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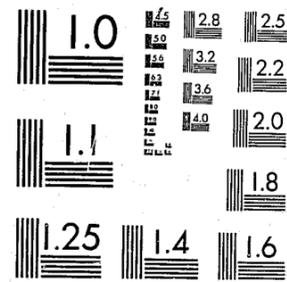
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Calls For Service

Citizen Demand and Initial Police Response

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CALLS FOR SERVICE
Citizen Demand and Initial Police Response

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Acknowledgements

Summary

This report examines patterns of citizen demand for police services and police telephone operator responses to those demands. It discusses the citizen-operator exchange, the first step in the process of police response to calls for service. Data are drawn from two companion studies of police referral and patrol practices in 24 departments located in three metropolitan areas: Rochester, New York; St. Louis, Missouri; and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida.

Chapter 1 reviews the literature on calls for service and on operator decision making. It points out that demand for noncriminal services comprises a larger proportion of police workload than does provision of law enforcement services. Most studies of citizen demand have discussed three related topics: distribution of citizen calls for service, distribution of radio dispatches to patrol cars, and allocation of patrol officers' time to various tasks. A major problem with many studies of citizen demand is that they fail to present sufficiently detailed call classifications. Assignment of certain calls to specific categories can greatly affect patterns of demand. While there seems to be no way short of consensus to avoid the attribution problem in call classification, detailing the composition of each category would be helpful when comparing studies.

Citizen calls for police service represent direct demands on government. Police telephone operators are street-level bureaucrats who must translate these demands into official, bureaucratically recognized inputs. Operators perform crucial gatekeeping functions in receiving, categorizing, and channeling information upward through the departmental hierarchy, laterally to dispatchers and patrol officers, and outward to citizens.

They maintain and exercise great discretion in determining how each call will be handled. Direct supervision is normally scant given the speed with which operators must work; departmental guidelines, if present, are rudimentary and difficult to enforce.

Chapter 2 discusses data collection strategies and methodologies of the studies of police referral and patrol practices that illustrate this report. Site selection procedures and types of data collected are explained. Data are drawn from observation of more than 26,000 citizen calls to police and operator responses to those calls, and from more than 12,000 citizen interviews that include questions about calling police for information, assistance, and in instances of victimization. Similarities and differences in data from the two sources are assessed.

Distribution of citizen demand for police services is explored in Chapter 3. Calls to police are classified into 12 general categories, each of which contains from 3 to 10 subcategories. Tables are presented showing the composition of each category. Information calls are the most frequent request and are discussed in detail. Factors that could affect the distribution of calls for service including callers' sex, race, and community position are also examined. Perceived caller attributes are also tested for their effects on the subcategories of the 12 general call classifications. Data about citizen demand gathered from the citizen survey are then compared to data from observed calls for service. The samples, even though drawn from different populations, yield similar results about the distribution of citizen demand.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of the police telephone operator's role. Operators enjoy high levels of discretion in answering calls for service. They promise that a unit will be sent about half of the time,

handling the remainder themselves through information provision or referral. While the type of call received affects operator response, promising a unit is the most frequent response to most calls; some departments require that operators promise a unit to all callers who request one, thereby reducing discretion somewhat.

Chapter 4 also discusses operator referral in detail, noting the importance of referral as a means of screening calls from the dispatch queue, thereby reducing the time officers must spend responding to calls for service. Information calls are referred more often than any others, comprising 60 percent of the total observed referrals. The more serious the call, the less likely it is to be referred. Types of operator referral are also discussed; referral by operator initiative is most common, followed by referral at the caller's request and the operator's calling another office on behalf of a citizen. Perceived caller attributes including sex, race, and community position have little effect on the likelihood that a call will be referred.

Chapter 4 also discusses types of agencies receiving police referrals. Most referrals are directed to internal offices of the police department or to other law enforcement agencies. Social service agencies receive less than 10 percent of total referrals. Differences in types of referral agencies are examined. Data indicate that operator referral is an important and often overlooked technique of handling calls for service.

The final chapter summarizes major findings and discusses policy implications for police administrators and practitioners. Analysis of citizen demand and initial police response may be useful in establishing communications policies and guidelines, in helping determine personnel deployment

patterns, in improving police-community relations, and in improving initial police response to calls for service. Included in this chapter are discussions of the importance of call classification schemes, of information calls as a major source of citizen demand, and of the importance of demand patterns for call prioritization and patrol officer workload. Also included are discussions of the relevance of telephone operator call referral, the role of operators as street-level bureaucrats, and ways in which operator responses can help departments improve police-community relations and the initial response to citizen calls for service.

CHAPTER 1

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON CITIZEN DEMAND AND POLICE RESPONSE[1]

The manner and speed with which police respond to citizens' calls for service have long been a focal point in policing. In the last 10-15 years, they have achieved paramount importance among police planners, administrators, and scholars. Recent studies have examined the components of police response time (Larson, 1972; Kansas City Police Department, 1977) and means of facilitating rapid police response (NILECJ, 1969; Jet Propulsion Laboratory, 1977; Ontario Police Commission, 1976; Colton, 1978; Kelling and Fogel, 1978). These studies have concentrated on the techno-logical aspects of communications, such as systems for computer-assisted dispatching and automatic vehicle monitoring. Other studies have examined citizen demands for police service (Bercal, 1970; Reiss, 1971; Webster, 1970).

Before police can allocate a patrol unit to a call, however, the service request must be channeled first through the police telephone opera-tor and then through the dispatcher. Operators serve as gatekeepers and problem classifiers. They receive citizens' requests, translate them into police-relevant terminology, and channel them either to dispatchers for patrol unit assignment or to other offices or agencies for disposition. Operators' activities necessarily precede those of dispatchers and patrol officers, normally the focal points of studies about systems for effective police response. Their discretion in handling calls is largely unmanaged, yet operators must make quick and calculated decisions in situations ranging from the mundane to life-threatening emergencies.

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[1]Portions of this chapter dealing with street-level bureaucrats draw on "Calling the Cops: Police Telephone Operators and Calls for Service," (1979) by George Antunes and Eric J. Scott, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University.

This report diverges from other studies in that it discusses citizens' service demands and _initial_ police response. Its focus is the citizen-police telephone operator exchange.. It examines in detail the full-range of citizen demands, then turns to a discussion of police telephone operators' responses to calls for service. Two companion studies of police patrol and referral practices conducted in 60 neighborhoods located within 24 police jurisdictions provide empirical evidence. Data from both observed calls for service and citizen recollections of service requests are reported. First, however, the report discusses previous research on citizen demand and police response.

Research on Citizen Demand for Police Services

There have been few empirical studies of citizen demand for police services. Most examine calls for service that result in the dispatch of a patrol car (Bercal, 1970; Shearing, 1972). Scholars, like practitioners, have concentrated mainly on patrol unit response. Police departments have traditionally viewed themselves as quasi-military organizations whose primary purpose is to "enforce the law." This view is reflected in manpower deployment patterns, officer attitudes about "real police work," press releases and public statements about combatting crime, and departmental record-keeping. Most departments keep no record of citizen calls in which a patrol unit is not dispatched, such as calls for information that are answered by operators or calls for assistance that can be transferred to other offices. This may indicate the low esteem in which the police hold calls that do not involve "fighting crime."

Yet recent research indicates that demand for noncriminal services comprises a larger proportion of departmental workload than does demand for law enforcement services. Studies have considered three related topics: distribution of citizen calls for service, distribution of radio dispatches to patrol cars, and allocation of patrol officers' time to various tasks (Scott, et al., 1979). Findings across the three groups of studies have generally been consistent: a majority of police business is not directly related to crime prevention. Some variation is attributable to different schemes for classifying police activities. No consensus exists as to a consistent set of categories applicable to calls, dispatches, and patrol officer activities. A call or incident that is considered crime-related by one department may be classified as a noncriminal service request by another. Given the disparity in classification, it is surprising that findings about police workload distribution are as consistent as they are.

Early estimates that between 80 and 90 percent of calls to police were unrelated to crime control (Gourley, 1954; Epstein, 1962) have been supported empirically (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965; Wilson, 1968; Lilly, 1977). Reiss (1971) examined a day's telephone communications to the Chicago Police Department and found that requests on noncriminal matters, as perceived by citizens, totaled only 42 percent of the calls; however, calls other than those about crimes against persons or property represented 78 percent of the total.[2] Empirical results are similar

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[2] Complaints about what citizens considered criminal matters comprised 58 percent of all calls to the police; only 22 percent of all calls were crimes against persons or property, however, calls that the police normally consider crime-related. Other matters that citizens considered criminal were disputes or breaches of peace, auto violations, and suspicious persons. Reiss reports that the Chicago Police Department dispatched a patrol car to

across various studies despite the range in design and detail of the calls categories. Classifications vary from the simple (calls about "things" and calls for "support") to the complex (use of departmental incident classification schemes).

Studies examining the range of radio dispatches to patrol officers are plagued by an even greater degree of categorical fuzziness. Nevertheless, they conclude that only about one dispatch in five concerns a criminal incident (Reiss, 1971; Webster, 1970; Bercal, 1970). Wilson (1968) found that only about 10 percent of dispatches were law enforcement related, although he classified assaults, fights, and gang disturbances under order maintenance activities. Other studies have concluded that regardless of the nature of a call for service, most requests result in the dispatch of a patrol car (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965; Meyer, 1974). Meyer estimated that the probability of police dispatch as a result of a "noncriminal" call was nearly equal to that resulting from a criminal call. Shearing (1972) noted that the crucial question of processing citizens' calls for service has been largely ignored. He analyzed a subsample of 346 calls for service to the Toronto (Ontario) Police Department, determining whether certain types of calls were more likely to be dispatched than others. He found little differentiation among his nine categories.

A third group of studies verifies these results by analyzing officers' time allocations while on patrol. Misner (1967) concludes that police officers spend more than 80 percent of their time handling noncriminal incidents. Webster (1970) corroborates this finding, concluding that only 18 percent of patrol officers' time is spent dealing with crimes

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most of the requests that citizens considered criminal, accounting for 84 percent of all dispatches during the study period. Yet during this period, the police officially processed only 17 percent of all dispatches as criminal incidents. More than 80 percent of incidents handled by police were considered by police as noncriminal matters (Reiss, 1971).

against persons or property. Reiss (1971) found that only 3 percent of an officer's total time on patrol was spent handling criminal matters. When he examined in-service time only, however (that portion of the patrol shift not spent on breaks, administrative duties, and the like), he too found that 20 percent of officers' time was devoted to criminal matters.

Few studies have provided a detailed breakdown of the distribution of calls received or incidents handled.[3] Without a detailed accounting of the types of calls comprising each major category, cross-study comparison of citizen demand patterns is nearly impossible. For example, while Wilson (1968) lists disturbances under the order maintenance heading rather than under law enforcement, Bercal (1970) refers to them as "public disorder" and Reiss (1971) considers them as criminal matters. A call for assistance in a family quarrel might be legitimately considered a request for assistance (Reiss), an order maintenance problem (Wilson), or simply a "family trouble" (Lilly). Similarly, requests for noncriminal services can cover a wide range of issues upon which there is rarely agreement.

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[3] J. Q. Wilson (1968: 18), for example, listed only four major categories of radio calls to patrol vehicles in Syracuse: information gathering, service, order maintenance, and law enforcement. He included 20 subcategories, 10 of them subsumed under service. Reiss (1971: 71) also listed four major categories in his discussion of telephone calls to the Chicago Police Department: requests on criminal matters, requests for assistance, complaints about police service, and giving information to the police; Reiss included 14 subcategories. Lilly (1977) listed 13 general categories of calls to the Newport (KY) Police Department, following closely those of the department. Included among the categories were calls about missing persons and unclassifiable calls. Bercal (1970) also formulated four general categories of dispatched runs: predatory and illegal service crimes, public disorder, crimes of negligence, and service. Shearing (1972) listed nine categories that did not distinguish criminal from noncriminal calls.

How one categorizes citizen demands is thus a major determinant of demand patterns. The attribution problem will not disappear. It behooves observers to present as detailed a classification scheme as possible not only for comparative purposes, but for clarity of presentation. Departments could also benefit from coding schemes that could facilitate comparison of shared problems relating to demand patterns. Even with such schemes, problems will remain. Some authors have attempted to avoid them by creating broad categories (problems with persons vs. problems with property, calls about persons vs. calls about things; criminal vs. noncriminal requests), but these add little information.

Even when using a simplified classification scheme, distinguishing between criminal and noncriminal incidents is difficult. Goldstein (1977) notes that many calls, such as those involving domestic disputes, may be initially reported as noncriminal incidents, but may escalate into serious confrontations in which criminal charges are eventually filed. It is little short of astonishing that despite the differences in departmental and scholarly focus and categorization, the preponderance of evidence indicates that citizen demand for, and police response to, noncriminal service requests comprises about 80 percent of patrol officer workload.

Research on Police Telephone Operator Roles and Responses

Police Telephone Operator Decision Making

Citizen calls for police service represent direct demands on government. It is the operator's responsibility to translate these demands into official, bureaucratically recognized inputs. Considerable attention has been paid

to the hierarchical flow of decision making by top management in private firms, and to a lesser extent in public firms (Barnard, 1972; Cyert and March, 1963; Tullock, 1965; Simon, 1957). But very little theoretical or empirical work has been directed at information flow among the lower levels of public firms, particularly the police. Yet it is these lower, or "street-level," bureaucrats who maintain considerable discretion in how they receive, process, and transmit information (Lipsky, 1976).

Most research in police decision making concentrates on officers' discretion in responding to citizen calls for service (has a crime been committed; what kind of a crime is it; should an incident report be filed?). (See for instance Maxfield, 1979; Parnas, 1967; and Pepinsky, 1975.) The role of operators in deciding whether and when to send a car has also been noted (Pepinsky, 1976; Shearing, 1972). However, patrol officers and dispatchers exercise discretion on only a subset of citizen calls for service. Their activities are preceded by those of another set of employees even lower in the organizational hierarchy: the police telephone operators. Indeed, since most police activity is a direct consequence of citizen calls for service, operators' initial decisions determine much of a police agency's daily routine. There has been little discussion of police telephone operator decision making. But how they handle information is crucial to an understanding of police response to both criminal and noncriminal service requests. Operators are the essential link in mediating contact between the police bureaucracy and the public. They perform a crucial gate-keeping function in channeling and categorizing information. The police telephone operator thus:

> represents one of the primary interfaces between the
> Department and the environment. How well he performs
> his role not only directly affects the public image of

the Department but also determines the quantity and
quality of the information obtained for and utilized
by the dispatcher and the patrol (Wayne State University,
1969: 20).

Gay, Schell, and Schack (1977: 67-69) discuss the roles of operators

and dispatchers in evaluating and prioritizing service calls. They note

the various alternatives to dispatching a car (taking reports over the

phone, mailing forms to collect information, asking citizens to report

to the station, answering or referring information requests, and trans-

ferring calls to other units). They point out that "some departments have

reported that as much as 40 percent of the calls they receive can be handled

by communications personnel" and that every call that can be handled with-

out a dispatch permits a department to engage in nearly 40 additional

minutes of patrol activity. The authors suggest that developing call

prioritization schemes requires that operators ask specific questions about

what the problem is, when it occurred, and who was involved.

Other recent literature on technological innovations in police response

have paid only cursory attention to the operator's role. Some computer-

aided dispatch systems have replaced the complaint card, on which operators

write the location and nature of the complaint, with cathode-ray terminal

displays that can be automatically queued for car assignment by the dis-

patcher (NILECJ, 1969; Ontario Police Commission, 1976; Birmingham Police

Department, 1978; Colton, 1978; Carroll, et al., 1975; Scott, W., 1979).

However, these systems have not removed the operator's discretion in

assigning a call a departmental incident code. It is this "slotting"

(Prottas, 1978) and "recoding" (Manning, 1977) of each call to conform

to police terminology that is crucial to police response. Dispatchers

usually read the complaint card or terminal display as given to them by

the operator. Not only is the dispatcher governed by the operator's

coding decision; the officer in the field is also directly affected.

Pepinsky (1976: 42) reports that "patrolmen's offense-reporting practices

meet the expectations of the terms of their dispatchers." He notes that

officers do not always exercise their discretion, even when not closely

supervised, because:

the data . . . on the complaint card are also the
only data not provided by the patrolmen themselves
that link an incoming call from a complainant to
an offense report (Pepinsky, 1976: 43).

The complaint card as written by the operator links the nature of the call

with the patrolman's disposition of that call and is a prime indicator of

officer performance. Incident typing by the operator thus hangs heavily

over the patrol officer's head:

A patrolman who does not meet the expectations posed
by complaint cards without a very good reason is not
doing his job correctly. This does not imply a
personal power in the dispatcher, for he apparently
simply reads the card as it is received by him. How
the language of the complaint card is determined
remains unknown but the power of that language . . .
is open to little doubt (Pepinsky, 1976: 44).

It is the police telephone operator who formulates that language.

Empirical research on police operators' responses to citizen demands

is scant and generally examines only whether or not a patrol unit is dis-

patched to answer a call. Bercal (1970) notes that between 60 and 79

percent of calls to police in Detroit, New York, and St. Louis were handled

by dispatching a car. Of those calls handled without a dispatch, most were

resolved by the operators without referral to another office or agency

(53 percent in Detroit and 73 percent in St. Louis; no figures were given

for New York). However, Bercal (1970: 683) pointed out "the large role

played by the police in providing information and/or direction" by noting that 22 percent of calls received in Detroit and 18 percent of calls in St. Louis were either redirected to agencies outside the department or "solved" verbally. More than one third of nondispatched calls in Detroit were referred or transferred to another police bureau for action; only 10 percent of similar calls in St. Louis were handled internally. Two percent of the calls in each department were referred to private agencies.

Lilly (1977) also found that operators frequently provided information to callers; this occurred in 65 percent of the calls to the Newport (KY) Police Department. Cars were dispatched only 33 percent of the time. The remainder of the calls were referred to a public service agency including offices of government (2 percent), to the detective division (2 percent), or to another police agency (1 percent). Lilly concluded that public confidence in police law enforcement ability has resulted in the police serving mainly as an information center.

Shearing (1972: 7) noted the importance of operator decision making. He suggested that from the operator's point of view, "the crucial question as he defines it is not 'Should I dispatch a patrol car?' but rather 'Can I in this particular case risk not dispatching a patrol car?'" (emphasis in original). Only 18 percent of observed calls in Toronto did not result in a dispatch because of a "formal normative order" that constrained operator actions. However, "the formal rule was felt as constraining by complaint operators only on those occasions when officers anticipated that their actions might be reviewed in terms of this rule" (Shearing, 1972: 8). Operators were seen to estimate each caller's potential power to initiate a review. Operators' decisions to dispatch calls about different problems

were also discussed in terms of formal norms, expectations, and operators' "folk knowledge" about each type of call. Thus operators' decisions on how each call should be handled affect each actor in the police response process: operators, dispatchers, patrol officers, and supervisors.

Operators as "Street-Level Bureaucrats": The Exercise of Discretion

Call screening by police telephone operators is often a case of resources being allocated such that the least experienced personnel are placed in jobs in which the highest volume of rapid decisions must be made. Telephone operators are sometimes sworn officers considered unfit for other duty, being punished for internal rule violations, or who have been "taken off the street" because of infirmity or incompetence. Often they are female civilians with little formal training or background in police work. Their job is frequently conceptualized by police planners and managers as essentially clerical in nature; indeed, in some departments they are officially labeled "complaint clerks" (Mladenka, 1975). Supervision of operator activity is scant. Yet operators must initially verify the suitability of cases for police handling. In spite of their low status, they enjoy a high level of discretion in responding to calls for service. They are true street-level bureaucrats.

The term street-level bureaucrat refers to persons who function near the bottom of an organizational hierarchy, but whose decisions have extremely important consequences for the routine productive activities of the entire organization. According to Lipsky (1976: 197), street-level bureaucrats are persons who work in a bureaucratic setting, have substantial

discretion in the conduct of their job, and must interact constantly with citizens in ways that have an important impact on those citizens. The concept of street-level bureaucrats has been helpful in explaining worker behavior in local government service bureaucracies. Typical examples of street-level bureaucrats are welfare caseworkers, assistant prosecutors, and police patrol officers.

Much of the concern among those who study street-level bureaucrats has been focused on the phenomenon of discretion. In many hierarchical organizations, discretion is typically lowest at the lowest ranks and increases as one moves up the hierarchy, with the greatest discretion found at the top of the organization. Street-level bureaucrats constitute something of an anomaly. Located near the bottom of the organizational hierarchy and governed by innumerable rules and regulations, they nevertheless seem to have great discretion in the conduct of their job. As Prottas (1978: 291) has pointed out, one reason for this is the boundary-spanning nature of the street-level bureaucrat's role; "with the exception of the highest leadership, it is typically the only boundary-spanning role in public service bureaucracies." The street-level bureaucrat must convert a complex and frequently unclear citizen demand into a set of categories that the bureaucracy is capable of accepting and processing. This process, which Prottas calls "slotting," requires the street-level bureaucrat to combine information from the outside world with information that is internal to an organization. The discretionary power of the street-level bureaucrat comes from the fact that, aside from top management, only the street-level bureaucrat has a role that provides regular access to both kinds of information.

In larger departments complaint operators are often supervised by an officer above the rank of patrolman, but given the nature of the complaint operator's job this supervision is necessarily nominal:

> These operators are required to react quickly to unique situations, the facts of which must be discerned from fragmentary information given by an excited or otherwise emotionally stimulated individual. These two conditions, speed and uniqueness, combine to produce a situation in which supervisory controls cannot be rigidly imposed without destroying the worth of the system. No time is available for the Complaint or Dispatch operators to seek or be given great amounts of advice during the performance of their duties. Discretion on the part of the individual operator is, therefore, a necessity and he is relatively free to form his own model of an "ideal" environment within the broad outlines of the "official departmental model." Such discretion may or may not lead to actions which meet Departmental policies and objectives (Wayne State University, 1969: 18-20).

Describing the situation in Houston, Mladenka notes:

> The complaint clerks (both uninformed police officers and female civilian employees) exercise considerable discretion in determining whether a call for assistance enters the dispatch queue. Although a uniformed supervisor (with the rank of sergeant) is always present in the complaint room, several days of observation revealed no instance in which a clerk's decision not to dispatch a car in response to a request for assistance was overruled. The complaint clerks also determine the nature, and thereby the priority of a call, by checking the appropriate box on the dispatch slip. . . . [T]he clerk's decision to code a call as "see complainant" rather than as a prowler report can have a significant impact upon response time (1975: 106).

