

5-2015

# Why Do Victims Not Report?: The Influence of Police and Criminal Justice Cynicism on the Dark Figure of Crime

Seokhee Yoon

*Graduate Center, City University of New York*

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_etds](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds)

 Part of the [Criminology Commons](#), and the [Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons](#)

## Recommended Citation

Yoon, Seokhee, "Why Do Victims Not Report?: The Influence of Police and Criminal Justice Cynicism on the Dark Figure of Crime" (2015). *CUNY Academic Works*.

[https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_etds/1195](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1195)

This Dissertation is brought to you by CUNY Academic Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects by an authorized administrator of CUNY Academic Works. For more information, please contact [deposit@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:deposit@gc.cuny.edu).

**WHY DO VICTIMS NOT REPORT?: THE INFLUENCE OF POLICE AND CRIMINAL  
JUSTICE CYNICISM ON THE DARK FIGURE OF CRIME**

By

SEOKHEE YOON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2015

© 2015  
SEOKHEE YOON  
All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the  
Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the  
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

David Kennedy

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Chair of Examination Committee

Deborah Koetzle

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Executive Officer

Michael Maxfield  
Hung-En Sung  
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

## ABSTRACT

### WHY DO VICTIMS NOT REPORT?: THE INFLUENCE OF THE POLICE AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE CYNICISM ON THE DARK FIGURE OF CRIME

By

Seokhee Yoon

Advisor: David Kennedy

Criminologists have considered reporting as an important aspect in the criminal justice process and most studies focus on micro characteristics that influence reporting, such as victim, offender and crime characteristics. The few studies that have explored macro social characteristics dealt mostly with social ties, socioeconomic status and perception of police competency. Scholars have suggested legal cynicism, a cultural frame that views the law and law enforcement agents as illegitimate, unresponsive and ill equipped to ensure public safety (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011), as an important and necessary in victim reporting research (Baumer, 2002; Xie & Lauritsen, 2011). To expand our understanding of reporting decisions, particularly in relation to macro variables, this study explores the effect of legal cynicism on reporting, using actual reporting behaviors and controlling for variables that were shown to influence reporting. In addition, this study aims to further research in the relationship between cynicism and reporting by adding different dimensions of cynicism (police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism, and respectfulness/fairness and competency) and testing for possible differences by area socioeconomic status.

Using the British Crime Survey, the study showed that different dimensions of cynicism have differential effects on reporting, with individual cynicism being more influential than area cynicism and police cynicism having a bigger impact than criminal justice cynicism. Individual

police cynicism had a negative relationship with victim reporting for both contact and property crimes but different dimensions of police cynicism mattered for different crimes. Respectfulness and fairness is important for contact crimes and a mix of respectfulness and fairness and competency is influential for property crimes. At the area level, cynicism did not affect reporting for neither contact crimes nor property crimes, with the exception of the negative relationship between area criminal justice cynicism and reporting in low disadvantage areas for contact crimes.

## DEDICATION

To my parents, Byung-joo Yoon and Sangmin Ann,  
who instilled in me the skills and values I needed to climb my Mount Everest

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first started graduate school, writing a dissertation was not even on the top 10 things I was concerned about. I knew it would have to happen at some point but I figured I will have time to build up to it so when my time came, I would be ready. I was right, to some degree, but also very wrong and I owe a basketful of gratitude to many people who helped me along the way, supporting me in various ways to help me be ready and finish. First of all, my family. Thank you mom and dad for letting me pave my own path and believing in me, through all the twists and turns. My sense of curiosity, thoroughness and pushing through difficulties have been fostered through you and I can never thank you enough for the opportunities you have given me, which have lead me to where I am now. Thank you Jaehee and Juhan for being a positive force in my life and helping me balance my priorities. I'm sorry I complained about having siblings when I was younger (I didn't know better – teenagers!); my life is enriched because I have you guys to share it with and because I get to be part of your lives. Speaking of which, special thanks to Cheryn; you have brightened my day in so many ways in the past few years. Please keep looking forward to calls from 'emo' even when you become an age when I'll feel ancient to you.

There are families you are born into and there are families you find on your own. I have been incredibly lucky in finding new family members during this journey, without whom I would not be the sane and balanced person I am in the graduate school madness. My friends from John Jay, thank you for providing a nurturing community when I landed in NYC not knowing a single soul. Tarra Jackson/Morgan, years after today, I'm still going to think back to our GC/NYU library sessions fondly and I can never thank you enough. I'm always looking forward to hearing your insights of the world and our lengthy wine and cheese sessions. I'm happy that you found your calling and it's inspiring that you had the courage to go after it. Tasha Youstin, thank you for constantly lending an ear to me for all things academic and general life, and rallying me on when I didn't see it in me to succeed. I'm going to continue to take up on your offer to visit any time I want seriously, especially in the winter! Thank you Chelsea Binns for all your encouragement and for providing me with the wonderful opportunity that lead to so many other doors, and thank you Phillip Kopp and Julie Siddique for being the calm voice of reason when I let my imagination run too wild.

As important as my friends in school were, those from the 'real' world were indispensable, as they provided an outlet that propelled me to keep going. David Chiu and William Keung, NYC would never be what it is to me today if it wasn't for you guys. Thank you for introducing me to all the nooks and crannies of this great city and taking me in as part of your extended family. Also thank you to Todd, Primarosa, Francis, Cynthia, Alma, Annie, Heather, Chrissy and Eve for going on adventures with me and helping me navigate the circus of young adulthood. Finally, thank you Valerio Pierantonelli for your neverending encouragement, faith and patience. I'm excited for our future. I don't think anyone ever fully understood what I was doing (do you now?) but in a way, I appreciated that because I wanted to be more than my school work. Thank you all for loving and supporting me as a whole person.

Thank you professors David Kennedy, Michael Maxfield and Hung-En Sung for serving on my dissertation committee. Your feedback, guidance and critical insight have been extremely helpful beyond the dissertation and I have taken to heart many comments that came out through this process. I'm touched that you all saw the potential in me and took the time out to support me in the endeavor. I hope I do you proud in my future work. Besides my committee, I would like to thank professor Jeff Mellow for being my on-campus shrink, professor Jim Lynch for seeing the



statistics and research geek in me and feeding it, professor Karen Terry for helping me find jobs and grants that were essential in expanding my skills and professor Janet Lauritsen for the calm guidance you provided even after you were no longer at John Jay.

Finally, I would like thank my friends who were there even before graduate school started. Thank you Youngsuk, for taking a zillion plus calls for the past decade. I owe you so much for being my life mentor and always making time to listen and discuss everything, even though you had a much busier graduate life than I did. Did you ever sleep in the years you were in school? Or now? Can you at least save your sleeping hours to finally come visit NYC? Thank you Jisung, for being a constant figure through the whole graduate school life cycle, from pre-application to defense. I'm glad you were strict and organized when we first started the study group; I might not have gotten into school if you were anything less. I need more people like you in my life to accomplish things! Also, thank you to all my friends back home, who were as surprised as I was when I decided I'm going to graduate school and go all the way for a Doctorate, but cheered me on regardless. Thank you for making me feel part of the life I could have had, had it not been for graduate school, and keeping me updated on the latest. I'm sorry I didn't get to see you in person often for the past several years but you're always welcome to come visit me wherever I am.

Finally, thank you to NYC for finally letting me live my teenage dream of being a New Yorker. Being here and living with all the intricacies of the city is probably half the reason my graduate life was extended but it was all worth it. I can't imagine successfully finishing school and my dissertation in a different place and coming out the other end as the person I am today. And a big thank you to all the cheap airplane tickets for providing me the opportunity to see the world while in school. Leaving school and writing was one of the best methods of getting back to into it and I got an education unattainable through books. I never succeed in my goal of flying to every continent within 1 year (minus Antarctica, as I like to feel my toes) but maybe it's a feat fit for a person who has finished her dissertation.

## Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2. REPORTING TO THE POLICE: AN OVERVIEW.....	4
2.1. General trends in reporting.....	4
2.2. Why not reporting is a problem.....	5
2.3. Factors related to reporting: Micro factors.....	7
2.4. Factors related to reporting: Macro factors.....	10
2.5. Reasons for not reporting.....	17
2.6. Reasons for reporting.....	20
2.7. What is missing in victim reporting studies.....	22
CHAPTER 3. LEGITIMACY AND LEGAL CYNICISM: AN OVERVIEW.....	24
3.1. Definition of legitimacy and legal cynicism.....	24
3.2. Origins of legitimacy and legal cynicism.....	26
3.3. Benefits and consequences of legitimacy/legal cynicism.....	29
3.4. Applying legal cynicism to victim reporting.....	32
CHAPTER 4. PRESENT STUDY.....	36
4.1. Theory and hypotheses.....	36
4.2. Data.....	39
4.2.1. Dataset.....	39
4.2.2. Cases for inclusion.....	42
4.3. Measures.....	43
4.3.1. Dependent variable.....	43
4.3.2. Independent variables.....	43
4.4. Data analysis strategy.....	47
CHAPTER 5. RESULTS.....	49
5.1. Descriptive statistics.....	49
5.2. Influence of cynicism on reporting behaviors.....	55
5.3. Influence of police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism on reporting behaviors.....	59
5.4. Influence of police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism on reporting behaviors by socioeconomic disadvantage.....	63
CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	67
6.1. Key findings.....	67
6.2. Limitations.....	75
6.3. Future research.....	77
APPENDIX.....	79
Appendix A. Bivariate correlations among independent variables: Property crime.....	79
Appendix B. Bivariate correlations among independent variables: Contact crime.....	80
Appendix C. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting.....	82
Appendix D. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism (respectfulness and fairness vs. competency) and other indicators on reporting.....	83
Appendix E. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Contact crime.....	84

Appendix F. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Property crime .....	85
REFERENCES .....	86

## List of Tables

Table 1. Cynicism measures .....	44
Table 2. Level-1 variable descriptive information (N=11,999).....	50
Table 3. Level-2 variable descriptive information (N=42).....	51
Table 4. Reporting rates by PFA.....	52
Table 5. Bivariate correlations among total cynicism variables .....	53
Table 6. Bivariate correlations among multidimensional cynicism variables .....	54
Table 5. Bivariate relationship between PFA cynicism and reporting rates (H1 & H3) .....	56
Table 6. Bivariate relationship between PFA cynicism, individual cynicism and reporting rates (H2 & H3).....	57
Table 7. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting: Abbreviated results (H4).....	59
Table 8. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism (respectfulness and fairness vs. competency) and other indicators on reporting: Abbreviated results (H5 & H6).....	61
Table 9. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Abbreviated results (H7 to H9 – Contact crime).....	63
Table 10. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Abbreviated results (H7 to H9 – Property crime) .....	65

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Logic of current study, based on previous research .....	36
--	----

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Unless the police were witnesses to a crime, an incident needs to be reported to the police for them to be aware of it. Therefore, criminologists have considered reporting as an important aspect in the criminal justice process (Black, 1970; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979). Many 'facts' about victim reporting are based on empirical evidence and the focus has been, for the most part, on victim, offender and crime characteristics, with a few studies regarding victim's attitudes and experiences with the police (Schneider, Burcart & Wilson, 1976; Skogan, 1984, Xie, Pogarsky, Lynch & McDowall, 2006). Many studies were based on sexual and domestic violence victimization, but whether those results are generalizable to all crimes is questionable. Lately, there have been more interest in looking at how macro characteristics influence reporting (i.e. Baumer, 2002; Goudriaan, Lynch & Nieuwebeerta, 2004; Goudriaan, Wittebrood & Nieuwebeerta, 2006; Schnebly, 2008; Warner, 2007).

While victim, offender and crime characteristics are an important part of understanding victim reporting behaviors, it has limited policy implications for increasing reporting since they are factors that cannot be changed. The few studies that have explored macro social characteristics dealt mostly with social ties, socioeconomic status and perception of police competency. Goudriaan and colleagues (2006) conducted the most comprehensive analysis of macro characteristics and reporting to date and the main independent variables were social cohesion, confidence in the police and socioeconomic disadvantage. In addition, studies suffer from inadequate modeling, lack of pertinent variables and methodological limitations. For instance, Gottfredson and Hindelang's (1979) used the early waves of National Crime Survey (NCS) and the results were based on bivariate analysis, which means variables that variables pertinent to reporting were not controlled for. At the same time, studies in legitimacy and legal

cynicism have suggested that those concepts influence victim reporting but have not presented empirical evidence about the relationship. Legitimacy refers to an internalized normative value that a person feels he or she should obey the law and defer to the decisions made by legal institutions and authorities (Tyler, 2006). Legal cynicism is a cultural frame that views the law and law enforcement agents as illegitimate, unresponsive and ill equipped to ensure public safety (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). Legal cynicism is a useful concept in regards to increasing reporting because it may be possible to try to influence the perceived level of cynicism, while changing facts about the crime and the victim after the fact is impossible. In other words, if cynicism is an important factor in reporting, it provides another tool to consider in efforts to increase reporting.

This study aims to empirically test the relationship between cynicism and reporting, particularly area cynicism. It utilizes the British Crime Survey, which includes more details than other victimization datasets, and applies the survey questions in a unique combination with macro characteristics, along with victim, offender and crime characteristics. It looks closely at different aspects of cynicism to see how each facet affects reporting. The results of this study enhance our theoretical understanding of reporting, particularly in relation to cynicism, and offer suggestions for increasing victim reporting. This research is more comprehensive than previous studies because it explores a wider range of variables that may be relevant for police reporting.

This dissertation will proceed as follows. First there is an introduction to general trends in reporting and the importance of reporting. Next is an overview of factors that are related to victim reporting, separated by micro and macro factors, and reasons for reporting and not reporting. It is followed by a brief exploration of legitimacy and legal cynicism, with a focus on the origins and consequences of those norms. There is then an explanation of the study and the

research questions, a methods section with details on the dataset and models that will be utilized.

Finally, the results are presented, along with a discussion of the overall findings.



