06	1	0.15	-5.97
Year born	-0.019	0.00	45.45	1	0.00	37.42

Table 5.38 (continued)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Change in violent crime						
Decreased	-0.058	0.12	0.25	1	0.62	-7.78
Stayed the same	0.129	0.08	2.68	1	0.10	-5.34
Increased	-					
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.602	0.28	87.23	1	0.00	79.21
Disagree	-0.871	0.15	33.16	1	0.00	25.14
Neutral	-0.230	0.17	1.85	1	0.17	-6.17
Agree	-0.216	0.14	2.50	1	0.11	-5.53
Strongly Agree	-					
Existence of jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	1.165	0.26	19.86	1	0.00	11.83
Disagree	0.614	0.20	9.02	1	0.00	1.00
Neutral	0.653	0.21	9.22	1	0.00	1.20
Agree	0.416	0.21	4.09	1	0.04	-3.93
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.596	0.26	102.58	1	0.00	94.56
Disagree	-1.578	0.22	52.97	1	0.00	44.94
Neutral	-1.460	0.24	38.48	1	0.00	30.45
Agree	-1.090	0.21	26.02	1	0.00	17.99
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.233	0.10	5.37	1	0.02	-2.66
Fear of crime	0.054	0.05	1.10	1	0.29	-6.92
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.137	0.10	1.92	1	0.17	-6.10
5-15 years	-0.086	0.09	0.89	1	0.35	-7.14
16 or more years	-					
Region						
Mountains	-0.193	0.15	1.61	1	0.21	-6.42
Piedmont	0.078	0.12	0.39	1	0.53	-7.63
Coast	-					
County racial heterogeneity	0.004	0.01	0.70	1	0.40	-7.32
County violent crime rate	0.000	0.00	0.98	1	0.32	-7.04
County population density	0.000	0.00	0.00	1	0.99	-8.02
Percent of county municipal	-0.006	0.00	3.96	1	0.05	-4.06
County poverty rate	0.000	0.02	0.00	1	0.99	-8.02

1999 Reduced Model

A reduced model was analyzed for 1999 which included all variables found to be significant in the full model. This model represents all significant independent variables from conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and geographic based theory. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicates a statistically significant model, see Table 5.39.

Table 5.39 Goodness of fit for the 1999 reduced model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	7902.723			
Final	7288.325	614.398	18	.000

The strength of the model slightly decreased when the insignificant variables were removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .195, still higher than any of the individual models. Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients, each of the coefficients in the reduced model are statistically significant except percent of county residents in municipal areas, see Table 5.40.

Table 5.40 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 1999 model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.556	0.09	37.13	1	0.00	29.11
Education						
Less than high school	0.410	0.11	13.45	1	0.00	5.43
High school graduate	0.233	0.08	8.50	1	0.00	0.47
College graduate	-					
Year born	-0.021	0.00	90.33	1	0.00	82.31
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.591	0.28	87.38	1	0.00	79.35
Disagree	-0.866	0.15	33.07	1	0.00	25.04
Neutral	-0.208	0.17	1.53	1	0.22	-6.49
Agree	-0.203	0.14	2.23	1	0.14	-5.79
Strongly Agree	-					
Existence of jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	1.224	0.26	22.11	1	0.00	14.09
Disagree	0.667	0.20	10.79	1	0.00	2.76
Neutral	0.695	0.21	10.55	1	0.00	2.53
Agree	0.468	0.20	5.25	1	0.02	-2.77
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.574	0.25	102.54	1	0.00	94.51
Disagree	-1.542	0.22	51.43	1	0.00	43.40
Neutral	-1.446	0.23	38.21	1	0.00	30.18
Agree	-1.051	0.21	24.54	1	0.00	16.51
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.215	0.10	4.77	1	0.03	-3.25
Percent of county municipal	-0.001	0.00	0.85	1	0.36	-7.18

Summary of 1999 Findings

Each of the three models, based on the 1999 data, included statistically significant factors. However, when model comparisons were made, the full model has the greatest predictive ability. Resultantly, none of the three theoretical foundations on their own are adequate for explaining public perception's of law enforcement.

2001 Conflict Model

Conflict theory was tested for the third time using data from the 2001 survey administration. The same five measures included in the 1997 and 1999 analysis were included: race, income, employment status, education, gender, and age.

Model goodness of fit

Goodness of fit for the 2001 conflict model was determined based on the -2 Log Likelihood and deviance measures. As seen in Table 5.41, the model as a whole is considered significant; specifically, the inclusion of the set of independent variables allows better predictions of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Further, as seen in Table 5.42, the deviance value is insignificant, confirming a well fit model.

Table 5.41 Goodness of fit for the 2001 conflict model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	4907.412			
Final	4754.618	152.795	8	.000

Table 5.42 Badness of fit for the 2001 conflict model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	3410.750	5144	1.000

Based on an examination of Tables 5.41 and 5.42, the inclusion of the independent variables in the conflict model allow for better prediction of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects versus an intercept only model.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined for the 2001 conflict model. The value of the R^2 measure is .064, indicating weak association between the independent conflict variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance measured by the Wald statistic and BIC are presented in Table 5.43. As seen in the table, the Wald statistic and BIC identify race, education, and age as statistically significant in predicting the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. As originally hypothesized, both black respondents and younger respondents are more likely to perceive that law enforcement does not treat all suspects the same. Contrary to the original hypothesis, persons with college educations are more likely to perceive bias exists.

Table 5.43 Significance of logit coefficients for the 2001 conflict model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race						
Black	-0.747	0.10	55.81	1	0.00	48.01
White	-					
Income						
Less than \$25,000	0.053	0.12	0.21	1	0.65	-7.60
\$25,000-\$39,999	-0.020	0.09	0.05	1	0.82	-7.75
\$40,000 or more	-					
Employment status						
Unemployed	0.067	0.09	0.52	1	0.47	-7.28
Employed	-					
Education						
Less than high school	0.402	0.14	8.87	1	0.00	1.07
High school graduate	0.265	0.09	9.25	1	0.00	1.45
College graduate	-					
Gender						
Male	0.127	0.08	2.71	1	0.10	-5.09
Female	-					
Year born	-0.017	0.00	44.12	1	0.00	36.32

Reduced conflict model

In an effort to achieve parsimony the insignificant variables were removed from the logistic analysis. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.44.

Table 5.44 Goodness of fit for the 2001 reduced conflict model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2611.960			
Final	2456.737	155.222	4	.000

The strength of the model slightly decreased when respondent income, gender, and the respondent's employment status are removed from the model. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .066. Finally, when examining the

significance of the logit coefficients, all remaining independent variables in the model are statistically significant, see Table 5.45. The BIC values for race and age indicate strong evidence for inclusion of the two variables in the model.

Table 5.45 Significance of logit coefficients for the 2001 reduced conflict model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race						
Black	-0.781	0.10	60.74	1	0.00	52.93
White	-					
Education						
Less than high school	0.445	0.13	11.78	1	0.00	3.98
High school graduate	0.276	0.09	10.43	1	0.00	2.63
College graduate	-					
Year born	-0.019	0.00	63.05	1	0.00	55.25

Summary of 2001 conflict findings

It was originally hypothesized that six conflict variables influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. Overall, the conflict model for 2001 does explain perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects better than chance. However, based on an analysis of the logistic regression output, income, gender, and employment status were not statistically significant, as originally hypothesized.

Although three of the original six variables are statistically significant, the ability of this model to 'predict' is quite low as seen by Nagelkerke's R^2 . The conflict model is inadequate to fully explain perceptions of law enforcement.

2001 Attitude Consistency Model

The attitude consistency model for 2001 includes the same six dimensions as the 1997 and 1999 models. The included independent variables were hypothesized to be related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the attitude consistency model was determined using Model chi-square (G_M). As seen in Table 5.46, the model as a whole is considered significant. Specifically, the inclusion of the set of attitude consistency variables allows better predictions of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Table 5.46 Goodness of fit for the 2001 attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	4325.268			
Final	4020.589	304.679	16	.000

The significance of model fit is confirmed by examining the deviance results. As seen in Table 5.47, the deviance chi-square is not significant, indicating that the model does predict better than chance.

Table 5.47 Badness of fit for the 2001 attitude consistency model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	2909.615	4200	1.000

When both goodness of fit and badness of fit are analyzed, the results indicate that the 2001 attitude consistency model, as a whole, is statistically significant. As such, the inclusion of the independent variables results in an improved model versus one containing only the intercept.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 2001 attitude consistency model is .125, indicating weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Although this association is weak, it is greater than the R^2 for the conflict model.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC were examined to identify the significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.48 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and their associated significance. The Wald statistic indicates that court protection of constitutional rights, effectiveness of the criminal justice system, and prior victimization are statistically significant in predicting the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. Further, the direction of the relationships are consistent with the stated hypotheses. However, the BIC indicates that prior victimization is not statistically significant.