Lineberry's (1977) study of service distribution in San Antonio reports a similar situation among police phone operators in that city. He argues that while the complaint operators enjoy what scholars have termed discretion in their handling of citizen calls for service, it is a kind of discretion mainly limited to choosing which of a set of existing categories should be applied to the caller and the problem at hand.[4] This kind of

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[4]This is apparently what Prottas (1978) means by "slotting" and what Manning (1977) terms "recoding."

limited discretion acts to "define the situation" because once a citizen

complaint has been categorized, the appropriate bureaucratic response is

routinely invoked. This means that:

> With extremely fragmentary information, the lowest
> elements of the bureaucracy (and probably no role
> could be lower on a police department hierarchy than
> "female civilian employees") are nonetheless providing,
> by defining the situation, an agenda-setting role for
> the entire police department (Lineberry, 1977: 155).

Content of This Report

This report attempts to fill some of the gaps in the literature on

citizen demand for services and on initial police response. Chapter 2

discusses the data collection strategies and methodology of the two companion

studies of police patrol and referral practices that illustrate this report.

It explains site selection procedures, types of data collected, and dif-

ferences in the data sets. Chapter 3 examines citizen demand for police

services from two different sources and compares and contrasts the simi-

larities and differences. It presents the distribution of different types

of citizen demands on the police and indicates whether that distribution is

affected by caller attributes such as race and sex. Chapter 4 emphasizes

the importance of the telephone operator's role in receiving and screening

citizen demands and in facilitating police (and other agency) response.

It considers operators as street-level bureaucrats exercising large amounts

of discretion while providing direct feedback to citizens. It then presents

data on operator responses to the various kinds of requests the police

receive, and examines in detail one particular response: operator referral.

Chapter 5 considers the implications of the findings, noting how operators

have been largely overlooked by police administrators and scholars despite

their key role as intake personnel.

CHAPTER 2

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

In the summer of 1977 a research team from Indiana University and

the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill initiated a study of

police referral practices in three metropolitan areas: Rochester,

New York; St. Louis, Missouri; and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida. This

research was coordinated with a major study of police patrol service

delivery in 24 departments serving 60 neighborhoods in the same three

SMSAs. The companion studies were designed to improve understanding of

referral activities of patrol officers and police telephone operators, of

community referral agency services and activities, and of patterns of

police-community agency interaction. The research team examined activities

of officers on patrol and ways in which the structure of both police depart-

ments and communities affect patrol officer behavior. Effects of dif-

ferences in patterns of patrol service on residents were also studied.

This chapter presents an overview of data collection and sampling proce-

dures. It briefly describes site selection and reviews the types of data

collection that are discussed in later chapters.

Criteria for Site Selection

The Rochester, St. Louis, and Tampa-St. Petersburg metropolitan areas

were selected for study after careful consideration of several SMSAs.

Selection was made on the basis of several criteria including number and

size of police departments present, range of organizational arrangements

for providing patrol service, diversity and extent of activity of both

internal police department and community social service agencies that accepted police referrals, perceived police referral activity, and ease of access to both police departments and community agencies. Information was gathered from field interviews with police and other local officials and from baseline data obtained in an earlier phase of a study of police services in 80 metropolitan areas.[1]

The basic unit of analysis for most data collection was the neighborhood, although not all samples relate to that unit. The neighborhoods are contained in 24 police jurisdictions in the three metropolitan areas. A total of 60 neighborhoods were selected for study: 11 in the Rochester SMSA, 25 in St. Louis, and 24 in Tampa-St. Petersburg. Four police agencies were studied in Rochester, 8 in Tampa-St. Petersburg, and 12 in St. Louis. The neighborhoods were originally selected within income and racial composition strata to provide variation on both of these important social dimensions. They are located on these two dimensions as shown in Table 2-1. The range of average family income in the neighborhoods is from $5,850 to $23,500, with an average across the 60 of $12,500. The percentage of nonwhite residents in the 60 neighborhoods ranges from 0 to 99 percent.

Several criteria in addition to income and racial character were employed in selecting these neighborhoods. One was a high degree of homogeneity in land use patterns -- the neighborhoods are predominantly residential in character. A second was size -- the neighborhoods were nominally 5,000 to 10,000 in resident population although application of other criteria caused some deviation from this norm (as did the fact that the neighborhoods were selected in 1977 in the absence of recent census counts).

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[1]See Elinor Ostrom, Roger B. Parks, and Gordon P. Whitaker, Patterns of Metropolitan Policing. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishers, 1978).

Table 2-1

Income and Racial Characteristics of the 60 Study Neighborhoods

Average Family Income

Racial Composition (Percent Nonwhite)	$5,000 to $7,499	$ 7,500 to $14,999	$15,000 or Higher
Predominantly White (0 to 25)	0[a]	20	16
Mixed (26 to 75)	0	10	1
Predominantly Nonwhite (76 to 100)	8	4	1

[a]Number of neighborhoods

Two final criteria aimed at matching neighborhood boundaries to existing police service delivery areas (patrol unit assignment areas, usually called beats), to 1970 Census tract and block group boundaries, or both. The first of these was highly desirable for focusing many data collection activities. The second enabled sample selection for some data collection to be done using automated files of household lists.

Calls for Service Data

The Calls for Service Form (Appendix 1) was designed to record information from incoming calls for police service. In addition, it allowed recording of telephone operators' responses. Data from this form are useful in analyzing the filtering and slotting that results from the operator's role as information gatekeeper and problem classifier. It also permits an assessment of operator behavior in mediating contact between the police and the public.

Data were collected on more than 26,000 calls for police service. Both direct observation and monitoring tape recorded calls were used. In most departments a trained observer was stationed at the telephone console; when the phone rang, the observer picked up an extra telephone and listened to the citizen-operator exchange. Live observation allowed monitoring several telephone lines as rapidly as the researcher was able to answer the telephone and record the required information. Observers coded as many calls as possible during a shift; no attempt was made to observe every call on busy shifts or in large departments. In departments with several incoming phone lines, observers monitored several operators, listening to calls as they came in regardless of which operator answered. In departments where live observation was impossible (for reasons of staffing, technology, or departmental request), we were able to monitor departmental tapes or install voice-activated recording equipment. In this instance, tape recorders were attached to a single incoming line, but all calls on that line during an entire patrol shift (either 8 or 10 hours) were recorded.

Regardless of the method of call monitoring, data were collected on a field instrument then coded for computer entry. Citizen requests were classified according to a list of 236 problem codes; each call could receive as many as three codes in case a citizen made more than one request. Operator responses were handled similarly; up to three responses could be coded for each call from a list of 36 possible responses. For example, a citizen might request police assistance in removing an illegally parked car, then ask about the laws governing such vehicles; both requests would have been coded. The operator might promise that a patrol car would be dispatched, then explain the relevant laws; both responses would have been coded.

Observers wrote verbatim accounts of both the nature of the citizen's request and the operator's response for more than 26,000 calls. They coded other information such as the location to which a police unit was to be sent, the callers' name and address (if given), perceived caller attributes such as age (approximate), sex, and race; the caller's position in the community (private citizen, business or government agency representative); whether the problem was in progress; whether any weapons were mentioned; the approximate length of time ("talk time") of the call, and whether the caller was placed on hold. Finally, if in a position to observe dispatch procedures, coders recorded whether or not a call was assigned to a specific police unit and the type of unit assigned. If the caller was referred or transferred, the type of agency receiving the call was also coded.

Calls for service data were collected in 21 of the 24 departments according to a carefully developed formula for shift selection.[2] Fifteen shifts of calls were recorded for each department; shifts were selected to represent all times of day and days of the week. More evening shifts were observed than night shifts to reflect the normally increased police activity during these periods. Calls were monitored from entire police jurisdictions, not just from study neighborhoods. Each call was coded by location; only 11 percent of all calls recorded were attributable to study neighborhoods. The sample of calls obtained thus does not permit any statements about the volume of calls to any particular department, but does provide an accurate picture of the distribution of problems facing those departments

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[2]Three small departments contracted with other jurisdictions for telephone answering and dispatch services and thus could not be included as separate units in the study.

during the observation period and indicates the pattern of citizen

demand for police services.

Citizen Survey Data

Unlike the calls for service data, data from the Ci en Survey

(Appendix 2) apply only to study neighborhoods. The survey was

administered by telephone to approximately 200 randomly-selected residents

in each of the 60 study neighborhoods; 12,019 interviews were completed.

The survey was designed to obtain information on citizen perceptions of,

experiences with, and evaluation of the police agency serving their

neighborhood. It contains questions about crime trends and victimization

in the neighborhood; perceptions of police activities and of police

treatment of citizens; experiences with calling the police for information

or assistance; experiences with the police after being stopped by officers

or after complaining to officials about police services; knowledge of

and participation in neighborhood groups concerned with public safety;

and socioeconomic characteristics.

Of most relevance to an examination of citizen demand are the questions

about citizen experiences in cases of victimization, assistance, and

requests for information. The survey contained a series of victimization

sections, one of which was completed for each separate victimization

reported by the respondent as having occurred within the year prior to

the interview. These sections included questions about the nature of the

victimization, its location, whether and how the police were notified,

whether they responded, the length of the response time, and whether the

citizen was satisfied with what the police did. A series of sections

dealing with police assistance to citizens was also included on the survey.

Again respondents were asked the approximate date of their call, the

nature of the problem, its location, and their satisfaction with police

response. An identical (except for the location of the incident) series

of questions about officers' requests for information was also asked.

By examining each series of citizen requests -- for help in victimization

situations, for assistance, and for information -- both singly and together,

we can obtain an accurate picture of the demands of study neighborhood

residents on their local police. Chapter 3 presents data from both

observed calls for service and from the citizen survey. Where possible,

it compares the two, noting similarities and differences in demand patterns.

Differences in the Data Sets

Observational call data and citizen survey data, while representing

similar aspects of citizen demand, are quite different in design and ap-

plication. There are several reasons to expect some differences in demand

patterns to be reflected by the two data sets. First, while calls were

coded from entire jurisdictions, the survey data apply only to study

neighborhoods. The entire jurisdiction often included industrial and com-

mercial zones not present in any of our residential study neighborhoods.

Second, while calls for service were coded only during a short period in

the summer of 1977, the survey data draw on citizen experiences for an

entire year. Third, calls were observed directly; the survey data repre-

sent citizen recollections of past events. Fourth, each call recorded

could be assigned 1 of 236 problem codes; the survey victimization and

assistance data were coded according to a reduced list of codes. Although

the shortened list was derived from the original, some nuances captured in calls coding undoubtedly escaped in coding survey data. Information calls from the citizen survey were "precoded" to fit one of eight categories. Use of two substantially different data sets to measure citizen demand for police services provides an interesting and possibly unique basis for comparison.

CHAPTER 3

CITIZEN DEMAND FOR POLICE SERVICES

Although the consensus among observers is that four of every five citizen calls to the police concern noncriminal matters, the police crime prevention function has received much more attention. Citizen demand is usually ancillary to discussions of how rapidly police can respond, the likelihood of criminal apprehension, and citizen satisfaction with patrol officer actions. Focus has been on police response and on the influence of technological innovations such as computer-aided dispatching, automatic number indicators or call locators, automatic vehicle monitoring, and call stacking and queuing. A large segment of citizen demand -- those calls which do not result in the dispatch of a patrol car -- has been overlooked in most discussions of calls for service (Bercal, 1970 is a notable exception).

This report analyzes citizen demand for police services by examining actual calls to police telephone operators as well as citizen perceptions of their calls. It will draw upon more than 26,000 observed calls for service and on more than 12,000 interviews with citizens. The data illustrate the range of demand on the police. Some of the data presented are often ignored by, or unavailable to, police agencies. By offering a detailed view of citizen demand on police, we hope to provide a clearer picture for both police officials and the general public of the kinds of requests police handle daily and the ways in which they are processed. This chapter also discusses the relationships between perceived caller attributes and the distribution of calls to police.

Distribution of Citizen Calls for Police Service

Few published studies have provided detailed discussion of the kinds of problems and requests citizens articulate in their conversations with police phone operators. They usually opt for discussion of 10-15 call categories without explaining the types of demands encompassed in each one. (see Wilson, 1968; Bercal, 1970; Reiss, 1971; Lilly, 1977). Yet as Goldstein (1979: 245-246) notes, "It seems desirable . . . to press for as detailed a breakdown of problems as possible" since categories often "mask diverse forms of behavior."

In our research, observers coded call subjects from a list of 236 distinct problem codes. As in previous studies, these codes were then combined into 12 general categories selected for their ability to differentiate among types of calls. Calls were coded according to the problem as reported by citizens, not according to the operator's or dispatcher's interpretation of a call or to the nature of any subsequent dispatches. The distribution of the more than 26,000 calls for service is displayed in Table 3-1. It shows that more than one fifth of all observed calls were citizen requests for information. These calls are rarely recorded in departmental statistics or by scholars, despite their frequency (Lilly, 1977 is an exception). Less than 20 percent were calls about criminal (as perceived by citizens) incidents, corroborating findings cited earlier (Bercal, 1970; Webster, 1970; Reiss, 1971). If calls for service (rather than radio dispatches) are considered a measure of departmental activity, then the crime-fighting role of the police is a small percentage of total activity. Non-violent crimes, however, were second in frequency to calls for information. Calls for assistance and reports of suspicious circumstances were also

common, each representing more than 11 percent of the total. No other type of problem represented more than 9 percent of observed calls.

The patterns described above and in the remainder of this report are those of observed calls from 21 departments. If we were to examine the same patterns for each department separately, there would undoubtedly be some variation from the overall findings. Table 3-1 also shows the range of percentages by department for each type of call. Although the range for most calls is relatively small, there is considerable variation across departments for calls for information and assistance. Several factors explain this interdepartmental variation. First, we observed departments of widely varying size. For study design reasons, the volume of calls observed in larger departments was greater than that observed in smaller departments. Demand patterns from larger departments therefore outweigh those from smaller ones. Second, because neighborhood social conditions may vary among communities (for example, from central cities to suburban areas) demand patterns may also vary. Departments serving communities with large areas of high population density, for example, may receive proportionately more calls related to noise disturbances than do departments with areas of lower density. Third, departmental organizational factors, such as the type of telephone system, influence the manner in which we recorded demand patterns. Some departments list a single administrative number that citizens may call for all requests, while others maintain a separate number for each office or bureau. Telephone book listings may thus contribute to differences in recorded demand patterns.[1]

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[1]For example, smaller departments appear to receive a much larger proportion of information calls than do larger departments. This may be the result of several factors dealing with trust of smaller government, feelings of alienation, or general reluctance to call police. It may also result

Table 3-1

Frequency and Percentage of Citizen Calls to Police,
by Type of Problem

Type of Problem	Number of Calls	Percent of Calls	Range by Department
Violent Crimes	642	2%	0 - 3%
Nonviolent Crimes	4,489	17%	8 - 20%
Interpersonal Conflict	1,763	7%	1 - 10%
Medical Assistance	810	3%	1 - 7%
Traffic Problems	2,467	9%	5 - 15%
Dependent Persons	774	3%	1 - 4%
Public Nuisances	3,002	11%	4 - 15%
Suspicious Circumstances	1,248	5%	3 - 9%
Assistance	3,039	12%	8 - 30%
Citizen Wants Information	5,558	21%	14 - 43%
Citizen Gives Information	1,993	8%	5 - 15%
Internal Operations	663	2%	0 - 10%
Total	26,418		

Table 3-2 presents the distribution of problems about which citizens called the police, listing in detail the kinds of situations falling within each of the 12 general problem categories. Unfortunately, many previous studies of calls for police service have not specified the types of calls comprising each of their categories. Since the addition or subtraction of a particular call from some categories can cause a large change in the percentage of calls attributable to that category, this omission is a serious one. We hope to avoid this problem by briefly discussing the contents of each category.

Violent Crimes, those most feared by the average citizen, engendered only 2 percent of citizen calls to police. This finding corroborates Lilly (1977), who found that violent crimes accounted for only 3 percent of total calls. These calls concerned incidents in which violence was directed toward persons. They include the FBI's Part 1 crimes against persons (homicide, aggravated assault, robbery, and rape) as well as simple assaults, child abuse, and other sexual attacks. Simple assaults, both domestic and nondomestic, account for 55 percent of the calls in this category; Part 1 crimes account for 34 percent.

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from the fact that larger communities tend to have much more detailed listings in local telephone directories about municipal offices and services. The greater the number of separate listings in the phone book, the less likely the police are to receive information requests. For example, if a community has an animal control office and that office is listed in the phone book under municipal offices, the police should get fewer calls asking for information about what to do about stray dogs. Thus the greater proportion of information calls received by smaller police departments may simply reflect the reality that many smaller jurisdictions maintain and list fewer offices to which citizen requests can be channeled directly.

Table 3-2

Citizen Calls for Police Services, by General Problem Types
and Subcategories

Type of Problem	N of Calls	Percent of Total	Percent of Category
1. VIOLENT CRIMES	642	2%	
1. Homicide	9		1%
2. Sexual attack	26		4%
3. Robbery	118		18%
4. Aggravated assault	74		12%
5. Simple assault	351		55%
6. Child abuse	38		6%
7. Kidnap	26		4%
2. NONVIOLENT CRIMES	4,489	17%	
1. Burglary & break-ins	1,544		34%
2. Theft	1,389		31%
3. Motor vehicle theft	284		6%
4. Vandalism, arson	866		19%
5. Problems with money/credit/ documents	209		5%
6. Crimes against the family	29		1%
7. Leaving the scene	168		4%
3. INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT	1,763	7%	
1. Domestic conflict	694		39%
2. Nondomestic arguments	335		19%
3. Nondomestic threats	277		16%
4. Nondomestic fights	457		26%
4. MEDICAL ASSISTANCE	810	3%	
1. Medical assistance	274		34%
2. Death	38		5%
3. Suicide	34		4%
4. Emergency transport	203		25%
5. Personal injury traffic accident	261		32%
5. TRAFFIC PROBLEMS	2,467	9%	
1. Property damage traffic accident	1,141		46%
2. Vehicle violation	543		22%
3. Traffic flow problem	322		13%
4. Moving violation	292		12%
5. Abandoned vehicle	169		7%

Table 3-2 (continued)

Type of Problem	N of calls	Percent of Total	Percent of Category
6. DEPENDENT PERSONS	774	3%	
1. Drunk	146		19%
2. Missing persons	318		41%
3. Juvenile runaway	121		16%
4. Subject of police concern	134		17%
5. Mentally disordered	55		7%
7. PUBLIC NUISANCES	3,002	11%	
1. Annoyance, harassment	980		33%
2. Noise disturbance	984		33%
3. Trespassing, unwanted entry	302		10%
4. Alcohol, drug violations	130		4%
5. Public morals	124		4%
6. Juvenile problem	439		15%
7. Ordinance violations	43		1%
8. SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES	1,248	5%	
1. Suspicious person	674		54%
2. Suspicious property condition	475		38%
3. Dangerous person or situation	99		8%
9. ASSISTANCE	3,039	12%	
1. Animal problem	755		24%
2. Property check	616		20%
3. Escorts and transports	86		3%
4. Utility problem	438		14%
5. Property discovery	240		8%
6. Assistance to motorist	154		5%
7. Fires, alarms	112		4%
8. Crank calls	114		4%
9. Unspecified requests	425		14%
10. Other requests	99		3%
10. CITIZEN WANTS INFORMATION	5,558	21%	
1. Information, unspecified	248		5%
2. Information, police-related	1,262		23%
3. Information about specific case	1,865		34%
4. Information, nonpolice-related	577		10%
5. Road directions	189		3%
6. Directions, nontraffic	55		1%
7. Request for specific unit	1,362		25%

Table 3-2 (continued)

Type of Problem	N of Calls	Percent of Total	Percent of Category
11. CITIZEN WANTS TO GIVE INFORMATION	1,993	8%	
1. General information	1,090		55%
2. Return of property	156		8%
3. False alarm	176		9%
4. Complaint against specific officer	105		5%
5. Complaint against police in general	350		18%
6. Compliments for police	20		1%
7. Hospital report to police	96		5%
12. INTERNAL OPERATIONS	633	2%	
1. Internal legal procedures	63		10%
2. Internal assistance request	134		21%
3. Officer wants to give information	298		47%
4. Officer wants information	132		21%
5. Other internal procedures	6		1%
TOTAL CALLS	26,418	100%	

Calls about Nonviolent Crimes concern those incidents in which violence, if present, is directed only at property, as well as those crimes that involve no violence at all. Included are calls about nonphysical injuries involving criminal liability. This category encompasses 17 percent of the total observed calls. More than one third of the calls in this category are about burglaries and break-ins, 38 percent involve theft (including theft of motor vehicles), 19 percent concern vandalism and arson, and the remainder deal with family neglect, unfair business practices, problems with money or credit, or leaving the scene of a property damage accident. Calls about Interpersonal Conflict involve public or private arguments or fights in which no serious injuries are sustained; they represent 7 percent of the observed calls. More than one-fourth concern physical fights, both domestic and nondomestic; another 16 percent are about threats to injure someone. Nineteen percent involve arguments without physical fights, and nearly 40 percent deal with family, neighbor, or boyfriend-girlfriend disputes.

Three percent of all observed calls were requests for Medical Assistance. One fourth of these sought emergency medical transport, usually in cases of serious accident or injury. Another one-third reported traffic accidents in which personal injuries were apparent. Thirty-four percent requested general medical assistance ("Man down, cause unknown."), while the remainder concerned suicides or discoveries of dead bodies. Calls about Traffic Problems represented 9 percent of the observed calls and included all calls about traffic except those involving assistance to motorists with disabled vehicles or personal injury auto accidents. Property damage accidents led to nearly half the calls in this category. Another 22 percent

involved stationary vehicle violations such as faulty equipment, missing inspection stickers, or improper plates. Twelve percent involved moving violations such as driving under the influence or excess speed. The remainder of the traffic calls involved abandoned vehicles or traffic flow problems such as signal disorders or roadway obstructions.

Calls about Dependent Persons concerned persons thought to be unable to care for themselves; they account for only 3 percent of total calls. Most were calls about drunks (19 percent), missing persons (41 percent), juvenile runaways (16 percent), and the mentally disordered (7 percent). Calls about Public Nuisances represented 11 percent of the total observed calls. Complaints about noise disturbances and annoyances were the most frequent call in this category (each 33 percent). Public morals calls (gambling, vice, and prostitution) represented 4 percent. Drug violations (marijuana, alcohol, and narcotics) comprised another 4 percent. Many nuisance calls involved "victimless crimes." Juvenile problems ("The kids are in the street again!") accounted for 15 percent. The remainder of the calls in this category were about trespassing, unauthorized motor vehicle use, zoning violations, disorderly conduct, and the like.