## CHAPTER 2. REPORTING TO THE POLICE: AN OVERVIEW

### 2.1. General trends in reporting

To the best of our knowledge, the probability that a crime will be reported is about 50 percent or less. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), in 2010, about 51% of violent crimes were reported to the police, while 39.3% of property crimes were reported in the United States (Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), 2011). Internationally, Netherlands has a reporting rate of about 43% (Goudriaan et al., 2006), Israel 44% (Fishman, 1979) and the British report about 38% of their victimizations (Home Office, 2011). That is not to say that reporting rates have been stagnant during the past several decades. Rape victimization reporting has been the forefront of many reporting studies, especially when looking at trends over time, and studies have found a slight increase in reporting from the 1970s to 90s in the United States (Baumer, Felson & Messner, 2003; Jensen & Karpos, 1993; Orcutt & Faison, 1988).

On a broader note, a recent study by Baumer and Lauritsen (2010) revealed that although the rate of police notification has remained modest over the past three decades in the U.S., there was a widespread and critical increase. For instance, non-lethal violent crime reporting has increased from 36% to 48% in the past 2 decades, while sex offence reporting increased from 28% to 39% in the last 30 years. Family violence reporting increased continuously and stranger and non-stranger crime reporting rates converged over time. Assault reporting increased since the mid-1990s but robbery reporting has decreased overall. These patterns occurred similarly for victims of various race and sex. Baumer and Lauritsen (2010) discussed certain social changes that occurred in the past thirty years that may have influenced police reporting trends, including the emergence of community policing, expansion of mobile communication technology, legal and social movements to encourage citizen participation in the criminal justice procedures,

decline in interpersonal trust, belief in police abilities to solve the crime and the anti-snitching movement (Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010).

## 2.2. Why not reporting is a problem

Whether 50% reporting is high or low may depend on a person's viewpoint. Realistically, the police force is a limited resource that requires time and money to function well. If the police are bombarded with every petty crime in the area, it will take away time for them to focus on more disruptive crimes. As it is neither economical nor efficient to have police officers dispatched at all times and places in order to detect and process every crime that occurs, 100% reporting rates on all instances may not be the best situation for fighting crime. However, there are reasons higher reporting rates are beneficial for the police and the criminal justice system to run smoother.

First and foremost, police rely heavily on citizen reports. This has multiple effects for society. Since the police are not present in all corners of our lives at all times, they would not be aware of many crimes unless someone told them about them. If the police are not aware of the crime, they cannot step in to investigate the crime nor pass it along to the next step in the criminal justice process. That will eliminate any chances of formal acknowledgement and sanctioning of the offender and the victim, which reduces any deterrent effect. When an offender is not caught and punished for the crime, he is free to reoffend, which has implications for future victims and the crime rate. In communities with many unsolved crimes, it also affects the public safety and quality of life of the neighborhood (Hawkins, 1987; Kennedy, 1997; Tonry, 1995). They will have a bigger pool of offenders, which leads to a higher probability of victimization, which will restrict the lifestyle of the citizens. For instance, individuals may not leave the house unless they absolutely have to or carry around weapons for self-protection.

Another reason citizen non-reporting is an important issue is because it affects official estimates of crime. One of the most commonly used American crime statistics is the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), which is based on official police data. That means in order to be counted in the UCR, the crime first must be reported to the police. Unfortunately, the trends in reporting may vary over time and across areas, depending on the characteristics of the area. For instance, neighborhoods with concentrated disadvantage and low social cohesion are much less likely to report to the police than other areas (Goudriaan et al., 2006). This makes it difficult to calculate the real crime rate or compare crime rates with official statistics. Studies using official crime data will need to take into account different sources since using just official datasets may present results that are inaccurate, leading scholars and the public to believe certain factors are important when they are not. In fact, Baumer and Lauritsen (2010) found that changes in crime reporting rates can explain about half of the difference in the crime decline amount between NCVS and UCR in the 1990s. NCVS is a nationally representative survey that asks citizens about their experiences with crime victimization, regardless of whether it was reported to the police or not. The NCVS data showed a bigger crime drop than the UCR but the NCVS also showed that victims were increasing their reporting rates, which means the UCR was capturing more crime counts.

In addition, the official level of crime influences the distribution of criminal justice resources and without a clear picture of crime rates, it may be skewed (Skogan, 1976). That means if a neighborhood has high crime but low victim reporting rates, there may be a smaller police force than realistically required. There will be fewer police to deal with the real volume of crime, which may make police seem less effective. If the citizens do not have faith in the abilities of the police, that will make them less likely to report and it becomes a vicious cycle. Also,

victims cannot get services unless they report because many services are referred by police. By staying quiet, victims are depriving themselves of opportunities for help and support.

Finally, reporting is a method of dispute resolution. Arguably, it is society's preferred method for its citizens. The criminal justice system may be regarded as a contract between the public and the government and if the public starts to doubt the usefulness of the contract, they may turn to other methods. In fact, Anderson (1999) argues that in certain neighborhoods, police reporting is not a viable method of solving problems and this leads the residents to use other methods, such as violence. If reporting is not the optimal option or even an available option, then it has implications for crime rates and all other problems that come with it.

### 2.3. Factors related to reporting: Micro factors

Factors that influence reporting can be largely divided into two categories: situational context and social context (Goudriaan et al., 2004). Situation factors, also known as micro-level factors, are what happened at the crime scene, such as whether the offender had a weapon or not. Social context factors refer to the cultural aspects of where the crime occurred. For instance, the level of social disorganization or confidence in the police in the area is part of social context. Social context is geographically defined and can be thought of as the macro-level factors.

Most victim reporting studies focus on situation contexts, namely the victim, offender and crime characteristics. Of the crime characteristics, crime severity is the most important variable for reporting studies. Many variables thought to be important for crime reporting have null effects once the seriousness of the crime is taken into account (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Laub, 1981; Skogan, 1984). Crimes with weapons are more likely to be reported to the police, along with those that injured the victim and yielded high financial loss for the victim

(Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Felson, Messner & Hoskin, 1999; Skogan, 1984; Xie et al., 2006).

Completed crimes are reported more often than attempted crimes (Skogan, 1984).

Related to crime severity, not all crime types have the same probability of being reported. An assault can vary in the degree of severity and that will influence the likelihood of the incident being reported (i.e. an aggravated assault is more likely to be reported than a simple assault) but in the bigger picture, robberies are more likely to be reported than assaults. On the other hand, rapes and sexual assaults are considered severe but they are one of the least likely reported crimes (BJS, 2003). In terms of property crimes, larceny is reported the least, while motor vehicle theft is notified to the police the most (BJS, 2007; Goudriaan et al., 2006).

For violent crimes, older victims are more likely to report than younger ones and women report to the police more than men (Bachman, 1998; BJS, 2003; Felson et al., 1999; Goudriaan et al., 2006; Ruback, Menard, Outlaw & Shaffer, 1999; Skogan, 1984). The less educated the victim is, the more likely he or she is to report to the police, as are those with jobs (Avakame, Fyfe & McCoy, 1999; Goudriaan et al., 2006). People of lower economic status are more likely to report to the police (BJS, 2003). There are not many findings about household characteristics that influence reporting for household crimes (usually property crimes) but the race and ethnicity of the household head may matter (BJS, 2006). If the victim lives in a multi-person household, they are more likely to report to the police (Goudriaan et al., 2006). Crimes that happen in or near the home are more likely to be reported (Xie et al., 2006).

Many studies found that race of the victim does not have a significant influence on reporting once other important characteristics such as crime severity are controlled for (Baumer, 2002; Schnebly, 2008; Skogan, 1984). For instance, Baumer (2002) found that the race of the victim and the offender does not matter for assaults when crime and neighborhood characteristics

are taken in to account. When studies do find a significant victim race effect, they suggest that black victims are more likely to call the police than white victims (Avakame et al., 1999; Bachman, 1998; Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010; BJS, 2003; Felson et al., 1999; Felson, Messner, Hoskin & Deane, 2002; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen & Turner, 2003). Xie and Lauritsen (2011) found that assaults on black victims by white offenders are least likely to be reported and the cases that are most likely to be reported involved black victims and black offenders. Hispanics, on the other hand, report fewer robberies than non-Hispanic whites (Baumer, 2002). However, the victim race effect may depend on the crime. For example, Dugan (2003) found that for domestic violence cases, white victims are more likely to contact the police.

The relationship between the victim and the offender has had mixed effects for reporting. In some studies, crimes by non-strangers were less likely to be reported (Block, 1974; Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976). Still others found no difference between stranger and non-stranger crimes (Bachman, 1993, 1998; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979). When it comes to sexual crimes, non-stranger cases were much less likely to be reported to the police in the 1970s (Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976; Lizotte, 1985). Since the past decade, though, the victim-offender relationship did not have an effect on sex crime reporting (Baumer et al., 2003). The different findings may be due to how the variables victim-offender relationship and police notification are defined in that particular study (Bachman, 1998; Baumer, 2002).

Some have suggested that if a victim does not believe the police can do anything about their crime, they will not report it to the police (Anderson, 1999; Baumer, 2002). Bennett and Weigand (1994) found that when victims have favorable attitudes towards the police, they are more likely to report the crime. However, most studies found a weak relationship between attitudes toward the police and willingness to report. How the reporter came in contact with the

police may be more important. For instance, Davis and Henderson (2003) found that perceptions of police were unrelated to reporting intentions in mostly immigrant adults but the adults were more willing to call the police if they had initiated contact with the police voluntarily in the past. They were less likely to call if they had been stopped by the police in the past.

Victims who have reported to the police before are more likely to report their next victimization (Berk, Berk, Newton & Loseke, 1984; Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006). How the police react to the previous report matters as well, since it gives the victims direct knowledge about what they can expect. When the police follow up on the incident, make an arrest or recover the property from the past victimization, households are more likely to report in the current case (Conaway & Lohr, 1994). Using a longitudinal NCVS dataset, Xie and colleagues (2006) discovered that greater police effort (in the form of searching around and/or taking evidence) in previous reported crimes increased subsequent crime reporting, especially if the victim self-reported the first crime. Although people can learn vicariously through others, the police effort effect did not show up when the victim of the prior incident was a family member, even a close family member. Arrests following a police report had no effect in subsequent crime reporting, regardless of type of reporting.

#### 2.4. Factors related to reporting: Macro factors

Most victim reporting studies focus on victim, offender and crime characteristics and fail to take into account macro effects such as social contexts. This is unfortunate since studies have shown that crime reporting rates are not consistent across space. The scarcity of research may be due to the lack of data but structural characteristics are important because they shape the citizen's experiences with the police, the perceptions of law enforcement and community and their victimization risk, which can influence victim reporting (Slocum, Taylor, Brick &

Esbensen, 2010). Also, the importance of individual characteristics may differ by neighborhood context (Baumer, 2002; Goudriaan et al., 2004). For instance, when a neighborhood has a high crime rate, whether one is a delinquent or not may matter more significantly for reporting than if one lived in a low crime area since they are more likely to be involved with offenders.

There are theoretical reasons why social contexts may matter in reporting, the foremost being social disorganization theory. Social disorganization theory argues that high levels of poverty, mobility and heterogeneity weakens social cohesion and decreases informal social control, making it more difficult for community members to regulate each other and resolve disputes (Shaw & McKay, 1942). Social ties are crucial for informal social control and they take time to build. If people are having a hard time trying to make ends meet, live around people who are different from each other and their neighbors are changing often, the bonds are shaky, diluting trust. In addition, informal social control may influence how much a person in that neighborhood has access to formal social control.

This can have mixed effects in regard to police reporting. On the one hand, because citizens do not have social control over one another, they may need to rely on outside officials such as the police to settle disputes and protect themselves against future victimization (Baumer, 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Laub, 1981; Wells, Schafer, Varano & Bynum, 2006). Therefore, those living in areas of low social cohesion may be more likely to call the police. On the other hand, communities with structural characteristics of high poverty and mobility may be limited in their ability to foster good relationships with outside resources such as the police, which affect their level of trust and satisfaction in the police (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Warner, 2007). If the residents do not trust the police to help them, they may be less likely to reach out to them for help. In addition, if a poor



neighborhood has dense social ties, the residents are more likely to be tied to illegitimate networks along with legitimate networks (Pattillo, 1998). Those social bonds may reduce the chances of reporting on one another. Also, those neighborhoods may simply have less access to public services and social welfare.

The empirical relationship between social cohesion, informal social control and reporting has not been explored well so far. Bennett and Weigand (1994) did not find any relationship between social control and reporting. However, using a nine-item index for social cohesion that included whether the neighbors knew and contacted each other, Goudriaan and colleagues (2006) found that higher levels of social cohesion increased the rate of reporting.

According to Black (1976)'s stratification hypothesis, the socioeconomic status of an area affects the amount of law used there. He defined law as 'governmental social control' and individuals can use law through actions such as starting a law suit to calling the police. The poorer a neighborhood is, the less likely the residents are to use formal authorities in dealing with their problems. Rather than calling the police, the residents may deal with the issue themselves. For Black (1976), the effect of socioeconomic class on reporting is compositional, rather than a cause. In other words, the reason places with low socioeconomic status have lower reporting rates is because it has more individuals who are living in poverty. Since those residents are less likely to call the police, the area as a whole has less reporting. Therefore, if the individual's socioeconomic status is controlled for, there should not be a significant area socioeconomic effect.

Empirically, the relationship between the poverty level of a neighborhood and police reporting has been tested the most often but the results are inconsistent. Some studies found no relationship between the two when controlling for other variables (Bennett & Weigand, 1994;

Fishman, 1979; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Warner, 1992). For instance, Gottfredson and Hindelang (1979) did not find neighborhood poverty levels to affect reporting, with or without controlling for gun use and level of injury. Fishman (1979) found the same results with data from Israel and Bennett and Wiegand (1994) came to a similar conclusion with a dataset drawn from Belize. On the other hand, some found that people are more likely to report to the police when an area has high socioeconomic disadvantage (Xie & Lauritsen, 2011) or vice versa (Goudriaan et al., 2006).