Table 5.48 Significance of logit coefficients for the 2001 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Fear of crime	0.029	0.06	0.27	1	0.60	-7.53
Change in crime						
Decrease	-0.054	0.12	0.20	1	0.66	-7.61
Stay the same	0.048	0.09	0.30	1	0.58	-7.50
Increase	-					
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.392	0.31	58.11	1	0.00	50.31
Disagree	-1.242	0.19	41.96	1	0.00	34.16
Neutral	-0.313	0.20	2.34	1	0.13	-5.46
Agree	-0.348	0.17	4.27	1	0.04	-3.53
Strongly Agree	-					
Jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	0.597	0.30	3.94	1	0.05	-3.87
Disagree	0.474	0.26	3.39	1	0.07	-4.42
Neutral	0.328	0.27	1.47	1	0.23	-6.34
Agree	0.248	0.26	0.91	1	0.34	-6.90
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.201	0.33	44.12	1	0.00	36.32
Disagree	-1.493	0.27	29.80	1	0.00	22.00
Neutral	-1.073	0.29	14.04	1	0.00	6.24
Agree	-0.824	0.27	9.50	1	0.00	1.69
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.236	0.11	4.75	1	0.03	-3.06

Reduced attitude consistency model

In an effort to achieve parsimony the insignificant variables were removed from the logistic analysis. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.49.

Table 5.49 Goodness of fit for the 2001 reduced attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	1734.059			
Final	1415.902	318.157	13	.000

The strength of the model slightly decreased when the model was reduced. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .132. Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients, all remaining independent variables in the model remain statistically significant using the Wald statistic; however, the BIC indicates that prior victimization is not statistically significant, see Table 5.50.

Table 5.50 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 2001 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.464	0.32	60.05	1	0.00	52.25
Disagree	-1.285	0.19	43.85	1	0.00	36.05
Neutral	-0.313	0.21	2.29	1	0.13	-5.52
Agree	-0.357	0.17	4.40	1	0.04	-3.40
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.302	0.34	46.38	1	0.00	38.58
Disagree	-1.551	0.28	30.80	1	0.00	23.00
Neutral	-1.117	0.29	14.62	1	0.00	6.82
Agree	-0.865	0.27	10.03	1	0.00	2.23
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.247	0.11	5.18	1	0.02	-2.62

Supplemental 2001 Attitude Consistency Model

As noted earlier, three additional attitude consistency variables were included in the 2001 survey instrument. The variables measured respondent perceptions that race plays an important role in the criminal justice system, that social class plays an

important role in the criminal justice system, and that the police routinely use racial profiling. The three new variables were added to the analysis of the reduced model.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the supplemental attitude consistency model was determined using the model chi-square. As seen in Table 5.51 the model as a whole is considered significant when examining the model chi-square value. Specifically, the inclusion of the full set of attitude consistency variables allows better predictions of the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Table 5.51 Goodness of fit for the 2001 supplemental attitude consistency model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	3652.017			
Final	3023.406	628.610	21	.000

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 2001 supplemental attitude consistency model is .243, indicating weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. The strength of association for the new attitude consistency model is greater than the original.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC were interpreted to identify the significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.52 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance. Both the Wald statistic and BIC indicate that perception of jury bias is the only non-significant independent variable included in the model.

Table 5.52 Significance of logit coefficients for the 2001 attitude consistency model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Courts concerned with rights						
Strongly Disagree	-1.741	0.33	28.50	1	0.00	20.69
Disagree	-0.977	0.19	25.31	1	0.00	17.50
Neutral	-0.177	0.20	0.75	1	0.39	-7.06
Agree	-0.316	0.17	3.37	1	0.07	-4.43
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-1.982	0.34	34.02	1	0.00	26.22
Disagree	-1.538	0.28	30.27	1	0.00	22.47
Neutral	-1.249	0.29	18.13	1	0.00	10.32
Agree	-1.109	0.27	16.42	1	0.00	8.61
Strongly Agree	-					
Race as a major factor						
Strongly Disagree	0.735	0.31	5.75	1	0.02	-2.06
Disagree	1.167	0.20	34.80	1	0.00	27.00
Neutral	1.008	0.21	22.11	1	0.00	14.30
Agree	0.680	0.19	12.97	1	0.00	5.17
Strongly Agree	-					
Class as a major factor						
Strongly Disagree	1.624	0.37	18.79	1	0.00	10.99
Disagree	1.163	0.17	49.22	1	0.00	41.42
Neutral	0.802	0.18	18.83	1	0.00	11.03
Agree	0.605	0.15	16.75	1	0.00	8.95
Strongly Agree	-					

Table 5.52 (continued)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Use of racial profiling						
Strongly Disagree	2.308	0.37	39.79	1	0.00	31.99
Disagree	1.386	0.26	27.95	1	0.00	20.15
Neutral	1.124	0.27	17.88	1	0.00	10.07
Agree	0.770	0.25	9.14	1	0.00	1.34
Strongly Agree	-					
Prior victimization	0.135	0.11	1.52	1	0.22	-6.29

Summary of 2001 attitude consistency findings

Overall, the attitude consistency model explains perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects better than chance and slightly better than the conflict model. It was originally hypothesized that six attitude consistency variables influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. This model was revised to include three additional variables. Overall, a respondent's perception of other aspects in the criminal justice system are significant factors in explaining perceptions of law enforcement. However, based on an analysis of the logistic regression output, fear of crime, prior victimization, and perceived change in violent crime were not statistically significant, as originally hypothesized.

2001 Geographic Model

The third theory tested based on the 2001 survey is geographic theory. The geographic model for 2001 included seven dimensions hypothesized to be related to a respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Model goodness of fit

The goodness of fit for the geographic model was also determined by examining model chi-square. As seen in Table 5.53, chi-square indicates that the model as a whole is statistically significant. The significance of model fit is confirmed by examining deviance results. As seen in Table 5.54, the deviance chi-square is not significant indicating that the model does predict better than chance.

Table 5.53 Goodness of fit for the 2001 geographic model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2166.869			
Final	2124.243	42.627	9	.000

Table 5.54 Badness of fit for the 2001 geographic model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	972.485	1091	.996

When both goodness of fit and badness of fit are analyzed, the results indicate that the 2001 geographic model, as a whole, is statistically significant. As such, the inclusion of the independent variables results in an improved model over one containing only the intercept.

Strength of association

To measure the strength of association between the independent variables and the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, Nagelkerke's R^2 was examined. The value of R^2 for the 2001 geographic model is .019, indicating

extremely weak association between the independent variables and perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects. The R^2 value for this model is notably lower than both the conflict model and the attitude consistency model.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The Wald statistic and the BIC were interpreted to identify the significance of the individual logistic regression coefficients. Table 5.55 presents the log-odd estimates for each of the independent variables and associated significance as measured by the Wald statistic and BIC. Interpreting both the Wald statistic and BIC indicates that length of residence is the only statistically significant variable predicting the respondent's perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects.

Table 5.55 Significance of logit coefficients for the 2001 geographic model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.512	0.09	29.99	1	0.00	22.19
5-15 years	-0.278	0.09	8.65	1	0.00	0.84
16 years or more	-					
County racial heterogeneity	-0.005	0.01	0.82	1	0.36	-6.98
County violent crime rate	0.000	0.00	0.08	1	0.78	-7.73
County population density	0.000	0.00	1.85	1	0.17	-5.95
Percent of county municipal	0.003	0.00	1.05	1	0.30	-6.75
County poverty rate	-0.016	0.02	0.45	1	0.50	-7.35
Region						
Mountains	-0.205	0.17	1.53	1	0.22	-6.28
Piedmont	-0.240	0.13	3.47	1	0.06	-4.33
Coast	-					

Reduced geographic model

In an effort to achieve parsimony, the 2001 geographic model was re-analyzed including only length of residence. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.56.

Table 5.56 Goodness of fit for the 2001 reduced geographic model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	117.389			
Final	84.860	32.529	2	.000

The strength of the model slightly decreased when the insignificant variables were removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .014. Finally, the logit coefficient for length of residence was statistically significant when using both the Wald test and BIC, as seen in Table 5.57.

Table 5.57 Significance of logit coefficient for the reduced 2001 geographic model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.523	0.09	32.26	1	0.00	24.46
5-15 years	-0.289	0.09	9.44	1	0.00	1.63
16 years or more						

Summary of 2001 geographic findings

It was originally hypothesized that seven neighborhood characteristics would influence a respondent's perception of law enforcement. Overall, the geographic model does a poor job of classifying perceptions. As with the prior two data collection points, the only significant factor is length of residence.

