

RACE, COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING AND PUBLIC SATISFACTION
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ABSTRACT

The study utilized data from the Criminal Victimization and Perceptions of Community Safety in 12 United States Cities 1998 report to determine whether satisfaction with the local police varies by race and ethnicity and whether variables related to or addressed by Community Oriented Policing (COP) affect these levels of satisfaction. Results indicated that Blacks were more likely to be dissatisfied with the police than Whites. While there was a significant relationship between race and satisfaction, the presence or absence of the COP related variables did not affect the significance of the relationship between race and satisfaction however observed police was positively related to satisfaction while both a greater number of victimizations and fear of increasing neighborhood crime were negatively associated with the public's satisfaction with police.

INTRODUCTION

Previous research (Murphy et al., 2008, Murphy, 2009, Murphy and Cherney, 2012) has demonstrated that the public's satisfaction with their local police can enhance cooperation with the police. The police have traditionally relied heavily upon the public's cooperation in performing their duties such as reporting crimes, providing witness statements, signing complaints, and testifying in court in order to assist them in their investigations, effecting arrests and seeing that criminal charges are put forward (Sunshine and Tyler 2003). Police officers and agencies can foster the officer-citizen relationship that is necessary to generate the public's cooperation by demonstrating their legitimacy either as individual officers or as an institution. The connection the police have to the community can enhance this legitimacy and the public's satisfaction. Community Oriented Policing (COP) seeks to build closer ties between the police and the communities they serve (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). Agencies utilize policies, personnel, and problem solving partnerships to more effectively address the specific concerns of the community.

However a number of other factors may influence the public's satisfaction with their police force. Research has shown that the public's level of satisfaction with the police can vary demographically. Males tends to be less satisfied with the police and while no clear relationship has been established between satisfaction and age, race and ethnicity are two variables strongly associated with levels of satisfaction (Brown and Benedict, 2003). The individual demographic differences must be considered within the context of their surroundings and in what they observe and perceive. A greater number of victimization and a greater fear of crime may reflect negatively on satisfaction with police (Kusow et al., 1997, Reisig and Parks, 2000) just as the types of contact the public has with the police can also affect satisfaction (Hind, 2009).

The purpose of the current study is to explore whether there are racial and ethnic differences in expressing satisfaction for the police, to what degree certain factors like contact with the police and COP training for officers influences the public's satisfaction with the police, and if the presence of those factors affect perceptions of satisfaction across race and ethnicity. The Criminal Victimization and Perceptions of Community Safety in 12 United States Cities 1998 report was a joint effort between the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Bureau of Justice Statistics involving supplemental questions to the NCVS. This study utilized a variety of variables from this data, including victimizations, contact with police, and fear of crime in an attempt to help explain what fosters satisfaction with the police and whether this varies by race.

Literature Review

Satisfaction with the police can be defined through the public's favorable attitudes towards the police. When the public views the police as being a legitimate institution the public will look more favorably on them, which fosters cooperation with the police (Murphy, 2009). Key to establishing legitimacy is through employing procedural justice (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). Tyler (2004) defines the components of procedural justice as participation, neutrality, respect and trust in authority. Participation gives citizen's a voice in their interaction with law enforcement. It affords them a chance to express their views and concerns, to have these views and concerns listened to, and taken into consideration, in their contact with the police. Neutrality and respect offer a sense of fairness to the citizen. The police do not come across as biased toward one party or another and they are courteous and attentive to the parties involved. Finally, Tyler considers that trust in authority is necessary for establishing legitimacy as the public will be reluctant to find legitimacy with, and to cooperate with, an institution whose motives and behaviors cannot be explained or justified.

These procedural justice components affect both the perception of legitimacy and the positive perception of the police (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003) and cooperation is also enhanced when more positive perceptions of the police are held (Murphy and Cherney, 2012). The public's cooperation is needed for police agencies to be more effective (Murphy, 2008). The police rely on citizens reporting crimes that they witnessed or are aware of, providing information and witness statements, signing complaints, and appearing in court. When a more negative view of the police is held, as in high levels of legal cynicism, there is a greater unwillingness of the public to report crimes and also in a reduction in the likelihood of an arrest being made for the offense (Kirk and Matsuda, 2011).