What complicates the matter is that the relationship between economic disadvantage and reporting may not be linear, at least for certain crimes. Baumer (2002), using the NCVS, found that in regards to aggravated assault and robbery, neighborhood disadvantage does not influence reporting when controlling for other variables. However, for simple assaults, reporting increases as neighborhood poverty level increases but in places with high poverty (90<sup>th</sup> percentile and higher), reporting decreases significantly. The most affluent neighborhoods have a similar reporting rate to the most economically disadvantaged areas. Although the effect is similar for both white and black victims, it is more pronounced for black victims. The reporting rate increases more for black victims as their neighborhood disadvantage levels increase and it drops more for them from the 90<sup>th</sup> disadvantage percentile. Goudriaan and colleagues (2006) did a similar study using Netherlands data and expanded the crime type to include property crimes. Contrary to Baumer's (2002) study, they found an overall negative relationship between poverty levels and reporting. However, they also noticed the sharp drop in reporting at high levels of socioeconomic disadvantage.

There may be something particular about high poverty and low poverty areas that make people less likely to report. The non-linear relationship may occur because those living in the

poorest and the wealthiest neighborhoods have other methods of dispute resolution (Baumer, 2002; Warner, 2007). For instance, rather than calling the police, the victims may take care of the problem by themselves, sometimes in the form of retaliation (Anderson, 1999; Warner, 2007). Wealthier people may have access to private security or use monetary methods rather than rely on official resources (Avekame et al., 1999). Another possible reason for the curvilinear relationship is that the two extreme types of areas have dense social networks that the residents can utilize when problems arise, making formal social control unnecessary (Baumer, 2002; Pattillo, 1998; Portes, 2000). Also, some suggest that both extreme groups may be more tolerant of violence (Baumer, 2002). However, these alternative methods may not be sufficient for serious crimes such as robbery (Baumer, 2002).

Anderson (1999) focused on communities that can be considered part of the 90<sup>th</sup> percentile to argue in his Code of the Street thesis that poverty, along with community race, is important for police reporting. According to Anderson (1999), poor, minority communities have the double jeopardy of alienation from mainstream society and weak informal social ties. Residents in these communities do not believe the police will come help them and worse, they may be harassed by the police when they do arrive. Because people in poor, minority communities cannot rely on others, whether neighbors or the police, watching out for oneself is crucial. The Code, which emphasizes personal responsibility, emerges where there is a lack of faith in the official criminal justice system to fulfill the community's needs. Within the Code, respect is very important and something one must prove himself to get, usually through physical methods. Therefore, calling the police may not be a valid option at all. In this logic, a person who is victimized is likely to fight back and 'take care of himself' rather than call the police. However, this does not mean the victim would never call the police. Rather, victims in these

communities may be less likely to call the police than those in other communities because they do not trust the police to take care of their problems and/or they do not want to risk their reputation by involving others in their 'business.' Another reason victims in these communities may not call the police is because they are more likely to be involved in criminal activities themselves such as drug dealing or prostitution (since there is a lack of legitimate employment opportunities for residents of these communities, they turn to the underground economy).

Interestingly, most studies have not found a neighborhood's perception of and confidence in the police to affect reporting when controlling for other variables (Bennett & Weigand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Goudriaan et al., 2006). Goudriaan and colleagues (2006) looked at the effects of socioeconomic status, confidence in the police and social cohesion on reporting and found that social cohesion decreases as socioeconomic status decreases, while confidence in the police drops for severely disadvantaged areas. It is possible the effect of poverty on reduced reporting is partly due to decreasing social cohesion and confidence in the police. However, there still exists a direct socioeconomic effect and most of the indirect effect is from social cohesion. Therefore, although highly disadvantaged neighborhoods are much less satisfied with the police, that may not be the leading factor in the reporting drop for those areas.

For property crime, there may be a police competency effect. Based on data regarding 16 countries in the International Crime Victimization Survey, the more citizens perceive their nation's police to be competent, the more likely they are to report property crimes, controlling for crime and victim characteristics (Goudriaan et al., 2004). This effect existed even after controlling for the victim's perceived police competency, meaning that it is more than a compositional effect. Interplayed with the micro-level factors, a person in a high competence

perception area but with low personal perception has a higher chance of reporting than a similar person with similar personal perception living in a low general competence perception area.

A related variable is the crime rate of the area as it can influence the residents' views of the police. When there is high crime, the community may be cynical about the effectiveness of the police since it looks as if nothing is working (Brunson, 2007; Carr, Napolitano & Keating, 2007). What is more, studies have found that law enforcement adjust their activities depending on how 'normal' crime is in an area (Klinger, 1997; Smith, 1986). When there is little crime (crime is not normal), police act vigorously to fight it but when crime is very prevalent, they relax their efforts. Therefore, a person living in a high crime neighborhood may feel the police are not helpful because there actually is less policing and/or because despite the police efforts, crime still prevails. In addition, a person living in a high crime area may be more likely to know people who offend or may even be involved in crime themselves. The complicated web of associates in such society may deter one from calling the police; Warner (1992) found that people living in high crime neighborhoods are less likely to report to the police.

Race is another factor that affects views of the police. Historically, predominantly black communities were more regulated by the police and citizens in these communities express frustration about stops by the police that seem arbitrary (Bass, 2001). There are also instances of underpolicing, meaning these neighborhoods were allocated less police resources. These scenarios lead to less satisfaction and trust with the police. Studies have found that communities that are predominantly Hispanic may experience the same thing. According to Solis, Portillos and Brunson (2009), Hispanic youths think the police are slow to respond to calls, disrespectful to the citizens and unconcerned with their neighborhood's safety. What exacerbates the negative views of the police is the juxtaposition of underpolicing and overpolicing, which may lead to less

calls to the police. Another important factor for Hispanics is their immigration status. Even if illegal immigrants did not have negative experiences with the police, they are inherently afraid of formal authority. On the other hand, if a Hispanic person of legal status is living in an area with high concentration of immigrants, they are likely to socialize with those that could be deported if discovered by authorities and that may make them reluctant to involve law enforcement when crime occurs.

## 2.5. Reasons for not reporting

While many studies gave suggestions on the reasons why victims do not report to the police, there have not been many empirical endeavors. One dominant theory is that reporting is thought to be a rational decision based on cost-benefit analysis, which is a micro-level theory (Goudriaan et al., 2006). In other words, victims calculate how much effort it will take to report and the risks associated with it and compare that to the benefits they will gain from reporting (Felson et al., 2002; Gottredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Skogan, 1984). The benefit may be recovering a stolen item or being reassured that the offender will not be able to hurt the victim again. The finding that the severity of the crime is one of the most important variables for reporting enforces this notion. Unfortunately, there are opportunity costs to reporting a crime. The offender may retaliate against the victim for getting arrested. There is paperwork to fill out, interviews with detectives, and if the case goes to court, the victim may be required to testify and that may disrupt their daily activities (Greenberg & Ruback, 1985). Another cost of reporting occurs if the victim has engaged in illegal activities, especially during the crime (Skogan, 1984). For instance, if the victim was stabbed during a drug deal, he will be very reluctant to go to the police. Or if the victim is known as a criminal to the police already, he may be unwilling to

report the crime because the police may not believe him or give him a hard time during the investigation.

However, there are other reasons for reporting or not reporting that skew rational calculations, such as emotions and social relationships. Greenberg and Ruback (1992) argued that the advice and opinions of others may be very influential in stressful events such as crime victimization. There are cultural influences as well, what Goudriaan and colleagues (2004) called normative influences. They are norms that exist in the victim's social context and can interact with the cost-benefit calculations. The same crime may be seen as report-worthy or not depending on the norms of society.

The 'stop snitching' movement, which has been discussed in the media as a reason for not reporting, is an example of a normative influence that suppresses reporting. The movement mostly appeals inner city youth and stimulates a culture of not reporting of crimes. Although it was initially geared towards criminals who offer information of others in order to make deals with the police and prosecutors (Rosenfeld, Jacobs & Wright, 2003), it made an impact on the whole community as well, making the citizens less likely to talk to the police. The message is typically spread through popular culture, such as the 2004 underground DVD in Baltimore with drug dealers and basketball star Carmelo Anthony that encourages witness intimidation. Police have also blamed the phenomenon for making case clearance and criminal trials more difficult (Kahn, 2007). While it has been discussed more in the context of black inner city communities (Jones-Brown, 2007), it has been observed in Hispanic communities as well (Solis et al., 2009).

Most empirical evidence on why victims do not report to the police is at the individual level and the studies are based on simple frequency tests. Meaning, the studies tabulated how many victims gave certain reasons for not reporting. While the analysis are not theory based, the

results tend to offer support for the cost-benefit analysis theory. Internationally, the most common reason for not reporting is that the crime was not serious enough (Goudriaan et al., 2004). The most common reason given to the NCVS for not reporting violent crime is because it is a private matter (BJS, 2012). Respondents of the British Crime Survey claimed triviality of the crime and privacy as the two most common reasons for not reporting (Home Office, 2011).

The reason for not reporting incidents to the police varies by offense. In Fishman's (1979) study, the most common reason for not reporting personal crimes was because the victim did not think the police will take any action or was efficient to take care of it. Another common reason was fear of revenge. In the case of property crimes, trivial damage was the number one reason for not reporting, followed by the belief that reporting is more of a hassle than it is worth. These results are similar to results in the ICVS, although victims also mentioned that they did not call the police because they solved the issue themselves for personal crimes and a stronger belief that the police cannot or would not do anything about their victimization (Goudriaan et al., 2004). A reason assault victims give often for not reporting is that the incident was too trivial (Laub, 1981). For domestic violence victims, concern for privacy, along with fear of reprisal and sympathy for the offender are the main reasons for not reporting the incident (Felson et al., 2002). According to the NCS, privacy is the number one reason for not reporting for rape victims (Bachman, 1998). The unpleasant process also contributes as a reason for not reporting sexual offenses (Fishman, 1979).

According to Reiss (1971), how a person perceives the ability of the police to take care of an incident has a great effect on whether they call the police or not. In the early 1970s, victims cited their lack of faith in the police ability to do something about the crime as the most common reason for not reporting (Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010). If people think the police are not



sympathetic, fair or competent, they will be less likely to rely on them to help them with their problems (Felson et al., 2002). However, not many NCVS respondents give police incompetency as the reason for not reporting (BJS, 2003).

As for normative factors, Fishman (1979) found that there are no socio-economic area differences in reasons for not reporting. In other words, rich neighborhoods and poor neighborhoods all gave similar reasons for not reporting to the police. On the other hand, Laub (1981) found that citizens of urban and rural areas gave different reasons for not reporting. Rural area victims were more likely to say they did not report the incident because it was private, especially for rape and aggravated assault. Urban area victims cited ‘nothing could be done – lack of proof’ more often than rural victims. Laub (1981) suggested that these patterns may reflect urban citizen’s lack of faith in the police and rural citizen’s unwillingness to involve outsiders in private issues. When the offender was a stranger, urban victims claimed that they did not report because nothing can be done about it and rural victims did not think it was important enough to report. These results start to suggest that there may be certain area characteristics that influence citizens in their views of victimization and the police.

## 2.6. Reasons for reporting

As with studies that examine reasons for not reporting a crime, studies that explore reasons for reporting are usually at the micro level and use frequency analysis. According to the rational actor theory of reporting, victims will report if the benefit is larger than the cost (Felson et al., 2002; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Skogan, 1984). Victims may call the police after a crime if they think the police can help them relieve distress and reduce vulnerability of future crime (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Ruback, Greenberg & Westcott, 1984). In fact, the most common reasons for reporting in NCVS during 1992 to 2000 were to

prevent future offenses and stop the offender (BJS, 2003). When the offender is a non-stranger, victims are more likely to reach out since they will probably see the offender again (Baumer et al., 2003). However, it could also work the other way around. Victims may want to keep the problem private rather than involve outsiders. The conflicting needs may produce null findings when looking at the effect of victim-offender relationship on reporting (Felson et al., 1999).

The reasons for reporting differ by crime type as well. Victims of personal crime report because they want the offender to be caught, they think it should be reported or they want to stop the crime from happening again (Goudriaan et al., 2004). On the other hand, popular reasons for reporting property crimes are because it should be reported, for insurance reasons and to recover their losses. As least for rape, the perception that the incident was a crime and the victim can get help for it may trigger victims to report. Baumer and colleagues (2003) found an increase in rape reporting for the past three decades and argued that it is possible the legal and social rape reforms that reduced barriers of rape reporting, along with enhanced services for rape victims, which developed during that time period, were the reason that victims were reporting more. The legal and social changes may have changed society's perceptions of rape, leading to more reporting.

In domestic violence incidents, the victim may call the police to protect herself and/or her children or if she wants to rely on the criminal justice system to solve her problems (Felson et al., 2002). In addition, if the victim believe the incident was serious and if they believe the police will take them seriously, they are more likely to report to the police. Assault victims, on the other hand, call the police for protection, retribution and to protect others from future victimization by the offender (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Greenberg & Ruback, 1985). While some victims may not call the police because they are afraid of retaliation, NCVS results rarely

mention it as a reason for not calling. Fear of the offender without outside help may be greater than fear of reprisal after getting police help (Felson et al., 2002).

## 2.7. What is missing in victim reporting studies

As stated earlier, most victim reporting studies focus on individual and household level measures. However, many scholars expressed the need to incorporate area level indicators as well (Goudriaan et al., 2006; Xie & Lauritsen, 2011). The studies that have been published suffer from crude measures of area characteristics, limited crime types, omitted variables and simple statistical measures. For instance, Gottfredson and Hindelang's (1979) tested the strength of Black's theory of law in comparison to crime seriousness for victim reporting. The study used crosstabs to analyze association strengths and included only personal crimes. Fishman (1979) used survey data from Haifa, Israel to explore why victims do not report to the police, with the main variable of interest being area socioeconomic status. However, areas were divided as 'good' or 'bad' areas based on how high the area was situated on Mount Carmel, with high areas being the best in socioeconomic status and low areas being the worst. The study did not actually measure the area's socioeconomic status or include any victim, offender or crime characteristics other than crime seriousness. Bennett and Wiegand (1994) analyzed the effects of individual, incident and environment specific correlates on victim reporting in a developing country to find out if the effects are different from those in developed countries. Feelings regarding police effectiveness was one of the environment correlates but it is unclear how this was measured and there was no distinguishing between crime types. Ruback and Menard's (2001) research looked at rural-urban differences in sexual crime reporting but it was not based on a random sample. Rather, their sample consisted of records from rape crisis centers in Pennsylvania. What is more,

many studies are based on data that is over 3 decades old. Factors that influence reporting decisions may have changed since then with social changes that happened during that time.