2001 Full Model

A combined model for the 2001 dataset was analyzed which included all 19 independent variables. The full model was examined to determine goodness of fit, level of association, and significance of the individual logistic coefficients.

Model goodness of fit

Two measures of model fit were examined to determine overall model significance. As seen in Table 5.58, the model chi-square is significant, indicating overall model significance. This conclusion is supported by examining the results of the test of deviance, see Table 5.59.

Table 5.58 Goodness of fit for the 2001 full model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	6433.547			
Final	6008.669	424.878	33	.000

Table 5.59 Badness of fit for the 2001 full model

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Deviance	5102.720	9767	1.000

The results of the -2 Log Likelihood chi-square test as well as deviance indicate that the full model is statistically significant. The inclusion of the 19 independent variables allow for better prediction of the dependent variable than what would be expected based solely on chance.

Strength of association

The strength of association for the full model was examined by interpreting Nagelkerke's R^2 . The value of R^2 equals .166, a value higher than each of the individual models, thereby indicating the full model has more explanatory ability than any of the individual models.

Individual logistic regression coefficients

The individual logistic regression coefficients for the full model were examined to determine the statistical significance of each factor. The following variables are statistically significant when included in the full 2001 model based on the Wald statistic: race, age, education, region, courts protect constitutional rights of defendants, and effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

Table 5.60 Significance of logit coefficients for the 2001 full model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.616	0.11	34.38	1	0.00	26.58
Income						
Less than \$25,000	0.101	0.12	0.70	1	0.40	-7.10
\$25,000-\$39,999	-0.032	0.09	0.13	1	0.72	-7.67
\$40,000 or more	-					
Unemployed	0.004	0.09	0.00	1	0.97	-7.80
Education						
Less than high school	0.412	0.14	8.62	1	0.00	0.81
High school graduate	0.272	0.09	9.08	1	0.00	1.28
College graduate	-					
Gender (Male)	0.120	0.08	2.28	1	0.13	-5.52
Year born	-0.016	0.00	28.14	1	0.00	20.33
Change in violent crime						
Decreased	0.059	0.12	0.23	1	0.63	-7.58
Stayed the same	0.123	0.09	2.00	1	0.16	-5.81
Increased	-					

Table 5.60 (continued)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.247	0.32	50.62	1	0.00	42.81
Disagree	-1.153	0.19	36.08	1	0.00	28.28
Neutral	-0.393	0.21	3.61	1	0.06	-4.19
Agree	-0.345	0.17	4.20	1	0.04	-3.61
Strongly Agree	-					
Existence of jury bias						
Strongly Disagree	0.588	0.30	3.81	1	0.05	-4.00
Disagree	0.430	0.26	2.78	1	0.10	-5.02
Neutral	0.244	0.27	0.81	1	0.37	-6.99
Agree	0.199	0.26	0.58	1	0.45	-7.22
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.120	0.33	40.68	1	0.00	32.88
Disagree	-1.497	0.27	29.75	1	0.00	21.95
Neutral	-1.109	0.29	14.83	1	0.00	7.03
Agree	-0.868	0.27	10.49	1	0.00	2.68
Strongly Agree	-					
Non-victim	0.140	0.11	1.64	1	0.20	-6.17
Fear of crime	0.140	0.11	1.64	1	0.20	-6.17
Length of residence						
4 years or less	-0.105	0.11	0.96	1	0.33	-6.84
5-15 years	-0.027	0.10	0.07	1	0.79	-7.73
16 or more years	-					
Region						
Mountains	-0.178	0.17	1.13	1	0.29	-6.68
Piedmont	-0.270	0.13	4.42	1	0.04	-3.39
Coast	-					
County racial heterogeneity	-0.001	0.01	0.03	1	0.86	-7.78
County violent crime rate	0.000	0.00	0.28	1	0.60	-7.52
County population density	-0.001	0.00	2.60	1	0.11	-5.20
Percent of county municipal	0.005	0.00	2.19	1	0.14	-5.62
County poverty rate	-0.018	0.02	0.60	1	0.44	-7.20

2001 Reduced Model

A reduced model was analyzed for 2001 which included all variables found to be significant in the full model. This model represents all significant independent

variables from conflict theory, attitude consistency theory, and geographic based theory. The results of the test of goodness-of-fit indicate a statistically significant model, see Table 5.61.

Table 5.61 Goodness of fit for the 2001 reduced model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	5468.090			
Final	5058.596	409.494	14	.000

The strength of association for the reduced model decreased when the insignificant variables were removed. The value of Nagelkerke's R^2 for the reduced model is .163, still higher than any of the individual models.

Finally, when examining the significance of the logit coefficients, each of the coefficients in the reduced model are statistically significant, see Table 5.62.

Table 5.62 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 2001 model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.660	0.10	42.20	1	0.00	34.40
Education						
Less than high school	0.421	0.13	10.29	1	0.00	2.49
High school graduate	0.277	0.09	10.38	1	0.00	2.57
College graduate	-					
Year born	-0.017	0.00	51.53	1	0.00	43.72
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-2.343	0.31	55.61	1	0.00	47.80
Disagree	-1.228	0.19	42.60	1	0.00	34.80
Neutral	-0.463	0.20	5.49	1	0.02	-2.32
Agree	-0.344	0.17	4.35	1	0.04	-3.45
Strongly Agree	-					

Table 5.62 (continued)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-2.249	0.33	45.83	1	0.00	38.03
Disagree	-1.555	0.27	32.75	1	0.00	24.95
Neutral	-1.189	0.28	17.48	1	0.00	9.67
Agree	-0.896	0.27	11.39	1	0.00	3.59
Strongly Agree	-					
Region						
Mountains	-0.141	0.13	1.17	1	0.28	-6.64
Piedmont	-0.195	0.09	5.01	1	0.03	-2.80
Coast	-					

Expanded 2001 Model

Three additional variables were added to the full model for the 2001 survey administration to determine if they improved the strength of association. The measures of model significance indicate model significance. Further, the value of Nagelkerke’s R^2 indicates that the full model, with the additional variables, has greater strength than any of the prior models ($R^2=.254$). An examination of the logit coefficients indicates that the additional variables are significant. A reduced model was then analyzed based on the significant variables. The reduced model was statistically significant, see Table 5.63.

Table 5.63 Goodness of fit for the 2001 expanded model

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	6067.842			
Final	5403.528	664.315	22	.000

The R² value for the reduced model is .249, slightly lower than the full model. When examining the significance of the logit coefficients, all included variables are significant, see Table 5.64.

Table 5.64 Significance of logit coefficients for the reduced 2001 model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	BIC
Race (Black)	-0.234	0.10	5.04	1	0.02	-2.76
Year born	-0.019	0.00	61.09	1	0.00	53.28
Courts protect rights						
Strongly Disagree	-1.644	0.32	25.60	1	0.00	17.80
Disagree	-0.893	0.19	21.63	1	0.00	13.83
Neutral	-0.235	0.20	1.34	1	0.25	-6.47
Agree	-0.295	0.17	3.03	1	0.08	-4.78
Strongly Agree	-					
Effectiveness of system						
Strongly Disagree	-1.946	0.34	33.65	1	0.00	25.84
Disagree	-1.525	0.28	30.69	1	0.00	22.89
Neutral	-1.265	0.29	19.15	1	0.00	11.35
Agree	-1.093	0.27	16.46	1	0.00	8.66
Strongly Agree	-					
Race as a major factor						
Strongly Disagree	0.631	0.31	4.25	1	0.04	-3.55
Disagree	1.048	0.20	27.77	1	0.00	19.97
Neutral	0.866	0.21	16.34	1	0.00	8.53
Agree	0.564	0.19	8.97	1	0.00	1.17
Strongly Agree	-					
Use of racial profiling						
Strongly Disagree	2.020	0.36	31.34	1	0.00	23.53
Disagree	1.195	0.26	21.10	1	0.00	13.29
Neutral	0.924	0.26	12.24	1	0.00	4.43
Agree	0.684	0.25	7.34	1	0.01	-0.46
Strongly Agree	-					
Social class as a major factor						
Strongly Disagree	1.730	0.37	21.91	1	0.00	14.10
Disagree	1.130	0.16	47.80	1	0.00	40.00
Neutral	0.721	0.18	15.58	1	0.00	7.78
Agree	0.562	0.15	14.86	1	0.00	7.06
Strongly Agree	-					

Summary of 2001 Findings

Each of the three models tested included significant factors, however, when model comparisons are made, the full model with the additional three attitude consistency variables has the greatest predictive ability. None of the three theoretical foundations are adequate for examining perceptions of law enforcement, thus a more comprehensive model is necessary.