More than half of the calls in the Suspicious Circumstances category concerned the presence of suspicious persons (prowlers). Another 38 percent dealt with suspicious property conditions such as open doors or windows, puzzling circumstances such as lights burning in a vacant house, discovery of dangerous substances, and violations of weapons usage. Calls in this category thus concern incidents or circumstances that the caller deemed suspicious enought to warrant police attention.

All other calls in which citizens request general police Assistance comprise 12 percent of observed calls. This category represents a

wide range of subjects, from unspecified emergencies ("Help! I need the police right away,") to "meet complainant" situations. Animal control problems, including loose or vicious dogs and dead animals in the roadway, resulted in the largest number of assistance calls, about one fifth of the total. These calls often required dispatching a specific police unit. Other common calls were requests for vacation checks or surveillance on homes (20 percent) and utility problems -- broken water mains or downed power lines (14 percent). Another 8 percent reported the discovery of missing, stolen, or lost property. The remainder dealt with a variety of subjects such as fires, alarms, and crank calls.

Calls in which Citizens Want Information are the most frequent type of call recorded, representing 21 percent of the total. These calls cover six general topics. About one-third requested information about a specific police case ("Is John Doe in jail?" or "When do I have to appear in court?"). Requests to speak to members of a specific police unit or division, such as the jail or detective bureau, comprised one fourth of the calls. Questions about police-related information in general were also numerous (23 percent). These calls included requests about obtaining crime reports, directions for claiming recovered property, and the procedures for swearing out warrants, among many others. Ten percent of the information requests were about subjects not directly related to the police ("What time does the parade begin today?" or "Is City Hall open?"). The remainder of the calls were requests for road directions or other unspecified requests for information.

Whenever possible, observers coded the subject of a caller's request for information. This was done by using two problem codes, the first

designating the call as an information request and the second
noting its subject. Thus if a citizen wanted information about
police procedures in ticketing illegally parked cars, the problem
was coded as a call for police-related information and a second
code was added to indicate that the question concerned a parking
violation. Table 3-3 shows the percentage of information calls
that were identified as requesting information about a specific
problem. Second codes were added for 26 percent of the information
calls recorded. Information calls that could not be identified by
subject included questions about particular cases, requests for
specific units in which no qualifying information was provided, or
requests to speak with individuals.

About one third of the information calls for which additional
information was obtained concerned traffic problems. Calls about
nonviolent crimes made up nearly one fifth of these calls. Calls
about all other problems ranged from 2 percent about suspicious
circumstances, information requests, and internal operators to
9 percent of assistance calls. Most calls about police-related
information and information about a specific case concerned traffic
problems. Assistance was the most frequent topic of calls about
nonpolice related information (49 percent). Calls about police-
related information and particular cases generally concerned more
serious incidents; calls about nonpolice-related information and
requests for specific police units generally dealt with less serious
problems.

Calls in which Citizens Want to Give Information account for
8 percent of all calls (Table 3-2). Calls were coded in this category

Table 3-3

Citizen Calls for Information, by Specified Type of Problem[1]

Type of Problem[2]	Information, Unspecified	Police-Related Information	Information About Case	Nonpolice-Related Information	Request Specific Unit	Total Calls[3] Pct.	N
Violent Crimes	--	4%	5%	2%	4%	5%	68
Nonviolent Crimes	19%	10%	22%	4%	11%	18%	268
Interpersonal Conflict	14%	9%	5%	9%	2%	6%	89
Medical Assistance	5%	3%	6%	6%	--%	5%	76
Traffic Problems	14%	31%	35%	6%	9%	32%	464
Dependent Persons	14%	5%	8%	9%	5%	7%	105
Public Nuisances	19%	19%	4%	4%	11%	8%	111
Suspicious Circumstances	--	4%	1%	2%	4%	2%	29
Assistance	14%	7%	6%	49%	21%	9%	126
Citizen Wants Information	--	2%	1%	6%	23%	2%	32
Citizen Wants to Give Information	--	3%	4%	4%	9%	4%	55
Internal Operations	--	3%	2%	--	2%	2%	32
Total	21	318	1,006	53	56		1,455

[1] Percentages are column percentages.
[2] Represents second problem code recorded; columns represent first problem code recorded.
[3] Total includes one call asking for road directions not listed in columns.

only if the citizen's <u>primary</u> objective in calling was to provide
the police with information. Thus, a call reporting a traffic
accident would not be coded here, since the caller was attempting
to elicit police response to the accident and not simply providing
information. More than half of these calls (55 percent) were classified
as general provision of information, including tips. Complaints
about police service in general or about particular officers
represented nearly one fourth of these calls, while compliments
for police comprised only 1 percent. Other calls reported the
return of missing or stolen property, malfunctioning or false
alarms, or were from hospital personnel telling police of injuries
or circumstances that might be crime-related (an abused wife
appearing at the emergency room, for example).

  <u>Internal Operations</u> calls represent 2 percent of the total.
In some calls, such as those about civil process serving or other
legal procedures, transporting persons in custody, or meeting
or backing up another officer, no direct service is asked for or
provided. But more than two thirds of these calls came from police
officers acting on behalf of citizens, either providing information
(such as a call from a district station to headquarters) or requesting
information from another office. Often these requests led to dis-
patching a car.

  Assigning calls to categories is a difficult task; Table 3-2
represents our attempt to lend some order to the chaos. Prior
studies of citizen demand for police service have either examined
only calls leading to the dispatch of a patrol car (Meyer, 1974) or

have not specified the kinds of problems included within the
categories they present (Wilson, 1968; Bercal, 1970; Reiss, 1971).
Some lists appear to have been borrowed from police incident
classification schemes (Lilly, 1977). Without knowing the kinds
or amount of calls included within each category, it is almost
impossible to accurately compare demand patterns among different
data sets.

  Table 3-2 contains some surprising findings. Violent crimes,
of paramount importance in police planning and manpower deployment,
represent only 2 percent of total citizen calls to police; homicide,
sexual attack, and child abuse comprise only 11 percent of the calls
in this category. On the other hand, property crimes such as theft,
burglary, and vandalism represent 84 percent of calls about nonviolent
crimes and 14 percent of all observed calls. Specific information
requests comprise a much higher percentage of calls than a review
of earlier studies would lead us to expect. Calls requesting
information about a particular case outnumbered any other single
call; requests for specific police units were also common.

  Table 3-2 points out how much the distribution of citizen
demand is affected by call classification schemes. Several types
of calls could be accurately placed in two or three different
categories. For example, personal injury auto accidents comprise
32 percent of the medical assistance calls. If they were listed
as traffic problems, they would comprise 10 percent of that category,
reduce the percentage of all other calls in that category, and
increase the percentage of each of the calls remaining in the medical

assistance category. Similarly, if calls about animal problems
(one fourth of general assistance calls) were considered public
nuisances, annoyances and noise disturbances would each represent
only one fourth of public nuisance calls instead of one-third.
Similar examples abound throughout the data set. Obviously one
of the problems with this and other studies of calls for service
is that many problems presented to police have multiple aspects;
no single categorization scheme will encompass all of those aspects.
Call classification schemes must necessarily remain arbitrary.
However, without reviewing an array such as that in Table 3-2, it
is difficult to draw many conclusions. Detailed call classification
is a prerequisite to discussing citizens' demands for police service.

Factors Affecting Citizen Demand: Calls for Service Data

In this section we discuss the relation between perceived caller
attributes and the distribution of calls. Results will later be
compared to similar data from the general citizen survey. Observers
recorded perceived caller attributes which, combined with information
either volunteered by the caller or elicited by the operator, formed
a composite picture of the caller. Some police agencies required
their operators to ask for the caller's name and address; some callers
volunteered this information. Observers noted a caller's sex, race,
and community position (private citizen, business or government agency
representative) whenever possible. Unless this information was
volunteered, observers had to rely on their perceptions. Coding of

sex and race was conservative; attributes were noted only when the
coder was certain. Community position was determined from the
context of the call; business and government agency representatives
usually identified themselves as such. Missing data about caller
characteristics is thus common. Observers were unable to code
caller's sex in 2 percent of the calls, race in 11 percent, and
position in 19 percent.

Table 3-4 shows the distribution of citizen calls for service
by perceived caller attributes. It indicates that there is little
difference in citizen calling patterns by race, sex, or community
position. There is no more than a 3 percent difference between
males and females for any of the 12 call subjects except for
traffic problems, where males are more likely than females to call
police. Racial differences are similarly negligible. The percentage
of blacks calling the police about violent crimes was twice the
percentage of whites, but these calls represent only a small
percentage of the total. The largest racial difference in demand
patterns concern calls about interpersonal conflict, which were
proportionately more than twice as likely to be mentioned by black
callers, and traffic problems, which were proportionately three times
more likely to be mentioned by white callers.

We also checked for sex and race differences in demand by
examining the distribution of the subcategories presented in Table 3-2.
The patterns discussed for the 12 major categories hold across most
of the subcategories, regardless of caller's sex. There are minor
differences by race, however. Blacks are proportionately more likely

Table 3-4

Distribution of Citizen Calls for Police Service, by Perceived
Caller Attributes

Type of Call	Sex		Race		Position		
	Male	Female	White	Black	Private Resident	Business	Government Agency
Violent Crimes	2%	3%	2%	5%	3%	2%	1%
Nonviolent Crimes	18%	15%	17%	15%	16%	36%	8%
Interpersonal Conflict	5%	8%	5%	13%	9%	4%	1%
Medical Assistance	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%
Traffic Problems	12%	7%	11%	4%	9%	7%	6%
Dependent Persons	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%
Public Nuisances	10%	13%	12%	11%	14%	9%	4%
Suspicious Circumstances	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	4%	2%
Assistance	10%	13%	12%	10%	13%	8%	9%
Citizen Wants Information	23%	20%	21%	23%	17%	11%	11%
Citizen Gives Information	7%	8%	8%	7%	8%	10%	9%
Internal Operations	4%	1%	3%	1%	0%	1%	44%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	12,610	13,424	19,157	4,469	16,494	3,643	1,244

to call police about suspicious persons, while whites are more likely to request police assistance with suspicious property conditions. Calls about property checks comprise only 7 percent of the assistance calls made by blacks compared with 23 percent of those made by whites; blacks also call proportionately more frequently about utility problems. Requests about a specific case comprise nearly half of information calls made by blacks, but only one third of those made by whites. Finally, while one third of whites' calls to provide police with information concern complaints about police service, 61 percent of calls in this category made by blacks are complaints. In general, then, blacks seem more concerned with problems of personal safety while whites are more worried about property problems.

A caller's community position, with two exceptions, has little influence on the distribution of calls to police. More than three fourths of the callers requesting police assistance were private citizens. Their most frequent calls concerned requests for information (17 percent), nonviolent crime (16 percent), public nuisances (14 percent), or assistance (13 percent). Predictably, for citizens calling on behalf of businesses, the most frequent call was about nonviolent crimes (36 percent), most of which were crimes against property. Nearly half of the calls from representatives of government agencies dealt with internal police operations; many were from officers relaying citizen requests from district offices to head-quarters. For most calls, community position reflects a greater within-category variation than does either sex or race. Private citizens are proportionately more apt to call police about public nuisances or to request assistance than are business or government agency representatives.

Looking at the effect of community position on the Table 3-2 subcategories, it appears that business representatives are primarily concerned with robbery and burglary. More than half of their calls about violent crimes dealt with robbery, compared to only 12 percent of calls made by private citizens. Business callers made twice as many requests about burglary as private citizens did. Businesses were also concerned with drunks and cases of annoyance and harassment; many of these calls may have referred to unruly patrons. On the other hand, private citizens were much more concerned with noise disturbances, missing persons, and traffic violations. Although private citizens called to provide police with information proportionately less than did either business or government agency representatives, more than half of their calls were complaints about police service, nearly 4 times the percentage of these calls from businesses and 10 times that for government agency representatives. Patterns for most other subcategories were similar to those for the major categories listed in Table 3-4.

Survey Data on Distribution of Citizen Demands

Data on citizen demand and distribution of service requests is also available from the general citizen survey. As explained earlier, this data is drawn from a different sample population than calls for service data; differences in findings are therefore expected. Nevertheless, if patterns identified earlier are representative, we would expect similar trends to reappear.

On the citizen survey, in which more than 12,000 residents of our 60 study neighborhoods were polled, demand for police services is measured by examining and comparing the results of three separate sets of questions. Respondents were asked about three types of requests phoned in to the police: requests for information, for assistance, and about incidents in which someone in the household was victimized. Citizens were not asked about demands voiced at the scene of an incident, through neighborhood or political organizations, or in any other manner. Respondents were asked:

> In the past year, from (June/July) 1976 to now, have you personally called the ____ police for information about any problem?

They were then asked for a brief description of the problem. They were also asked:

> Since (June/July) 1976, have you or any member of your household called the ____ police for help or been helped by them?

Again they provided a description of the problem. For victimizations, respondents were asked a detailed series of questions, including whether the incident had been reported to police; they were not asked if it had been reported by telephone.

There are several differences among the three types of questions. The victimization and assistance questions apply to the respondent or any member of his or her household; the information question applies only to the individual respondent. Citizens could recall up to two information and assistance calls and up to five victimization calls. There were also differences in telephone contacting procedures. For victimizations, respondents were asked if the police

had been contacted. For assistances, respondents could report both
aid provided as the result of a call and aid given without a tele-
phone report (officer on-view assistance). Information calls
obviously involved telephone contact. Citizens' responses to the
three sets of questions also varied in format. The subjects on
which citizens requested information were noted according to a
set of precoded responses while the subjects of assistance and
victimization requests were coded upon completion of the interview
from a long list of potential subjects. These differences, necessary
according to the original research design, may introduce slight
error into the results.

Factors Affecting Citizen Demand: Survey Data

Requests for Information

During the year prior to the survey, 14 percent of respondents
called police for information. Table 3-5 lists the eight precoded
reasons for respondents' information calls. Two calls per respondent
could be reported; each is listed separately and then combined.
Figures are based on the total number of calls to police, not the
total number of respondents who called police for information; 17
percent of respondents who reported they had called police for
information within the last year had called more than once, accounting
for the difference. The most frequent type of information call
(31 percent) concerned specific cases or circumstances involving
police. These calls were often from citizens interested in following

the progress of a case in which they or their friends or relatives
were involved. The next most frequent type of call dealt with
nonpolice-related information (22 percent), including such requests
as "Why are the flags flying today?" Police or crime-related
information in general was the subject of 20 percent of the calls;
no other topic comprised more than 10 percent.

Table 3-5

Respondents' Reasons for Requesting Information from Police

Reason for Call	Percent, First Call	N	Percent, Second Call	N	Percent, Total	N
Missing or stolen property	6%	92	5%	14	6%	106
Road directions	2%	26	3%	8	2%	34
Police or crime-related information in general	20%	324	20%	56	20%	380
Information about particular case or circumstance	31%	505	33%	90	31%	595
Nonpolice-related information	24%	384	17%	48	23%	432
Nontraffic directions	1%	14	0%	1	1%	15
Citizen wants information, unspecified	8%	135	8%	22	8%	157
Other	9%	152	13%	37	10%	189
Total		1,632		276		1,908

These data highlight an aspect of citizen demand for police
service that is often overlooked by both scholars and police adminis-
trators. No study reviewed listed information calls to police by
subject. Few departments maintain records of the volume of information
calls received or of the context of these reports. Yet these requests
take operators' time to answer and process, time that some observers
feel could be better used answering calls about "serious" problems.
Some may be handled simply by providing the requested information.

others must be transferred, referred, or noted on reports. Disposition
of information calls is discussed in Chapter 4.

Requests for Assistance

Calls for assistance are a more familiar form of citizen demand

on police. Nearly one household in four (23 percent) requested

police assistance within the year prior to the survey. Although

our questions allowed inclusion of both citizen calls and officer

on-view assistances, the majority of incidents recorded were initiated

by a telephone call. Table 3-6 shows the distribution of problems

with which citizens requested help; categories presented are those

of Table 3-1. As many as two assistance requests per household

were recorded. Situations requiring unspecified police aid resulted

in the largest number of requests for assistance (37 percent).

Public nuisance requests represented one fourth of the total and

traffic problems accounted for another 13 percent. Citizens called

less often for assistance in situations concerning nonviolent crimes,

interpersonal conflicts, medical assistance, dependent persons, and

suspicious circumstances. Violent crimes, information requests and

offers, and calls concerning internal operations are not listed

among possible assistances. The first were considered victimizations

and are discussed below. Information requests were coded separately

and discussed earlier. There were no requests for assistance concerning

internal operations. Nonviolent crimes were included among assistance

requests because the category encompasses a wide variety of problems,

some of which may necessitate police assistance; only six such calls

appear, however.

Table 3-7 presents an alternate categorization of requests for

assistance. It is based on the calls about person/calls about

property distinction. Requests for assistance concerning disturbances

are most frequent (28 percent of the total), followed by assistances

concerning persons (21 percent) and general services (20 percent).

The disturbance and traffic categories in Table 3-7 are similar to

those in Table 3-6. The remaining three categories in Table 3-7,

assistance concerning persons, property, and general service, are

broader schemes for ordering problems.

Victimization Requests

A final component of citizen demand for police services is

requests concerning victimizations. Respondents were administered

a series of eight screening questions asking if, in the past year,

they or any member of their household had been the victim of a

crime. Specific questions about robbery, assault, burglary,

break-ins, auto theft, and vandalism were asked. Each respondent

could discuss up to five victimization incidents. Respondents were

not asked if the police were called, but were asked if the incident

was reported to police. We thus cannot discuss calls to police

about victimizations directly, but can obtain a general picture of

this portion of citizen demand by examining the total number of

victimizations mentioned by respondents and then by studying the

percentage of those actually reported to police.

Table 3-8 shows that 5,294 victimization incidents were mentioned.

This is not the number of respondents who said they had been victimized,

Table 3-6

Respondent's Reasons for Requesting Police Assistance

Reason for Call	Percent, First Call	N	Percent, Second Call	N	Percent, Total	N
Nonviolent Crimes	0%	4	0%	2	0%	6
Interpersonal Conflict	6%	163	7%	41	6%	204
Medical Assistance	8%	222	5%	29	8%	251
Traffic Problems	14%	361	13%	77	13%	438
Dependent Persons	4%	116	2%	14	4%	130
Public Nuisance	23%	605	8%	149	23%	754
Suspicious Circumstances	8%	217	9%	54	8%	271
Assistance	36%	965	38%	229	37%	1,194
Total		2,653		595		3,248

Table 3-7

Respondents' Reasons for Requesting Police Assistance,
Alternate Categorization

Reason for Call	Percent, First Call	N	Percent, Second Call	N	Percent, Total	N
Disturbance	28%	730	30%	179	28%	909
Assistance Concerning Persons	22%	580	16%	98	21%	678
Assistance Concerning Property	16%	435	16%	97	16%	532
Assistance Concerning Traffic	15%	402	13%	80	15%	482
General Service	19%	506	24%	141	20%	647
Total		2,653		595		3,248

Table 3-8

Number of Victimizations, by Type of Problem and Whether Reported to Police

Type of Problem	Total Victimizations				Reported Victimizations			
	Total Number	Subcategory Number	Subcategory as Percent of Total	Percent of Total	Number Reported	Subcategory Number	Subcategory as Percent of Reported	Percent of Reported
Violent Crimes	503			10%	312			11%
Nonviolent Crimes	4,616			87%	2,463			85%
burglary & break-ins		1,407	26%			948	32%	
theft		1,976	37%			879	30%	
motor vehicle theft		254	5%			178	6%	
vandalism, arson		936	17%			429	15%	
problems with money/credit		11	0%			5	0%	
leaving the scene		32	1%			24	1%	
Interpersonal Conflict	29			1%	21			1%
Dependent Persons	1			0%	1			0%
Public Nuisance	108			2%	75			3%
Suspicious Circumstances	37			1%	25			1%
Total	5,294			100%	2,897			100%

but the total number of household victimizations mentioned. Only
3,631 households (30 percent of those interviewed) were victimized.
Of these, 33 percent were victimized twice, 11 percent were victimized
three times, 3 percent were victimized four times, and 1 percent
were victimized five times. Eighty-seven percent of the victimizations
involved nonviolent crimes. Of these, theft accounted for 48 percent,
burglary for 30 percent, and vandalism for 20 percent. Only 10 percent
of total victimizations involved violent crimes. The remaining types
of victimizations together accounted for only 4 percent of the total.
From another perspective, more than 84 percent of all victimizations
involved Part 1 crimes. Only 2,897 victimizations (55 percent) were
reported to police. Interpersonal conflict calls were more apt to
be reported (72 percent) than any others, including violent crimes
(62 percent). Only 53 percent of nonviolent crimes were reported.
Even though more thefts than burglaries or break-ins occurred among
neighborhood residents, the latter were slightly more likely to be
reported. Victimization calls comprised a smaller portion of total
citizen demand on police than anticipated because of the low reporting
rate.

Comparison of Demand Patterns from Two Sources

Table 3-9 sums the three components of citizen demand for police
services as reported by survey respondents in study neighborhoods
(requests for assistance and information and reported victimizations)
and compares them first to the total calls for service observed and

then to the subset of observed calls from study neighborhoods only.
All requests about violent crimes appear as victimizations, and
nearly all requests about nonviolent crimes are listed as assistances.
Requests about interpersonal conflict, medical assistance, traffic
problems, dependent persons, public nuisances, suspicious circum-
stances, and assistance are coded primarily as assistances.
Information requests are listed separately.

In comparing demand patterns from survey data to those from
calls for service data (first to total calls for service, then to
calls from study neighborhoods only), important differences appear.
We expect greater differences when comparing survey results to calls
for service from the entire jurisdiction since the sample populations
are so different; only 11 percent of observed calls were from study
neighborhoods. This appears to be the case for some types of citizen
demands, but not others. In fact, patterns are surprisingly similar.
The only type of request with more than a 4 percent difference between
data sets involves nonviolent crimes (31 percent of survey requests,
only 17 percent of total calls for service). When comparing citizen
demand as measured by the citizen survey with demand measured by
calls for service from the study neighborhoods only, the difference
in percentages increases for interpersonal conflicts, public nuisances,
suspicious circumstances, and information requests. On the other
hand, percentages of survey requests about violent crimes, traffic
problems, and assistances draw closer when compared with neighborhood
calls for service.