There may also be unexplored macro variables that have important impact on reporting. So far, studies have mostly focused on informal social control, socioeconomic status and perceptions of police effectiveness. Since contextual effects are relatively understudied in reporting research, there are many unexplored paths such as criminal justice policy changes, attitudes regarding criminal justice system and political views. Of the many, this study will focus on legal cynicism, particularly police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism, which other scholars have mentioned as important and necessary in victim reporting research. Legal cynicism is of interest to reporting studies not just as a contextual variable but also an individual variable. Baumer (2002) suggested future reporting studies look into the level of trust in the police, which is part of police cynicism. Xie & Lauritsen (2011) specifically suggested that future studies explore police relations with the public in regard to police legitimacy. The next part is a literature review on legitimacy and legal cynicism.

## CHAPTER 3. LEGITIMACY AND LEGAL CYNICISM: AN OVERVIEW

### 3.1. Definition of legitimacy and legal cynicism

According to Piquero and colleagues (2005), legal socialization is the “process through which individuals acquire attitudes and beliefs about the law, legal authorities and legal institutions” (p. 267) through interaction with various criminal justice authorities, such as courts, police and correctional settings. The interactions can be personal or vicarious and it accumulates over time. In criminology, the main focus of legal socialization has been in regard to illegal activities: how does legal socialization affect a person’s likelihood of breaking the law? For this study, the focus is not on illegal behavior. Rather, it is the influence of legal socialization, specifically cynicism, on reporting.

The two dimensions of legal socialization are institutional legitimacy and cynicism about the legal system. At the core, legitimacy is about obligations and obedience. On the part of the institution, it is a quality that they possess that makes people feel the institution is worthy of being obeyed (Beetham, 1991; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). At the individual level, the person feels he or she should obey the law and defer to the decisions made by legal institutions and authorities (Tyler, 2006). It is an internalized social value that is normative; a moral responsibility to defer to authorities (Beetham, 1991; Tyler, 2006). People voluntarily obey the law and legal decisions regardless of their self-interest when they feel authorities are legitimate. Therefore, rather than using fear or risk of punishment, authorities can appeal to legitimacy to convince the public to follow the rules of society.

While studies concerning legitimacy were tested more with individual’s perception of legal authorities, legal cynicism research focused on different groups’ views, generally negative, about the legitimacy of the law and its authorities. Sampson and Bartusch (1998) conceived of legal cynicism as a component of Durkheim’s anomie: a state of normlessness where governing

rules are not binding in a society. When there is normlessness, there is cynicism about the very rules in that society. People are less likely to obey the law because they do not turn to it to guide their actions. Cynicism is not a subculture with deviant beliefs. A person can hold conventional values (i.e. do not tolerate crime) but think crime is inevitable because of the weak hold the law and legal authorities have upon their society.

Kirk and Papachristos (2011) narrowed legal cynicism and defined it as a cultural frame that views the law and law enforcement agents as illegitimate, unresponsive and ill equipped to ensure public safety. In this definition, legal cynicism is a cultural framework that people use to interpret the legitimacy of legal actions and utility of legal institutions and authorities in guiding their behavior. That is not to say that a certain framework will always lead to specific behavior. Rather, it shapes the possible options for dealing with situations so depending on the cultural framework, certain actions are more likely than others. The quality of the framework depends on the residents of the area because it is an augmentation of communication and interaction, reinforced in the process. While not everyone in the area has the same perception, they share common ideas about the legal system. This idea of a cultural frame is similar to what Goudriaan and colleagues (2004) called normative considerations. There are certain norms that are part of the victim's social context and these norms may influence the decision to report. Some examples they gave for a norm are 'I should deal with this myself' and 'crimes should be reported to the police.'

Research in this area focus on factors that influence legitimacy and cynicism or the benefits and consequences of high levels legitimacy and cynicism. This study expands on this topic and explores the influence of cynicism, particularly police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism, on victim reporting. In capturing cynicism, it will follow Kirk and

Papachristos's (2011) and Goudriaan and colleague's (2004) framework, viewing cynicism as a cultural norm. While this study's focus is on cynicism and its effects, there will be a brief overview of legitimacy literature as well since the two concepts are intertwined. A city with many residents who view the police as illegitimate will generally have a culture that is cynical of the police.

### 3.2. Origins of legitimacy and legal cynicism

For legitimacy researchers, legitimacy stems from procedural justice. Procedural justice provides a method of interpreting the interaction between the legal agent and the individual. That is, how authority is exercised affects a person's feelings of legitimacy (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Piquero et al., 2005; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Weber, 1968). This involves neutrality of the decision making process, respectfulness of interpersonal treatment from authorities and fairness of service delivery. When a person feels he was treated appropriately, with fairness and respect, he is more likely to value the authorities as legitimate and have more trust and faith in the institution. Within the different aspects of procedural justice, how a person perceived they were treated during the encounter matters more than their perception of the fairness of the decision making process (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

The importance of procedural justice in influencing legitimacy can be found in studies that look at procedural justice along with outcome favorability. Intuitively, it seems a more personally favorable outcome will influence the person's feelings about the police or the courts. For instance, a person who gets probation rather than 3 years in prison is likely to have more favorable views of the criminal justice system. However, studies have shown that fairness during

decision making matters even after controlling for outcome favorability (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In fact, outcome favorability had no significant impact on legitimacy.

Another way to look at the importance of this relationship is the influence of procedural justice on feelings of legitimacy. According to Skogan (2006), procedurally 'just' actions by authorities have a small influence on legitimacy but 'unjust' actions can have a big negative effect, which can undo all the good the 'just' actions have done. Therefore, treating citizens justly may not matter as much as authorities would like but authorities need to make sure that citizens are not treated unjustly. However, Mazerolle and colleagues (2013) found that even short, formal encounters between the public and the police can influence not only specific attitudes towards the police but also general attitudes about them. When a person is treated in a procedurally just way during a short encounter with the police, the encounter is perceived as more legitimate and increases the likelihood that they will cooperate with the police in the future.

Experiences with authorities can be direct or vicarious (Brunson, 2007; Piquero et al., 2005). In Brunson's (2007) study, young black males living in disadvantaged neighborhoods claimed that the police are harassing, impolite, slow to respond and incompetent and this was based on personal experiences and stories they have heard from others. Because these young males see and hear so much about poor treatment by the police, perception of police immorality is strong and they expect the police to act illegitimately. In addition, studies have found that prior legitimacy, along with procedural justice, affects subsequent legitimacy (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002). This means that it is important to start early in enhancing feelings of legitimacy in the public since the initial level will influence future level.

While for most scholars procedural justice is the crux of legitimacy, Tankebe (2013) argued that legitimacy is multidimensional and distributive fairness, lawfulness and effectiveness



should be taken into consideration as well. It is important for citizens to feel that they are treated fairly but if the results are biased to favor certain groups, then the criminal justice system is not going to be perceived as legitimate. For instance, if the trial process was equally fair and respectful to all defendants but the economically challenged defendants were consistently given harsher sentences, then the system would not be viewed as legitimate. Also, for the public to accept a government entity as meriting its position, the entity should be able to demonstrate that they are effective in what they set out to do. Merely following the established rules is not enough for legitimacy; there should be proof that government entities are successful at what they are meant to accomplish for them to be seen as legitimate. In fact, his study suggests that different elements of legitimacy may matter for different societies because legitimacy is established through a dialogue between the entity and the public.

For scholars interested in legal cynicism, the focal starting point of cynicism is characteristics of the neighborhood. In their influential study, Sampson and Bartusch (1998) used the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods dataset to study the effect of concentrated disadvantage on neighborhood levels of legal cynicism. The more disadvantaged the neighborhood, the higher the cynicism, dissatisfaction with the police and less deviance tolerance. The effect of social disadvantage was significant even after controlling for crime rates and demographic compositions of the neighborhoods. The structural conditions matter because it restricts opportunities and isolates the residents from social welfare, breeding cynicism about the legal system. In other words, cynicism is an adaptation to structural conditions (Anderson, 1999).

Criminal justice practices, especially the relationship between the police and the residents, matter as well (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). The police are the most visible and accessible part of the criminal justice system for most people. Policing tactics differ by area and

the kind of issues each area is dealing with. When the police in an area are better equipped to help solve problems in a fair way, the citizens will be less cynical towards them. However, if the police are unreliable or perceived as being unfair or corrupt, the residents would be less inclined to trust them and want to turn to them for help. Unfortunately, studies have shown that the police are more likely to behave in ways that will increase cynicism in areas that are already more likely to be cynical (i.e. economically disadvantaged areas) (Carr et al., 2007; Kane, 2005). In a qualitative study, Carr and colleagues (2007) found that youths living in high disadvantage have high cynicism for the police due to their experiences with the police but they also wanted more police to control crime. Community context can explain this seeming inconsistency, as being surrounded by police may make more policing the answer to crime but they also see many violations of procedural justice.

### 3.3. Benefits and consequences of legitimacy/legal cynicism

According to Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett and Tyler (2013), legitimacy is crucial for social order maintenance. When people view authority as more legitimate, they are more likely to obey the rules set out by the authority (Tyler, 2006). For instance, when the legal system is seen as legitimate, people are more likely to comply with the laws even after controlling for other variables (Fagan & Tyler, 2005). Because the police are agents of the law, if the legal system is seen as legitimate, the police can be seen as legitimate as well by extension. Therefore, those with higher perception of legitimacy will be more likely to cooperate with the police. Sunshine and Tyler (2003) found that legitimacy is positively related to cooperation with the police and the effect was consistent across race. Even though minorities view legal authorities with less legitimacy, the relationship between legitimacy and cooperation is constant regardless of race (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Both cross-sectional and longitudinal data

found that people are less likely to challenge police action when they view them as legitimate (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Fagan, 2008). While they did not use the term legitimacy, Slocum and colleagues (2010) looked at how perceptions of police honesty, respectfulness and effort affect witness reporting intentions for juveniles and found a positive relationship between the two. In addition, the perception of the police may matter more than the actions of the police during police-youth interactions (Slocum et al., 2010).

Legitimacy is beneficial to getting public compliance and cooperation because the government does not have to depend on cost and benefit instruments such as tangible rewards and punishment to motivate citizens to do the right thing (Tyler, 2006). People cooperate because they feel it is the right thing to do, rather than because it gives them material benefits or eliminates risks. For behaviors with big costs or gains, such as car theft, it may be possible to motivate people to act based on cost-benefit calculations (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Not all crimes have those elements, though, and there is no guarantee that the offender will get caught. It is costly if there is a price for everything, especially at times of economic hardship. Realistically, the police cannot do everything the public wants, especially in controlling crime. There are a handful of factors that the police and the criminal justice system can control with limited resources so it would be helpful if they had the public's support and cooperation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Legitimacy offers a solution to getting both public support and ability to focus on crime control. Therefore, scholars argue that motivating the public to do the right thing based on internal values, the belief that it is the proper thing to do, is a better method (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

This has important implications for victim reporting because reporting is not set by law. Rather, it can be seen as a civil duty; a role the public can serve in controlling crime rates. The

legal system can try to give tangible benefits, such as cash for every crime report, but there may be many costs that they have to tackle as well. Other benefits such as capturing the offender are not so easy in many cases and it will be difficult to confront the various costs related to reporting. Therefore, focusing on legitimacy of the legal system can help increase reporting without huge costs.

In areas of high cynicism, the traditional option of solving disputes with legal authorities may be not readily available, either because the residents do not believe they will get help and forgo that option or because of the lack of resources in the area. In this environment, cynicism may allow the citizens to expand their methods of dispute resolution to include illicit methods such as crime and violence (Anderson, 1999; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). Although cynicism may not directly cause more violence, higher levels of cynicism was found to lead to more homicide in the area (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). What is more, cynicism was associated with persistent homicide rates, even after controlling for structural changes. Even though social infrastructures changed and homicides generally declined in the 1990s, certain neighborhoods in Chicago had stable homicide rates, or increased homicide rates, and cynicism in the area was an important reason for it.

The relationship between cynicism and violent crime may be related to the level of structural disadvantage of the area (Kane, 2005). In high and extremely disadvantaged areas, low police legitimacy predicted increased crime rates. However, in areas of low disadvantage, there was no relationship between legitimacy and crime. This may be because these areas have strong informal control mechanisms that make crime a less viable option for solving disputes or because they have the resources to address police accountability through conventional methods.

Unfortunately, Kane's (2005) study did not measure legitimacy. Rather, it measured factors that could trigger low police legitimacy: police misconduct and police responsiveness.

Because cynical neighborhoods have more crime, they also have more arrests (Kirk & Matsuda, 2011). However, the probability of arrest is lower in high cynical areas and this effect is stronger in predominantly black neighborhoods because they have higher levels of cynicism. The effect is mediated by collective efficacy, suggesting that cynicism erodes the bonds in neighborhoods, leading to less power to combat crime together (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). One reason for this may be because people in cynical neighborhoods are less inclined to call the police or help them with investigations.

A possible factor suggested for the relationship between high cynicism and high crime rates and low arrest rates is reporting (Kirk & Matsuda, 2011; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). Because people in cynical areas do not see the benefit in helping the police, they are less likely to talk to the police after a crime. They may think the police will not take them seriously or reporting will put them in danger that the police will not or cannot protect them from. Since they do not report crimes and give useful information to the police, arrests are more difficult. Fewer arrests mean there are more criminals in the area, which could lead to more crime, or the victim may confront the offender himself, which may become violent. Kirk and Matsuda (2011) suggested a study on cynicism and crime reporting could help explain the relationship between cynicism and arrests, which could logically be extended to crime rates as well.