Summary of Multivariate Findings

Based on an analysis of the logistic results, the three models tested are not adequate to explain perceptions of law enforcement on their own or as a combined model. Few variables were found to be significant based on an analysis of the Wald statistic and fewer provide strong evidence for inclusion in the model as designated by the BIC. Three conflict variables have consistent evidence (BIC) for model inclusion: race, education, and age. Moreover three of the attitude consistency variables generally demonstrate evidence for model inclusion: perception of courts, perception of juries, and effectiveness of the criminal justice system. When the three additional variables were added to the model in 2001 perception that race is a major factor, perception that social class is a major factor, and perception that the police routinely use racial profiling all were significant with ample evidence for inclusion in the model. None of the geographic variables demonstrates sufficient evidence for inclusion. Although the models had varied success regarding significance of the independent variables, the R^2 values were consistency low ranging from .018 for both the 1997 and 2001

reduced geographic models to a high of .254 for the 2001 full model. The R^2 values for each of the full models were superior to any of the individual models in each of the years studied indicating that perceptions are multifaceted.

CHAPTER 6. SUMMARY & POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Synopsis

The intended goal of this research endeavor was binate in nature: to compare three theories used in prior research to explain public perceptions of law enforcement's treatment of suspects, and to determine if the findings are consistent for three data collection points. The importance of this research is based on the need to compare multiple models, which have been previously identified in the research literature, as possible explanations of why perceptions differ. Throughout the research literature, investigators have relied on conflict, attitude consistency, and ecological (geographic) based theories to explain public perceptions of the criminal justice system. However, the studies have been single dimensional in that only one individual theory was tested per study. The data sets collected in North Carolina provided an opportunity to test all three models because the survey instrument included measures reflecting dimensions of each theory. Additionally, the data collection was unique in that perceptions were collected at three data points over a six year period, which presented an opportunity to test the consistency of the findings.

It has been well established that public perceptions of law enforcement do indeed differ among various segments of the population. The three tested theories offer alternate, sometimes contradictory, explanations about why attitudes differ. Conflict theory attributes conflict between specific segments of society and the mainstream

culture as the cause of negative perceptions of law enforcement. In its original form conflict was a result of social class; however, as the theory was refined and consequently evolved in sophistication, an expansion in the number of identified disadvantaged groups occurred. In turn, current conflict theory includes race, age, gender, and other individual characteristics incorporated into the original socioeconomic status based model. Subsequently, any group or individual who is disadvantaged in society will have more negative attitudes toward government in general and the police specifically as a result of conflict in society.

Attitude consistency theory has also been relied upon in the existing literature to explain differing perceptions toward the police. Attitude consistency theorists view perceptions in a broader context. According to this theory, a person would have similar perceptions among several civil segments. Specifically, people should view the police similar to the way they view the courts, juries, and the criminal justice system overall. Based on attitude consistency theory, it is expected that a respondent's perception of law enforcement is correlated with the respondent's perception of other aspects of the criminal justice system.

The third theory tested is a variant of social ecology theory termed geographic theory. The tenet of this theory is that persons living in communities with a high distrust of the police will tend to share the attitudes of their neighbors, namely the individuals within a community tend to share similar attitudes. Within certain communities, such

as those identified with high levels of poverty, high minority populations, or with transient residents, people are more likely to have negative encounters with law enforcement. As such, persons within these communities may have either have been exposed to a negative incident with law enforcement or are likely to know someone who has experienced negative contact. Based on this first-hand or vicarious negative contact, persons in communities with high levels of poverty, high levels of minority residents, transient populations, and densely populated areas will have more negative views of law enforcement.

Summary of Research Findings

An analysis of the three cross-sectional datasets began with a univariate examination of each variable, culminating in frequency outputs. Next, the relationship between each independent variable and the perception of law enforcement's treatment of suspects was examined resulting in bivariate frequency tables and associated tests of statistical significance. Finally, each of the models was tested using ordinal logistic regression analysis resulting in tests of model fit and tests of significance for the logit coefficients.

The dependent variable in this study was the response to the question “Do you strongly disagree, disagree, have no opinion, agree or strongly agree that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same?” There was variation in responses within each year but there was very little variation in responses when comparing

across years. The majority of respondents do not believe that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same, 63.7% in 1997, 57.1% in 1999, and 53.8% in 2001. This analysis revealed a weak trend toward more positive attitudes over the four year period.

The bivariate results indicate that all conflict variables (race, income, employment status, education, gender, and age) are statistically related to perception of law enforcement in 1997 and 1999 and all variables except income are significant in 2001. The initial bivariate results provide a basis for further investigation of the model. When examining the significance of the logit coefficients for the conflict model, race, education, and age were the only significant variables in all three years, 1997, 1999, and 2001, and gender was significant in 1997 only. Furthermore, when the full model was analyzed, the same three variables were significant in each of the years, and gender remained significant in 1997. Although the conflict models included factors which are statistically significant, the strength of association of the models is weak. The R^2 value for reduced 1997 model is .076, for the 1999 model is .085, and for the 2001 model is .066. The strength of association for each of the models is fairly consistent, the model fit the 1999 survey data slightly better than both 1997 and 2001.

Individual attitude consistency variables were tested using bivariate tests of significance. Prior victimization as well as the respondents perception of the courts,

juries, and criminal justice system were significant in each of the years studied. The variable measuring perceived change in crime over the prior three years was significant only in the 1999 dataset. Finally, the respondent's fear of crime was not significant in any of the years studied.

The attitude consistency variables were included in ordinal logistic regression analyses to determine the significance of the individual coefficients. Based on the Wald statistic, perception of the courts and the effectiveness of the criminal justice system were significant in each of the three years, perception of jury bias was only significant in 1997 and 1999, prior victimization was significant in 1999 and 2001, and change in violent crime was significant in 1997. Finally, the three supplemental variables included in the 2001 survey analysis were also significant. The full model resulted in equivalent findings with regard to the significance of the variables. The strength of association for the reduced attitude consistency model was greater than that for the conflict model. Nagelkerke's R^2 for 1997 is .120, for 1999 Nagelkerke's R^2 is .165, and for 2001 Nagelkerke's R^2 is .132. When the three additional variables were added to the attitude consistency model in 2001, the R^2 value increased to .243. Although the attitude consistency model results in better explanatory ability than the conflict model, other factors not included in the model are needed to enhance the explanatory ability of the model.

The geographic variables were represented by length of time at current residence, region of residence, percent of non-white residents in the county, county violent crime rate, county population density, percent of county population in municipal areas, and percent of county residents living in poverty. Based on the Wald test, these variables were the least likely to be significant. In fact, the length of residence was the only significant variable in all three years. In 1999 population density and percent of residents living in municipal areas were also significant variables. Length of residence is the only significant factor in the multivariate geographic model in each of the three years. However, when the full model (composed of elements from each of the three models) was examined length of residence was not significant. The R^2 for the geographic model is the weakest of the three theories being tested (.014 in 1997, .024 in 1999, and .014 in 2001). The geographic model does a poor job in explaining variation in public perceptions toward law enforcement.

Finally, when the full model was tested, race, education, age, perception of the courts, and effectiveness of the criminal justice system were significant independent variables in all three years studied. Perception of juries was also significant in 1997 and 1999, gender of the respondent was significant in 1997 and victimization was significant in 1999. The R^2 values for the full and reduced models were higher than any of the individual models indicating that single dimensional models are insufficient and a broader explanation of perceptions is necessary.

Policy Implications

The major policy implications of the findings reported in this work are discussed below.

- *Policymakers must recognize the interdependence of the elements that compose the criminal justice system.* Policymakers and persons working within the criminal justice system need to recognize that the formation of perceptions cross cuts various segments of the system itself. Public managers need to be sensitive to all areas of the criminal justice system since the interdependence is clearly present. What occurs within police departments can have profound consequences on perceptions of the courts, juries, and the criminal justice system as a whole. Likewise, other aspects of the criminal justice system can impact one's perception of law enforcement. Thus, the legitimacy of the entire criminal justice system, including the courts and juries, can be influenced by direct or vicarious encounters with the police.
- *Policymakers must recognize the need to close the gap between the perception of discrimination and reality.* In each of the three years studied over half of all respondents disagreed with the statement that law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same. Police administrators and policymakers need to further examine the actual difference in treatment of suspects. If differential

treatment does exist, measures need to be implemented to eliminate differential treatment, since, the legitimacy of the system, as a whole, is at stake. On the other hand, if differential treatment of suspects is not widespread, law enforcement agencies need to take steps to improve their public image and emphasize their impartiality which is one of the key features of an equitable criminal justice system.