Table 3-9

Components of Citizen Demand for Police Services: A Comparison Between Citizen
Survey and Calls for Service Data

	Citizen Survey					Calls for Service	
Type of Problem	Requests for Information	Requests for Assistance	Victimizations Reported to Police	Total	Percent of Total	Percent of Total Calls Observed	Percent of Calls From Study Neighborhoods Only
Violent Crimes			312	312	4%	2%	3%
Nonviolent Crimes		6	2,463	2,469	31%	17%	22%
Interpersonal Conflict		204	21	225	3%	7%	10%
Medical Assistance		251		251	3%	3%	2%
Traffic Problems		438		438	5%	9%	6%
Dependent Persons		130	1	131	2%	3%	3%
Public Nuisances		754	75	829	10%	11%	16%
Suspicious Circumstances		271	25	296	4%	5%	7%
Assistance		1,194		1,194	15%	12%	14%
Citizen Wants Information	1,908			1,908	24%	21%	4%
Citizen Gives Information						8%	10%
Internal Operations						2%	3%
Total	1,908	3,248	2,897	8,053		26,417	2,954

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Several factors explain the differences between the data sets.
First, the citizen survey noted citizens' recollections; calls for
service were observed. Second, the survey did not ask citizens
about efforts they had made to provide the police with information,
nor were any internal operations requests noted; these problems
represent 10 percent of total observed calls and 13 percent of calls
observed from study neighborhoods. Percentages of each type of call
are similar across data sets, with calls about nonviolent crimes,
public nuisances, and assistances common in both. Calls for informa-
tion represent about one fourth of the survey requests and of the
total observed calls for service, but only 4 percent of the calls
for service assigned a location code matching one of our study
neighborhoods. This is because for most information calls, police
operators did not ask for the caller's name or address. Instead
operators reduced "talk time" by simply answering the question,
transferring the call, or referring the caller. Very few observed
information calls were traceable to a specific location within a
study neighborhood. A final reason for the differences between the
two data sets is that all assistances and reported victimizations
from the citizen survey were considered to have been phoned in to
police by the respondent or a household member.

Distribution of Citizen Demands and Caller Attributes

Table 3-10 shows the distribution of survey data on requests
for information, assistance, and victimization, categorized by

callers' sex and race. This display parallels that of Table 3-4 for calls for service, with one difference. Calls data concern only individuals whereas the summed survey data include both individual (information calls) and household (assistance and victimization calls) data. Table 3-10, like Table 3-4, shows that sex has a negligible effect on citizens' calling patterns. Racial differences in calling patterns among survey respondents are slightly stronger than sex differences. Nearly 45 percent of requests from black respondents concerned the "serious" problems of crimes and interpersonal conflict, compared to only 35 percent of calls made by whites. This finding generally supports that from the observed calls data. Survey data indicate that a much lower percentage of blacks contact the police about interpersonal conflict than was suggested by calls data. Most of the other racial differences in calling patterns parallel those discussed earlier. The only other significant difference between the two data sets concerns calls for information. Observational data indicated that higher percentages of blacks than whites request information; survey data suggest the opposite. Findings from both sources are remarkably similar despite different sampling procedures.

Summary

Citizen demand for police services from two different data sources exhibited remarkable similarity; differences were attributable to factors associated with the research design and not to a "true"

difference in demand patterns. Requests for information comprise one of the largest segments of citizen demand for police service, yet are often ignored or bypassed. These calls may be the only contact many citizens have with their police. They also require operators' time and that of officers in other offices to whom calls are transferred or referred. Calls about crimes are also frequent, comprising about the same volume as information requests, although most involve nonviolent crimes or crimes against property such as burglary, break-ins, theft, and vandalism. About 80 percent of citizen requests are for noncriminal services, corroborating findings from previous studies.

Table 3-10

Distribution of Citizen Survey Data on Requests for Police Service
(Information, Assistance, and Victimization Calls Summed), by
Caller Attributes

	Sex		Race		Percent of Total Calls
	Male	Female	White	Black	
Violent Crimes	4%	4%	3%	7%	4%
Nonviolent Crimes	31%	30%	30%	33%	30%
Interpersonal Conflict	2%	3%	2%	5%	3%
Medical Assistance	3%	4%	3%	4%	3%
Traffic Problems	6%	5%	6%	4%	5%
Dependent Persons	1%	2%	1%	3%	2%
Public Nuisances	10%	11%	11%	8%	10%
Suspicious Circumstances	4%	3%	4%	3%	4%
Assistance	14%	16%	16%	14%	15%
Citizen Wants Information	25%	22%	25%	20%	24%
Total	3,385	4,705	5,805	2,141	8,110

Caller attributes are poor predictors of the types of requests the police receive. Neither sex nor race had any appreciable effect on demand patterns, although higher percentages of blacks than whites

called about "serious" problems such as interpersonal conflict.
Whites were more likely to call about property crimes. Most callers
were private citizens, although those calling on behalf of businesses
reported crimes against property more freq" ntly than other callers
did. Even when confronted with serious crime, citizens tend to report
it to the police only slightly more than half of the time; only 55
percent of victimizations were reported to police, including 62 percent
of incidents involving violent crimes and 53 percent of incidents
involving nonviolent crimes.

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of presenting the
full range of citizen demands on police when discussing calls for
service. Many scholars have failed to provide adequate description
of their demand categories. This not only makes it difficult to
determine the types of calls included within each category, but
renders comparative analysis of several data sets imprecise if
not impossible. Although there is general agreement that only
about 20 percent of calls to police involve criminal matters,
consensus about other patterns of citizen demand for police service
is sorely lacking. While a set of call categories applicable to
all departments or analyses is neither possible nor necessary,
specification of the components of each category is crucial.

CHAPTER 4
OPERATOR RESPONSE TO CITIZEN CALLS FOR SERVICE

The police telephone operator's role in filtering information has
been largely overlooked. Only recently, fueled by a growing emphasis
on technological improvements in record-keeping, call locating,
dispatching, and vehicle deployment has awareness of the fundamental
importance of the complaint operator. been recognized. Operator activity
is a prerequisite to initial patrol officer response. Operators must
gather pertinent information from callers, translate that information
into police-relevant symbols and terminology, and transmit it to
dispatchers who are then responsible for placing an officer at the
scene as soon as possible. Operators' discretion in handling calls
is nearly as great as that of officers in the field. Formulating a
response (sending a car, taking or offering information, transferring
or referring the caller to another agency or office) is a decision
operators must take rapidly and repeatedly.

An operator's response can have important consequences for callers
requiring immediate assistance in life-threatening situations or who
are in need of essential information. Citizens who are emotionally
strained are not always models of clarity, concision, or coherence.
While the turmoil and anxiety of a caller's mental state may be clear,
the information communicated by the caller can be sketchy and ambiguous.
Phone operators must be able to identify emergency calls and quickly
extract and record the information needed for police response. Although
their formal training is usually minimal, many operators acquire a
high level of skill on the job and become extremely proficient.

Operators' responses are also important for police-community relations. Many callers are not reporting anything; instead, they are calling for information about a variety of concerns, many of which are at best only marginally related to policing. The police operator must sort out calls that require a timely police response from a heterogeneous assortment of calls and callers. This task is frequently not an easy one. Yet operators may be the only police officials with whom many citizens interact. They frequently answer citizens' questions, refer callers to another agency, and generally act as a fount of community information. Their responses may be the basis upon which many citizens form opinions of their local police. Operators may foster strong citizen evaluation through prompt and courteous response, or they may create ill will with abrupt, impersonal, or incorrect answers.

Operators also exert considerable influence over the behavior of patrol officers. By assigning an incident type to a citizen's request, and by determining the language on a complaint card, operators may create a set of expectations that an officer must fulfill or else be prepared to explain and defend his actions. This chapter outlines the police telephone operator's role. It notes the largely unchecked discretion operators possess, their role as boundary-spanning personnel within the police bureaucracy, and their function as street-level bureaucrats. The chapter then turns to an analysis of the variety of responses available to operators and how they are affected by the type of call received. It concludes with a discussion of police referral strategies for handling service requests.

The Work Setting of Police Telephone Operators

In most departments telephone operators sit at a series of consoles or work stations. They are plugged into a rotary switching phone that allows them to "punch in" and answer any unanswered call on any of several incoming lines. Operators usually wear telephone headsets allowing free use of the hands while speaking with callers. The supervising officer usually has a separate desk or office equipped with a phone system that allows the officer to monitor any on-going conversation between a citizen and an operator. As an operator determines that a caller's problem warrants a police response of some type, the operator completes a form describing the location to which a unit will be sent, the name and address of the caller (if available), and the nature of the problem. These forms are often stamped by an automatic clock that prints the date and time, then forwarded to a dispatcher by means of a pneumatic tube, conveyor belt, or similar device.[1] Several departments have installed computer-assisted dispatching procedures which rely on cathode-ray terminal (CRT) displays for quick transfer of information. Operators usually enter information via CRT keyboards which can then be called up on the dispatcher's screen. Except in very small departments, where a single person often acts as both telephone operator and dispatcher, operators answer calls and record information, but do not assign

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[1] In rare emergency situations the phone operator might walk or run to the dispatcher, hand carrying the complaint slip. The study field staff observed a number of such instances, although they were infrequent. Similar findings are reported by Mladenka (1975: 106).

patrol units to respond to calls. This latter task is the responsibility

of dispatchers. Thus, in the link between citizen demands for

service and the arrival of patrol officers (or other responses to

a call), the complaint operator is the key decision maker in the

police bureaucracy.

Operator Responses

In the last chapter we saw the variety of problems that people

bring to police attention. We now examine operator's responses to

those problems. For each of the more than 26,000 observed calls, we

also recorded the operator's response(s).[2] Responses were grouped

into seven general categories and are shown in Table 4-1. Half the

time citizens were promised that a police unit would be sent in

response to their calls; 47 percent of responses were Unit Promised.

This total is more than the 30 percent of calls that Lilly (1977)

found dispatched in a small Kentucky department, less than Bercal's

(1970) figures of 60 percent of calls dispatched in New York, 64

percent in Detroit, and 79 percent in St. Louis, and less than

Shearing's (1972) 82 percent in Toronto. However, our data reflect

figures from small, medium-sized, and large departments. When

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[2]More than one response per call was possible; there were 1,513
calls in which operators made two responses and 47 calls in which they
made three responses. More than one response was coded only for calls
in which citizens mentioned more than one problem. For instance, a
caller might wish to report stolen property, then request information
about the laws governing illegally parked cars on private property;
the requests refer to separate problems. Thus we recorded 28,025
responses to 26,465 calls for service.

department size is controlled our findings somewhat parallel those

of earlier studies. Operators in large departments promised that

a unit would be dispatched in a higher percentage of calls for

service (54 percent) than did operators in medium-sized departments

(38 percent) or in small departments (33 percent).

The Unit Promised category also includes operator indication

that the police already know of the problem, that it is being taken

care of, or that a unit is already at the scene ("Yes, we've had other

calls on that. It's being handled."). Most responses in this category

refer to a patrol unit being sent ("We'll send a car right away.").

Occasionally a caller was promised a specialized unit (detectives,

juvenile officer, foot patrolman). Sometimes callers were told

specifically how long to expect to wait before a unit arrived. In

other cases, especially in-progress calls about breaking and entering

or prowlers, the operator kept the caller on the line until a patrol

unit arrived. Occasionally callers were told that an officer would

stop by to question them further about an incident that they had

participated in or witnessed. In some departments, policy dictates

that operators send a car whenever one is requested.

The great difference between calls in which a unit was promised

and those in which other responses were made is clear from Table 4-1;

the next most frequent operator response is Referral Made (16 percent

of all responses). Referrals were either to internal police department

units or to community agencies (both public and private).

Table 4-1

Police Telephone Operator Responses to Citizen Calls for Service

Operator Responses	N of Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of Calls
Unit Promised	13,196	47%	50%
Referral Made	4,539	16%	17%
Information Taken from Citizen	4,297	15%	16%
Information Provided to Citizen	2,309	8%	9%
Police Cannot Handle the Call	1,427	5%	5%
Call Transferred	1,207	4%	5%
Other, Don't Know Response	1,050	4%	4%
Total	28,025	100%	106%

Bercal (1970) found that approximately 12 percent of calls resolved without dispatch in Detroit and St. Louis were referred to outside agencies; another 36 and 10 percent, respectively, were referred or transferred to other police bureaus. However, both Lilly and Bercal found that only 2 to 4 percent of all calls were referred. The discrepancy lies in the definition of referral and in the size of the "information given" category (see below). We considered a response to be a referral whenever an operator promised to call another agency or public office on the citizen's behalf, or to provide (either upon request or voluntarily) the name and/or phone number of another bureau or agency that could better handle the citizen's concern. Often referral occurred when a citizen simply stated a problem; the operator then suggested that the citizen contact a particular agency. These discretionary referrals are quite common. Other times citizens requested the phone number of an agency or police unit; if provided by the operator, this was also considered a referral. Referrals involved operator intervention on behalf of a caller, as opposed to simply taking information. Further analysis of referrals is presented in a later section of this chapter.

Another frequent response was Information Taken From Citizen (15 percent of all responses). Not all of these responses involve operator action on behalf of the citizen; some simply require that the operator take information. For example, if the caller is a member of the night scrub crew at an office building and wants to alert police that lights will be on and people present, the operator may just acknowledge the call and make a note. For other calls, the operator may complete a report while the citizen is still on the phone. In still other cases, citizens may be told that the police will take care of the matter, but may not be told that a unit will be sent. Sometimes citizens are told that the police will call them back. This category did not appear in either Bercal's or Lilly's studies, but may be similar to the former's report-taking category that accounted for 6 percent of responses to calls in St. Louis.

Operators Provided Information to Citizens 8 percent of the time. Sometimes they simply answered a citizen's question, other times they talked with callers who were lonely and wanted someone to talk to. The operators often explained the circumstances surrounding a caller's particular problem or explained departmental policies (such as that for towing cars). Operators also listened to complaints about policies or officer conduct and explained the situation. Responses were coded in this category only if information provision was the primary response and no additional police action was promised. This is a stricter conception of information provision than that used in previous studies. Lilly (1977) found that 65 percent of all responses involved information provision. Bercal (1970) included these calls

within his "resolved without referral" category which comprised
18 percent of all calls in Detroit and 16 percent in St. Louis.

Five percent of the time operators said that Police Could Not
Handle the Call. In some cases no explanation was given; in other
cases, callers were told to call back if the problem persisted or
when certain offices were open or individuals were on duty ("The
computer is down. Call back later "or "The Juvenile Aid Bureau is
closed now but someone will be there in the morning."). Citizens
were occasionally told that no police action could occur unless the
citizen first filed certain papers or took some other action ("You'll
have to come back into the city to report that theft."or "You'll have
to bring a copy of the accident report with you."). Frequently the
police could not handle an incident because it occurred on private
property or outside their jurisdiction. If the operator told the
caller that the police could not handle the problem, mentioned that
some other agency could, and then provided the name or number of that
agency, the response was considered a referral; if no name or number
was provided, the response was coded as "police can't handle."

Four percent of operator responses were Call Transfers. Whenever
an operator provided a direct connection between the caller and
either an internal police unit such as the detective bureau or a
supervising officer, or to any other public or private agency,
responses were coded as call transfers. Several departments had
specific phone lines with separate numbers on which calls could be
transferred, while other departments had no transfer capabilities.
On some systems, any incoming call was transferable.

The remaining 4 percent of operator responses were classified as
Other or Don't Know. Often these were calls in which a coder could
not determine the response or the operator hung up before the conclu-
sion of the call. Also included were recorded alarm messages that
required no verbal response, and responses not classifiable in any
of the other categories.

In addition to coding the variety of operator responses, we also
noted operator demeanor. Field staff reported that frequently,
instead of stating to a caller that "We'll send a car right away,"
or "OK, I've got it. Thank you very much," operators would merely
acknowledge a caller with an abrupt "OK," "Yup," or other noncommital
answer. Although no statistical record of these responses was kept,
they were reported to site directors frequently enough to have been
commonplace. Sometimes the responses were issued during extremely
busy times when operators had no time to chat with callers.
Occasionally the fourth or fifth call about the same event would
receive only a guttural reply. Many calls were answered with no
indication of appreciation for the citizen's effort in alerting
police to a potentially dangerous situation. What effect these curt
answers and lack of signs of appreciation, however brief, may have
had on a citizen's propensity to call again when confronted with a
dangerous situation or suspicious circumstance is unknown. They are
not likely to create a positive image among callers.[3]

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[3]See Eric J. Scott and Stephen L. Percy (1979) "Improving Police
Telephone Operations," Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis,
Indiana University.

Analysis of Operator Responses by Subject of Call

Operators maintain considerable discretion in determining the proper police response to a caller's request. Their role is to translate direct citizen demands into official, bureaucratically recognized inputs. While we did not measure operator discretion directly, our data indicate great variation in range of operator responses to problems within a category. Table 4-2 shows operator responses to each of the 12 call types. These findings lend some support to the traditional view of police response, that a car will be sent to answer most calls. Table 4-2 also points out another key operator role, one overlooked by much of the literature: that of information broker.

"Unit Promised" is the most frequent response in 10 of the 12 call categories. However, the percentage of calls in which a unit is promised drops dramatically with the seriousness of the call. A unit was promised in 80 percent of calls about violent crimes, 74 percent of calls about interpersonal conflict, 71 percent of calls about suspicious circumstances, 70 percent of calls about public nuisances, 69 percent of calls about nonviolent crimes and medical assistances, but only 27 percent of internal operations calls and 2 percent of request for information. Units were promised in more than half of the calls in all but four categories: general assistance, information requests, information provision, and internal operations. Only for information requests and internal operations calls was promising a unit not the most frequent operator response.

Table 4-2

Police Telephone Operator Responses to Citizen Calls for Service, by Subject of Call

Subject of Call

Operator Response	Violent Crimes	Non-Violent Crimes	Inter-personal Conflict	Medical Assist-ance	Traffic Problems	Depend-ent Persons	Public Nuis-ances	Susp. Circum-stances	Assist-ance	Cit. Wants Info	Cit. Gives Info	Inter-nal Opers.	Total
Unit Promised	80%	69%	74%	69%	63%	60%	70%	71%	36%	2%	34%	27%	13,178
Information Taken	8%	14%	7%	11%	21%	11%	14%	20%	27%	3%	33%	45%	4,294
Referral Made	4%	5%	7%	13%	8%	13%	6%	2%	17%	45%	11%	4%	4,533
Information Provided	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	4%	29%	8%	13%	2,308
Police Can't Handle	3%	4%	7%	1%	4%	9%	5%	3%	7%	6%	5%	3%	1,422
Call Transferred	1%	1%	1%	4%	1%	3%	1%	1%	4%	12%	5%	5%	1,202
Other, Don't Know	3%	6%	3%	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	5%	4%	4%	3%	1,036
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Total Responses	681	4,613	1,843	955	2,573	836	3,121	1,284	3,262	6,020	2,118	667	27,973

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Although referrals were second in frequency to unit promised, most referrals occurred in response to citizens' calls for information. Operators referred 45 percent of these requests, more than three times the percentage of referrals made in any other category. Referrals were also common in general and medical assistance calls and in calls about dependent persons. Fewer referrals were made in calls about serious crimes than in other kinds of calls. The most common response to most types of calls, other than unit promised, was simply taking information. Taking information reflects operator discretion; operators may defer final disposition of a call. Sometimes they promised to return a citizen's call, offered to complete a report, told callers that the police would take care of the matter, and occasionally took information only, without further action. These responses, if not delivered properly, risk alienating callers who expect patrol unit response or other police action.

Other responses comprised only a small portion of the total responses for each type of call. Call transfers and information provision were most common when citizens requested information; in 98 percent of these calls no unit was promised. Operators indicated that police could not handle the call most often in requests about dependent persons, although this occurred in only 9 percent of these calls. This response may indicate as much about a citizen's request as it does about operator response; many of these calls did not involve police business. Operators took information almost twice as often in calls about nonviolent crimes as in calls about violent crimes or interpersonal conflict. More than one fourth of assistance

calls also received this response. In fact, in nearly two thirds of assistance calls operators did not promise a unit. Much of the time they merely took relevant information or made a referral.

Police telephone operators generally promise most callers that a unit will be sent, regardless of the nature of the call. Most categories follow a similar response pattern; unit promised is the most common response, with the next most frequent response at least 50 percent less. Although percentages vary, only in requests for information and internal operations calls (neither of which usually necessitate sending a car) is unit promised not the dominant response. Yet the operator's role as information taker, provider, and broker cannot be ignored. Responses in which a unit is not promised comprise no less than 12 percent, and as many as 77 percent, of the responses to each of the 12 types of calls identified. How much of this variation is the product of operator discretion is unknown, but it seems likely that discretion is commonly invoked in all but the most serious of citizen demands for service.

The frequency with which a unit is actually dispatched is not discernable from our data. Promising a unit may be one way that operators cope with their largely unguided discretion. They do not make the ultimate decision to send a patrol car; that decision rests with dispatchers, although they usually follow the operators' judgment. Since there is usually little departmental oversight of operator behavior, and little monitoring of operators' responses, operators may promise units simply to placate a caller. If so, many callers may become dissatisfied with their police when an officer does not

arrive. Departmental public relations might be greatly improved
with better operator training and closer monitoring of operator
responses to citizen callers. Percy (1979) suggests that citizen
expectation of response time affects citizen satisfaction with police
to a greater extent than citizen perception of response time. If
citizens are given an accurate indication of what to expect as a
result of their call, they may develop more esteem for their police
and may ultimately cooperate more with police in taking measures to
reduce crime.

Patterns of Police Referral

Definition of Referral

We have seen that the police employ a variety of methods to
handle citizens' service demands. One of the most common, and least
understood, is referral (see Scott, et al., 1979, for an extended
discussion of police referral). Often applied to patrol officer
actions upon initial field contact with offenders, referral implies
a reduction in the impact of the criminal justice system on individuals.
It attempts to direct or attach individuals to different agencies
either inside or outside the criminal justice system (Klein, 1973;
Long, 1973; Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975; Wilbanks, 1975). Advantages
are claimed for both the individual and the justice system. By under-
going rehabilitation, counseling, or other treatment from outside
agencies, individuals are often able to avoid justice system processing.
Police case handling time is supposedly reduced, fewer persons are
brought to trial, and resource and manpower allocation is conserved.