Establishing procedural justice to increase satisfaction with the police may be especially important in diverse populations. While Brown and Benedict's (2003) research review found inconsistent results in determining the effect of gender, education, and income on satisfaction, they found the most consistent variables that affect satisfaction were age, neighborhood, contact with the police, and race. Blacks and Hispanics were less satisfied with the police than Whites while older residents of more affluent neighborhoods were more satisfied. They also determined that the greater the number of police initiated contacts compared to citizen

initiated contacts, the less satisfaction with the police. Minorities have typically been less satisfied with the police than Whites (Skogan, 1977, Viki et al., 2006) and this is a cause of concern if lowered satisfaction negatively affects cooperation and thus the effectiveness of the police. In an experiment examining perceptions of police behavior, Wiley (2001) demonstrated that Blacks expressed more negative views of the police than Whites when viewing identical incidents of police behaviors but they did not control for factors like prior types of contacts with the police and they drew their sample from college students. However, while Wu and colleagues (2009) found that initially both race and class were predictors of satisfaction with the police, their effects disappeared after neighborhood context was considered. White and Black residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods held similar negative views of the police but in more stable neighborhoods Blacks were less satisfied than Whites with the police.

It is possible that increasing the public's satisfaction with police can take place within the neighborhood context. Community Oriented Policing (COP) that incorporates increased routine, interactive contact between the police and public suggests this approach can help increase legitimacy and thus satisfaction. COP attempts to combat the isolationist culture of the police (Johnson et al., 2005) by increasing interaction with the public in a variety of ways. COP employs problem solving strategies that shift policing away from reactive policing. Rather than simply responding to calls for service and reports of crimes, problem analysis and community partnerships are utilized in a manner that can proactively address community problems that invoke proactive policing and provide more satisfactory outcomes for the interested parties.

Increasing contact with the public can affect perceptions of the police but it occurs in a situational context. A race and attitude interaction was shown to be moderated by previous contact with the police (Viki et al., 2006) and that negative contacts with the police predicted negative perceptions of the police (Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2005). A 2007 study of Black and White university students found a lower quantity and higher quality of contact with the police predicted less perceived racism from, and greater cooperation with, the police (Eller et al., 2007). Who makes the contact also makes a difference in being satisfied with the police, with citizen initiated contacts generating more positive perceptions of the police than do officer initiated contacts. The satisfaction with citizen initiated encounters has been found to be a large predictor of public satisfaction with the police (Hind, 2009), while police initiated contacts (traffic stops) decreased the likelihood of citizens calling police for help (Gibson, 2010). However, Mazorelle, Antrobus, Bennett and Tyler (2013) found that traffic checkpoints where officers actively engaged in a procedurally just interactions, enhanced positive perceptions of the police as measured through the driver's cooperation. COP incorporates increased informal contact with the public. Utilizing foot patrols is one way of increasing police presence to generate informal contact with the public. This contact not only increases the police's knowledge of community problems and crime issues but helps establish procedural justice, and thus satisfaction, by giving citizens a chance to interact with police officers in a Non-confrontational, "unofficial" scenario where their concerns are recognized.

This increased informal contact enhances interaction, providing the public a means of bonding and communication with the police, and for police officers, an opportunity to address fears and

concerns among the public. Police agencies can also better assess and enhance their efforts at increasing public satisfaction by utilizing citizen surveys of satisfaction and perceptions of crime (Reisig and Parks, 2000). This may allow them to better address the real and perceived fears and concerns of the public and help shape their responses to the public and send a message to the public that it is concerned and interested in their neighborhood issues. By establishing ties between themselves and their local police, the public experience less fear of crime and a subsequent increase in satisfaction with the police. Zhao and colleagues (2009), found that increased presence did reduce a fear of crime and this fear of crime has been negatively associated with satisfaction with the police (Reisig and Parks, 2000). Other factors such as higher crime rates (Sharp and Johnson, 2009) and victimization (Skogan 1977, Kusow et al 1997) have also demonstrated lowered levels of satisfaction with the police. Higher crime rates and victimizations may possibly reinforce the perception of increasing crime and an accompanying fear of crime.