- *Policymakers must recognize the disparity in public opinion of specific segments of the population.* Bivariate analyses indicated that specific groups within North Carolina are more likely to perceive differential treatment. Namely, black respondents, females, persons with higher incomes, persons with higher levels of education, and younger respondents are more likely to possess negative views of law enforcement. Law enforcement agencies should recognize the need to improve community relations within these subpopulations in order to improve public perceptions.
- *Policymakers must recognize the importance of positive public opinion to the success of community-oriented policing initiatives.* Advocates of community oriented policing must recognize that community perceptions can result in the success or failure of such initiatives. Negative public attitudes toward the police will hinder efforts for police-community collaboration in crime control.

Therefore, the police need to improve relations with the community if they desire successful community based programs.

Research Gaps

Prior research has focused on a limited number of factors to explain variation in perceptions of the criminal justice system. Researchers have relied on theories such as conflict, attitude consistency, and ecological to explain variation in perceptions. However, when the theories were tested, they proved to be inadequate in fully explaining variations in perceptions. It is important to recognize that factors other than those included in this research study are necessary for a sufficient explanation of perceptions. Perceptions are multi-dimensional; a narrowly focused theory does not provide enough explanatory ability and is therefore inadequate.

When studying perceptions it is evident that a combined theory is superior to one that is narrow. As such, future research should attempt to expand the scope of theoretical explanations of perceptions. One's attitudes are formed over a long period of time and are based on a multitude of experiences. A single bad or good experience may shape or alter a person's attitude. Once attitudes are developed, they persist until a time when a new attitude is formed resulting from a particular experience. A suitable model must include many dimensions which can include, but are in no way limited to, individual factors such as race, education, and age, perceptions of other aspects of government, prior experience with the criminal justice system and government as a

whole, exposure to popular media sources, and numerous other factors. Researchers cannot be so driven by theoretical foundations that they abandon the flexibility necessary for innovative theory development.

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Appendix A
Survey Instruments

1997 North Carolina Citizen's Perception of Crime and Victimization Survey

Hello, my name is _____, and I'm calling from a research unit at North Carolina State University. We are working with the Governor's Crime Commission to study issues related to crime in our state. This survey will take just a few minutes to complete.

Have I reached _____ [number called]?

May I please speak with the adult male in your household who most recently celebrated his birthday?

TARGET ORDER TO OBTAIN RESPONDENTS:

Male most recent birthday,
 male head of household,
 female most recent birthday,
 female head of household.

All of the information provided by respondents to this survey will be strictly confidential.
 And, again, your participation should only take only a few minutes.

Gender: Record respondent's gender?	Male Female
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The following questions refer only to things that happened to YOU during 1996, that is, between January 1 and December 31, 1996.	
1. Did anyone <u>take</u> something directly from you by using force, such as by a stick-up, mugging or threat?	Yes No ----go to question 3
2. How many times was something taken from you by force in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____
3. Did anyone <u>try</u> to rob you by using force or by threatening to harm you (other than the incident already mentioned)?	Yes No ----go to question 5
4. How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____

5. Were you knifed, shot at, or attacked with some other weapon by anyone at all (other than the incidents already mentioned)?	Yes No ----go to question 8
6. How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____
7. For (this) (the most recent of these) incident(s), was it done by: (Read the Responses)	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member.
8. Did anyone hit you, <u>attack you</u> or beat you up (other than any incidents already mentioned)?	Yes No ----go to question 11
9. How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____
10. For (this) (the most recent of these) incident(s), was it done by: (Read the Responses)	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member.
11. Did anyone <u>threaten</u> to beat you up or threaten you with a knife, gun or some other weapon, not including telephone threats (other than any incident(s) already mentioned)?	Yes No -----go to question 14
12. How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____
13. For (this) (the most recent of these) incident(s), was it done by: (Read the Responses)	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member.

14. Did anyone break in or try to break into your car or truck, your home or some other building on your property?	Yes No -----go to question 17
15. How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____
16. For (this) (the most recent of these) incident(s), was it done by: (Read the Responses)	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member.
If respondent is MALE go to question 20	
17. (Ask WOMEN Only) Did anyone force you, or attempt to force you, to have <u>sexual intercourse</u> with them?	Yes No -----go to question 20.
18. How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1996?	Enter exact number: _____
19. For (this) (the most recent of these) incident(s), was it done by: (Read the Responses)	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member.
The following questions are to gauge PERCEPTIONS of crime in North Carolina	
20. During the past three years, do you believe the number of violent crimes in your community has:	Increased Stayed about the same Decreased
21. During the next three years, do you believe the number of violent crimes in your community will:	Increase Stay about the same Decrease
22. Do you think that schools in your community are generally:	Safe places Unsafe places No more or less safe than other public areas

23. Do you know of anyone that has been a victim of domestic violence within the past year?	Yes No
24. Does your police department or sheriff's office operate a community policing project in your community?	Yes No Uncertain or do not know
25. If you have school-aged children (ages 6-18), living with you in your household, have they been the victim of school violence?	Yes No Uncertain or do not know
For the following opinion questions, please tell us the answer that best indicates how you feel about each statement.	
26. When I am away from home, I worry about the safety of my property.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
27. I worry a great deal about my personal safety from crime or criminals.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
28. In my own home, I'm not safe from people who want to take what I have.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
29. I feel safe going anywhere in my community or neighborhood in the daytime.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
30. I feel safe going anywhere in my community or neighborhood after dark.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
31. Crime is more serious than the TV and newspapers say.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree

	Strongly Disagree No Opinion
32. Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
33. Courts are concerned with the defendant's constitutional rights.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
34. Juries are biased and unfair when it comes to deciding cases.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
35. The criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective in controlling crime.	Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion
36. Have you taken any special measures to protect your home, automobile, or other possessions such as purchasing alarm systems, dead-bolt locks, motion activated lights or any other precautions?	Yes No
37. Are you an active participant in a neighborhood watch or any other program designed to prevent or reduce crime in your community?	Yes No
38. Are you employed either full or part-time?	Yes No ——go to question 41
39. Which of the following best describes your occupation?	Medical Profession Mental health services field Teaching profession Law enforcement or security Retail sales Transportation field Other
40. While working at your job do you work mostly in:	city, suburban area, rural area, a combination of the three?

The following group of questions are for demographic information (remind of anonymity and confidentiality)

41. What is your marital status? Are you...?	Married Widowed Divorced Separated or Never Been Married
42. With which racial or ethnic category do you describe yourself?	African American or black Asian Amerasian Hispanic Native American Indian Asian Indian Caucasian or white Other - Specify _____
43. Do you have any children or other dependents living with you?	Yes No
44. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	Some Grade School Some High School Completed high school or equivalent Some college, vocational school Completed vocational training program Completed <u>two</u> -year college degree Completed a <u>four</u> -year college degree Completed graduate or professional degree

<p>45. Which of the following categories best represents your total combined household income for 1996?</p> <p>[START WITH PROMPT:] Would it be above or below \$20,000? [READ APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES:] Would it be...</p>	<p>Less than \$5,000 5,000 - 7,499 7,500 - 9,999 10,000 - 12,499 12,500 - 14,999 15,000 - 17,499 17,500 - 19,999 20,000 - 24,999 25,000 - 29,999 30,000 - 34,999 35,000 - 39,999 40,000 - 49,999 50,000 - 74,999 More than \$75,000</p>
<p>46. What county do you live in?</p>	
<p>47. What is your zip code?</p>	
<p>48. In years, how long have you lived in your current residence?</p>	
<p>49. In what year were you born?</p>	

That's all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions or comments for me?
Thank-you. Good-bye.