While numerous authors have recognized that referral by several
justice system agents can occur prior to final case disposition, few
have recognized that police referral can also be initiated by police
telephone operators. Gay, Schell, and Shack (1977) are exceptions.
In discussing the institution of effective police referral procedures,
they note the importance of operator referral in reducing police time
spent providing noncriminal services. They suggest that operator
referral allows additional patrol resources to be devoted to deterrence,
prevention, and apprehension activities. In this report referral is
broadly conceptualized to include operator activities. Referral is
defined as the act of directing callers either to specialized units
of the police department or to community resources outside the depart-
ment for more appropriate handling of the request. Community resources
are agencies or individuals that can provide necessary services.

Figure 1 is a police referral decision chart. Each numbered
path represents a specific referral decision. Figure 1 diagrams only
initial decisions not the entire referral process; it does not indicate
the ultimate effects of case disposition on referred individuals.
It shows that police referrals can be made by patrol officers,
members of specialized units (including juvenile officers or family
crisis team personnel) or by departmental telephone operators or
dispatchers. While most scholars have examined patrol officers'
referral activities, Figure 1 highlights the importance of telephone
operators in the referral process. Without prior operator action,
only officer on-view events or instances in which citizens flag
officers down could result in referral. If an operator ignores or

otherwise prevents a citizen's request from being filtered to the
dispatcher, no referral occurs. Calls to police involving social
service needs not requiring departmental action are usually referred
to community agencies outside the department (path 1). Calls involving
obvious social service needs may be referred directly to a specialized
police unit equipped to handle such calls (path 2) or may also be
given to dispatchers for patrol unit assignment (not considered a
referral, but rather a traditional means of case handling). Calls
not involving social services may also be referred to other agencies
outside the department (path 6).

An operator can refer by providing information to a caller
directly, by giving the telephone number or address of an appropriate
agency or internal office, or by making a call to an appropriate
source on behalf of the citizen. Operator referrals may be volunteered
or provided at the caller's request. Thus a police telephone operator
providing a citizen with the number of a family crisis counseling
center, either voluntarily or upon request, would be a social service
referral (path 1). Providing the number of the Public Works Department,
however, would not be a referral involving social services (path 6).
An operator directing a caller to another public or private agency
for action on a service matter not warranting police intervention
such as the presence of a dead animal in the road, a polluted stream,
or a housing code violation, would be a nonsocial service referral
(path 6). Our definition also includes more traditional police
referral activities -- those performed by officers on the street.

Figure 1

Police Referral Decision Chart
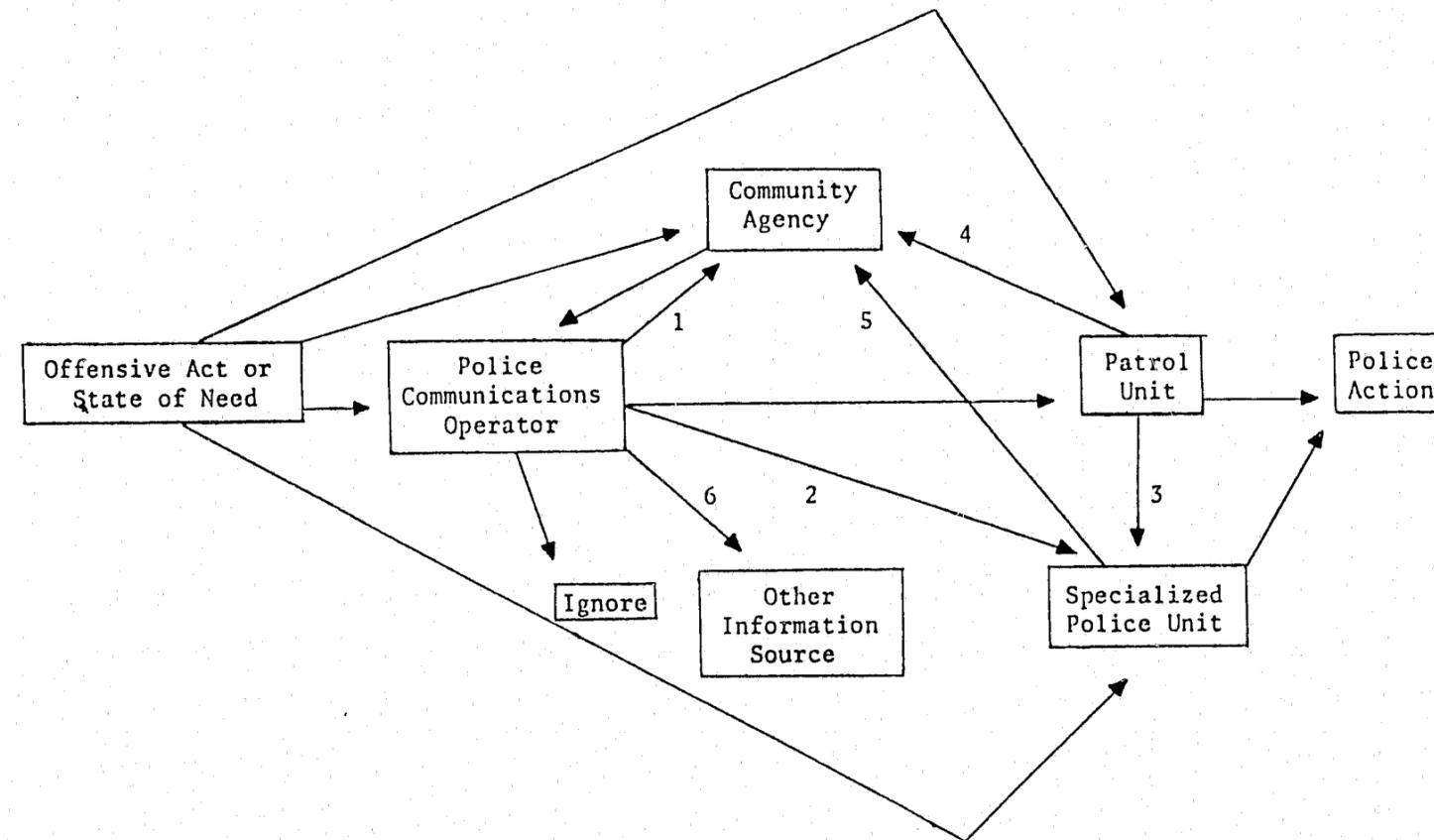
Referral Operationalized

On the Calls for Service Form observers coded as many as three operator responses to a citizen's call. A police referral was considered to be any of four operator responses:

(1) Operator/dispatcher says that she/he will call another agency or police unit for the citizen (direct call).

(2) At specific caller request, operator/dispatcher gives name and/or phone number of internal unit or other agency that handles this type of call (temporary information provision 1).

(3) Operator/dispatcher suggests or volunteers name and/or phone number of internal unit or other agency that handles this type of call; operator/dispatcher offers this information on own initiative without being asked (temporary information provision 2).

(4) Name and/or phone number of other agency or internal police unit provided to caller, undetermined whether at caller request or operator/dispatcher suggestion (temporary information provision 3).

There are two types of referral. Operators may contact another agency on behalf of a caller (direct call) or provide a caller with enough information to further pursue the inquiry (temporary information provision). Both operator actions involve directing citizens either to specialized internal police units or to external community resources for more appropriate case handling; they may or may not involve social service provision.

The distinction between information provision at specific caller request or by operator/dispatcher initiative was frequently difficult to make. Callers would often request specific information, but were uncertain if they had called the correct office. Sometimes callers would state a problem and operators would then suggest a particular

agency or office to contact for assistance. Our rule was to code such requests as temporary information provision unless it was clear that the caller had some knowledge of the office best suited to handling the call. A call was considered a police referral if operators made any one of these four responses. Because observers could code up to three problems to describe the nature of a call, they could also code as many as three responses per call. Tables in this section are based on the number of responses, not the number of cases.

Distribution of Referrals

Table 4-3 shows that of the 26,418 calls observed, 4,523 (17 percent) were referred by departmental telephone operators. Nearly one fifth of all observed calls were thus handled by a method infrequently recognized even by police agencies. The most commonly referred calls were requests for information, which accounted for 60 percent of all observed referrals. Another 12 percent were calls about general and nonemergency assistances. No other problem category represented more than 5 percent of total referrals. Calls about violent crimes and internal operations comprised less than 1 percent each.

Percentages of calls within each problem category that were referred are also shown in Table 4-3. Forty-five percent of calls in which citizens requested information were referred. Assistance requests were the next most frequently referred calls (17 percent),

followed by medical assistances and dependent persons (13 percent each).
An explanation for these findings is provided by Table 3-2. About
one fourth of all observed general assistance calls involved animal
problems, many of which were turned over to public or private
agencies such as the Humane Society. One fourth of medical assistance
calls required emergency transport; none of the departments studied
provided ambulance service, and most transportation requests were
referred to private ambulance companies.

Table 4-3

Citizen Calls for Police Service Referred by Departmental Telephone
Operators, by Type of Problem

Subject of Call	Number of Referrals	Percent of Total Referrals	Percent of Calls Referred in Each Category
Violent Crimes	30	1%	4%
Nonviolent Crimes	226	5%	5%
Interpersonal Conflict	118	3%	7%
Medical Assistance	124	3%	13%
Traffic Problems	197	4%	8%
Dependent Persons	106	2%	13%
Public Nuisances	179	4%	6%
Suspicious Circumstances	39	1%	2%
Assistance	547	12%	17%
Citizen Wants Information	2,692	60%	45%
Citizen Gives Information	235	5%	11%
Internal Operations	30	1%	4%
Total	4,523	100%	

Variation in percentages of calls referred in other problem
categories ranged from 2 percent of calls about suspicious circumstances
to 11 percent of citizen requests to provide information to police.
Table 4-3 indicates that police telephone operators generally refer
calls about violent and nonviolent incidents, interpersonal conflict,

and public nuisances and disturbances less frequently than they do
information requests, calls providing information, dependent persons,
and medical assistances. Although percentage differences across
problem categories are small, the data indicate that, with the
exception of medical assistances often handled by other agencies,
the more "serious" the call the less likely it will be referred.

Types of Referral and Distribution by Subject of Call

Table 4-4 shows types of operator referral and the subject of
the call. Referral involving temporary information provision account
for 90 percent of all referrals. Direct calls by the operator on the
citizen's behalf account for the remainder. Referral by operator
initiative was the most common type of referral in all but medical
assistance calls. Nearly 80 percent of the medical calls were
referred directly to ambulance companies by police operators.
Operators also made frequent calls on citizens' behalf in requests
about violent crimes, traffic problems, suspicious circumstances, and
general assistance. Traffic problems and assistance calls were often
referred to other agencies such as tow truck firms or to internal
offices such as the traffic bureau. Referrals of requests dealing
with violent crimes and suspicious circumstances, however, are not
as readily explained. Percentages of referrals for these calls are
probably more a function of the small number of cases than of any
other factor.

Referral by operator initiative is the most common type of
referral for most calls. Percentages of operator-initiated referrals

range from 88 percent of referrals of requests about nonviolent crimes
to only 16 percent of referrals of medical assistance calls. When
interpreting Table 4-4, readers should remember that the majority
of referrals are for calls in which citizens request information
from the police; percentages of referrals in other categories are
greatly affected as a result. Thus while only half the information
calls were referred on the operator's initiative, about three fourths
of the referrals in all other call categories were the result of
operator initiative.

Table 4-4

Citizen Calls for Police Service Referred by Departmental Telephone Operators,
by Type of Referral and Subject of Call (percentages are row percentages)

Type of Referral

Subject of Call	Operator Will Call	Referral at Caller Request	Referral by Operator Initiative	Referral, Initiator Unclear	Total Referrals
Violent Crimes	43%	3%	53%	--	30
Nonviolent Crimes	10%	1%	88%	1%	226
Interpersonal Conflict	19%	7%	75%	--	118
Medical Assistance	79%	4%	16%	1%	124
Traffic Problems	38%	3%	59%	--	197
Dependent Persons	11%	4%	85%	--	106
Public Nuisances	8%	5%	86%	1%	179
Suspicious Circumstances	26%	5%	69%	--	39
Assistance	26%	4%	69%	1%	547
Citizen Wants Information	1%	48%	49%	1%	2,692
Citizen Gives Information	14%	6%	80%	--	235
Internal Operations	13%	17%	70%	--	30
Total	476 (11%)	1,382 (31%)	2,623 (58%)	42 (1%)	4,523

Effects of Perceived Caller Attributes on Referral

In Chapter 3 we examined the relationships between perceived
caller attributes and the distribution of calls to police. Here we
are interested in the relationship between caller attributes and the
likelihood of a call being referred. Table 4-5 shows that perceived
caller attributes have little effect on likelihood of caller referral.
While 20 percent of black callers were referred, only 16 percent of
white callers were. Whether this represents different demand patterns
or operator bias is difficult to determine. The only attribute with
strong impact on likelihood of referral was the caller's position as
a private citizen, business representative, or government agency
representative. Fifteen percent of private citizens were referred
compared to only 7 percent of government agency representatives and
6 percent of business callers. This may be the result of private
citizens calling about a wider variety of problems than do business
or government representatives. Caller attributes had even less
effect on whether citizens were referred to social service agencies.

There were only minor differences in types of referral by
perceived caller attributes (Table 4-6). Blacks were proportionately
more likely to be referred at their own request than whites (37 percent
to 28 percent). Females were more apt than males to be referred at
operator initiative (60 percent to 56 percent). Government agency
representatives were proportionately more likely than private citizens
or business representatives to have their calls referred at their own
request (34 percent to 19 percent and 12 percent, respectively), but

were less likely to be referred on operator initiative (46 percent

compared to 66 percent of business representatives and 68 percent

of private citizens).

Table 4-5

Relationship Between Perceived Caller Attribute
and Likelihood of Police Referral

Perceived Caller Attributes	Percent Referred, Total	Percent Referred to Social Service Agency	N
Race			
White	16%	2%	19,176
Black	20%	3%	4,479
Sex			
Male	17%	2%	12,631
Female	18%	3%	13,448
Position			
Private Citizen	15%	2%	16,523
Business Representative	6%	1%	3,645
Government Agency Representative	7%	2%	1,245

Perceived caller attributes have little effect on the likelihood

of police referral, regardless of the subject of the call (table not

shown). Whites who request information from police are referred

proportionately less often than are blacks; females wanting information

are referred less often than are males. A much higher percentage of

government agency representatives are referred on internal operations

matters than are either private citizens or business representatives.

Many of these calls are from police officers transmitting citizen

requests for service. In St. Louis, for example, citizens reported

some problems to district stations, from where the duty officer called

central dispatching to relay the information.

Table 4-6

Relationship Between Perceived Caller Attributes
and Type of Police Referral

Percent of Referrals which are:

Caller Attributes	Operator Will Call	Referral at Caller Request	Referral by Operator Initiative	Referral, Initiator Unclear	Total Referrals Pct.	N
Race						
White	12%	28%	59%	1%	78%	3,147
Black	7%	37%	56%	1%	22%	880
						4,027
Sex						
Male	11%	33%	56%	1%	46%	2,080
Female	11%	29%	60%	1%	54%	2,405
						4,485
Position						
Private Citizen	13%	19%	68%	1%	89%	2,508
Business Representative	21%	12%	66%	--	8%	229
Government Agency Representative	19%	34%	46%	1%	3%	88
						2,825

Referral of Calls for Information

Citizen calls for information comprise the largest single element

of demand for police service. Sixty percent of all referrals occur

during information calls, and 45 percent of all information requests

are referred. We have examined the different types of requests that

citizens make and now turn to the kinds of information calls that are

referred and the types of referral they receive. Table 4-7 presents

seven types of information calls, the total number of each type

observed, and the total number of each type referred. More than one

third of all information calls concerned information about a particular

case or set of circumstances involving the police ("Is John Doe in jail?"). Another one-fourth were requests for a specific police unit (juvenile officer, detective, supervisor), and 23 percent dealt with police or crime-related information in general ("How many tickets does it take to lose a driver's license?" or "What are the best kinds of door locks to buy?"). One tenth of the requests asked for nonpolice-related information ("Why are the flags flying today?"). The remainder (9 percent) concerned traffic and nontraffic directions and unspecified information requests.

Nearly one half of the observed information calls were referred by police telephone operators. The remainder were handled by providing information, taking information, or indicating that police could not handle the request. The distribution of referred information calls parallels that for all information calls except that requests for specific units were referred twice as frequently as were calls requesting police or crime-related information; 72 percent of all requests for specific units were referred by operators.

Table 4-8 lists operators' referral responses to calls for information. Not surprisingly, 93 percent of requests for a specific police unit were referred at the caller's request, more than double the percentage of these referrals in any other information call category. Only 14 percent of information requests about specific cases were referred in this manner; 84 percent of these calls were referred by operator initiative. Here is an opportunity for operators to exercise their discretion. Apparently most callers wanting information about a particular case are uncertain which office to call. There were insignificant differences by type of call for referrals in which the operator offered to call on behalf of the citizen.

Table 4-7

Citizen Calls for Information, by Subject of Call

Calls About:	All Information Calls		Referred Information Calls	
	Pct.	N	Pct.	N
Information About Particular Case	34%	1,865	32%	852
Request for Specific Police Unit	25%	1,362	36%	974
Police or Crime-Related Information	23%	1,262	18%	486
Nonpolice-Related Information	10%	577	9%	242
Unspecified Information	5%	248	4%	116
Road Directions	3%	184	1%	16
Nontraffic Directions	1%	55	0%	6
Total	100%	5,558	100%	2,692

Table 4-8

Citizen Calls for Information, by Type of Referral

Calls About:	Operator Will Call	Referral at Caller Request	Referral by Operator Initiative	Referral, Initiator Unclear	Total Referrals Pct.	N
Information About Particular Case	2%	14%	84%	1%	32%	852
Request for Specific Police Unit	1%	93%	6%	0%	36%	974
Police or Crime-Related Information	1%	34%	63%	2%	18%	486
Nonpolice-Related Information	1%	26%	71%	2%	9%	242
Unspecified Information	2%	41%	53%	5%	4%	116
Road Directions	--	--	100%	--	1%	16
Nontraffic Directions	--	33%	67%	--	0%	6
Total	28	1,303	1,328	33	100%	2,692

Types of Referral Agencies

We have examined various types of referrals; now we turn to an analysis of the kinds of agencies that receive telephone operator referrals. We are particularly interested in those that provide social services. Table 4-9 notes the type of agency receiving each police referral. A complete list of referral agency types is included as Appendix 3. Internal Social Service Units are special units of an observed police department and include juvenile bureaus or counseling centers, family crisis intervention teams, and victim assistance programs. Internal Law Enforcement Units include all units, divisions, bureaus, or sections of an observed police department not included under internal social service units such as patrol units, detectives, administration, jail, line supervisory personnel, and animal control units. Community Social Service Agencies include all publicly or privately sponsored agencies handling one of the following selected social services: public intoxication, mental illness, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, family crises, runaways, victim assistance, aid to the elderly, aid to the indigent, suicide prevention, and emergency medical assistance. Included are the welfare department, unemployment office, health department, drug or alcohol rehabilitation units, family crisis and victim assistance programs, juvenile aid agencies, emergency shelters, and ambulances or other medical units including hospitals. Other Law Enforcement Agencies are agencies other than those we observed and include municipal police departments, county sheriffs' departments, courts, crime laboratories, prosecutors, and

probation departments. General Public Service Agencies are all nonpolice and nonsocial service agencies in a community such as sanitation, parks and recreation, street, and fire departments, and city hall. Private Service Agencies include all nonpublic and nonsocial service agencies and individuals that might receive police referrals including insurance companies, lawyers, telephone companies, tow truck firms and service stations, and private alarm or security firms.

Table 4-9 again reflects the number of responses, not the number of calls. As many as two agencies could be designated as the recipient of each referral. About 96 percent of referrals were made to a single agency, however. Fifty-four percent of all referrals were made internally and 23 percent went to other law enforcement agencies. General public service agencies received 11 percent of all referrals, while private service agencies and individuals received about 6 percent.[4] Only 8 percent of all agencies receiving referrals provided social services; 6 percent of all referrals were to community agencies, and 2 percent to internal police units. A total of 372 observed referrals went to social service agencies. Table 4-9 indicates that while referral may be a common police telephone operator technique for handling service requests, social service referral is relatively infrequent; less than 2 percent of all observed calls were handled by a social service referral.

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[4] Bercal (1970) found that 12 percent of all calls handled by the Detroit Police Department and 2 percent received by the St. Louis Police Department were referred internally. Four percent of Detroit calls and 2 percent of St. Louis calls were referred externally. Our data indicate that 9 percent of all calls were referred internally and 9 percent were referred externally.

There are no significant differences among types of referrals
to internal social service units, but considerable variation exists
among referrals to community social service agencies (Table 4-10).
Nearly one fourth of all calls made by operators on a citizen's
behalf went to community agencies, compared to only 2 percent of
caller requests and 5 percent of referrals by operator initiative.
Community social service providers rank with other law enforcement
agencies and general public service agencies as receivers of direct
call referrals.

Table 4-9

Types of Agencies Receiving Police Referrals

Agency Type	First Agency Coded		Second Agency Coded		Total	
	Pct.	N	Pct.	N	Pct.	N
Internal Social Service	2%	74	3%	5	2%	79
Internal Law Enforcement	53%	2,347	37%	65	52%	2,412
Community Social Service	6%	265	16%	28	6%	293
Other Law Enforcement	23%	1,026	17%	29	23%	1,055
General Public Services	11%	478	14%	25	11%	503
Private Services	6%	267	14%	24	6%	291
Total		4,457		176		4,633

More than three fourths of referrals made at the caller's request
were to internal offices and another 11 percent to other law enforce-
ment agencies. About 45 percent of referrals by operator initiative
were to internal offices, 28 percent to other law enforcement agencies,
12 percent to general public service agencies, 8 percent to private
agencies, and 7 percent to internal and external social service agencies.
Departments whose operators have a policy of calling on a citizen's

Table 4-10

Types of Referral, by Types of Agencies Receiving Police Referrals

Type of Referral	Internal Social Service Unit	Internal Law Enforcement Unit	Community Social Service Agency	Other Law Enforcement Agency	General Public Service Agency	Private Services	N
Operator Will Call	1%	19%	24%	25%	23%	7%	475
Referral at Caller Request	2%	77%	2%	11%	5%	2%	1,403
Referral by Operator Initiative	2%	45%	5%	28%	12%	8%	2,713
Referral, Initiator Unclear	5%	36%	10%	31%	7%	12%	42
							4,633

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behalf are thus more apt to produce more social service referrals
than are other departments. Referrals in which operators call on
behalf of citizens are more likely to involve social services (25
percent) than are any other type of referral; next highest are
referrals in which the initiator of the report is unclear (15 percent).