Methods

Sample

The sample was drawn from the Criminal Victimization and Perceptions of Community Safety in 12 United States Cities, 1998 (12 City data set). In 1997, in a joint effort between the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the US DOJ Bureau of Justice Statistics, a set of supplemental questions concerning Community Oriented Policing were included within the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) for twelve U.S. Cities; Chicago, IL, Kansas City, MO, Knoxville, TN, Los Angeles, CA, Madison, WI, New York, NY, San Diego, CA, Savannah, GA, Spokane, WA, Springfield, MN, Tucson, AZ, and Washington D.C. The original investigation contacted approximately 800 households in each of the twelve cities through Random Digit Dialing (RDD) and recorded the responses of respondents aged 12 and older regarding their experiences with crime victimization over the past twelve months. Responses populated three individual data files within the original investigation. For the purpose of this report the Incident data file, containing 5,217 cases and the Person data file, containing 18,514 cases were merged to provide data both on respondents and upon victimizations that respondents experienced. This produced 18,514 cases for full analysis with 3,545 respondents reporting a victimization

Variables

A select number of variables from the 12 City data set were chosen specifically for their potential to address components that may affect the public's satisfaction with the police. The question "How satisfied are you with your local police" was chosen as the dependent variable. It was recoded, from four possible responses indicating a level of dissatisfaction or satisfaction, into a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent was satisfied (coded 1=Satisfied) or dissatisfied (coded 0=Dissatisfied) with their local police.

Previous research suggests that a number of variables may be predictive of levels of satisfaction. Brown and Benedict (2003) demonstrated that both race and ethnicity are predictive of satisfaction with the police. For the purpose of this study, the sample respondents' races were collapsed into three categories and dummy variables constructed.

Asians, Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and respondents who indicated they are races other than Black or White were collapsed into a single race category. Those indicating Hispanic origins were separated by race, resulting in three Non-Hispanic race dummy variables, White Non-Hispanic, Black Non-Hispanic, and Other Non-Hispanic. White Non-Hispanic race (coded 1=Yes, 0=No) is the reference category and Black Non-Hispanic race (coded 1=Yes, 0=No) and Other Non-Hispanic race (coded 1=Yes, 0=No) are included as variables in the statistical models. Ethnicity was determined by those respondents who indicated they had Hispanic origins. For bivariate analysis, the variable, Hispanic Origins, was coded as a dichotomous variable (1=Yes, 0=No). When used in multiple regression models, Hispanic Origins respondents were separated by race, resulting in three Hispanic dummy variables, White Hispanic, Black Hispanic, and Other Race Hispanic. Other demographic variables suggested by Brown & Benedict that may be predictive of satisfaction with the police are included in this study including Gender (coded 1=Male, 0=Female) Education (scale variable for the last grade attended), Income (an ordinal variable of fourteen annual income categories ranging from under \$5,000 to \$75,000 or more), and Age (a scale variable of the age of respondent at last birthday).

Two variables that the research of Skogan (1977) and Kusow and colleagues indicated as having a negative relationship with satisfaction with the police are the number of victimizations experienced and having a fear of crime. For the purposes of this study, the number of victimizations is a scale variable that indicates the number of victimizations (both personal and property crime) in the past 12 months. Fear of crime in both the neighborhood and the respondent's city were assessed with variables originally coded as indicating whether a respondent's fear of crime was increasing, stayed the same or decreased. The variables were recoded to dichotomous variables on whether respondents indicated that their fear of crime had increased (coded 1=Increased, 0=Not Increased) in both the neighborhood and city contexts.