#### 3.4. Applying legal cynicism to victim reporting

Studies in legitimacy and legal cynicism provide an important normative influence to consider in reporting but it has yet to be empirically tested (Kirk & Matsuda, 2011; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). Intuitively, it makes sense that reporting may be influenced by cynicism.

When a victim does not believe the police or criminal justice system will be helpful or respectful of their needs, or resides in a culture that views the police that way, he will be less inclined to talk to them. Some studies have delved into this issue but the main problem is that they were not based on actual reporting behaviors. For instance, Sunshine and Tyler's (2003) measurement of police cooperation included the likelihood of calling the police to report an accident, dangerous or suspicious activities in the neighborhood and voluntarily working as a police-community liaison worker. Another limitation is that since research on legal cynicism were not grounded on reporting research, none of the characteristics influential in victim reporting are controlled for.

This study aims to enhance understanding of crime reporting decisions by testing the relationship between cynicism and crime reporting with data on actual reporting behaviors, controlling for variables that have been shown to influence reporting in past studies. Besides taking into account the limitations of previous studies, this study aims to further research in the relationship between cynicism and reporting by adding different dimensions of cynicism and taking into account possible socioeconomic differences.

Tankebe's (2013) argues that legitimacy has multiple dimensions, which effectiveness and procedural justice are part of. Reporting studies have found that police competency does not impact reporting, except in property crimes (Bennett & Weigand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Goudriaan et al., 2004; Goudriaan et al, 2006), while legitimacy studies have found that competency matters more than procedural justice in citizen cooperation in some societies such as Ghana (Takebe, 2009). Currently, it is unclear which dimension is more important for reporting so this study explores two facets of legal cynicism: competency and fairness and respectfulness.

Also, previous studies have either not considered criminal justice cynicism or included it in the broader concept without separating it. However, this study divides cynicism into police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism because while these concepts are two intertwined legal authorities, they may have different importance in the victim's mind when they are making their decision to report the incident. The police are the first legal entity victims will have to face in order to report so at the moment, police cynicism may be the only part that matters. But if the victim thinks in the broader term, especially about getting justice, their cynicism about the criminal justice system may come into play as well.

In addition, according to Kane (2005), the impact of cynicism on violent crime differs by level of social disadvantage of the area while Baumer (2002) found that reporting differs by disadvantage for some crimes. Putting the two findings together, it is worth exploring the relationship between social disadvantage, cynicism and reporting. If cynicism is related to crime rates via reporting (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011), then the influence of cynicism on reporting may not be consistent throughout all areas. Rather, cynicism may matter less in areas of less disadvantage in reporting decisions and more in highly disadvantaged areas (Anderson, 1999).

Applying legal cynicism to reporting will add interesting findings to the field of reporting and suggest policy implications regarding the influence of cynicism on victim reporting. If cynicism explains much of the variance in reporting, it offers a possible method of increasing reporting, one that is more applicable than crime characteristics. By looking at different dimensions of cynicism, the results can suggest the police and the criminal justice system work on bettering their treatment of individuals or enhancing citizen's perceptions of the institution's efficiency (or, of course, actually raising their competency but this may be more difficult to

tackle in the short run). If the results reveal that criminal justice cynicism does not matter in reporting, then it is even more important for the police to tackle the level of cynicism in the area.

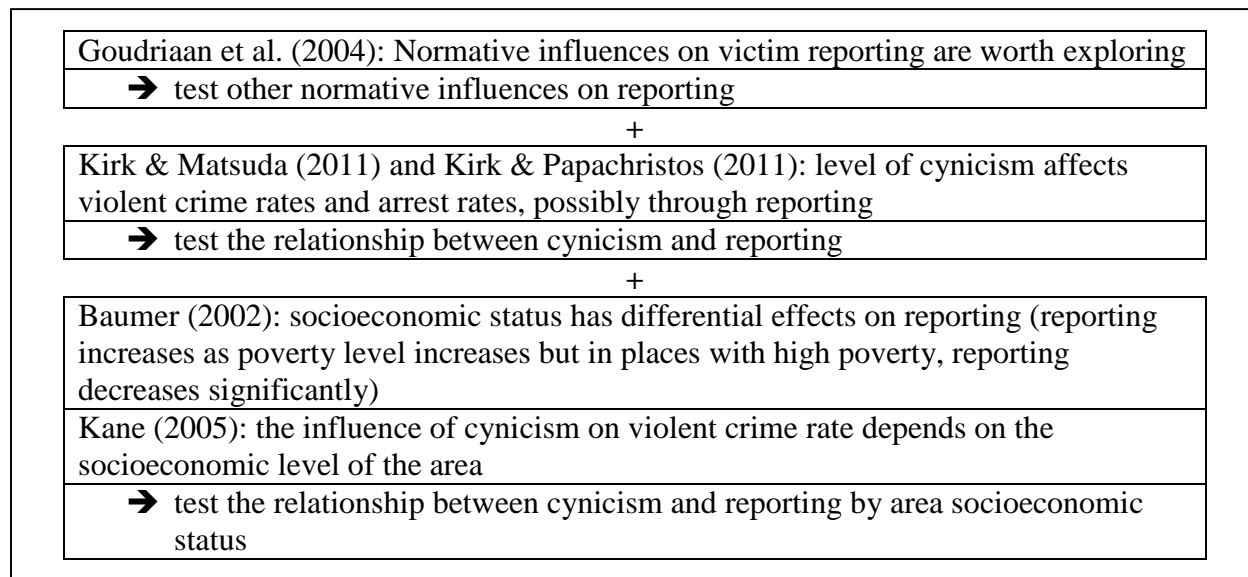


## CHAPTER 4. PRESENT STUDY

### 4.1. Theory and hypotheses

The main research question for this study is, does the level of cynicism in an area affect victim reporting rates in the area? A subsequent and related research question is, does individual cynicism affect victim reporting? In both reporting studies and legitimacy and legal cynicism studies, authors have suggested that there is a relationship or suggested future research explore the connection between cynicism and reporting (Baumer, 2002; Goudriaan et al., 2004; Kirk & Matsueda, 2011; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011; Xie & Lauritsen, 2011). This study will empirically show whether cynicism has an effect on reporting or not using a victimization survey so it includes factors important for reporting and bases reporting behavior on whether victims reported to the police after the incident or not. In addition, it takes into account different dimensions of legal cynicism.

Figure 1. Logic of current study, based on previous research



The theoretical reasoning behind the present study is shown on Figure 1. The main framework of this study is based on Goudriaan and colleagues' (2004) argument, that the

influence of social context (particularly normative influences) is important for reporting and should be explored further. Two other studies are applied: Baumer (2002) found that there may be a relationship between socioeconomic status and reporting, while Kane's (2005) study showed cynicism has differential effects on violent crime by socioeconomic status. Combining the two together, this study looks at the effect of cynicism on reporting by level of socioeconomic status as well.

Overall, prior research suggests that higher levels of cynicism may decrease crime reporting. Based on normative influence studies, overall cynicism in the area may affect how an individual reacts to their own level of legitimacy. A person who has a mid-range level of cynicism may report their victimization in a low cynicism area but a similar person in a high cynicism area may forgo reporting, or vice versa. Therefore, the first question to ask is whether those ideas apply to reporting or not. Reporting rates are not consistent throughout crime types, though. Some crimes may be important enough that cynicism has less of an effect in the victim's decision to report. However, there is no theoretical reason that the effect of cynicism on reporting should differ by crime. It would be interesting to explore whether there is a differential crime type effect or not. The victim has more immediate contact with the police when reporting and that may put an emphasis on police cynicism compared to criminal justice cynicism. Or the victim may consider a crime not worth reporting if they do not believe the criminal justice system will perform in a legitimate manner. In addition, legitimacy and cynicism studies have shown that fairness and respectfulness are crucial for legal cooperation but may depend on the society. Therefore:

H<sub>1</sub>: Individuals living in areas of high cynicism will be less likely to report their victimization to the police compared to those living in areas of low cynicism.

H<sub>2</sub>: Individuals with similar cynicism levels will have similar reporting patterns regardless of the level of cynicism in their area.

H<sub>3</sub>: The relationship between cynicism and victim reporting will be consistent regardless of crime type.

H<sub>4 (a) & (b)</sub>: Police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism will have comparable impact on reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>5 (a) & (b)</sub>: Perceived respectfulness and fairness of the police and perceived police competency will have comparable impact on reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>6 (a) & (b)</sub>: Perceived respectfulness and fairness of the criminal justice system and perceived criminal justice system competency will have comparable impact on reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

The second part of the study regards the differential impact of cynicism on reporting by socioeconomic status. Since areas of severe disadvantage experience more negative policing, police cynicism may be more important than criminal justice cynicism. However, if those areas experience more penalties from the criminal justice system for their wrong-doings, particularly if there is a sentiment of receiving harsher penalties within these areas, criminal justice cynicism may matter more. Therefore,

H<sub>7 (a) & (b)</sub>: There will be no effects of cynicism on reporting in low disadvantage areas. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>8 (a) & (b)</sub>: Highly disadvantaged areas will have a negative relationship between cynicism and reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>9 (a) & (b)</sub>: Police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism will have comparable impact on reporting for highly disadvantaged areas. – (a) area, (b) individual

## 4.2. Data

### 4.2.1. Dataset

This study uses the British Crime Survey (BCS) for its analysis. The BCS interviews residents aged 16 and over in private households in England and Wales about their crime victimization experiences in the past 12 months. The crimes include personal and household property victimization and importantly, interviewees are asked about incidents that were reported to the police as well as those not reported. Because of this, the BCS gives a more comprehensive picture of the crime rate than police recorded rates for crimes that are covered in the survey. Besides asking for detailed information about the incident (i.e. where and when it happened, whether the victim knew the offender well), the survey also gathers the respondents' attitudes towards the criminal justice system, fear of crime, perception of crime and deviance and other criminal justice issues. The first wave of the survey was conducted in 1982 and until 2001, when it started being an annual survey, it was administered roughly every 2 years. The wording of some questions has been altered throughout the years but the core victimization questions have remained the same.

The survey is designed to achieve a sample that is representative of households in England and Wales and individuals aged 16 and over in those households. It excludes individuals in residential care, prison or the armed forces. Since wave 2004/5, the survey aims to sample at least 1,000 individuals in each of the 42 Police Force Areas (PFA)<sup>1</sup>, with a total target of 46,000 interviews. Postcode Address File (PAF) is used as the sampling frame and the sample is stratified by population density and the proportion of adults aged 16-74 in non-manual

---

<sup>1</sup> The following PFAs have targets higher than 1,000: Metropolitan, West Midlands, Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire, Thames Valley and Hampshire

occupations within each PFA. After stratification, postcode areas are sampled by random start and fixed interval, with probability proportional to the number of delivery points. Thirty-two addresses are issued in each PAF by random start and fixed interval method. Once the interviewer deems the address eligible (i.e. residential, not vacant, not a second home, not communal living), an individual from each address is picked randomly from a list of residents in the household<sup>2</sup>. Substitutes are not allowed once a person is selected.

Before the interview, each household is sent an introductory letter, explaining the survey, why they were selected and that the interviewer will be calling them soon to set up an appointment. If an appointment is unsuccessful, the interviewer can try again, after weighing the cost and benefits of retrying. The BCS has a high response rate (75%)<sup>3</sup> and the dataset provides weights to adjust for potential non-response bias. The questionnaire consists of core, sub-section and self-completion modules. The core module is asked of all respondents, while the self-completion module is used on all 16 to 59 year olds. The self-completion module asks about drug and alcohol usage and domestic violence and sexual victimization. The sub-sections are filled out by sub-samples and respondents are randomly allocated to one of the sections. In some sub-sections there are extra questions for a smaller group of respondents within the section. For the victimization experience information, respondents can report up to 6 incidents. The survey is conducted face-to-face using computer-assisted personal interviewing, except the self-completion part, which is filled out by the respondent on a computer.

The BCS is appropriate for this study because as a victimization survey, it has all the important victim, offender and crime variables. It asks whether the victim reported to the police or not and the reasons for doing so. Since it has indicators of PFAs, the dataset can be aggregated

---

<sup>2</sup> Alphabetic, by first name.

<sup>3</sup> Response rate in wave 2006/7

by area and each PFA sample is representative of the PFA. In addition, the survey asks questions about police and criminal justice cynicism.

PFAs are used as the grouping variable since each force is independent of another and likely to have different tactics and cultures in combating crime and relationships with the public. PFAs are territorial, covering one or more counties established in the 1974 local government reorganization. According to Kane (2005), administrative spatial units may be less of an issue when it comes to policing since police work is organized by specific administrative areas. The Police Act 1996 updated the responsibilities of PFAs, with the chief officer of each area in charge of operational control. According to the Police Act 1996, each PFA shall create a three-year strategy plan in the beginning of every relevant three-year periods and determine the objectives and local policing plan for each financial year taking into account the priorities and resources available (for more information, see <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/16>). The yearly budget for each PFA comes mostly from the Home Office and is proportionate to PFA differences such as population, geographical size and crime trends. The PFAs can raise additional funds through council taxes. The Home Office uses PFAs in performance measurements and PFAs are also the basis of the Police Performance and Assessment Framework in measuring each force's progress in Statutory Performance Indicators. In fact, the reason each PFA has a representative sample of 1,000 residents or more is so that the government can get reliable measures of progress. Therefore, each PFA has a unified goal and different levels of finances, which will shape their practices. Although smaller policing units may act somewhat different from one another, they still are bound by the plans of the PFA, which will have an overall influence on how they interact with the residents.

#### 4.2.2. Cases for inclusion

This study uses two waves of the BCS; wave 2005/6 and wave 2006/7. In wave 2005/6, 47,796 people were interviewed, while wave 2006/7 had 47,203 respondents. Wave 2005/6 is used to generate characteristics of each PFA (macro effects), while wave 2006/7 is used for individual level variables. Therefore, all variables for victim, offender and crime characteristics are from wave 2006/7. The reason two different waves are used is because while the survey itself is longitudinal (i.e. it asks more or less the same questions wave after wave), the respondents are not tracked longitudinally. Every wave has a different set of respondents and because each wave is cross-sectional, it would be difficult to use one wave to say what the cause is and what the effect is.