**The following questions refer only to things that happened to
YOU during 1998,
that is, between January 1 and December 31, 1998.**

1. Did anyone <u>take</u> something directly from you by using force, such as by a stick-up, mugging or threat?	Yes No [GO TO Q3]
2. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	NUMBER: ____
3. Did anyone <u>try</u> to rob you by using force or by threatening to harm you (other than the incident already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q5]
4. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	NUMBER: ____
5. Were you knifed, shot at, or attacked with some <u>other weapon</u> by anyone at all (other than the incidents already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q8]
6. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	NUMBER: ____
7. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but not a family member, or by A family member
8. Did anyone hit you, <u>attack you</u> or beat you up (other than any incidents already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q11]
9. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	NUMBER: ____
10. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member

11. Did anyone <u>threaten</u> to beat you up or threaten you with a knife, gun or some other weapon, not including telephone threats (other than any incident(s) already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q14]
12. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	
13. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member
14. Did anyone break in, or try to break in, to your car or truck, your home or some other building on your property?	Yes No [GO TO Q17]
15. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	NUMBER: ____
16. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member
IF RESPONDANT IS MALE... GO TO QUESTION 20.	
17. [WOMEN ONLY] Did anyone force you, or attempt to force you, to have <u>sexual intercourse</u> with them?	Yes No [GO TO Q20]
18. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 1998?	NUMBER: ____
19. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member

20.	During the past three years , do you believe the number of violent crimes in your community has...	Increased, Stayed the same, or Decreased?				
21.	During the next three years , do you believe the number of violent crimes in your community will...	Increase, Stay about the same, or Decrease?				
22.	Do you think that the schools in your community are generally...	Safe places, Unsafe places, or No more or less safe than other public areas?				
23.	Do you know of anyone that has been a victim of domestic violence within the past year?	Yes No				
24.	Does your police department or sheriff's office operate a community policing project in your community?	Yes No Uncertain / Don't know				
25.	If you have school-aged children (ages 6-18), living with you in your household, have they been the victim of school violence?	Yes No No school-aged children Uncertain / Don't know				
<p>For each of the next statements, please respond with one of the following categories: <i>“strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree”</i> to best indicate your response to each statement.</p>						
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Don't know No Opinion</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
26.	When I am away from home, I worry about the safety of my property	5	4	3	2	1
27.	I worry a great deal about my personal safety from crime or criminals	5	4	3	2	1

28.	In my own home, I'm not safe from people who want to take what I have	5	4	3	2	1	
29.	I feel safe going anywhere in my community or neighborhood in the daytime	5	4	3	2	1	
30.	I feel safe going anywhere in my community or neighborhood after dark	5	4	3	2	1	
31.	Crime is more serious than the TV and newspapers say	5	4	3	2	1	
32.	Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same	5	4	3	2	1	
33.	Courts are concerned with the defendant's constitutional rights	5	4	3	2	1	
34.	Juries are biased and unfair when it comes to deciding cases	5	4	3	2	1	
35.	The criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective in controlling crime	5	4	3	2	1	
36.	Have you taken any special measures to protect your home, automobile, or other possessions such as purchasing alarm systems, dead-bolt locks, motion activated lights or any other precautions?						Yes No
37.	Are you an active participant in a neighborhood watch or any other program designed to prevent or reduce crime in your community?						Yes No
38.	Are you employed either full or part-time?						Yes No [GO TO Q41]

	39. [IF YES:] Which of the following best describes your occupation?	Medical Profession Mental health services field Teaching profession Law enforcement or security field Retail sales Transportation field Some other field
	40. [IF YES:] While working at your job do you work mostly in a...	City, Suburban area, Rural area, or A combination of the three?
The following questions are for demographic purposes. [REMINDE OF ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY]		
41. What is your marital status? Are you...?	Married Widowed Divorced Separated, or Never Been Married <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>	
42A. What is your race? Would you say you are...	White, Black or African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American or American Indian, Alaska Native, Some other race? [SPECIFY] _____ <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>	
42B. Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin?	Yes No <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>	
43. Do you have any children or other dependents living with you?	Yes No	

44. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	Some Grade School Some High School Completed high school or equivalent Some college, vocational school Completed a vocational training program Completed a <u>two</u> -year college degree Completed a <u>four</u> -year college degree Completed a graduate or professional degree <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>
45. Which of the following categories best represents your total combined household income for 1998?	Less than \$5,000 \$5,000 - \$7,499 \$7,500 - \$9,999 \$10,000 - \$12,499 \$12,500 - \$14,999 \$15,000 - \$17,499 \$17,500 - \$19,999 \$20,000 - \$24,999 \$25,000 - \$29,999 \$30,000 - \$34,999 \$35,000 - \$39,999 \$40,000 - \$49,999 \$50,000 - \$74,999 \$75,000 or more <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>
46. What county do you live in?	
47. What is your zip code?	
48. In years, how long have you lived in your current residence?	
49. In what year were you born?	
That's all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions or comments for me? <p style="text-align: center;">[IF NO:] Thank-you. Good-bye.</p>	

North Carolina Citizens' Perception of Crime and Victimization Survey 2001

Hello, my name is _____, and I'm calling from a research unit at North Carolina State University. We are working with the Governor's Crime Commission to study issues related to crime in our state. This survey will take about ten minutes to complete.

Have I reached _____ [number called]?

May I please speak with the...	TARGET ORDER TO OBTAIN RESPONDENTS:
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adult Male in your household who most recently celebrated his birthday? 2. Adult Male head of your household? 3. Adult Female in your household who most recently celebrated her birthday? 4. Adult Female head of your household?

All of the information provided by respondents to this survey will be strictly confidential. Again, your participation should take about ten minutes. The first question I have is...

A. How old were you on your last birthday?	
<i>UNDER 18, REPEAT SELECTION PROCEDURE. REPEAT INTRODUCTION. NO ADULT (DORM, ETC.), CODE "HI" - THANK RESPONDENT - DISCONTINUE.</i>	
B. Does your household reside in North Carolina?	Yes No
<i>TEMP. RES. / VAC. PROP. / NOT IN NC, CODE "HI" - THANK RESPONDENT - DISCONTINUE.</i>	
C. RECORD RESPONDENT'S GENDER.	Male Female

**The following questions refer only to things that happened to
YOU during 2000,
that is, between January 1 and December 31, 2000.**

1.	Did anyone <u>take</u> something directly from you by using force, such as by a stick-up, mugging or threat?	Yes No [GO TO Q3]
	2. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: _____
3.	Did anyone <u>try</u> to rob you by using force or by threatening to harm you (other than the incident already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q5]
	4. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: ____ ____
5.	Were you knifed, shot at, or attacked with some <u>other weapon</u> by anyone at all (other than the incidents already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q8]
	6. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: ____ ____
	7. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member

8. Did anyone hit you, <u>attack you</u> or beat you up (other than any incidents already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q11]
9. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: ____
10. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member
11. Did anyone <u>threaten</u> to beat you up or threaten you with a knife, gun or some other weapon, not including telephone threats (other than any incident(s) already mentioned)?	Yes No [GO TO Q14]
12. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: ____
13. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member
14. Did anyone break in, or try to break in, to your car or truck, your home or some other building on your property?	Yes No [GO TO Q17]
15. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: ____

	16. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member
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IF RESPONDANT IS MALE... GO TO QUESTION 20.

17.	[WOMEN ONLY] Did anyone force you, or attempt to force you, to have <u>sexual intercourse</u> with them?	Yes No [GO TO Q20]
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	18. [IF YES:] How many times did this type of incident occur to you in 2000?	NUMBER: ____ ____
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	19. [IF YES:] For [<i>this / the most recent of these</i>] incident(s), was it done by...	A stranger or unknown person, A casual acquaintance, A person well known to you but <u>not</u> a family member, or by A family member
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20.	During the past three years , do you believe the number of violent crimes in your community has...	Increased, Stayed the same, or Decreased?
-----	---	---

21.	During the next three years , do you believe the number of violent crimes in your community will...	Increase, Stay about the same, or Decrease?
-----	--	---

22.	Do you think that the schools in your community are generally...	Safe places, Unsafe places, or No more or less safe than other public areas?
-----	--	--

23. Do you know of anyone that has been a victim of domestic violence within the past year?	Yes No				
24. Does your police department or sheriff's office operate a community policing project in your community?	Yes No Uncertain / Don't know				
25. If you have school-aged children (ages 6-18), living with you in your household, have they been the victim of school violence?	Yes No No school-aged children Uncertain / Don't know				
For each of the next statements, please respond with one of the following categories: <i>“strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree”</i> to best indicate your response to each statement.					
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Don't know No Opinion</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
26. When I am away from home, I worry about the safety of my property	5	4	3	2	1
27. I worry a great deal about my personal safety from crime or criminals	5	4	3	2	1
28. In my own home, I'm not safe from people who want to take what I have	5	4	3	2	1
29. I feel safe going anywhere in my community or neighborhood in the daytime	5	4	3	2	1
30. I feel safe going anywhere in my community or neighborhood after dark	5	4	3	2	1
31. Crime is more serious than the TV and newspapers say	5	4	3	2	1
32. Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same	5	4	3	2	1

33.	Courts are concerned with the defendant's constitutional rights	5	4	3	2	1
34.	Juries are biased and unfair when it comes to deciding cases	5	4	3	2	1
35.	The criminal justice system in North Carolina is effective in controlling crime	5	4	3	2	1
36.	Race is a major factor in the criminal justice system in North Carolina	5	4	3	2	1
37.	School violence is a major problem in North Carolina	5	4	3	2	1
38.	Law enforcement uses racial profiling routinely	5	4	3	2	1
39.	A person's social class is a major factor in the criminal justice system in North Carolina	5	4	3	2	1
40.	Have you taken any special measures to protect your home, automobile, or other possessions such as purchasing alarm systems, dead-bolt locks, motion activated lights or any other precautions?	Yes No				
41.	Are you an active participant in a neighborhood watch or any other program designed to prevent or reduce crime in your community?	Yes No				
42.	Are you employed either full or part-time?	Yes No[GO TO Q45]				