Because we have recognized and considered that Community Oriented Policing (COP) may be influential in shaping views of the police (citation) as a legitimate institution through the use of procedural justice, thus increasing the public's satisfaction, we considered COP variables for use in the current study to determine whether they influence the public's satisfaction with the police. The goal of COP in increasing contact with the public with the hope of fostering public satisfaction with the police can be observed in whether citizens have seen an increase or decrease in police presence. The variable of Police Presence was recoded into a scale variable that ranged from Never See Police (coded 0), Decrease (coded 1), About the Same (coded 2), and Increase (coded 3). The kind of activities observed by the public may also provide variance in the level of the public's satisfaction with the police. Multiple variables assessed the type of police activities that the public was aware that the police were engaged in. These police activities were proactive and community oriented and included traffic enforcement, increased presence of police in high crime areas, increased foot, vehicle and bike patrol, addressing specific community problems, attending community meetings, holding crime prevention workshops, surveying the community and businesses about problems, and having youth programs like DARE, GREAT, and PAL. These activities being observed may signal to the public that their concerns are being addressed and they are active partners with the police in their

communities. This perception may demonstrate procedural justice components at work and thus increase citizen satisfaction. These activities are coded as dummy variables (1=observed the activity, 0=Did not observe the activity) with traffic enforcement treated as the reference category.

The 12 City data set also included some different measures of contact with the police. Previous and negatively perceived contacts, as well as police initiated contacts, with police suggest lowered satisfaction of the public with the police (Viki et al., 2006, Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2005). However the wording of the survey questions did not allow the researchers to distinguish in all cases whether the contact was initiated by the public or by the officer. Consequently, the types of contacts were categorized as either informal or formal. We consider that those having formal contacts with the police may be less likely than those having informal contact with the police to be satisfied with their police. Formal contact was defined as one where the officer was engaged in traditional reactive police officer duties. This included the following types of contact with the police experienced by citizens in the past 12 months from the data set; traffic violation/accident, reported a crime, responded to call for service, provided information to a police officer. Informal contact was defined as having a casual conversation with an officer, attended a community activity with police, completed a police survey, asked an officer for information or advice, and worked with the police on a specific problem (coded 1=informal contact, 0=formal contact).

Analytic Strategy

The study's unit of analysis is the individual respondent and the dependent variable, satisfaction with local police, is coded as a dichotomous variable. Descriptive variables are provided and bivariate correlations are analyzed to detect any collinearity. Comparison between racial and ethnic groups on differences in satisfaction, demographic control variables, and other independent variables of interest were conducted using one way ANOVA and independent sample T tests with tests of significance. The dichotomous nature of the dependent variable required the use of binomial logistic regression to analyze the effect of the independent variables on satisfaction.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 1. Whites made up the majority of the sample and the average level of education of respondents was College Freshman, the average age of respondents is 40.6 years and the average annual income for respondents was between \$30,000 to \$34,999. Descriptive statistics demonstrated that by gender there is virtually no difference between males and females. By race, Whites are more satisfied with the police than both Black and Other races as well as Hispanics. Hispanics and the Other race category also expressed higher levels of satisfaction with the police than Blacks as well. When accounting for Hispanic origins, level of satisfaction mirrored the results of race with Whites expressing more satisfaction than Other, who expressed more satisfaction than Blacks, but in each racial category Hispanics expressed less satisfaction with the police than did their Non-Hispanic racial counterpart.

Table 1. Descriptive Sample Data

	Respondent Percentage	Percent Satisfied With Police
Male	47.3 (n=8750)	87.1
Female	52.7 (n=9764)	87.4
White	69.6 (n=12894)	90.2
Black	19.2 (n=3555)	78.0
Other	11.2 (n=2065)	81.7
Hispanic Origins	11.4 (n=2107)	79.6
White Non-Hispanic	62.7 % (n=11617)	90.7
White-Hispanic	5.5% (n=1012)	83.8
Black-Non-Hispanic	18.1% (n=3344)	78.2
Black-Hispanic	.6% (n=106)	66.2
Other Race Non-Hispanic	5.6% (1028)	86.5
Other Race Hispanic	5.3% (n=989)	76.9

A bivariate correlation matrix was constructed (not shown here) as well as a VIF test but no issues of collinearity were detected. Prior research has indicated that there are racial differences in satisfaction with the police. A One way ANOVA comparing mean satisfaction between racial groups was conducted. The analysis demonstrated that there are significant differences between the races in being satisfied with the police ($F=6.379$, $df=2$, $p=.002$) with Black respondents the least satisfied with the police. Tukey significance testing indicated that Whites were significantly more likely than either Blacks or Other Races to be satisfied with the police. Other races were also significantly more like than Blacks to be satisfied with the police (Table 2). The influence of ethnicity on satisfaction with the police was examined in a similar manner with an independent sample T test. A significant difference ($t=-6.981$, $df=1362.297$, $p=.000$) was found between ethnicity with Hispanics demonstrating a significantly lower level of satisfaction with the police compared to Non-Hispanics.