The unit of analysis is victimization incident. There were 18,047 incidents reported in wave 2006/7 by 12,292 victims. While most victims experienced just one incident, 29.65% of them went through 2 or more incidents in the past 12 months before their interview. Because incidents with the same victim are not independent, when an individual has experienced 2 or more incidents, one incident was randomly selected for analysis. In other words, the sample size for individuals is 12,292. Of the 12,292 victims, 79 did not answer whether they reported the crime to the police or not and are therefore excluded. Victims who experienced crimes that happened outside of England (n=122) are excluded since the crime reporting context and decision making process may have been very different. Victims of crimes that occurred with the police at the scene are excluded, as are the victim did not have the choice to alert the police or not (n=80). Finally, victims who did not give information about their crime are excluded (n=12). Therefore, the final sample for analysis is 11,999. For PFA-level cynicism variables the responses of all interviewees in wave 2005/6 are utilized.

### 4.3. Measures

#### 4.3.1. *Dependent variable*

The dependent variable for this study is dichotomous: whether the victim reported to the police (coded as 1) or not (coded as 0). About 28.2 percent of the sample alerted the police of their victimization<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4.3.2. *Independent variables*

The main variable of interest is cynicism: police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism. This study's measure of cynicism is based on Kirk and Papachristos's (2011) concept of cynicism: a cultural frame that views the law and law enforcement agents as illegitimate, unresponsive and ill equipped to ensure public safety. Twelve questions are chosen based on theoretical reasoning to capture policy cynicism and criminal justice cynicism (See Table 1). Each cynicism variable is further divided into respectfulness and fairness (illegitimate) and competency (unresponsive and ill equipped). Therefore, there are four cynicism dimensions: police cynicism (respectfulness and fairness), police cynicism (competency), criminal justice system cynicism (respectfulness and fairness), criminal justice system cynicism (competency). Factor Analysis results indicate that the chosen questions for each dimension extract into their respective components. There is an area level measure of police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism for each PFA and an individual measure of both concepts to control for in the models.

For area cynicism, the percentage of residents in each PFA who answered negatively to each statement is calculated. The last two responses to each question are considered negative (i.e.

---

<sup>4</sup> The BCS asks who reported the crime to the police and for this study, the focus is on victims reporting their victimization to the police. The crime can also be reported by family/household members and others. If these reports are taken into account as well, crime reporting rates are about 40%. In other words, regardless of who reports, the police come to know about 40% of crimes experienced by citizens.



Table 1. Cynicism measures

Cynicism	Survey question	Scale
Police cynicism (Respectfulness and fairness)	The police in this area would treat you with respect if you had contact with them	Strongly agree - Tend to agree - Neither agree nor disagree - Tend to disagree - Strongly disagree
	The police in this area treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are	Strongly agree - Tend to agree - Neither agree nor disagree - Tend to disagree - Strongly disagree
Police cynicism (Competency)	The police in this area can be relied on to be there when you need	Strongly agree - Tend to agree - Neither agree nor disagree - Tend to disagree - Strongly disagree
	The police in this area can be relied on to deal with minor crimes	Strongly agree - Tend to agree - Neither agree nor disagree - Tend to disagree - Strongly disagree
	Taking everything into account I have confidence in the police in this area	Strongly agree - Tend to agree - Neither agree nor disagree - Tend to disagree - Strongly disagree
	How good a job are the police in this area doing	Excellent – Good – Fair – Poor - Very poor
Criminal justice system cynicism (Respectfulness and fairness)	How confident are you that witnesses are treated well by CJS	Very confident - Fairly confident - Not very confident - Not at all confident
	How confident are you that CJS meets the needs of victims of crime	Very confident - Fairly confident - Not very confident - Not at all confident
Criminal justice system cynicism (Competency)	How confident are you that CJS is effective in bringing people who commit crimes to justice	Very confident - Fairly confident - Not very confident - Not at all confident
	How confident are you that CJS deals with cases promptly and efficiently	Very confident - Fairly confident - Not very confident - Not at all confident
	How effective is CJS in reducing crime	Very effective - Fairly effective - Not very effective - Not at all effective
	How effective is CJS in dealing with young people accused of crime	Very effective - Fairly effective - Not very effective - Not at all effective

‘Poor’ or ‘Very poor’, ‘Not very confident’ or ‘Not at all confident’). Afterwards, the percentage of negative responses are grouped by the 4 different aspects of cynicism (2 for police cynicism and 2 for criminal justice system cynicism), the average of which is used as the measure of that particular cynicism. Police cynicism is the average of police respectfulness and fairness and police competency. Criminal justice system cynicism is the average of criminal justice respectfulness and fairness and criminal justice competency. Area total cynicism is the sum of police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism.

For individual cynicism, each victim’s answers for each aspect of cynicism are averaged, the result of which is used as a measure of that particular cynicism for the particular victim. Police cynicism is an added scale of police respectfulness and fairness and police competency and criminal justice system cynicism follows the same logic. For both area and individual cynicism, higher values mean higher levels of cynicism.

Other macro variables are social disadvantage and violent crime rate. A social disadvantage variable is created for each PFA based on previous research, particularly Sampson and Bartusch (1998). Percent unemployed, percent with less than A-levels education, percent single mother households and percent low income was gathered for each PFA from the 2005/6 data and combined into a single social disadvantage index. Alpha factor analysis (with an oblique rotation) confirmed that all four variables load highly on one factor (at least 0.61 loading). The scores are calculated using factor loading as weights. Higher scores on the index mean more disadvantage in the area. Violent crime rate is taken from the Home Office’s Crime in England and Wales 2005/2006 publication (Home Office, 2006). The rate is all violent crimes per 10,000 population in each PFA. Violent crime rate is controlled for since it influences how the public views the police (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998).

Variables known to be influential in reporting from past studies are included in the models, depending on whether it is a property crime or a contact crime. There are three types of individual level variables: victim/household characteristics, offender characteristics and crime characteristics. All analyses are divided by contact crime and property crime. Contact crime has 3 types: assault, threat of assault and robbery. Property crime consists of burglary, personal theft, household theft, vehicle theft, other theft and criminal damage.

There are variables that apply to both contact and property crime and others that apply to only one group of crime, as not all crimes are asked the same follow up questions and not all variables have the same importance for all crimes. For both contact crime models and property crime models, crime type is controlled for. In the BCS, if a respondent has experienced the same crime 5 times or more, it is a series crime. Series crimes is coded as 1, single crimes as 0. Perceived seriousness of the crime is measured from 1 to 20 and is included in this study. Whether the crime was completed or not is coded dichotomously (attempted, completed). For contact crimes, weapon presence (no weapon, weapon), injury (no injury, injury), place of crime (not at home or at home) and third party presence (no, yes) are also included. For property crimes, financial loss for property crimes (in pounds) is included.

Contact crimes use victim characteristics and property crimes use household characteristics. For victim characteristics, the victim's sex (male, female), age (in years from 16 to 85, and everyone over 86 is categorized as 86), race (white, other), marital status (married, not married), employment status (employed, not employed), education (below A-levels, A-levels and higher), household income (12 categories, with increasing income) and urban (rural, urban) are included. Household characteristics include household income (12 categories, with increasing

income), home ownership (rent, own), household size (in numbers 1 through 5, and households of 6 or bigger are coded as 6), household race (white, other) and urban (rural, urban).

Offender characteristics include the offender's sex (male, female), perceived age (24 or younger, 25 or older), perceived race (white, other), multiple offenders (no, yes), and the victim-offender relationship (stranger, non-stranger). For multiple offender cases, the offender sex is male, female or mixed. For the offender age, it follows the youngest age. Offender race is coded as other if there was at least 1 offender who was non-white. For the victim-offender relationship, if the victim knew the offender, it is coded as non-stranger and all others as stranger.

#### 4.4. Data analysis strategy

Two main methods are utilized for analysis: chi-square and logistic modeling. Chi-square is employed from hypothesis 1 through 3 and the rest use binary logistic models, as the dependent variable for this study is dichotomous. Due to the nested nature of the sample (i.e. respondents were chosen using a stratified multistage cluster sampling design), the respondents may not be independent of one another and ordinary logistic regression may lead to incorrect parameter estimates and biased standard errors. Clustered data such as the one used in this study require models that take into account the fact that people within the same group may be more similar to each other than with people in other groups. Therefore, this study uses Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) for the logistic models.

GEE was introduced by Liang and Zeger (1986) as a method of calculating more efficient parameters for longitudinal data. It is used often in datasets that are may be correlated, such as data with repeated measures or clustered data. As a marginal model, GEE produces population-average effects and is useful when a researcher is interested in general effects rather than individual-specific effects (Ballinger, 2004). GEE does not produce goodness-of-fit statistics so

the model fit statistics displayed in this study are from regular logistic regression models with identical list of variables as the GEE (e.g. Baumer, 2002).

## CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

### 5.1. Descriptive statistics

As stated in the previous chapter, 11,999 victims are included in the analysis. Table 2 organizes the descriptive statistics of the study sample at the individual level. Of the 11,999 victimized, about 26.2 percent of individuals reported their victimization to the police, with more property crime victims reporting than contact crime victims. Levels of cynicism are similar between property crime victims and contact crime victims but property crime victims have higher criminal justice cynicism and contact crime victims have higher police cynicism. Compared to property crime victims, there are more contact victims in the lower household income level and less in the upper household income level. Over 80% of the sample lives in urban areas. About 90% of the crimes are completed and there are more serious contact crimes than property crimes (24.5% vs. 15.4%). On average, contact crimes are deemed more serious than property crimes (6.85 vs. 4.83, from a range of 1 to 20).

Almost half of the contact crime victims are female, about two-thirds are employed and over 90% are white. Over three-fourths of the offenders are male, slightly less than half are aged 24 or younger and 14.2% are not white. Over half of contact crimes involve a non-stranger and a third has more than one offender. There is a weapon involved in 11.7% of contact crimes and the victim is injured 30.7% of the time. Almost half of all contact crimes have a third-party presence and the most prevalent crime is assault (49.7%). Over two-thirds of the property crime victims reside in a house they own and 7.1% are non-white. A little over a third of the crimes yielded a financial loss of £50 or more and the most common crime is criminal damage (36.1%), followed by vehicle theft (27.7%).

Table 2. Level-1 variable descriptive information (N=11,999)

Variable		Property crime (N=10,051)			Contact crime (N=1,948)		
		Valid Percent	Mean (S.D)	Range	Valid Percent	Mean (S.D)	Range
Reporting (Reported)		26.4			24.8		
Police cynicism			5.22 (1.6)	2-10		5.36 (1.78)	2-10
Police cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness			2.31 (0.84)	1-5		2.43 (0.96)	1-5
Police cynicism: Competency			2.91 (0.95)	1-5		2.94 (0.99)	1-5
Criminal justice cynicism			5.55 (1.12)	2-8		5.23 (1.16)	2-8
CJ cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness			2.66 (0.63)	1-4		2.65 (0.65)	1-4
CJ cynicism: Competency			2.9 (0.58)	1-4		2.88 (0.61)	1-4
Victim sex (Female)					49.1		
Victim age*						38.27 (15.18)	16-86
Victim race (Other)					8.1		
Victim marital status (Married)					32		
Victim employment status (Employed)					66.6		
Victim education (A-levels or above)					41.8		
Household income	Less than £14,999	29.7			33.3		
	£15,000-£34,999	37.4			38.2		
	£35,000 or more	32.9			28.5		
Urbanicity (Urban)		82.1			80.7		
Home ownership (Owns)		68.2					
Household size**			2.61 (1.31)	1-6			
Household race (Other)		7.1					
Offender sex	Male				78		
	Female				13.4		
	Both sexes				8.6		
Perceived offender age (24 or younger)					46.8		
Perceived offender race (Other)					14.2		
Victim-offender relationship (Non-stranger)					53.7		
Multiple offenders					33.2		
Weapon presence					11.7		
Victim was injured					30.7		
Place of crime (At home private)					16.2		
Third party presence					49.6		
Completed crime		89.5			91.3		
Series crime (Series)		15.4			24.5		

Perceived seriousness of crime			4.83 (3.82)	1-20		6.85 (4.78)	1-20
Financial loss	£50 or more	35.2					
Crime type	Criminal damage	36.1					
	Vehicle theft	27.7					
	Household theft	10.8					
	Personal theft	3.9					
	Other theft	8.7					
	Burglary	12.8					
	Assault				49.7		
	Threat of assault				43.2		
Robbery				7.1			
*This is approximate because victims who are aged over 86 are recoded as 86							
**This is approximate because households with more than 6 members are recoded as 6							

Table 3 describes the PFA characteristics. PFAs have higher criminal justice cynicism than police cynicism and for both police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism, there is higher cynicism about the competency of the institution than procedural justice.