<p>43. [IF YES:] Which of the following best describes your occupation?</p>	<p>Medical Profession Mental health services field Teaching profession Law enforcement or security field Retail sales Transportation field Some other field</p>
<p>44. [IF YES:] While working at your job do you work mostly in a...</p>	<p>City, Suburban area, Rural area, or A combination of the three?</p>
<p>The following questions are for demographic purposes. [REMIND OF ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY]</p>	
<p>45. What is your marital status? Are you...?</p>	<p>Married Widowed Divorced Separated, or4 Never Been Married <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i></p>
<p>46. What is your race? Would you say you are...</p>	<p>White,1 Black or African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American or American Indian, Alaska Native, or Some other race? [SPECIFY] <hr/><i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i></p>

48. Do you have any children or other dependents living with you?	Yes No
49. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	Some Grade School Some High School Completed high school or equivalent Some college, vocational school Completed a vocational training program Completed a <u>two</u> -year college degree Completed a <u>four</u> -year college degree Completed a graduate or professional degree <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>
50. Which of the following categories best represents your total combined household income for 2000? CATEGORIES:] Would it be...	Less than \$5,000 \$5,000 - \$7,499 \$7,500 - \$9,999 \$10,000 - \$12,499 \$12,500 - \$14,999 \$15,000 - \$17,499 \$17,500 - \$19,999 \$20,000 - \$24,999 \$25,000 - \$29,999 \$30,000 - \$34,999 \$35,000 - \$39,999 \$40,000 - \$49,999 \$50,000 - \$74,999 \$75,000 or more <i>Don't know</i> <i>Refused</i>
51. What county do you live in?	
52. What is your zip code?	

53. In years, how long have you lived in your current residence?	
54. In what year were you born?	
That's all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions or comments for me? [IF NO:] Thank-you. Good-bye.	

Appendix B
Pre/Post September 11, 2001 Validity Analysis

Variable	Chi-square	df	Sig.	Phi
fear index	30.51	20	0.06	
Change in crime over the past three years	25.43	2	0.00	0.10
Law enforcement officers treat all suspects the same	3.29	4	0.51	
Courts protect the constitutional rights of defendants	21.87	4	0.00	0.09
Juries are unfair and biased	2.12	4	0.71	
The criminal justice system is effective in controlling crime	6.79	4	0.15	
Race is a major factor in the criminal justice system	6.55	4	0.16	
The police routinely use racial profiling	5.30	4	0.26	
Class is a major factor in the criminal justice system	3.76	4	0.44	

Appendix C
Fear Reliability Index Analysis

1997 Internal Consistency Analysis - Fear Index

		Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1.	Q26	3.0762	1.1729	2978.0
2.	Q27	2.9731	1.1360	2978.0
3.	Q28	2.4416	1.0225	2978.0
4.	Q29	1.9866	.8537	2978.0
5.	Q30	3.0255	1.1920	2978.0

Correlation Matrix					
	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30
Q26	1.0000				
Q27	.5183	1.0000			
Q28	.3769	.3708	1.0000		
Q29	.1540	.1649	.2061	1.0000	
Q30	.2626	.3158	.2661	.4338	1.0000
N of Cases =		2978.0			

Statistics for	Mean	Variance	Std Dev	N of
Scale	13.5030	13.1174	3.6218	Variables
				5

Item-total Statistics					
	Scale	Scale	Corrected	Squared	Alpha
	Mean	Variance	Item-	Multiple	if Item
	if Item	if Item	Total	Correlation	Deleted
	Deleted	Deleted	Correlation	Correlation	Deleted
Q26	10.4268	8.4133	.4891	.3135	.6225
Q27	10.5299	8.4091	.5188	.3281	.6086
Q28	11.0615	9.2979	.4449	.2086	.6427
Q29	11.5165	10.5179	.3379	.1972	.6827
Q30	10.4775	8.5754	.4471	.2636	.6429

Alpha = .6914 Standardized item alpha = .6889

1999 Internal Consistency Analysis - Fear Index

		Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1.	Q26	2.9712	1.2118	3054.0
2.	Q27	2.8615	1.1893	3054.0
3.	Q28	2.3094	1.0588	3054.0
4.	Q29	2.0065	.8174	3054.0
5.	Q30	2.7656	1.1846	3054.0

Correlation Matrix

	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30
Q26	1.0000				
Q27	.5468	1.0000			
Q28	.3283	.3183	1.0000		
Q29	.1530	.1879	.1793	1.0000	
Q30	.2346	.3029	.2112	.4745	1.0000

N of Cases = 3054.0

Statistics for	Mean	Variance	Std Dev	N of
Scale	12.9142	13.2504	3.6401	Variables 5

Item-total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
Q26	9.9430	8.3865	.4837	.3282	.6009
Q27	10.0527	8.2393	.5268	.3464	.5791
Q28	10.6048	9.6449	.3778	.1514	.6484
Q29	10.9077	10.6846	.3551	.2324	.6585
Q30	10.1487	8.8714	.4217	.2790	.6311

Alpha = .6769 Standardized item alpha = .6752

2001 Internal Consistency Analysis - Fear Index

		Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1.	Q26	2.8556	1.1954	2451.0
2.	Q27	2.7360	1.1361	2451.0
3.	Q28	2.2097	.9489	2451.0
4.	Q29	1.9629	.7932	2451.0
5.	Q30	2.6687	1.1484	2451.0

Correlation Matrix

	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30
Q26	1.0000				
Q27	.5228	1.0000			
Q28	.4006	.3834	1.0000		
Q29	.2057	.2283	.2007	1.0000	
Q30	.2729	.2937	.2424	.5425	1.0000

N of Cases = 2451.0

Statistics for	Mean	Variance	Std Dev	N of Variables
Scale	12.4329	12.8595	3.5860	5

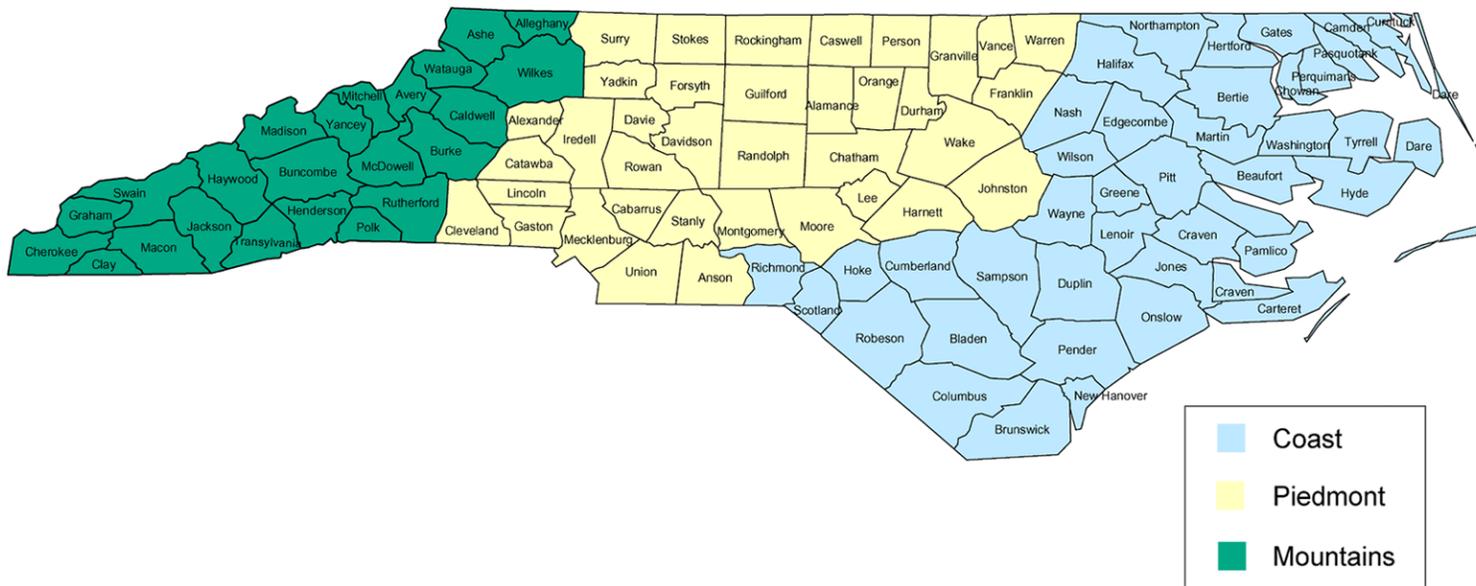
Item-total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
Q26	9.5773	7.9625	.5141	.3294	.6402
Q27	9.6969	8.1444	.5281	.3277	.6331
Q28	10.2232	9.3930	.4411	.2148	.6708
Q29	10.4700	10.1382	.4142	.3023	.6838
Q30	9.7642	8.5084	.4526	.3364	.6674