Table 2. One Way ANOVA Analysis Difference in Satisfaction by Race

	Groups	n	M	SD	Comparison	Mean Diff.	Sig.
Satisfaction with Police	White	8859	.902	.298	White-Other	.085	.000
	Black	2143	.780	.415	Black-White	-.122	.000
	Other	1109	.817	.387	Black-Other	-.037	.007

To further explore why this disparity existed, race and ethnicity were subjected to additional group comparison on the independent variables. An Anova analysis demonstrated that Blacks had a significantly higher number of victimizations than either White or Other races and Whites were significantly more likely to have had informal contact with the police (as opposed to formal contacts) than Other race respondents. Blacks, to a significantly greater degree, indicated they observed a greater police presence in their neighborhood than Whites. Some statistically significant differences were seen demographically between the groups with Whites having a greater income than both Blacks and Other Races and with Other Races also having a greater income than Blacks. Similarly, Whites were slightly more highly educated than both Blacks and Other races, with Other Races also reporting a higher education level than Blacks. Significant differences also existed in age of the respondent with White respondents being somewhat older than both Blacks and Other Races and Blacks being somewhat older than Other Races.

Table 3. One Way ANOVA Analysis of Significant Group Differences on Independent Variables

	Groups	n	M	SD	Comparison	Mean Diff	Sig.
Number of Victimizations	White	12894	.37	.944	N/A		
	Black	3555	.42	1.081	Black-White	.052	.012
	Other	2065	.33	.918	Black-Other	.090	.002
Level of Education	White	12509	13.830	2.963	White-Black	1.379	.000
	Black	3334	12.451	.051	Other-Black	.469	.000
	Other	1904	12.920	3.361	White-Other	.910	.000
Level of Income	White	5630	10.413	3.581	White-Black	1.781	.000
	Black	1343	8.632	4.196	Other-Black	.674	.000
	Other	751	9.306	3.849	White-Other	1.107	.000
Contact with the Police	White	3165	.249	.432	White-Other	.059	.036
	Black	657	.245	.430	N/A		
	Other	354	.189	.392	N/A		
Observed Increased Police Presence	White				N/A		
	Black				Black-White	.065	.000
	Other				N/A		

These other variables were also examined by Hispanic ethnicity utilizing independent sample T tests. Significant differences were found in most of the same variables that were significant by race however there was no significant difference in the number of victimizations experienced by Hispanics compared to Non-Hispanics. Examining the other variables that may be affecting satisfaction among Hispanics compared to Non-Hispanics, the T tests determined the following statistically significant results. More Hispanics than Non-Hispanics indicated their fear of crime in the city (but not their neighborhood) has increased. (Mean difference=-.035; $t(1063.104)=-$

2.163, $p=.031$). Hispanics also reported having less informal contacts with the police than Non-Hispanics (Mean difference=.07, $t(464.554)=3.295$, $p=.001$) and Hispanics also reported a perceived higher level of police presence in the neighborhood compared to Non-Hispanics (Mean difference=-.07, $t(1476.984)=-2.977$, $p=.003$). However there were also some demographic differences between Hispanics and Non-Hispanics with Non-Hispanics respondents being slightly older, (Mean difference=-7.28, $t(2928.724)=19.428$, $p=.000$) more highly educated (Mean difference=-.07, $t(1.53)=-20.147$, $p=.000$) and having higher incomes (Mean difference=-1.04, $t(898.967)=-7.051$, $p=.000$).