Table 3. Level-2 variable descriptive information (N=42)

Variable	Mean (S.D)	Range
Police cynicism	17.45 (2.64)	13.39-24.66
Police cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	9.49 (1.78)	7.35-15.95
Police cynicism: Competency	25.41 (4.28)	17.73-35
Criminal justice cynicism	57.10 (2.75)	52.73-65.84
CJ cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	50.11 (3.09)	45.95-58.9
CJ cynicism: Competency	64.09 (2.89)	57.2-72.78
Social disadvantage	0.95 (0.1)	0.69-1.13
Violent crime rate	204.19 (47.67)	118-342

Reporting rates for all PFAs are displayed in Table 4. Northumbria has the lowest reporting rate of 19.8% and North Yorkshire has the highest reporting rate of 38.1%. Northumbria also has the lowest reporting rate for property crimes (10.3%) and North Yorkshire has the highest reporting rate for both contact and property crimes (41.4% and 37.4%, respectively). Cleveland has the lowest contact crime reporting rate of 10.2%. Overall, the difference in reporting rates is minimal between property and contact crimes (26.4% vs. 24.8%)



Table 4. Reporting rates by PFA

Police Force Area	Property crime	Contact crime	Total
North Yorkshire	37.40%	41.40%	38.13%
Warwickshire	30.70%	35.70%	31.52%
Humberside	30.70%	31.30%	30.77%
Dyfed Powys	33.30%	17.20%	30.32%
Gwent	31.50%	22.20%	30.03%
West Midlands	28.60%	35.80%	29.69%
Essex	28.80%	31.00%	29.11%
West Mercia	29.90%	25.50%	29.00%
Derbyshire	31.10%	17.50%	28.76%
Nottinghamshire	28.00%	29.80%	28.27%
Merseyside	28.50%	22.50%	27.50%
Norfolk	30.10%	11.80%	27.39%
Wiltshire	25.50%	35.90%	27.16%
Avon & Somerset	28.00%	18.20%	27.07%
Northamptonshire	27.10%	22.90%	26.61%
Lincolnshire	27.20%	24.00%	26.56%
Cumbria	25.80%	30.30%	26.53%
Sussex	28.10%	20.00%	26.45%
Greater Manchester	27.80%	19.00%	26.37%
South Wales	27.40%	20.50%	26.28%
Thames Valley	25.70%	27.80%	25.94%
Metropolitan/City of London	24.90%	30.60%	25.85%
Gloucestershire	27.00%	20.00%	25.70%
Cambridgeshire	26.10%	23.30%	25.64%
South Yorkshire	25.60%	25.00%	25.53%
Leicestershire	24.30%	31.60%	25.40%
Hampshire	25.60%	24.40%	25.37%
West Yorkshire	25.10%	26.70%	25.35%
Devon & Cornwall	26.60%	18.60%	25.20%
Lancashire	24.90%	24.60%	24.83%
Cheshire	24.80%	24.50%	24.74%
Surrey	25.90%	17.00%	24.21%
Bedfordshire	24.20%	22.20%	23.88%
Durham	23.00%	28.90%	23.85%
Cleveland	26.40%	10.20%	23.76%
Hertfordshire	22.50%	29.50%	23.57%
Suffolk	23.90%	20.60%	23.33%
North Wales	21.80%	28.90%	23.01%
Dorset	23.10%	22.20%	22.93%
Staffordshire	23.00%	20.80%	22.64%
Kent	22.10%	24.50%	22.48%

Northumbria	20.30%	17.40%	19.78%
Total	26.40%	24.80%	26.18%

but some PFAs have very divergent reporting patterns by crime type. In Norfolk, property crimes are reported almost trice as often as contact crimes, while at Wiltshire, over a third of contact crimes are reported and about a quarter of property crimes are reported. Contact crime has a much wider range of reporting rates, from 10.2% to 41.4%, than property crimes (20.3% to 37.4%).

Table 5. Bivariate correlations among total cynicism variables

Property crime				
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Police cynicism (A)	1			
Criminal justice cynicism (B)	.492**	1		
Area police cynicism (C)	.092**	.035**	1	
Area criminal justice cynicism (D)	.052**	.039**	.698**	1
Contact crime				
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Police cynicism (A)	1			
Criminal justice cynicism (B)	.460**	1		
Area police cynicism (C)	0.043	.085**	1	
Area criminal justice cynicism (D)	0.013	-0.016	.668**	1

Before testing the models, a correlation analysis is conducted on all the independent variables by crime type and levels to see the relationship between variables and to check for multicollinearity. Because total police cynicism and total criminal justice cynicism are the average of the 2 parts of each cynicism, both at the individual level and the PFA level, two correlation analysis are conducted: one with total cynicism and another with the different dimensions of cynicism. Overall, for both property crime and contact crime there is a weak to moderate correlation between the variables, whether total cynicism is used or multifaceted cynicism is used. Table 5 shows an abbreviated version of correlation coefficients, focusing on coefficients between total cynicism variables while Table 6 show the cynicism variable

coefficients when cynicism is broken up into different dimensions. The detailed correlation results that includes all variables can be found in the Appendices section.

Table 6. Bivariate correlations among multidimensional cynicism variables

Property crime							
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)
Police cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (A)	1						
Police cynicism: Competency (B)	.594**	1					
Criminal justice system cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (C)	.308**	.444**	1				
Criminal justice system cynicism: Competency (D)	.308**	.517**	.685**	1			
Area police cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (E)	.058**	.042**	0.019	-0.003	1		
Area police cynicism: Competency (F)	.041**	.117**	.039**	.046**	.407**	1	
Area criminal justice system cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (G)	.029**	.038**	.043**	.032**	.492**	.504**	1
Area criminal justice system cynicism: Competency (H)	.031**	.078**	.030**	.043**	.388**	.737**	.738**
Contact crime							
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)
Police cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (A)	1						
Police cynicism: Competency (B)	.643**	1					
Criminal justice system cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (C)	.304**	.435**	1				
Criminal justice system cynicism: Competency (D)	.314**	.490**	.705**	1			
Area police cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (E)	0.033	.077**	.081**	.064**	1		
Area police cynicism: Competency (F)	0.031	.125**	0.038	.060**	.408**	1	
Area criminal justice system cynicism: Respectfulness and fairness (G)	0.006	.058*	.082**	.082**	.477**	.470**	1
Area criminal justice system cynicism: Competency (H)	0.013	.078**	.049*	.093**	.366**	.716**	.724**

As respectfulness and fairness and competency are 2 aspects of cynicism, it is understandable that they are correlated to a higher degree, for both police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism. The two dimensions of criminal justice cynicism is more highly correlated than those of police cynicism at the individual and area level. For area level criminal justice

competency cynicism, it is highly correlated with area police competency cynicism as well. When the Variance Inflation Factor score was checked, however, all are below 4.

## 5.2. Influence of cynicism on reporting behaviors

This section examines the following three hypothesis, which look at how area level cynicism influences the reporting behaviors of its inhabitants. It explores the following hypotheses:

H<sub>1</sub>: Individuals living in areas of high cynicism will be less likely to report their victimization to the police compared to those living in areas of low cynicism.

H<sub>2</sub>: Individuals with similar cynicism levels will have similar reporting patterns regardless of the level of cynicism in their area.

H<sub>3</sub>: The relationship between cynicism and victim reporting will be consistent regardless of crime type.

First, do people living in high cynicism areas report less than those in lower cynicism areas? Since looking at all 42 PFAs individually may be confusing and redundant, the PFAs are grouped into three groups by level of total cynicism. Each PFA's police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism is added together to create a total cynicism score. The PFAs are ranked from least to most cynical based on this score and are grouped into three equal groups of 14 PFAs, with the 14 lowest scoring PFAs labeled as the low cynicism group and the 14 highest scoring PFAs labeled as the high cynicism group.

Table 7 illustrates the relationship between PFA cynicism level and victim reporting in each respective area. Overall, as an area gets more cynical, the reporting rate increases, with a bigger jump in reporting rates occurring between areas of medium level of total cynicism and high level of total cynicism. However, this relationship is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=4.037$ ,

df=2, p>0.1). When looking at the relationship between PFA total cynicism level and victim reporting by crime type, property crime reporting rates follow the same pattern but the increase in reporting is more equally distributed by level of area cynicism. Similar to the total effect, though, the relationship between area cynicism and reporting rates is not significant ( $\chi^2=5.805$ , df=2, p>0.05). Contact crimes, on the other hand, have higher reporting in low and high cynicism areas than medium cynicism areas and the effect is not significant ( $\chi^2=1.993$ , df=2, p>0.1). In low cynicism areas, a slightly less proportion of property crimes are reported than the proportion of contact crimes reported (less than 1% difference). In medium and high cynicism areas, a bigger proportion of property crimes are reported than contact crimes and the gap in reporting rates is over 3%. Although contact crimes and property crimes have different reporting patterns, the difference is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=2.3$ , df=1, p>0.1).

Table 5. Bivariate relationship between PFA cynicism and reporting rates (H1 & H3)

	PFA total cynicism		
	Low	Medium	High
Total	25.50%	25.80%	27.30%
Property crime	25.30%	26.30%	27.80%
Contact crime	26.50%	23.20%	24.60%

Another question in regard to area cynicism and reporting is whether similar individuals act differently in different cynicism areas. As with area level cynicism, when looking at the relationship between area level cynicism, individual cynicism and reporting rates, each individual's police and criminal justice cynicism is added together to create total victim cynicism. Then everyone in the sample is ranked in the order of total cynicism, from the least cynical to most cynical. Afterwards, the individuals are grouped into roughly 3 equal size groups with the first group being the least cynical and the last group being the most cynical.

Table 8 shows the results of how individuals of similar cynicism levels respond to victimization in different levels of area cynicism. Results indicate that individuals of the same

cynicism level do not significantly change their reporting patterns by the level of cynicism in their area. There are small changes in reporting as the area cynicism became higher in different levels of individual cynicism but the pattern is not statistically significant, whether the victim has low cynicism ( $\chi^2=2.470$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ), medium cynicism ( $\chi^2=4.083$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ) or high cynicism ( $\chi^2=2.118$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ). People with low cynicism have lower rates of reporting as area cynicism increases, those with high cynicism report more in medium and high cynicism areas than low cynicism areas and those with medium cynicism report more in low and high cynicism areas than medium cynicism areas. However, the difference in reporting patterns is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=1.484$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ).

Table 6. Bivariate relationship between PFA cynicism, individual cynicism and reporting rates (H2 & H3)

		Total crime		
		PFA total cynicism		
		Low	Medium	High
Individual total cynicism	Low	28.60%	26.00%	26.10%
	Medium	26.30%	24.10%	27.80%
	High	23.30%	25.60%	25.60%
		Property crime		
		PFA total cynicism		
		Low	Medium	High
Individual total cynicism	Low	28.10%	25.40%	26.80%
	Medium	26.40%	24.70%	29.10%
	High	22.50%	26.60%	25.60%
		Contact crime		
		PFA total cynicism		
		Low	Medium	High
Individual total cynicism	Low	31.00%	29.10%	22.90%
	Medium	25.90%	20.90%	20.50%
	High	26.60%	21.30%	25.60%

When looking at the pattern by crime type, property crime victims with low and medium individual cynicism report more in low and high cynicism areas than medium cynicism areas. For individuals with high individual cynicism, the pattern is the opposite with those in medium cynicism areas reporting more than those in low and high cynicism areas. However, there are no

statistically significant differences in reporting by area cynicism for all levels of individual cynicism (low cynicism ( $\chi^2=1.779$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ), medium cynicism ( $\chi^2=4.672$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.05$ ), high cynicism ( $\chi^2=4.252$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ). For contact crimes, individuals with low and medium individual cynicism tend to report less as the area cynicism increases. Individuals with high cynicism report more in low and high cynicism areas than medium cynicism areas. As with property crime, though, none of these patterns are statistically significant (low cynicism ( $\chi^2=3.254$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ), medium cynicism ( $\chi^2=1.876$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ), high cynicism ( $\chi^2=1.732$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ). Finally, there is not a statistical difference between property crimes and contact crimes (low cynicism ( $\chi^2=2.470$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ), medium cynicism ( $\chi^2=4.083$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ), high cynicism ( $\chi^2=2.118$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p>0.1$ ).

In summary, hypothesis 1 (Individuals living in areas of high cynicism will be less likely to report their victimization to the police as those living in areas of low cynicism) is rejected, as there is no significant relationship between area cynicism level and reporting. On the other hand, hypothesis 2 (Individuals with similar cynicism levels will have similar reporting patterns regardless of the level of cynicism in their area) is supported. Victims with different levels of individual cynicism had divergent reporting patterns by area cynicism but the patterns are not statistically significant. Hypothesis 3 (The relationship between cynicism and victim reporting will be consistent regardless of crime type) is supported as well. When looking at just the area cynicism and reporting, the differences in reporting patterns for contact crime and property crime are not significantly different and this is the case when individual cynicism is added to the mix as well. Taking in all the results, area level total cynicism may not have a significant effect on reporting, even when explored in conjunction with individual level variables.

### 5.3. Influence of police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism on reporting behaviors

To further explore the relationship between area characteristics and reporting, logistic models are used to control for other variables shown to have an effect on reporting behaviors. Total area cynicism is divided into police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism to compare how each affect reporting and each analysis is divided into property and contact crime. The results of each model are displayed in an abbreviated fashion, showing just the cynicism variable coefficients. The full model results can be reviewed in the Appendices.

The following hypotheses are addressed:

H<sub>4 (a) & (b)</sub>: Police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism will have comparable impact on reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>5 (a) & (b)</sub>: Perceived respectfulness and fairness of the police and perceived police competency will have comparable impact on reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>6 (a) & (b)</sub>: Perceived respectfulness and fairness of the criminal justice system and perceived criminal justice system competency will have comparable impact on reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

Table 7. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting: Abbreviated results (H4)

	Contact		Property	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Police cynicism	-0.095	0.0518	-0.048*	0.0195
Criminal justice cynicism	0.042	0.0746	-0.003	0.0314
Area police cynicism	-0.007	0.0429	-0.003	0.0181
Area criminal justice cynicism	-0.016	0.0416	0.017	0.0162

\* p<0.05

Table 9 shows the influence of police and criminal justice cynicism on reporting, taking into account victim/household, offender and crime characteristics. For both contact and property crime, as area police cynicism increases, reporting rates decrease. The effect of area criminal



justice cynicism on reporting is the opposite for property crime, with increase in cynicism increasing reporting, while area criminal justice cynicism follows the same pattern as area police cynicism for contact crime. The magnitude of the area cynicism effects are larger for criminal justice cynicism than police cynicism. However, none of the cynicism effects on reporting are statistically significant, for all crimes.

At the individual level, for both contact and property crimes, an increase in police cynicism decreases the likelihood of reporting to the police. This effect is statistically significant for property crimes but not for contact crimes at a p-level of 0.5. With a p-value of 0.068, though, there is some suggestion that individual police cynicism has a negative effect on reporting for contact crime. Increase in criminal justice cynicism increases the likelihood of reporting for contact crimes and decreases the likelihood of reporting for property crimes but neither effect is statistically significant.