Table 4-11 shows the types of problems referred and types of
agencies receiving them. Clearly operators make most of their referrals
to internal police units or to other law enforcement agencies regardless
of the subject of the citizen's call. Regardless of the problem,
callers are infrequently referred to internal social service units.
More than three fourths of medical assistance requests are referred
to community social service agencies, however, largely because no
observed department provided ambulance service. One third of violent
crime referrals are also to outside agencies, but the number of these
is very small. Calls about interpersonal conflict and dependent persons
are routed to community social service agencies 13 and 14 percent of
the time, respectively.

Internal law enforcement offices received sizeable percentages
of referrals in all problem categories except violent crimes and
medical assistances; most were responses to citizens wanting to
receive or provide information (each 68 percent). The large number
of information requests inflates the overall percentage of calls
referred to internal police offices or units. Only three kinds of
calls were referred more often to internal units than to any other
source, while seven types of calls were most frequently referred to
other law enforcement agencies. Splitting the majority of their
referrals between internal police department offices and other law

Table 4-11

Types of Problems Referred by Police Telephone Operators, by Types of Agencies
Receiving Police Referrals

Percentage of Problems Referred to:

Type of Problem	Internal Social Service Unit	Internal Law Enforcement Unit	Community Social Service Agency	Other Law Enforcement Agency	General Public Service Agency	Private Services	Total Agencies
Violent Crimes	7%	7%	33%	50%	3%	--	30
Nonviolent Crimes	1%	22%	7%	51%	8%	11%	234
Interpersonal Conflict	2%	13%	13%	44%	3%	24%	129
Medical Assistance	--	7%	76%	12%	4%	1%	138
Traffic Problems	--	13%	3%	52%	20%	13%	197
Dependent Persons	5%	23%	14%	52%	2%	4%	111
Public Nuisances	59%	34%	2%	29%	13%	18%	181
Suspicious Circumstances	--	32%	5%	53%	8%	3%	38
Assistance	--	27%	6%	19%	38%	10%	551
Citizen Wants Information	2%	68%	3%	16%	7%	4%	2,747
Citizen Gives Information	2%	68%	1%	22%	3%	3%	241
Internal Operations	3%	42%	--	45%	3%	6%	31
Total Percent	2%	52%	6%	23%	11%	6%	
Total Agencies	79	2,410	293	1,052	503	291	4,628

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enforcement agencies were referrals dealing with every problem type
except medical and general assistances; the combined percentage of
referrals to these two categories ranged from 90 percent of calls
in which citizens wanted to provide information to 57 percent of
calls about violent crimes and interpersonal conflict. The highest
percentage of referrals to general public service agencies was 38
percent for general assistances; the highest percentage to private
services was the 24 percent of interpersonal conflict calls, many
of which were referred to lawyers and doctors.

Table 4-12 examines the percentage of various calls for information
that are referred to specific types of agencies. Nearly 70 percent
of these calls were referred internally to law enforcement offices;
84 percent of calls requesting a specific police unit were referred
internally. Calls requesting information about a particular case
were more likely to be referred to general public service providers.
Other law enforcement agencies accounted for 16 percent of the total
referrals, while social service agencies, both internal and external,
were mentioned in only 5 percent of the calls for information.

Summary

Police telephone operators are street-level bureaucrats, interacting
with the public in a manner that has direct bearing on citizens'
lives. They act as boundary spanners, assembling information and
channeling it upward through the police hierarchy as well as outward
to the public and laterally to police dispatchers and eventually to

Table 4-12

Types of Information Calls Referred by Police Telephone Operators, by Types of Agencies
Receiving Police Referrals

Percentage of Problems Referred to:

Type of Problem	Internal Social Service Unit	Internal Law Enforcement Unit	Community Social Service Agency	Other Law Enforcement Agency	General Public Service Agency	Private Services	Total Calls
Road Directions	3%	71%	3%	13%	7%	3%	119
Unspecified Information	1%	53%	6%	26%	9%	5%	495
Police-Related Information	2%	69%	2%	20%	3%	4%	878
Information About Case	--	19%	10%	22%	33%	16%	250
Nonpolice Information	--	27%	--	53%	13%	7%	15
Nontraffic Directions	--	14%	--	57%	29%	--	7
Request Unit	3%	89%	0%	6%	2%	0%	983
Total Percent	2%	68%	3%	16%	7%	4%	
Total Calls	51	1,880	81	440	188	107	2,747

patrol officers. Operators represent one of the primary contact
points between the police and the public. How well they perform
their role not only affects the public image of the department, but
helps determine the activities of patrol officers who must respond
to citizen calls for service. Police telephone operators enjoy
largely unchecked discretion in the way they handle citizens' calls
for service. Although they are often required by departmental
regulations to promise that a patrol unit will be sent if a citizen
requests one, analysis of more than 26,000 operator responses showed
that citizens were promised that a unit would be sent only half of
the time. The remaining citizen requests afford operators ample
opportunity to apply their discretion; they may answer a caller's
question or provide other information, transfer the caller to another
office, refer the caller to another agency, or simply take down the
information offered by the caller.

Operators thus act as information brokers not only for police
dispatchers and patrol officers, but for citizens as well; they took
information from or provided information to citizens 25 percent of
the time. As part of their information provision role, operators
referred nearly one in every five callers either to internal police
department offices or to external agencies. The more "serious" the
call, however, the greater the likelihood of operators promising a
unit and the less the chance of a call being referred. Caller
attributes had little effect on whether a call was referred. Most
referrals went to internal police department offices rather than to
external agencies. Only 8 percent of all referrals went to social
service agencies. Data thus indicate that referral is a common (if
often overlooked) technique for police call handling, and a major
source of police telephone operator discretion.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Discussions of patterns of citizen demand for police service
and of telephone operator response have been scant. Yet research
on calls for service can show the range of citizens' service requests.
Research on operator response can explain one of the primary inter-
faces between the police and the public. Analysis of demand and
response can be useful to police administrators in establishing
policies and guidelines for communications personnel, in determining
personnel deployment, in fostering positive police-community relations,
and in improving initial police response to calls for service. This
chapter summarizes the major findings of this report and examines
their implications for police policy making.

Implications of Call Classification Schemes

Patterns of citizen demand on the police are largely determined
by the composition of schemes for classifying calls for service.
Classification is of crucial importance to police administrators,
who must determine the extent and nature of demand on their departments,
as well as to scholars interested in police personnel policies and
resource deployment. A review of recent literature indicates that
no consensus exists about how calls for service should be categorized,
and suggests that such a consensus is probably unattainable. Many
departments have well-established series of incident codes for use
in classifying calls and from which they complete statistical reports.

The addition or subtraction of a single type of call to or from any category may result in a large swing in the percentage of calls assigned to either category.

In the absence of a wholesale adoption of a consistent set of call categories by either scholars or police administrators, comparison of demand patterns among departments is problematic. No single classification scheme can encompass the multiple aspects of some problems brought to police attention, such as public nuisances, family quarrels, or personal injury traffic accidents. Call classification schemes are likely to remain arbitrary and individualistic. Despite this, data in this report from two different sources corroborated that of previous studies in concluding that only about 20 percent of citizen calls to police involved criminal matters.

What is necessary, then, is careful specification of the components of each call classification scheme before any conclusions are drawn or comparisons made involving patterns of service demand on police. Specification of call categories will provide clearer pictures of citizen demand for police administrators, who must classify calls for reports to external sources such as the FBI or the city council, and for internal reports used in departmental planning. Specification also allows scholars to compare demand patterns from communities of varying size and among police agencies organized in various ways. Specification helps control for different classifications and permits more careful examination of other factors affecting citizen demand.

The Importance of Citizen Calls for Information

This study showed that more than one fifth of all observed calls for service were citizen requests for information. Although about 19 percent of all calls dealt with crimes, only 2 percent concerned violent crimes such as homicide, sexual attack, aggravated assault, and robbery. Most studies of citizen demand, as well as police department records, generally ignore information calls because they rarely lead to dispatch of a patrol unit. Consequently, calls about crimes become a larger percentage of "total" calls than they should be, creating the appearance of a heavier police crime-fighting workload.

Another consequence of overlooking information calls is that one of the largest single sources of demand on police is often totally ignored, or at best relegated to second-class status. While we reported no evidence of the amount of time operators spend answering information requests, it is plausible that this time equals or surpasses that required to answer criminal calls. Some departments have attempted to avoid tying up their operators with nonemergency requests by adding another layer of telephone answering personnel called report writers. These operators are often assigned calls which require dispensing information or taking reports, thereby freeing other personnel to handle emergency calls and other "police business." But when one fifth of all calls are information requests, they too become police business. The significance of the manner in which operators respond to these calls also cannot be ignored.

Importance of Demand Patterns for Call Prioritization and Patrol Officer Workload

Analysis of calls for service is critical to systems for call prioritization. Patrol managers interested in implementing a directed patrol program may be able to free officer time for directed patrol by having operators screen from the dispatch queue calls not requiring immediate response, or by developing alternative response patterns such as referral. This report found that operators make referrals 17 percent of the time, second in frequency only to promising that a unit will be sent. Nearly 50 percent of the calls observed were handled by communications personnel, either through referral or transferral of calls or by taking or providing information. One report estimated that every call handled without dispatch permitted a department to engage in approximately 40 additional minutes of patrol activity (Gay, Schell, and Schack, 1977). Of course, less patrol unit time spent responding to calls for service may mean more operator time spent answering calls, and a possible increase in the number of operators on duty.

Importance of Operator Referral

Although there were differences by subject of call in the extent to which a unit was promised callers, higher percentages of callers with "serious" problems were promised a unit than were callers with less serious problems. Conversely, the less serious the call, the greater its chance of being referred. Referral was most commonly

carried out through temporary provision of information to the citizen (providing the caller with enough information for him to pursue the matter further himself). In only 10 percent of referrals did the operator call another office on the citizen's behalf. Slightly more than half of the referrals were made internally; most external referrals were to other law enforcement agencies. Very few referrals were to social service providers, either internal or external. Larger departments, supporting more offices to which citizens can be referred, were more likely than smaller agencies to make referrals.

Improving Citizen Evaluation by Relaying Expected Response Time

Call prioritization may result in delayed police response to noncritical calls. Delayed response does not necessarily lead to a decline in citizen satisfaction with the police, however. Pate, et al. (1976) found that in Kansas City citizen evaluations of police response time were more closely related to their expectations about response time than to actual response time. Research indicated that citizens were willing to receive a delayed response to their call as long as they were told that a unit would not be dispatched immediately and as long as the unit eventually arrived at the time designated by the operator. Most callers are given very little information about what to expect as a result of their call. While a unit was promised in nearly half of all calls observed in this study, in less than 1 percent of these calls were citizens told how long to expect to wait until a unit would arrive. Accurate operator

estimation of patrol unit arrival time might improve citizen

satisfaction with the police (Percy, 1979).

Improving Police-Community Relations Through Operator Response

For many of the 50 percent of citizens who are not promised a
unit when they call the police, the telephone operator is their
only contact with a police official. Our research suggested that
operators often treat callers brusquely, or even rudely. Poor
treatment by operators may discourage citizens from calling the
police in the future if they see a suspicious person or a dangerous
circumstance; citizens may also refuse to cooperate with police in
other ways. An operator who thanks citizens for a call wastes
little telephone time, may reap considerable public relations
benefits, and may increase overall citizen evaluation of and
satisfaction with the police.

When citizens call the police, it usually means that they
require information and/or assistance, sometimes in the form of
direct intervention in their private lives, sometimes through in-
direct intervention (through involvement with third parties), and
sometimes through simple information provision. Citizens often
want the police to investigate something that has occurred, to
help them handle something that is occurring, or to help prevent
something that might occur. For citizens to make rational decisions,
including the decision to call the police, they need information
about what the police plan to do with their call. Lack of information

provision by operators can be aggravating to callers who have not
been promised a patrol unit or who have not been given other
specific information about the manner in which the police will
respond to their call. We found that in 5 percent of observed
calls for police service, citizens were told that the police could
not handle their call. Often this response was accompanied by a
reason, such as certain offices were closed or specific individuals
off-duty. But in nearly one third of these calls, operators offered
no explanation for police unwillingness to act. If police agencies
find that callers are being treated rudely by citizens, they may
wish to institute stricter supervisory control.

Police Telephone Operators as Street-Level Bureaucrats

Police telephone operators are street-level bureaucrats. They
exercise discretion in almost every call they handle, largely
because of the nature of their job, but also because there is little
strict supervision of their activities. Operators may even use their
discretion in the face of departmental rules that stipulate when
a unit must be sent. Alternatively, to avoid the consequences of
making a bad judgement about not sending a car, operators may often
elect to send a car in cases where none is required. Although we
collected no specific data on operator discretion, it is evident
from the range of responses recorded in each of the 12 call categories
that discretion is common among police telephone operators.

Importance of Operator Activity to Patrol Officers

In addition to reducing officer workload by alternative methods
of call handling, police telephone operators determine the quality
and quantity of information used by dispatchers in assigning patrol
units. Research reported here has merely highlighted this point.
While it has concentrated on the citizen-operator exchange, research
into the kinds of information an operator receives and transmits is
sorely lacking. This report notes the effects of different types
of calls on the form of an operator's response. What is needed in
addition is a study of the effects of factors such as call types,
caller attributes, location of the caller, and departmental organiza-
tional variables on the information flow and exchange process among
citizens, operators, dispatchers, and patrol officers. Only through
a careful examination of information exchange among these actors can
departmental administrators obtain a clear picture of the types and
amount of useful information initially available to operators that
is eventually transmitted to patrol officers. Such a study, if it
discovered severe problems of information truncation, distortion,
or loss, could be invaluable in identifying and correcting the sources
of these problems and in describing and explaining the initial police
response process.

Improving the Quality of Initial Police Response

Throughout this study we have focused on the types of demands
citizens place on their police and on how police initially respond.

Police telephone operators are usually the first contact for citizens
calling the police; their primary objective is effective transmission
of information between citizens in need of assistance and the agents
that can provide it. We have seen that in only about half of all
calls for service are cars dispatched; operators must either answer
the remainder themselves or transfer or refer them to other offices.
Operators who do their job well can provide invaluable assistance
to citizens while improving the public image of the department; they
can directly affect the quality of service that citizens receive.

If police officials would recognize the importance of telephone
operators as community representatives then several policy changes
might be forthcoming. Kelling (1978) suggests that police have
paid too much attention to the technological aspects of communications.
Scott and Percy (1979) concur, arguing that recent innovations in
communications and information processing do not diminish the import-
ance of telephone operator activities. They point out the crucial
functions of operators not only in processing service requests, but
in handling many of these requests themselves.

One major step in police recognition of the importance of phone
operators would be to upgrade and professionalize their job status.
Operators currently receive very little formal training. Institution
of courses dealing not only with the mechanics of operating the phone
system, but with interpersonal communication skills, handling
emergency situations, and maintaining courteous relations with
callers could greatly improve operator behavior and enhance citizen
satisfaction. Operators hear the same complaints and problems time

and time again, but to the caller it may be the first time he or
she has been faced with such a disturbing situation. Operators
must become sensitized to the potentially dramatic contrast between
their perceptions and those of callers; they must become sympathetic.
What is unimportant and mundane to the operator may be of crucial
concern to the caller; it must become the operator's job to share
that concern and seek to alleviate it. Operators might also become
professionalized through better personnel recruitment and selection
procedures, training which emphasizes professional norms, and job
restructuring which could enhance the pay and status of phone operators
(Antunes and Scott, 1979). The cost of improving complaint operator
behavior is likely to be minimal compared to the gains in goodwill
and enhanced cooperation from the general public.

To help ensure courteous and efficient operator behavior, police
officials should institute higher levels of supervision. Operator
supervision is usually minimal, stemming largely from the prevalent
police image of phone operations as a necessary but nonglamorous
internal support function. Granted, it is difficult to establish
strict supervision over operators who handle high volumes of calls
for service as rapidly as possible. Yet supervisors in most depart-
ments have the capacity to monitor selected calls by listening to
the citizen-operator exchange on an extension phone. Additionally,
many departments tape record their incoming calls. Scott and Percy
(1979) suggest that by reviewing operator behavior through monitoring
tapes of selected calls, or by using these tapes for training purposes,
"increased supervision should encourage greater adherence to departmental

guidelines, increased quality of information obtained from callers,
and improved treatment of callers." By recognizing the impo: ance
of the police telephone operator's role, upgrading and professional-
izing their job status, establishing training programs which help
sensitize operators to callers' problems, and insisting on strict
monitoring and supervisory procedures, police officials could take
an important first step toward bolstering citizen attitudes and
evaluations of police as well as toward improving police performance
in responding to service requests.

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Appendix 1

CALLS FOR SERVICE FORM

CALLS FOR SERVICE/DISPATCH RECORDS FORM

CALL CODER

DEPT_____ CODING DATE __/__ __ | IN CURRENT   NO   YES |
                                               | SAMPLE AREA?   Coder |

FORM # _0_ _8_ JURIS/NEIGH ___ ___ [_____] SHIFT ID ___ ___

CALL SEQ # ___ ___ ___   DEPT COMPLAINT # _____   CALL DATE __/__ __

CITIZEN _____ H PH _____ B PH _____

ADDRESS _____ LOCATION _____

REQUEST _____

_____

_____

RESPONSE _____

_____

___ : ___   ___ : ___   PUT ON HOLD? _____   OBSERVER IN CAR?
TIME CALL RCVD   TIME CALL END   UNIT # SENT
                              NO-1 YES-2   NO-1 YES-2

CALLER

C	SEX: M-1 F-2 DK-9	STATE: CLM-1 UPS-2 ANG-3 UPS & ANG-4 DK-9
A		
L	RACE: BLK-1 LAT-2 NAT-3	POSITION: RES-1 BUS-2 GOV AGENCY-3 DK-9
L		
E	OTH ACCENT-4 DK-9	NAME: GIV/OBT-1 NO ASK-2 REF-3 UNINTEL-4
R	AGE: YNG-1 MID-2 OLD-3 DK-9	PROG?: NO-1 YES-2 DK-9 / WEPN?: N-1 Y-2 DK-9

PROBLEM CODES

DATA SOURCE: TAPE / LIVE / RECORDS /_____   SELECTED FOR DEBRIEFING? NO-1   YES-2 ___
                                                                                    Coder

PATROL ____/_____ _____ _____   LETTER SENT ___/___ ___
CASE # JURIS NEIGH SHIFT ID SEQ #   Date   ID #

_0_ _8_ ___ ___/___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___/___ ___
1   3   5   7   9   12   15
FORM # JURIS NEIGH SHIFT ID SEQ # CALL CODER MO DAY

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
18   21   24   27   29 30 31 32 33 34 35
PROB #1 PROB #2 PROB #3 PH TIME HOLD SEX RAC AGE STA POS NAM

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
36 37 38   40   42   44   47   51   53
PROG WPN RESP #1 RESP #2 RESP #3 DISP CODER *DEPT INCIDT CODE ASSNMT #1 ASSNMT #2

___ : ___ ___ : ___ ___ : ___ ___ : ___
55   59   63   67
TIME RCVD TIME DISPATCHED TIME ARRVD TIME BACK IN SERVICE

PATROL ENCOUNTER CASE #: ___/___ ___ ___ ___ ___   DEBRIEFING? ___
                        71   73   75   77   80
                        JURIS NEIGH SHIFT ID SEQ #

Coding Checked _____ Keypunched _____ Verified _____

Appendix 2

CITIZEN SURVEY FORM

CHECK if citizen
leader or neighborhood
organization is
named _____
BY   _____

POLICE SERVICES
CITIZEN · SURVEY

COVER PAGE
FORM 01

COMPLETION #_____

SEX   M   F

Jurisdiction _____

Neighborhood _____

Sequence # _____

↑   ↑
ATTACH SAMPLE SLIP HERE

COMPLETION LOG   13- 1

COMPLETED BY _____ #___ ___ ___   14-___ ___ ___

Date of Interview _____   17-___ ___
                                                                  mo.   day

Total minutes _____   20-___ ___

Total calls to complete _____   22-___ ___

COMMENTS: _____   24-___ ___ ___

_____   27-___ ___

                                                                29-___

ROUTING RECORD

	COMPLETED BY	SUPER-VISOR	LOGGED	SOS VALID	EDIT	BATCHED	KEY	VER	BATCHED	FS VAL
1										
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POLICE SERVICES STUDY - CITIZEN SURVEY

Hello. My name is _____. I'm part of a research team studying the local police. I would like to have about 15 minutes of your time to ask some questions about police SERVICES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD.

First, I would like to ask about your immediate neighborhood, just the two or three blocks right around your house.

NOTE TIME OF BEGINNING INTERVIEW HERE: ___:___ a.m. / p.m.

1. About how long have you lived in your neighborhood? _____ Years   30- ___ ___
   _____ Months   32- ___ ___

   IF LESS THAN ONE MONTH, TERMINATE INTERVIEW HERE.

   ALSO, IF RESPONDENT MIGHT BE LESS THAN 16, ASK AGE AT THIS POINT. IF RESPONDENT IS LESS THAN 16, ASK TO SPEAK TO ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD WHO IS OLDER THAN 16.