Binary logistic regression was utilized to determine what effects the independent variables have on the relationship between race and ethnicity and satisfaction with the police (Table 4). Overall, each model showed improvement, with a Pseudo R Square in the final model of .231. The first model, only using demographics, confirmed what the Anova analysis indicated previously about race. Black Non-Hispanics were significantly less likely than White Non-Hispanics to express satisfaction with the police with White Non-Hispanic respondents being 1.7 times more likely to express satisfaction with the police (Exp(B) .587, $p=.006$) than Black Non-Hispanics. This significant relationship existed in spite of controlling for the demographic variables that demonstrated significant differences found in the Anova analysis. While Other Race Hispanic almost reached a level of significance ($p=.055$) Age was the only other significant variable with older respondents being more slightly more likely to express satisfaction with the police (Exp(B) 1.1011, $p=.047$).

In Model Two, the additions of fear of crime and victimizations experienced didn't change the significance of any of the previously included variables. However perceptions of increasing neighborhood crime was almost significant at $p=.059$ and the number of victimizations experienced was highly significant (Exp(B) -.211 $p=.000$) in that those experiencing a greater number of victimizations were less likely to express satisfaction with their police. Controlling for these factors also demonstrated that Age failed to reach a level of significance in this model while the Black Non-Hispanic race variable continued to demonstrate a significant negative relationship with satisfaction.

In the third model, variables related to COP, police presence, contact with police, and observed activities of the police, were added to the model. It showed that, of these new variables, none of the police activities observed by respondents reached a level of significance but the observed police activity of increased foot, car, and bike patrol almost had a significant effect ($p=.067$) on being satisfied with the police. However an observed increase in police presence in the neighborhood demonstrated a highly significantly positive effect, with respondents who observed an increase in police presence being 2.37 times more likely to express satisfaction with the police. While respondents who experienced informal contacts were more likely to express satisfaction with the police than those who experienced formal contacts, it did not reach a statistically significant level.

After controlling for these policing variables, the perception of neighborhood crime became a significant factor (Exp(B) -0.467 , $p=.03$), with respondents who perceived crime to be increasing in the neighborhood being significantly less satisfied with the police. Once controlling for police presence, perceptions of neighborhood crime increasing becoming a significant factor in satisfaction may indicate that this negative association is suppressed when police presence is seen as increasing.

Table 4. Binary Logistic Regression on Satisfaction with Local Police

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B (SE)	Exp(B)	Sig	B (SE)	Exp(B)	Sig	B (SE)	Exp(B)	Sig
Constant	.688 (.532)	1.99	.19 5	1.469 (.558)	4.344	.00 9	-.423 (.643)	.655	.511
White Hispanic	-.191 (.347)	.826	.58 3	-.230 (.357)	.794	.51 9	-.312 (.380)	.732	.412
Black Hispanic	-1.094 (.829)	.335	.18 7	-1.028 (.853)	.358	.22 8	-1.395 (.869)	.248	.109
Black Non-Hispanic	-.533 (.193)	.587	.00 6	-.533 (.198)	.587	.00 7	-.593 (.213)	.553	.005
Other Hispanic	-.595 (.311)	.552	.05 5	-.583 (.317)	.558	.06 6	-.639 (.337)	.528	.058
Other Non-Hispanic	-.031 (.386)	.970	.93 7	.056 (.395)	1.057	.88 8	-.122 (.421)	.885	.772
Gender	-.209 (.162)	.811	.19 7	-.251 (.167)	.778	.13 2	-.196 (.178)	.822	.271
Age	.011 (.006)	1.011	.04 7	.008 (.006)	1.008	.17 0	.010 (.006)	1.010	.100
Income	.038 (.022)	1.038	.09 0	.035 (.023)	1.035	.12 7	.029 (.025)	1.029	.243
School	-.018 (.034)	.982	.59 9	-.025 (.035)	.975	.46 5	-.026 (.037)	.974	.479
Victimizations				-.211 (.056)	.810	.00 0	-.228 (.062)	.796	.000
Neighborhood Crime Increasing				.385 (.204)	.680	.05 9	-.467 (.215)	.627	.030
City Crime Increasing				-.328 (.203)	.721	.10 7	-.361 (.213)	.697	.090
Contact Type with Police							.235 (.228)	1.265	.302
Police Presence							.868 (.116)	2.381	.000
PA-Increased Presence in High Crime Areas							.402 (.716)	1.495	.574
PA-Increased Patrol By Foot, Vehicle & Bike							1.185 (.646)	3.271	.067
PA-Addressing Specific Community Problems							.730 (.601)	2.074	.225
PA-Attending Community Meetings							.430 (.534)	1.537	.421