Alpha = .7088 Standardized item alpha = .7105

Appendix D
Regional Breakdown of Counties

North Carolina Regions



Appendix E
Correlation Matrix

1997 Correlation matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1 Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same	1																		
2 % of population non-white, 2000	-0.02	1																	
3 persons per square mile, 1995	-0.03	0.18	1																
4 education level	-0.12	0.02	0.21	1															
5 Fear of crime index	-0.04	0.08	0.01	-0.10	1														
6 Gender	-0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.05	0.17	1													
7 household income	-0.07	-0.05	0.15	0.41	-0.11	-0.11	1												
8 % of population municipal, 2000	-0.04	0.31	0.84	0.20	0.02	-0.01	0.13	1											
9 % of persons in poverty, 1995	0.02	0.59	-0.44	-0.13	0.04	0.01	-0.16	-0.36	1										
10 Has Violent Crime Gone Up In The Past Three Years?	0.04	0.02	-0.04	-0.07	0.25	0.07	-0.05	-0.03	0.04	1									

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
11 Courts Are Concerned With The Defendant's Constitutional Rights.	0.19	0.02	0.05	0.12	-0.08	-0.06	0.07	0.06	-0.02	0.01	1								
12 Juries Are Biased And Unfair When Deciding Cases.	-0.13	0.05	-0.02	-0.08	0.14	0.01	-0.05	0.00	0.03	0.01	-0.20	1							
13 The NC Criminal Justice System Is Effective In Controlling Crime	0.13	0.02	-0.01	-0.04	-0.14	-0.07	-0.07	0.00	0.02	-0.17	0.10	-0.11	1						
14 How many years have you lived here	0.12	-0.01	-0.17	-0.23	0.07	0.07	-0.19	-0.16	0.12	0.06	0.00	0.03	0.00	1					
15 race	0.12	-0.24	-0.04	0.10	-0.02	-0.04	0.23	-0.07	-0.14	0.09	0.11	-0.12	-0.03	0.01	1				
16 region	0.00	0.65	-0.07	-0.04	0.02	-0.03	-0.06	0.07	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.01	-0.18	1			
17 crime victimization	-0.03	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.13	-0.09	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.05	-0.04	0.04	-0.09	-0.10	0.00	0.05	1		
18 violent crime rate per 100,000	-0.01	0.48	0.83	0.13	0.05	0.00	0.08	0.75	-0.03	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.00	-0.11	-0.11	0.15	0.07	1	
19 What year were you born in	-0.18	0.05	0.09	0.18	-0.05	-0.07	0.18	0.08	-0.03	-0.11	-0.06	-0.04	0.02	-0.56	-0.09	0.01	0.13	0.08	1

1999 Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
1 Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same	1																			
2 % of population non-white, 2000	-0.01	1																		
3 persons per square mile, 1995	-0.03	0.21	1																	
4 education level	-0.07	0.05	0.18	1																
5 Fear of crime index	-0.03	0.11	0.02	-0.14	1															
6 Gender	-0.03	0.03	0.01	-0.02	0.17	1														
7 household income	-0.02	-0.04	0.19	0.40	-0.12	-0.17	1													
8 % of population municipal, 2000	-0.04	0.32	0.84	0.19	0.01	0.03	0.17	1												
9 % of persons in poverty, 1995	0.01	0.58	-0.42	-0.09	0.09	0.01	-0.21	-0.34	1											
10 Has Violent Crime Gone Up In The Past Three Years?	-0.03	-0.04	-0.08	-0.10	0.25	0.10	-0.09	-0.10	0.07	1										

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
11 Courts Are Concerned With The Defendant's Constitutional Rights.	0.24	-0.02	0.04	0.11	-0.05	-0.02	0.14	0.04	-0.03	-0.06	1								
12 Juries Are Biased And Unfair When Deciding Cases.	-0.11	0.00	-0.06	-0.12	0.12	0.03	-0.11	-0.05	0.05	0.06	-0.22	1							
13 The NC Criminal Justice System Is Effective In Controlling Crime	0.24	-0.02	0.00	-0.02	-0.14	-0.05	-0.06	0.00	0.01	-0.18	0.19	-0.10	1						
14 How many years have you lived here	0.15	-0.03	-0.16	-0.21	0.05	0.06	-0.15	-0.17	0.09	0.06	-0.02	0.05	0.02	1					
15 race	0.15	-0.26	-0.04	0.10	-0.06	-0.08	0.19	-0.07	-0.16	0.07	0.17	-0.11	0.00	0.02	1				
16 region	0.01	0.62	-0.09	0.02	0.05	0.00	-0.04	0.06	0.52	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.18	1			
17 crime victimization	-0.10	0.05	0.02	-0.01	0.16	-0.04	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.08	-0.06	0.05	-0.10	-0.11	-0.02	0.01	1		
18 violent crime rate per 100,000	-0.02	0.55	0.83	0.13	0.08	0.02	0.10	0.77	-0.01	-0.06	0.03	-0.05	-0.01	-0.12	-0.13	0.14	0.05	1	
19 What year were you born in	-0.22	0.03	0.07	0.14	0.00	-0.06	0.14	0.07	-0.03	-0.05	-0.01	-0.02	-0.04	-0.54	-0.07	0.02	0.17	0.06	1

2001 Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1 Law Enforcement Officers Treat All Suspects The Same	1																					
2 % of population non-white, 2000	-0.03	1																				
3 persons per square mile, 1995	-0.06	0.22	1																			
4 education level	-0.09	0.06	0.21	1																		
5 Fear of crime index	-0.07	0.09	-0.02	-0.18	1																	
6 Gender	-0.03	0.01	-0.04	-0.02	0.17	1																
7 household income	-0.04	0.02	0.15	0.42	-0.18	-0.13	1															
8 % of population municipal, 2000	-0.04	0.33	0.85	0.22	0.00	-0.04	0.16	1														
9 % of persons in poverty, 1995	0.01	0.58	-0.42	-0.10	0.09	0.03	-0.11	-0.34	1													
10 Has Violent Crime Gone Up In The Past Three Years?	-0.04	-0.04	-0.12	-0.08	0.25	0.08	-0.11	-0.12	0.07	1												
11 Courts Are Concerned With The Defendant's Constitutional Rights.	0.25	0.01	0.03	0.08	-0.14	-0.04	0.12	0.03	-0.02	-0.05	1											

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
12 Juries Are Biased And Unfair When Deciding Cases.	-0.11	0.01	0.00	-0.08	0.14	0.01	-0.05	0.00	0.02	0.06	-0.23	1										
13 The NC Criminal Justice System Is Effective In Controlling Crime	0.24	0.01	0.00	-0.07	-0.15	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01	0.00	-0.14	0.25	-0.10	1									
14 Race is a major factor in the criminal justice system NC	-0.30	0.12	0.04	0.02	0.11	0.02	-0.08	0.06	0.05	0.03	-0.22	0.23	-0.20	1								
15 Law enforcement uses racial profiling routinely	-0.31	0.09	0.06	0.09	0.10	0.03	-0.02	0.07	0.03	0.01	-0.18	0.19	-0.16	0.45	1							
16 A person's social class is a major factor in the criminal justice system in NC	-0.31	0.05	-0.01	-0.01	0.11	0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.03	0.06	-0.19	0.19	-0.22	0.41	0.38	1						
17 How many years have you lived here	0.13	-0.03	-0.14	-0.20	0.04	0.05	-0.20	-0.14	0.08	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.03	-0.03	-0.08	-0.02	1					

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
18 race	0.16	-0.27	-0.10	0.10	-0.08	-0.06	0.19	-0.12	-0.12	0.07	0.14	-0.10	0.02	-0.28	-0.22	-0.12	0.04	1				
19 region	0.01	0.61	-0.09	0.02	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.50	-0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.05	0.01	-0.01	-0.04	-0.16	1			
20 crime victimization	-0.09	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.12	-0.65	-0.01	0.07	-0.02	0.11	-0.10	0.06	-0.11	0.09	0.05	0.10	-0.08	-0.02	0.02	1		
21 violent crime rate per 100,000	-0.05	0.54	0.78	0.15	0.06	-0.02	0.10	0.73	0.04	-0.08	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.08	0.09	0.02	-0.09	-0.16	0.19	0.07	1	
22 What year were you born in	-0.18	0.06	0.05	0.16	0.01	-0.02	0.14	0.07	-0.01	0.00	-0.04	-0.05	-0.01	0.00	0.07	0.01	-0.55	-0.08	0.06	0.16	0.05	