2. What police force serves your neighborhood? _____   34- ___ ___
   _____   36- ___ ___

3. How would you rate the overall quality of police services in your neighborhood? Remember, we mean the two or three blocks right around your home. Are they OUTSTANDING, GOOD, ADEQUATE, INADEQUATE or VERY POOR?
   1( )Outstanding   38-
   2( )Good   1 2 3 4 5
   3( )Adequate
   4( )Inadequate   6 9 +
   5( )Very poor
   6( )Non-existent
   9( )Don't know

4. (FOR THOSE WHO HAVE LIVED IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD AT LEAST ONE YEAR)
   Do you think crime in your neighborhood in the last year has INCREASED, DECREASED or STAYED THE SAME?
   1( )Increased   39-
   2( )Decreased   1 2 3 9 +
   3( )Stayed the same
   9( )Don't know

5. Do you think some neighborhoods in (jurisdiction) get better police services than your neighborhood?
   1( )Yes   40-
   2( )No   1 2 9 +
   9( )Don't know

6. Do you think that your police department tries to provide the kind of services that people in your neighborhood want?
   1( )Yes   41-
   2( )No.   1 2 9 +
   9( )Don't know

7. How likely do you think it is that your home will be burglarized in the next year? Do you think it is VERY LIKELY, SOMEWHAT LIKELY or NOT AT ALL LIKELY?
   1( )Very likely   42-
   2( )Somewhat likely   1 2 3 9 +
   3( )Not at all likely
   9( )Don't know

8. How about vandalism, how likely do you think it is that your home will be vandalized in the next year? Do you think it is VERY LIKELY, SOMEWHAT LIKELY or NOT AT ALL LIKELY?
   1( )Very likely   43-
   2( )Somewhat likely   1 2 3 9 +
   3( )Not at all likely
   9( )Don't know

9. How likely do you think it is that you will be robbed by someone with a weapon in your neighborhood in the next year? Do you think it is VERY LIKELY, SOMEWHAT LIKELY or NOT AT ALL LIKELY?
   1( )Very likely   44-
   2( )Somewhat likely   1 2 3 9 +
   3( )Not at all likely
   9( )Don't know

10. Do you think your police should use their squad cars to transport seriously sick or injured persons to a doctor or a hospital?
    1( )Yes   45-
    2( )No   1 2 9 +
    9( )Don't know

11. Do you think that your police should help to quiet family disputes if they get out of hand?
    1( )Yes   46-
    2( )No   1 2 9 +
    9( )Don't know

12. Do you think your police should handle cases involving public nuisances, such as barking dogs or burning rubbish?
    1( )Yes   47-
    2( )No   1 2 9 +
    9( )Don't know

13. When the police are called in your neighborhood, in your opinion, do they arrive VERY RAPIDLY, QUICKLY ENOUGH, SLOWLY or VERY SLOWLY?
    1( )Very rapidly   48-
    2( )Quickly enough   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Slowly
    4( )Very slowly   9 +
    5( )Not at all
    9( )Don't know

Now I am going to read some statements about city government and the police. Would you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

14. The local government is concerned about your neighborhood. Do you AGREE or DISAGREE? Do you feel strongly about this?
    1( )Strongly agree   49-
    2( )Agree   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Neutral
    4( )Disagree   9 +
    5( )Strongly disagree
    9( )Don't know

15. Policemen in your neighborhood are basically honest. Do you AGREE or DISAGREE? Do you feel strongly about this?
    1( )Strongly agree   50-
    2( )Agree   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Neutral
    4( )Disagree   9 +
    5( )Strongly disagree
    9( )Don't know

16. A person can't get any satisfaction out of talking to the public officials in your community. Do you AGREE or DISAGREE? Do you feel strongly about this?
    1( )Strongly agree   51-
    2( )Agree   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Neutral
    4( )Disagree   9 +
    5( )Strongly disagree
    9( )Don't know

17. The police in your neighborhood are generally courteous. Do you AGREE or DISAGREE? Do you feel strongly about this?
    1( )Strongly agree   52-
    2( )Agree   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Neutral
    4( )Disagree   9 +
    5( )Strongly disagree
    9( )Don't know

18. People here are not likely to call the police when they see something suspicious in your neighborhood. Do you AGREE or DISAGREE? Do you feel strongly about this?
    1( )Strongly agree   53-
    2( )Agree   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Neutral
    4( )Disagree   9 +
    5( )Strongly disagree
    9( )Don't know

19. The police in your neighborhood treat all citizens equally according to the law, Do you AGREE or DISAGREE? Do you feel strongly about this?
    1( )Strongly agree   54-
    2( )Agree   1 2 3 4 5
    3( )Neutral
    4( )Disagree   9 +
    5( )Strongly disagree
    9( )Don't know

VICTIMIZATION SCREENER

Now I want to ask you whether the following crimes have happened to you or to members of your household during the past 12 months.

20. Since (June/July) 1976, has anyone tried to take something from you or any member of your household by using force? (IF "YES": ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
55-___ ___

21. Were you or anyone in your household beaten up, attacked or hit at any time since (June/July) 1976? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
57-___ ___

22. In the past year, did anyone break into your house or car, or remove any property from your house or car without consent? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
59-___ ___

23. In the last year, has anyone in your household had a purse, a wallet, a watch, or any other personal item stolen? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
61-___ ___

24. Did anyone steal a car from a member of your household during the past year? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
63-___ ___

25. Has anyone vandalized your house since (June/July) 1976? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
65-___ ___

26. Are there any other crimes that have happened to you or others in your household since (June/July) 1976? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many times? and complete VICTIMIZATION SHEET)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
67-___ ___

27. To the best of your knowledge, have any of your neighbors been the victim of any criminal activity during the past year? (IF "YES"; ASK: How many incidents?)
( )Yes:___times
( )No
( )Don't know
69-___ ___

<u>GO TO QUESTION 68 ON PAGE 10</u>

VICTIMIZATION SHEET NUMBER 1

28. When did this happen?

	1976		1977		71-__ __
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May		
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June		
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July		
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.		

88( )Prior to June 1976 (RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER)

29. What happened? _____
_____
_____
73-__ __
75-__ __
77-__ __

30. Where did this happen? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/county) or OUTSIDE (city/county)?

(RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER) [
1( )At your home
2( )On your block
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neighborhood but in (name of city/county)
5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know
79- 1 2 3 4 5
 9 +
13- 2

31. Was this reported to the police?
1( )Yes (GO TO Q.33)
2( )No (GO TO Q.32)
9( )Don't know (GO TO Q.33)
14- 1 2 9 +

32. (IF "NO") Why wasn't it reported?
1( )Police came by, noticed by police (GO TO Q.33)
15-__ __
17-__ __

RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER

2( )Nothing taken, attempted crime only
3( )Not important, little damage
4( )Lack of proof, suspect unknown
5( )Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything
6( )Too inconvenient or unable to report
7( )Private or personal matter, handled without police
8( )Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself
9( )Fear of reprisals, afraid to call
10( )Reported to someone other than police
11( )Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)
12( )Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded
13( )Didn't want to get friend in trouble
14( )Just didn't
88( )Other:_____
99( )Don't know
++( )Refused to answer

33. (IF "YES") How many minutes did it take the police to arrive?
_____ Minutes (ASK Q.34 & Q.35)
19-__ __ __

CODE MINUTES OR: [
-1( )Came next day or later
-2( )Police never came
-9( )Don't know
] GO TO Q. 35

34. Was this faster, slower, or about the same as you had expected?
1( )Faster
2( )Slower
3( )As expected
9( )Don't know
22- 1 2 3 9 +

35. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know
23- 1 2 3 4 5
 9 +

-- RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER --

VICTIMIZATION SHEET NUMBER 2

36. When did this happen?

	1976		1977		24-___ ___
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May		
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June		
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July		
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.		

88( )Prior to June 1976 (RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER)

37. What happened? _____   26-___ ___

_____   28-___ ___

_____   30-___ ___

38. Where did this happen? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/county) or OUTSIDE (city/county) ?

1( )At your home
2( )On your block
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neighborhood but in (name of city/county)

(RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER) [5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know

35-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

39. Was this reported to the police?

1( )Yes (GO TO Q.41)
2( )No (GO TO Q.40)
9( )Don't know (GO TO Q.41)

36-
1 2 9 +

40. (IF "NO")
Why wasn't it reported?

37-___ ___

1( )Police came by, noticed by police (GO TO Q.41)   39-___ ___

RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER
[2( )Nothing taken, attempted crime only
3( )Not important, little damage
4( )Lack of proof, suspect unknown
5( )Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything
6( )Too inconvenient or unable to report
7( )Private or personal matter, handled without police
8( )Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself
9( )Fear of reprisals, afraid to call
10( )Reported to someone other than police
11( )Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)
12( )Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded
13( )Didn't want to get friend in trouble
14( )Just didn't
88( )Other: _____
99( )Don't know
++( )Refused to answer

41. (IF "YES")
How many minutes did it take the police to arrive?   _____ Minutes (ASK Q.42 & Q.43)   41-___ ___ ___

CODE MINUTES OR:
[-1( )Came next day or later
-2( )Police never came
-9( )Don't know
] GO TO Q. 43

42. Was this faster, slower, or about the same as you had expected?

1( )Faster
2( )Slower
3( )As expected
9( )Don't know

44-
1 2 3 9 +

43. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?

1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

45-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

-- RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER --

VICTIMIZATION SHEET NUMBER 3

44. When did this happen?

	1976		1977		46-___ ___
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May		
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June		
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July		
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.		

88( )Prior to June 1976 (RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER)

45. What happened? _____   48-___ ___

_____   50-___ ___

_____   52-___ ___

46. Where did this happen? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/county) or OUTSIDE (city/county)?

1( )At your home
2( )On your block
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neighborhood but in (name of city/county)

(RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER) [5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know

57-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

47. Was this reported to the police?

1( )Yes (GO TO Q.49)
2( )No (GO TO Q.48)
9( )Don't know (GO TO Q.49)

58-
1 2 9 +

48. (IF "NO")
Why wasn't it reported?

59-___ ___

1( )Police came by, noticed by police (GO TO Q.49)   61-___ .

RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER
[2( )Nothing taken, attempted crime only
3( )Not important, little damage
4( )Lack of proof, suspect unknown
5( )Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything
6( )Too inconvenient or unable to report
7( )Private or personal matter, handled without police
8( )Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself
9( )Fear of reprisals, afraid to call
10( )Reported to someone other than police
11( )Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)
12( )Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded
13( )Didn't want to get friend in trouble
14( )Just didn't
88( )Other: _____
99( )Don't know
++( )Refused to answer

49. (IF "YES")
How many minutes did it take the police to arrive?   _____ Minutes (ASK Q.50 & Q.51)   63-___ ___ ___

CODE MINUTES OR:
[-1( )Came next day or later
-2( )Police never came
-9( )Don't know
] GO TO Q. 51

50. Was this faster, slower, or about the same as you had expected?

1( )Faster
2( )Slower
3( )As expected
9( )Don't know

66-
1 2 3 9 +

51. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?

1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

67-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

-- RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER --

VICTIMIZATION SHEET NUMBER 4

52. When did this happen?

	1976			1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.		8( )Jan.	12( )May	
2( )July	6( )Nov.		9( )Feb.	13( )June	
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.		10( )Mar.	14( )July	
4( )Sept.			11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.	

88( )Prior to June 1976 (RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER)

68-___ ___

53. What happened? _____

70-___ ___

_____

72-___ ___

_____

74-___ ___

54. Where did this happen? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBOR- HOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/ county) or OUTSIDE (city/county) ?

(RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER) [

1( )At your home
2( )On your block
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neigh- borhood but in (name of city/county)
5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know

76-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

13- 3

55. Was this reported to the police?

1( )Yes (GO TO Q.57)
2( )No (GO TO Q.56)
9( )Don't know (GO TO Q.57)

14-
1 2 9 +

56. (IF "NO")
Why wasn't it reported?

15-___ ___

1( )Police came by, noticed by police (GO TO Q.57)

17-___ ___

2( )Nothing taken, attempted crime only
3( )Not important, little damage
4( )Lack of proof, suspect unknown
5( )Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything
6( )Too inconvenient or unable to report
7( )Private or personal matter, handled without police
8( )Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself
9( )Fear of reprisals, afraid to call
10( )Reported to someone other than police
11( )Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)
12( )Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded
13( )Didn't want to get friend in trouble
14( )Just didn't
88( )Other:_____
99( )Don't know
++( )Refused to answer

RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER

57. (IF "YES")
How many minutes did it take the police to arrive?

_____ Minutes (ASK Q.58 & Q.59)

19-___ ___ ___

CODE MINUTES OR:
-1( )Came next day or later
-2( )Police never came
-9( )Don't know
GO TO Q. 59

58. Was this faster, slower, or about the same as you had expected?

1( )Faster
2( )Slower
3( )As expected
9( )Don't know

22-
1 2 3 9 +

59. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?

1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

23-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

-- RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER --

VICTIMIZATION SHEET NUMBER 5

60. When did this happen?

	1976			1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.		8( )Jan.	12( )May	
2( )July	6( )Nov.		9( )Feb.	13( )June	
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.		10( )Mar.	14( )July	
4( )Sept.			11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.	

88( )Prior to June 1976 (RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER)

24-___ ___

61. What happened? _____

26-___ ___

_____

28-___ ___

_____

30-___ ___

62. Where did this happen? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBOR- HOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/ county) or OUTSIDE (city/county) ?

(RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER) [

1( )At your home
2( )On your block
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neigh- borhood but in (name of city/county)
5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know

35-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

63. Was this reported to the police?

1( )Yes (GO TO Q.65)
2( )No (GO TO Q.64)
9( )Don't know (GO TO Q.65)

36-
1 2 9 +

64. (IF "NO")
Why wasn't it reported?

37-___ ___

1( )Police came by, noticed by police (GO TO Q.65)

39-___ ___

2( )Nothing taken, attempted crime only
3( )Not important, little damage
4( )Lack of proof, suspect unknown
5( )Police wouldn't want to be bothered, futile, wouldn't do any good, couldn't do anything
6( )Too inconvenient or unable to report
7( )Private or personal matter, handled without police
8( )Scared criminal away, or caught and handled himself
9( )Fear of reprisals, afraid to call
10( )Reported to someone other than police
11( )Victim also illegal (drugs stolen, intoxicated, etc.)
12( )Victim partially to blame, carelessness, left property unguarded
13( )Didn't want to get friend in trouble
14( )Just didn't
88( )Other:_____
99( )Don't know
++( )Refused to answer

RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER

65. (IF "YES")
How many minutes did it take the police to arrive?

_____ Minutes (ASK Q.66 & Q.67)

41-___ ___ ___

CODE MINUTES OR:
-1( )Came next day or later
-2( )Police never came
-9( )Don't know
GO TO Q. 67

66. Was this faster, slower, or about the same as you had expected?

1( )Faster
2( )Slower
3( )As expected
9( )Don't know

44-
1 2 3 9 +

67. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?

1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

45-
1 2 3 4 5

9 +

-- RETURN TO VICTIMIZATION SCREENER --

68. In the past year, from (June/July) 1976 to now, have YOU personally called the _____ police for information about any problem?

1( )Yes   46-
2( )No   1 2 9 +
9( )Don't know ⌐ GO TO Q. 78

69. How many times have YOU called?   _____ times   47-__ __

70. When was the MOST RECENT time YOU called?   49-__ __

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.

88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q. 78)

71. What was the problem?
1( )Missing or stolen property   51-___
2( )Road directions
3( )Police or crime related information in general   52-___
4( )Information about particular case or circumstance vis-a-vis police   53-___
5( )Non-police related information
6( )Directions (non-traffic)   54-___
7( )Wants information, unspecified
8( )Other:_____

72. What did the police do?
1( )Answered question or took report   55-___
2( )Dispatched police car
3( )Referred respondent to social service agency   56-___
4( )Said they would do something but did nothing
5( )Said they would not or could not do anything   57-___
6( )Hung up on caller
7( )Told me the problem was already handled   58-___
8( )Other:_____
9( )Don't know

73. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied   59-
2( )Satisfied   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied   9 +
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

IF MADE ONLY ONE INFORMATION CALL, GO TO Q. 78.
IF MORE THAN ONE INFORMATION CALL, COMPLETE Q. 74 thru Q.77

SECOND INFORMATION CALL:

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.

74. When was the second MOST RECENT time YOU called?   60-__ __

88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q. 78)

75. What was the problem?
1( )Missing or stolen property   62-___
2( )Road directions
3( )Police or crime related information in general   63-___
4( )Information about particular case or circumstance vis-a-vis police   64-___
5( )Non-police related information
6( )Directions (non-traffic)   65-___
7( )Wants information, unspecified
8( )Other:_____

76. What did the police do?
1( )Answered question or took report   66-___
2( )Dispatched police car
3( )Referred respondent to social service agency   67-___
4( )Said they would do something but did nothing
5( )Said they would not or could not do anything   68-___
6( )Hung up on caller
7( )Told me the problem was already handled   69-___
8( )Other:_____
9( )Don't know

77. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied   70-
2( )Satisfied   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied   9 +
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

78. Since (June/July) 1976, have you or any member of your household called the _____ police for help or been helped by them?

1( )Yes   71-
2( )No   1 2 9 +
9( )Don't know ⌐ GO TO Q. 88

79. How many times did you need help?   _____ times   72-__ __

80. When was the MOST RECENT time you called?   74-__ __

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.

88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q. 88)

81. Where did this incident occur? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/county) or OUTSIDE (city/county)?
1( )At your home   76-
2( )On your block   1 2 3 4 5
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neighborhood but in (name of city/county   9 +
(GO TO NEXT INCIDENT) [5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know

82. What was the problem? _____
_____
    77-__ __
    79-__ __
    13-_4_

83. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied   14-
2( )Satisfied   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied   9 +
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

IF ONE ASSISTANCE ONLY, GO TO Q. 88.
IF MORE THAN ONE, COMPLETE Q. 84 thru Q. 87.

SECOND ASSISTANCE:

84. When was the second MOST RECENT time you called?   15-__ __

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.

88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q. 88)

85. Where did this incident occur? Was it AT YOUR HOME, ON YOUR BLOCK, IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD (2-3 blocks around home), OUTSIDE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD BUT IN (name of city/county) or OUTSIDE (city/county)?
1( )At your home   17-
2( )On your block   1 2 3 4 5
3( )In your neighborhood
4( )Outside your neighborhood but in (name of city/county)   9 +
(GO TO NEXT INCIDENT) [5( )Outside (city/county)
9( )Don't know

86. What was the problem? _____
    18-__ __
    20-__ __

87. How satisfied were you with what the police did? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied   22-
2( )Satisfied   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied   9 +
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

88. Since (June/July) 1976 have YOU personally been stopped or questioned by the _____ police while you were on the street or in your car?
1( )Yes
2( )No
9( )Don't know ⎤ GO TO Q.102
23-
1 2 9 +

89. How many times have YOU been stopped? _____ times
24-___ ___

90. When was the MOST RECENT time YOU were stopped?
26-___ ___

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.
88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q.102)			

91. What did the officer want?
1( )Drunk
2( )Disorderly
3( )Vagrancy
4( )Loitering
5( )Curfew violation
6( )Suspected violator
7( )Trespassing
8( )Road block
9( )Equipment or inspection lacking
10( )Missing or improper plates or registration
11( )Routine check
12( )Moving violation except driving under influence and speeding
13( )Driving under the influence
14( )Excess speed
15( )Papers to be served
16( )Alcohol or drug test
88( )Other: _____
99( )Don't know
28-___ ___
30-___ ___

92. How satisfied were you with the way that you were treated? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know
32-
1 2 3 4 5
9 +

IF THE RESPONDENT WAS STOPPED MORE THAN ONCE, GO TO Q. 93 BELOW. OTHERWISE, GO TO Q. 102.

SECOND STOP:

93. When was the second MOST RECENT time YOU were stopped?
33-___ ___

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.
88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q.102)			

94. What did the officer want?
1( )Drunk
2( )Disorderly
3( )Vagrancy
4( )Loitering
5( )Curfew violation
6( )Suspected violator
7( )Trespassing
8( )Road block
9( )Equipment or inspection lacking
10( )Missing or improper plates or registration
11( )Routine check
12( )Moving violation except driving under influence and speeding
13( )Driving under the influence
14( )Excess speed
15( )Papers to be served
16( )Alcohol or drug test
88( )Other: _____
99( )Don't know
35-___ ___
37-___ ___

95. How satisfied were you with the way that you were treated? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know
39-
1 2 3 4 5
9 +

IF THE RESPONDENT WAS STOPPED MORE THAN TWICE, GO TO Q. 96. OTHERWISE, GO TO Q. 102.

THIRD STOP:

96. When was the third MOST RECENT time YOU were stopped?
40-___ ___

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.
88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q.102)			

97. What did the officer want?
1( )Drunk
2( )Disorderly
3( )Vagrancy
4( )Loitering
5( )Curfew violation
6( )Suspected violator
7( )Trespassing
8( )Road block
9( )Equipment or inspection lacking
10( )Missing or improper plates or registration
11( )Routine check
12( )Moving violation except driving under influence and speeding
13( )Driving under the influence
14( )Excess speed
15( )Papers to be served
16( )Alcohol or drug test
88( )Other: _____
99( )Don't know
42-___ ___
44-___ ___

98. How satisfied were you with the way that you were treated? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know
46-
1 2 3 4 5
9 +

IF THE RESPONDENT WAS STOPPED MORE THAN THREE TIMES, GO TO Q. 99 BELOW. OTHERWISE, GO TO Q. 102.

FOURTH STOP:

99. When was the fourth MOST RECENT time YOU were stopped?
47-___ ___

1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.
88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q.102)			

100. What did the officer want?
1( )Drunk
2( )Disorderly
3( )Vagrancy
4( )Loitering
5( )Curfew violation
6( )Suspected violator
7( )Trespassing
8( )Road block
9( )Equipment or inspection lacking
10( )Missing or improper plates or registration
11( )Routine check
12( )Moving violation except driving under influence and speeding
13( )Driving under the influence
14( )Excess speed
15( )Papers to be served
16( )Alcohol or drug test
88( )Other: _____
99( )Don't know
49-___ ___
51-___ ___

101. How satisfied were you with the way that you were treated? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?
1( )Very satisfied
2( )Satisfied
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know
53-
1 2 3 4 5
9 +

102. In the last year, since (June/July) 1976, have you or any member of your household had any reason to complain about any aspect of police services from the _____ police department?

1( )Yes   54-
2( )No   ⌐ GO TO   1 2 9 +
9( )Don't know ⌐ Q.118

103. How many times has this happened?   _____ times   55-___ ___

104. When was the MOST RECENT time?   57-___ ___

	1976		1977	
1( )June	5( )Oct.	8( )Jan.	12( )May
2( )July	6( )Nov.	9( )Feb.	13( )June
3( )Aug.	7( )Dec.	10( )Mar.	14( )July
4( )Sept.		11( )Apr.	15( )Aug.