PA-Crime Prevention Workshops							-.115 (.633)	.892	.856
PA-Survey Community/Businesses About Problems							-1.351 (1.293)	.259	.296
PA-Youth Programs Like Dare, Great, PAL							.792 (.591)	2.207	.180
Log Likelihood	1025.07 7			Log Likelihood	988.52 3		Log Likelihood	889.75 0	
Pseudo R Sq	.034			Pseudo R Sq	.090		Pseudo R Sq	.231	

DISCUSSION

The study sought to determine if disparities existed in satisfaction with the police by race and ethnicity, what other variables influence the public's satisfaction with the police, and if controlling for these other variables, that the variation in satisfaction by race is partially explained. Our initial analysis revealed that there is a significant difference by race and ethnicity in whether the public is satisfied with the police. Demographically, differences existed between the races and Hispanic ethnicity on variables that research has shown to affect satisfaction with the police. The variables of income, education, age, contact with the police, perceptions of police presence, and perceptions of increasing crime differed significantly by ethnicity and race in bivariate analysis, however including these variables in the regression model demonstrated a lack of a significant relationship between most demographic variables and satisfaction with the police, nor did controlling for these variables with multiple regression change the significant negative relationship between Black Non-Hispanics and satisfaction with the police. Multiple regression also failed to demonstrate a significant relationship between those with Hispanic ethnicity and satisfaction with the police. However a few of the other variables that research has shown to be predictive of satisfaction were significant in the models. Aversive neighborhood circumstances where a greater number of victimizations were experienced and the fear that neighborhood crime was increasing had a significant negative relationship with satisfaction. Including COP related variables did not change the significant results found between Black Non-Hispanics and satisfaction nor did the type of police activities observed significantly affect the satisfaction of the public. However the presence of the police was positively associated with satisfaction indicating that one of the core tents of COP, increasing the visibility of police, was shown to be instrumental in increasing the positive view of the police by the public. That presence may help drive down decreased satisfaction that stems from the increasing fear of crime in neighborhoods. A strong positive, albeit almost significant, relationship was found with the public observing increased patrol, further suggesting that utilizing patrol that fosters contact with the police may also foster satisfaction from the public.

However, the study did have some limitations. The study was unable to examine a number of factors that may influence satisfaction. For example, the sample of twelve cities may not be representative of other urban areas in the U.S. and it is possible that level of satisfaction may vary depending upon the urban context such as crime rates, levels of social disorganization, and racial makeup. Variables associated with the individual city's police force may also affect satisfaction. Departmental policies, programs, and personnel that more successfully or completely address citizens' concerns and problems may foster higher levels of satisfaction among the public. A variable was included in the study that gauged the type of contact experienced by the public as either formal or informal. While this variable was not a significant predictor, the study was unable to make any determinations about the quality of the contact itself. How the public viewed the informal and formal contacts that were made and whether they considered these contacts as positive and beneficial or as a negative experience could not be determined. Even informal contacts may not foster legitimacy and satisfaction if the procedural justice components were not present in these interactions.

Despite these limitations there are indications that some aspects of COP may help foster satisfaction among the public and additional research that more fully explores how effectively COP principles and policies are implemented may also be informative. While citizen observation of police activities were limited in their effects on satisfaction, additional research that explores the level of involvement of the public in, and the public's impression of, COP policies and programs may also suggest ways of improving satisfaction. Simply having policies and programs may send a weak COP message to the public and thus not improve satisfaction if the public is not engaged with these policies and programs and if agencies are not insuring that officers are trained and continue to receive training to support and reinforce the police/public dynamic that it seeks to establish and improve.

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