88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q.118)

105. What was the problem?

1( )Request for more service, police presence, or visibility   59-___ ___
2( )Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers   61-___ ___
3( )Physical mistreatment
4( )Unnecessary stop
5( )Car unfairly towed
6( )Speed traps
7( )Ineffective/incomplete police work
8( )Unfair parking ticket
9( )Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign
10( )Police not being equitable in delivering service or treating people
88( )Other_____

MARK WHETHER THIS COMPLAINT WAS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL OR SPECIFIC HOUSEHOLD OR WHETHER IT WAS FOR RESPONDENT'S NEIGHBORHOOD. _____

1( )Individual   63-
2( )Neighborhood   1 2 9 +
9( )Don't know

106. Was a complaint filed by any member of your household? (IF "YES") Was this YOU or another member of the household?

1( )Yes, myself   64-
2( )Yes, other member   1 2 3 9 +
3( )No   ⌐ GO TO
9( )Don't know ⌐ Q.110

107. To whom did you complain? PROBE FOR NAME AND POSITION.

Name:_____   Name:_____   65-___ ___

Org./Position:_____   Org./Position:_____   67-___ ___

Office/Dept.:_____   Office/Dept.:_____

1( )Police chief
2( )Called police department, talked to person who answered or to whom I was directed
3( )Talked to friend in police department
4( )Talked to police community relations group or leader
5( )Talked to other police department official
6( )Mayor, city manager, county manager
7( )Called city hall and talked to person who answered or to whom I was directed
8( )Talked to friend in city or county government
9( )Member of city or county council
10( )Talked to other city or county official
11( )Ombudsman
12( )Civic group or leader
13( )Civil rights group or leader
14( )Neighborhood group or leader
15( )Priest or religious leader
16( )Ethnic group or leader
17( )TV, radio, newspaper
18( )Lawyer
19( )Neighbor, relative, friend
88( )Other_____
99( )Do not know position

IF NAME WRITTEN AT Q. 107, WRITE CASE NUMBER: 01 ___ __ __ __ + + __ __ __ __
XEROX PAGE AND FORWARD TO POLICE SERVICES STUDY TEAM.

108. Did they do what you wanted, do something to help, do nothing or make matters worse?

1( )Do what you wanted   69-
2( )Do something to help   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Do nothing   9 +
4( )Make matters worse
5( )Police never heard of problem
9( )Don't know

109. How satisfied were you with the way the complaint was handled? Were you VERY SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED or VERY DISSATISFIED?

1( )Very satisfied   70-
2( )Satisfied   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied   9 +
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

110. (ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO THOUGHT OF COMPLAINING BUT DIDN'T) Why didn't you complain?   71-___ ___

1( )Afraid of police   73-___ ___
2( )No time
3( )Problem fixed without need to complain
4( )Wouldn't do any good to complain
5( )Complaining might make problem worse
6( )Didn't know to whom to complain
7( )Other complained, no need for me to do so
8( )Not important enough
9( )Didn't think I should complain about something like a parking ticket or other minor infraction
88( )Other_____
99( )Don't know

SECOND COMPLAINT:

	1976	1977	
	1( )June 5( )Oct.	8( )Jan. 12( )May	

111. When was the second
MOST RECENT time?

2( )July 6( )Nov.   9( )Feb. 13( )June   75-___ ___
3( )Aug. 7( )Dec.   10( )Mar. 14( )July
4( )Sept.   11( )Apr. 15( )Aug.
88( )Prior to June 1976 (GO TO Q.118)

112. What was the
problem?

1( )Request for more service, police presence,   77-___ ___
     or visibility
2( )Police courtesy, rude, abusive officers   79-___ ___
3( )Physical mistreatment
4( )Unnecessary stop   13-_5_
5( )Car unfairly towed
6( )Speed traps
7( )Ineffective/incomplete police work
8( )Unfair parking ticket
9( )Complaint about traffic signal or stop sign
10( )Police not being equitable in delivering
     service or treating people
88( )Other_____

MARK WHETHER THIS COMPLAINT WAS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL   1( )Individual   14-
OR SPECIFIC HOUSEHOLD OR WHETHER IT WAS FOR   2( )Neighborhood   1   2   9   +
RESPONDENT'S NEIGHBORHOOD._____   9( )Don't know

113. Was a complaint filed by any member of your   1( )Yes, myself   15-
household? (IF "YES") Was this YOU or another   2( )Yes, other member   1 2 3 9 +
member of the household?   3( )No   ⌐ GO TO
   9( )Don't know ⌐ Q.117

114. To whom did you complain? PROBE FOR NAME AND POSITION.

Name:_____   Name:_____
Org./Position:_____   Org./Position:_____   16-___ ___
Office/Dept.:_____   Office/Dept.:_____   18-___ ___

1( )Police chief
2( )Called police department, talked to person
     who answered or to whom I was directed
3( )Talked to friend in police department
4( )Talked to police community relations group
     or leader
5( )Talked to other police department official
6( )Mayor, city manager, county manager
7( )Called city hall and talked to person who
     answered or to whom I was directed
8( )Talked to friend in city or county government
9( )Member of city or county council
10( )Talked to other city or county official
11( )Ombudsman
12( )Civic group or leader
13( )Civil rights group or leader
14( )Neighborhood group or leader
15( )Priest or religious leader
16( )Ethnic group or leader
17( )TV, radio, newspaper
18( )Lawyer
19( )Neighbor, relative, friend
88( )Other_____
99( )Do not know position

IF NAME WRITTEN AT Q. 114, WRITE CASE NUMBER: 01 ___ ___ ___ + + ___ ___ ___
XEROX PAGE AND FORWARD TO POLICE SERVICES STUDY TEAM.

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115. Did they do what you wanted, do something
to help, do nothing or make matters worse?

1( )Do what you   20-
     wanted   1 2 3 4 5
2( )Do something
     to help   9 +
3( )Do nothing
4( )Make matters
     worse
5( )Police never heard
     of problem
9( )Don't know

116. How satisfied were you with the way the
complaint was handled? Were you VERY
SATISFIED, SATISFIED, NEUTRAL, DISSATISFIED
or VERY DISSATISFIED?

1( )Very satisfied   21-
2( )Satisfied   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Neutral
4( )Dissatisfied   9 +
5( )Very dissatisfied
9( )Don't know

117. (ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO THOUGHT OF COMPLAINING BUT DIDN'T)   22-___ ___
Why didn't you complain?   24-___ ___

1( )Afraid of police
2( )No time
3( )Problem fixed without need to complain
4( )Wouldn't do any good to complain
5( )Complaining might make problem worse
6( )Didn't know to whom to complain
7( )Other complained, no need for me to do so
8( )Not important enough
9( )Didn't think I should complain about something
     like a parking ticket or other minor infraction
88( )Other_____
99( )Don't know

118. Suppose that you wanted to change the way police services are delivered to your neighborhood. Is there any person or organization that you would contact about this?

1( )Yes
2( )No ⎤ GO TO
9( )Don't know ⎦ Q.120

26-
1 2 9 +

PROBE FOR NAME AND POSITION.

119. Who would that be? Name: _____

Title/Position:_____

Org./Dept.:_____

27-___ ___

Second Person? Name: _____

Title/Position:_____

Org./Dept.: _____

29-___ ___

1( )Police chief
2( )Would call police department
3( )Friend in police department
4( )Police community relations group or leader
5( )Other specific police department official
6( )Mayor, city manager, county manager
7( )Would call city hall
8( )Friend in city hall
9( )Member of city or county council
10( )Other specific city or county official
11( )Ombudsman
12( )Civic group or leader
13( )Civil rights group or leader
14( )Neighborhood group or leader
15( )Priest or religious leader
16( )Ethnic group or leader
17( )TV, radio, newspaper
18( )Lawyer
19( )Neighbor, relative, friend
88( )Other_____
99( )Do not know position

IF NAME WRITTEN AT Q. 119, WRITE CASE NUMBER: 01 ___ ___ ___ + + ___ ___ ___
XEROX PAGE AND FORWARD TO POLICE SERVICES STUDY TEAM

120. Do you know anyone who has been mistreated by the _____ police in the last year?

1( )Yes
2( )No ⎤ GO TO
9( )Don't know ⎦ Q.124

31-
1 2 9 +

121. Was it in this neighborhood?

1( )Yes
2( )No
9( )Don't know

32-
1 2 9 +

122. What happened?   DON'T READ, CODE ALL RESPONSES THAT ARE MENTIONED

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

1( )Plant of evidence
2( )Unfair arrest
3( )Police broke up party in a rough manner
4( )Police beat people up
5( )Police verbally harrassed people
8( )Other_____
9( )Don't know

33-___
34-___
35-___

123. How did you find out about this incident?   DON'T READ

1( )Happened to me
2( )Witnessed incident
3( )Someone told me about it
4( )Media covered it
8( )Other_____
9( )Don't know

36-
1 2 3 4
8 9 +

124. Have you had any other contact with the police, (other than the ones we have talked about), that has influenced your opinion of them?

1( )Yes
2( )No ⎤ GO TO
9( )Don't know ⎦ Q.128

37-
1 2 9 +

125. What was it?   DON'T READ, CODE ALL RESPONSES THAT ARE MENTIONED

1( )Been victimized previously
2( )Been stopped previously
3( )Been assisted previously
4( )Know of previous mistreatment
5( )Personal friends with police officer(s)
6( )Previous arrest
7( )Attended meeting where police made presentation
8( )Am now or have been a police officer or a police officer's spouse or relative
9( )Complained previously
0( )Other_____

38-___
39-___
40-___
41-___
42-___

126. Was this experience(s) with the (name of city/ county) Police/Sheriff Department?

1( )Yes
2( )No
3( )Some were, Some were not
9( )Don't know

43-
1 2 3
9 +

127. Overall, have these other experiences given you a favorable, unfavorable, or mixed impression of your local police?

1( )Made a favorable impression
2( )Made an unfavorable impression
3( )Made a mixed impression
9( )Don't know

44-
1 2 3
9 +

Now, getting back to the two or three blocks around your home.

128. Are there any groups of people in this area that have volunteer citizens patrolling residential areas?
1( )Yes   45-
2( )No   GO TO   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know   Q.131

129. What is the name of the group? _____
1( )Group named   46-
9( )Does not know   1   9   +
_____ name

What is their address? _____

130. How effective has this group been in dealing with problems of crime and public safety in the area right around your home? Have they been VERY EFFECTIVE, SOMEWHAT EFFECTIVE or NOT AT ALL EFFECTIVE?
1( )Very effective   47-
2( )Somewhat effective   1   2   3
3( )Not at all effective   9   +
9( )Don't know

131. Are there any groups in this area that hire private security guards or patrols?
1( )Yes   48-
2( )No   GO TO   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know   Q.134

132. What is the name of the group? _____
1( )Group named   49-
9( )Does not know   1   9   +
name

What is their address? _____

133. How effective has this group been in dealing with problems of crime and public safety in the area right around your home? Have they been VERY EFFECTIVE, SOMEWHAT EFFECTIVE or NOT AT ALL EFFECTIVE?
1( )Very effective   50-
2( )Somewhat effective   1   2   3
3( )Not at all effective   9   +
9( )Don't know

134. Are there any groups that encourage citizens to undertake crime prevention efforts or that distribute information on crime prevention measures in this area?
1( )Yes   51-
2( )No   GO TO   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know   Q.137

135. What is the name of the group? _____
1( )Group named   52-
9( )Does not know   1   9   +
name

What is their address? _____

136. How effective has this group been in dealing with problems of crime and public safety in the area right around your home? Have they been VERY EFFECTIVE, SOMEWHAT EFFECTIVE or NOT AT ALL EFFECTIVE?
1( )Very effective   53-
2( )Somewhat effective   1   2   3
3( )Not at all effective   9   +
9( )Don't know

137. Are there any groups that work to improve police community relations in this area?
1( )Yes   54-
2( )No   GO TO   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know   Q.140

138. What is the name of the group? _____
1( )Group named   55-
9( )Does not know   1   9   +
name

What is their address? _____

139. How effective has this group been in dealing with problems of crime and public safety in the area right around your home? Have they been VERY EFFECTIVE, SOMEWHAT EFFECTIVE or NOT AT ALL EFFECTIVE?
1( )Very effective   56-
2( )Somewhat effective   1   2   3
3( )Not at all effective   9   +
9( )Don't know

XEROX PAGE IF ANY GROUPS NAMED. WRITE CASE NUMBER: 01 ___ ___ ___ + + ___ ___ ___ AND
FORWARD TO POLICE SERVICES STUDY TEAM.

IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED KNOWLEDGE OF ANY NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS, ASK Q. 140 to Q. 142.
IF NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS, GO TO Q. 143 BELOW.

140. Do any members of your household belong to any of these groups?
1( )Yes   57-
2( )No   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know

141. Do any members of your household contribute money to any of these groups?
1( )Yes   58-
2( )No   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know

142. Do any members of your household work with any of these groups?
1( )Yes   59-
2( )No   1   2   9   +
9( )Don't know

Some people nowadays are taking precautions to protect their homes and families from crime. For the next few questions please tell me whether you or any member of your household have done the following things to increase your safety from crime?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	
143. Have you placed identification markings on your property?	1( )	2( )	9( )	60- 1 2 9 +
144. Have you put extra locks on doors? (dead bolt, police lock)	1( )	2( )	9( )	61- 1 2 9 +
145. Have you purchased a watch dog?	1( )	2( )	9( )	62- 1 2 9 +
146. Have you installed a burglar alarm system?	1( )	2( )	9( )	63- 1 2 9 +
147 Have you bought a light timing device?	1( )	2( )	9( )	64- 1 2 9 +
148. Have you put any bars on windows?	1( )	2( )	9( )	65- 1 2 9 +
149. Have you purchased a gun or other weapon for your protection?	1( )	2( )	9( )	66- 1 2 9 +

	ALWAYS	SOMETIMES	NEVER	DON'T KNOW	
150. When you go away for a few days, do you always ask the police to watch your home, do you do this sometimes, or do you never do this?	1( )	2( )	3( )	9( )	67- 1 2 3 9 +
151. When you go away for a few days, do you always ask other people to watch your home, do you do this sometimes, or do you never do this?	1( )	2( )	3( )	9( )	68- 1 2 3 9 +
152. Do you always, sometimes, or never carry a weapon, a whistle, or something else to protect yourself from crime?	1( )	2( )	3( )	9( )	69- 1 2 3 9 +
153. Do you always, sometimes, or never stay home at night because you are afraid to go out?	1( )	2( )	3( )	9( )	70- 1 2 3 9 +
154. Do you always, sometimes, or never lock your doors when you are at home during the day?	1( )	2( )	3( )	9( )	71- 1 2 3 9 +

155. Do you know any police officers who patrol in your neighborhood well enough to speak to them when you see them?

1( )Yes
2( )No ⎤ GO TO
9( )Don't know⎦ Q.158

72- 1 2 9 +

156. How many? _____

73-___ ___

157. Where do you get most of your information about what the police do in your neighborhood?

75-___

76-___

77-___

1( )TV or radio news
2( )Newspapers
3( )Talking to neighbors, friends or relatives
4( )From family members
5( )CB radio or police scanner
6( )Police officer(s)
7( )Local business establishment
8( )Other_____
9( )Don't know
0( )Don't get any, don't care what police do

158. Approximately how many hours a week do you watch police or detective programs on TV?

_____ hours per week 78-___ ___
98( )Never watch TV⎤GO TO
99( )Don't know   ⎦Q.161

IF RESPONDENT WATCHES SOME POLICE SHOWS, ASK Q. 159 and 160.

159. Have these police or detective programs changed the way you think about the police?

1( )Yes   80-
2( )No   ⎤GO TO   1 2 9 +
9( )Don't know⎦Q.161
13-_6_

160. Overall, have these programs given you a favorable, unfavorable, or mixed impression of the police?

1( )Made a favorable   14-
    impression   1 2 3
2( )Made a mixed
    impression   8 9 +
3( )Made an unfavor-
    able impression
8( )Other
9( )Don't know

Now I have some general questions. Your answers will be useful for comparing different sorts of neighborhoods.

161. What kind of a housing unit do you live in? Is it a SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENCE, DUPLEX, APARTMENT HOUSE, MOBILE HOME, or ANOTHER TYPE OF RESIDENCE?

1( )Single family   15-
    residence   1 2 3 4
2( )A duplex
3( )An apartment house 8 +
4( )A mobile home
8( )Another type of
    residence:_____

162. Do you own, are you buying, or do you rent this unit?

1( )Own   16-
2( )Buying   1 2 3
3( )Rent or lease
8( )Other_____   8 +

163. How much education have you had?

(CIRCLE ONE)   17-___ ___

01 02 03 04 05 06
Grammar School

07 08 09 10 11 12
Junior High High School

13 14 15 16
College or Technical Sch.

17 18 19 20 21
Graduate School

164. Do any of your close friends or relatives live in the two or three blocks around your home?

1( )Yes   19-
2( )No   1 2 9 +
9( )Don't know

165. About how often do you or members of your household get together with neighbors in their homes or yours? Would it be DAILY, ABOUT ONCE A WEEK, SEVERAL TIMES A MONTH, ONCE A MONTH, ABOUT ONCE A YEAR or VERY INFREQUENTLY?

1( )Daily   20-
2( )About once a week 1 2 3 4 5
3( )Several times a
    month   6 9 +
4( )Once a month
5( )About once a year
6( )Very infrequently
9( )Don't know

166. Overall, would you rate the police service in the two to three blocks around your home as OUTSTANDING, GOOD, ADEQUATE, INADEQUATE or VERY POOR?

1( )Outstanding   21-
2( )Good   1 2 3 4 5
3( )Adequate
4( )Inadequate   6 9 +
5( )Very poor
6( )Nonexistent
9( )Don't know

24.

167. What is your race or ethnic background?

1( )White
2( )Black
3( )Latino
4( )Native American
5( )Other_____

22-
   1 2 3 4

   5 +

168 What year were you born?

18___ ___   19___ ___

23-___ ___

169. Including yourself how many people live permanently in this household?

_____

25-___ ___

170. What are the age and sex of the other members of your household?

	1	2			AGE	SEX
1st ___ ___	Male	Female	27-___ ___			___
2nd ___ ___	Male	Female	30-___ ___			___
3rd ___ ___	Male	Female	33-___ ___			___
4th ___ ___	Male	Female	36-___ ___			___
5th ___ ___	Male	Female	39-___ ___			___
6th ___ ___	Male	Female	42-___ ___			___
7th ___ ___	Male	Female	45-___ ___			___
8th ___ ___	Male	Female	48-___ ___			___
9th ___ ___	Male	Female	51-___ ___			___
10th ___ ___	Male	Female	54-___ ___			___

171. Is your total family income for a year BELOW $5,000, BETWEEN $5,000 AND $10,000... $10,001 TO $15,000 ... $15,001 TO $20,000 ... $20,001 TO $25,000 ... $25,001 TO $30,000 OR MORE THAN $30,000?

1( )Below $5,000
2( )Between $5,000 and $10,000
3( )$10,001 to $15,000
4( )$15,001 to $20,000
5( )$20,001 to $25,000
6( )$25,001 to $30,000
7( )More than $30,000
9( )Don't know

57-
  1 2 3 4 5

  6 7 9 +

172. Respondent's sex:

1( )Male
2( )Female
9( )Don't know

58-
  1 2 9 +

Thank you very much for your help.   TIME AT END ____:____ a.m.
                                                        p.m.

ASK IF THEY WOULD LIKE A SHORT SUMMARY OF OUR REPORT. IF THEY WOULD LIKE THE REPORT, WRITE NAME AND ADDRESS BELOW:

NAME:_____

ADDRESS:_____

CITY/STATE/ZIP:_____

Appendix 3

TYPES OF REFERRAL AGENCIES

Types of Referral Agencies

Internal Social Service Agencies

- 03 - Juvenile officer; juvenile division; juvenile counseling by police officer
- 04 - Family crisis intervention unit
- 05 - Victim assistance unit

Internal Law Enforcement-Related Agencies

- 01 - Patrol units
- 02 - Detective; investigative service; TAC squad; plainclothes
- 06 - Community relations officer, bureau, or division
- 07 - Complaint bureau; someone to make out a complaint about the police
- 08 - Internal affairs division; someone to take information or handle question about officer conduct
- 09 - Police review board; citizen advisory board
- 10 - Police chief/sheriff
- 11 - Line supervisory personnel (lieutenant, district commander)
- 12 - Traffic bureau or division; someone to talk to about traffic ticket
- 14 - Canine unit
- 15 - Crime lab
- 16 - Police garage
- 17 - Jail
- 18 - Records bureau or division
- 19 - Animal control unit
- 20 - Marine patrol
- 21 - Helicopter patrol
- 22 - Property clerk
- 23 - Police headquarters
- 24 - Paddy wagon
- 25 - District police station
- 26 - Police report writer
- 27 - Civil branch, Sheriff's Department
- 29 - Other unit or individual within own department (specified or unspecified)

Community Social Service Agencies

- 50 - Welfare office (government department or other agency specifically mentioned)
- 51 - Housing department; building inspector; someone to handle code violations
- 54 - Unemployment office; government job training programs
- 55 - Social Security Office

Community Social Service Agencies (continued)

60 - Health department
61 - Nonpolice crime prevention unit
70 - Legal aid; legal advice; legal services organization
71 - Drug counseling, rehabilitation
72 - Alcoholic rehabilitation; counseling/detox center
73 - Mental health assistance; psychiatric counseling; commitment advice
74 - Other medical advice or service, including hospitals, emergency rooms, clinics
75 - Juvenile problem counseling; institutions for dealing with juveniles
76 - Family crisis intervention; family problem counseling
77 - Victim assistance program
78 - Aid for the elderly (other than questions about Social Security)
79 - Emergency food assistance
80 - Emergency shelter or clothing
81 - Financial assistance; help with poverty problems
85 - Ambulance, emergency medical unit
89 - Other specified or unspecified public or private social service agency

Other Law Enforcement-Related Agencies

30 - Magistrate; getting complaint, warrant sworn out
31 - Courts
32 - Other municipal police department
33 - Other county police or sheriff
34 - State police or highway patrol
35 - Other law enforcement agencies
36 - Prosecutor; city attorney
37 - Public defender
38 - Bail bondsman
39 - Crime lab
40 - Probation/parole
41 - County jail
42 - Coroner
43 - Central breath testing
44 - Other department's jail (not county jail)
49 - Other law enforcement/judicial agencies, specified or unspecified

General Public Service Agencies

52 - Sanitation department; garbage/trash removal service
53 - Schools; school board; truancy officer
56 - Fire department
58 - Dog catcher; humane society; dog pound
59 - Mayor or council person
62 - City hall
63 - Drivers license bureau or branch

General Public Service Agencies (continued)

64 - Parks and recreation
65 - Street department and other public works
69 - Other specified or unspecified agencies providing general public services

Private Services

82 - Clergy
90 - Insurance agent or company
91 - Private lawyer or attorney
92 - Tow truck; service station; wrecker; private garage
93 - Funeral home
95 - Telephone company
96 - Private alarm company
97 - Own family
98 - Other specified or unspecified private agencies

END