It is possible that the effect of area cynicism on reporting may be muddled because the different dimensions of cynicism (respectfulness & fairness, competency) have different effects on reporting. To see what the effects are by cynicism dimension, the models are ran again with each police and criminal justice cynicism divided into respectfulness & fairness and competency, for both victim level and area level cynicism.

As shown in Table 10, the different dimensions of area cynicism have the opposite effects of each other on reporting for both contact and property crimes. This contrasting pattern may account for the non-significant relationship between area cynicism and reporting. For both contact and property crimes, increases in police cynicism regarding respectfulness and fairness decreases reporting and increase in police cynicism regarding competency increases reporting. For both crimes, the effect of respectfulness and fairness is stronger than competency. However,

none of these effects are statistically significant. All crimes have the same effects for the two dimensions of area criminal justice cynicism as well. As cynicism regarding respectfulness and fairness increases, reporting increases and when competency cynicism increases, reporting decreases. Respectfulness and fairness is more important than competency for property crimes and competency is more meaningful for contact crimes. As with police cynicism, though, none of these effects are statistically significant.

Table 8. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism (respectfulness and fairness vs. competency) and other indicators on reporting: Abbreviated results (H5 & H6)

	Contact		Property	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Police cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	-0.248*	0.1196	-0.057	0.036
Police cynicism: Competency	0.057	0.1104	-0.039	0.0374
CJ cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	-0.117	0.1496	-0.003	0.062
CJ cynicism: Competency	0.178	0.1955	-0.006	0.0699
Area police cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	-0.017	0.0392	-0.009	0.0162
Area police cynicism: Competency	0.009	0.0244	0.003	0.0115
Area CJ cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	0.026	0.0328	0.016	0.0139
Area CJ cynicism: Competency	-0.057	0.043	-0.002	0.0177

\*  $p < 0.05$

At the individual level, higher police respectfulness and fairness cynicism decreases reporting rates for all crimes, but the effect is significant for just contact crimes. Higher police competency cynicism has different effects on contact and property crime. Reporting increases when police competency cynicism increases for contact crimes but decreases reporting for property crimes. None of the effects are statistically significant. Taking into account results from the previous analysis (Table 9), it is possible that individual police cynicism operates differently for contact crimes and property crimes. When looking at contact crime, comprehensive police cynicism is less important than how the person perceives the police in regards to respectfulness and fairness. However, for property crimes, the results suggest that neither facet of policy

cynicism has a particularly strong influence in reporting decisions but rather it is a mixture, or a synergy, of the two dimensions.

As for individual criminal justice cynicism, respectfulness and fairness has a negative effect on reporting for all crimes but the effects are not statistically significant. Increase in competency cynicism increases reporting for contact crimes but decreases reporting for property crimes. However, neither effect is significant.

Overall, hypotheses four (Police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism will have comparable impact on reporting), five (Perceived respectfulness and fairness of the police and perceived police competency will have comparable impact on reporting) and six (Perceived respectfulness and fairness of the criminal justice system and perceived criminal justice system competency will have comparable impact on reporting) are supported for area cynicism effects, for both property and contact crimes. Area cynicism does not influence reporting, regardless of the type and dimension of cynicism.

While area cynicism does not impact reporting, individual cynicism has mixed results based on crime type. For contact crime, hypotheses four and six are supported and hypothesis seven is rejected; neither comprehensive police cynicism nor criminal justice cynicism affect reporting but when different dimensions of each cynicism are explored, respectfulness and fairness of the police has a negative effect on reporting, while competency of the police has no effect. Both aspects of criminal justice cynicism has null effects on reporting. For property crime, hypothesis four is rejected while hypotheses five and six are supported; the different dimensions of police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism did not affect reporting individually. However, overall police cynicism has a negative impact on reporting.

#### 5.4. Influence of police cynicism and criminal justice cynicism on reporting behaviors by socioeconomic disadvantage

The last three hypotheses regarding cynicism and reporting look at whether the socioeconomic status of the area matter in the relationship. For this analysis, all 42 PFAs are ordered by the lowest to highest social disadvantage and the first 14 PFAs are grouped as low socioeconomic disadvantage and the last 14 PFAs are grouped as high socioeconomic disadvantage. The results of each model are organized by contact crime (Table 11) and property crime (Table 12). The following hypotheses are examined:

H<sub>7 (a) & (b)</sub>: There will be no effects of cynicism on reporting in low disadvantage areas. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>8 (a) & (b)</sub>: Highly disadvantaged areas will have a negative relationship between cynicism and reporting. – (a) area, (b) individual

H<sub>9 (a) & (b)</sub>: Police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism will have comparable impact on reporting for highly disadvantaged areas. – (a) area, (b) individual

Table 9. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Abbreviated results (H7 to H9 – Contact crime)

	Low disadvantage		High disadvantage	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Police cynicism	-0.062	0.1173	-0.129	0.1215
Criminal justice cynicism	-0.062	0.1067	0.181	0.1575
Area police cynicism	0.041	0.0648	0.058	0.0575
Area criminal justice cynicism	-0.236*	0.0638	-0.028	0.0483

\* p<0.05

Looking at low disadvantage areas, increase in area police cynicism increases reporting, while increase in criminal justice cynicism decrease reporting. Of the two, only the effect of area criminal justice cynicism is statistically significant. This means that victims in more affluent and stable areas are less likely to report when the area is also more cynical of the criminal justice

system. Highly disadvantaged areas have the same cynicism pattern as low disadvantage areas; increase in area police cynicism increases reporting while increase in criminal justice cynicism decreases reporting. The magnitude of police cynicism effect is larger than that of criminal justice system cynicism but neither effect is statistically significant.

For individual cynicism, increase in police cynicism, as well as increase in criminal justice cynicism, decreases reporting for low disadvantage areas but the effects are not significant. For high disadvantage areas, increase in police cynicism decreases reporting and increase in criminal justice cynicism increases reporting, with criminal justice cynicism having a slightly higher impact. As with low disadvantage areas, though, none of the effects are statistically significant.

In the analysis of the full contact crime sample, comprehensive individual police cynicism is not significant but respectfulness and fairness is important for reporting when cynicism is divided into the different dimensions. Unfortunately, the sample size for each socioeconomic level is a third of the original sample and may be a too small for reliable results when all the control variables are added along with the cynicism dimensions in the model. There is also an issue of multicollinearity between area cynicism variables in the different socioeconomic disadvantage groups. An exploratory analysis (not shown here) was run with individual cynicism dimensions, control variables and only the area criminal justice cynicism dimensions (since this was significant for the low socioeconomic disadvantage areas) for area cynicism to see if the results full sample is replicated in different socioeconomic areas. None of the individual cynicism dimensions are statistically significant for low disadvantage areas but police respectfulness and fairness has a negative effect on reporting for those in highly disadvantaged areas that is significant. In low disadvantage areas, area criminal justice

competency cynicism has a significant negative association with reporting. The results suggest that individual police cynicism, in terms of respectfulness and fairness, may matter for reporting in highly disadvantaged areas and perceptions of criminal justice system competency may matter for reporting in low disadvantage areas. However, due to data limitations, the effects should be studied further with bigger samples to explore the true relationship.

Table 10. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Abbreviated results (H7 to H9 – Property crime)

	Low disadvantage		High disadvantage	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Police cynicism	-0.014	0.0346	-0.032	0.0351
Criminal justice cynicism	-0.043	0.0634	0.013	0.0568
Area police cynicism	0.005	0.029	-0.001	0.0273
Area criminal justice cynicism	-0.048	0.0259	0.03	0.0205

\*  $p < 0.05$

For property crimes (Table 12), increase in area police cynicism increases reporting in low disadvantage areas, while increase in area criminal justice cynicism decreases reporting. However, neither effects are statistically significant. On the other hand, areas of high disadvantage have opposite area cynicism effects; increase in police cynicism decreases reporting and increase in criminal justice cynicism increases reporting. Area criminal justice cynicism has a larger impact on reporting than area police cynicism. As with low disadvantage areas, though, the effects are not statistically significant.

For individual cynicism, increase in police cynicism and increase in criminal justice cynicism decreases reporting in low disadvantage areas but the effect is not significant. In high disadvantage areas, increase in individual police cynicism decreases reporting and increase in criminal justice cynicism increases reporting, with police cynicism having a larger effect, but none of the effects are significant. In the model with the full sample, individual police cynicism was significantly related to reporting for property crimes but this effect is absent for both high

and low disadvantage areas. While it is not shown here, the negative relationship between police cynicism and reporting appears for medium disadvantage areas. In other words, how victims view the police is irrelevant for those living in both ends of the disadvantage scale but matters for those in the middle-class area.

The overall results vary by crime type. For contact crime, hypothesis nine (Police cynicism and criminal justice system cynicism will have comparable impact on reporting for highly disadvantaged areas) is supported while hypotheses seven (There will be no effects of cynicism on reporting in low disadvantage areas) and eight (Highly disadvantaged areas will have a negative relationship between cynicism and reporting) are rejected at the area level because there is a criminal justice system cynicism effect in low disadvantage areas and no significant relationship between cynicism and reporting for highly disadvantaged areas. For property crime, hypotheses seven and nine are supported and hypothesis eight is rejected because there are no significant effects between area cynicism and reporting in all disadvantage levels. At the individual level cynicism, hypotheses seven and nine are supported and hypothesis eight is rejected for all crimes, as there are no significant effects.

## CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### 6.1. Key findings

This study aimed to further our understanding of victim reporting, particularly in the area of macro, or social, factors. Based on past studies in reporting and legal cynicism, this research explored the role of legal cynicism in victim reporting, particularly how different dimensions (i.e. area or individual, type of cynicism) of cynicism impacts reporting. The results indicate that different dimensions of cynicism has differential effects on reporting, with individual cynicism being more influential than area cynicism and police cynicism having a bigger impact than criminal justice cynicism.

Overall, at the area level, cynicism did not affect reporting for neither contact crimes nor property crimes, with the exception of area criminal justice cynicism in low disadvantage areas for contact crimes. Individual cynicism, on the other hand, matters in reporting, particularly police cynicism. Individual criminal justice cynicism, at least in this study, was not found to be influential for reporting decisions. Additional analysis revealed that there was no statistical difference in individual criminal justice cynicism between victims who reported and those that did not. This may be because the criminal justice system is a long and complicated process and victims are not thinking that far ahead or comprehensively when they are victimized. The decision to report may be about more immediate conditions and concerns, such as dealing with the police.

Looking at individual police cynicism, it had a negative relationship with victim reporting, for both contact and property crimes. What makes this interesting is that different dimensions of police cynicism matter for different crimes. Respectfulness and fairness is important for contact crimes and a mix of respectfulness and fairness and competency is



influential for property crimes. For contact crime, victims who do not think the police are respectful and fair are less likely to report to the police. For property crime, neither respectfulness and fairness nor competency had an independent effect on reporting but comprehensive police cynicism had a negative effect on reporting.

It is possible that perceptions of being treated respectfully and fairly by the police is a baseline for victim reporting, which resonates research on procedural justice (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Piquero et al., 2005; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Weber, 1968). But for property crime victims, procedural justice on its own may not be enough. There is an added element of police competency because the victim is more invested in getting their property back. If a property crime victim doubts the ability of the police in helping them recover their property, they will have less incentive to go through the trouble of reporting. However, high perception of police competency alone may not motivate victims to report as well because they still want to be treated fairly and respectfully. Therefore, victims would need to feel respected and have faith in the police force's competency in order to report.

On the other hand, contact crimes are more personally felt than property crimes and if the victim does not believe the police would be sensitive and respectful towards them during the reporting process, it may not be worth the effort to report. How the victim perceives the competency of the police may matter less for contact crime victims because they have less a chance of the police finding the perpetrator or the police force's ability to do anything to stop the crime may be more limited.

The results regarding property crime victims resonate with previous research, which found that people's feelings about police competency may matter for property crimes, but not all crimes (Bennett & Weigand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Goudriaan et al., 2004; Goudriaan et al.,

2006). The relationship between contact crime and police cynicism regarding fairness and respectfulness is expected from Anderson's (1999) work, although his theory also has elements of police competency as well. Overall, though, there is a lack of evidence regarding whether there is a difference in the relationship between cynicism and crime reporting by crime type in literature, as many studies in the past focused on certain types of crime or included all types of crime in one group. By showing the contrast in police cynicism and crime reporting by crime type, this study added new dimensions to consider when thinking about individual cynicism.

The results suggest that different aspects of cynicism should be considered theoretically, at least in reporting studies. Many legitimacy and legal cynicism studies focus on procedural justice and the benefits of a good relationship between law enforcement and citizens. However, as Takenebe (2009) argued, it is not always contingent on procedural justice and some in some societies, competency matters more. This can be applied to individuals as well. Or, as this study suggests, procedural justice in and of itself may not be enough for certain instances. As the cost-benefit analysis view on reporting suggests, victims report when the benefit is larger than the cost (Felson et al., 2002; Gottredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Skogan, 1984). In this logic, property victims call the police because they want to get their property back and their trust in the police competency will matter greatly. However, for contact crime victims, there is a lack of clarity on what will be or can be restored. The victims may be willing to report to ask for police help in prevention, either for themselves or for the community, or because they want the legal system to bring justice. In this case, if the victim does not think the police will take them seriously, treat them politely and respectfully, follow the right procedures in investigating and prosecuting the crime, they have less incentive to report. Future studies can examine this relationship further for better understanding of different cynicism aspects and its influences.

This study expanded upon the cynicism-reporting relationship to find out if it differs by another macro variable: area social disadvantage. When comparing victims of different area social disadvantage, comprehensive police cynicism was not influential in reporting for those in low disadvantage areas nor highly disadvantaged areas for all crimes. The sample for contact crime was not sufficient enough to confidently test whether respectfulness and fairness police cynicism affected reporting by area disadvantage level. An exploratory analysis did reveal that it may be important in high disadvantaged areas but not in low disadvantaged areas. However, due to the small sample size, it is difficult to draw a conclusion about whether cynicism affects reporting in different ways based on area social disadvantage.

For property crime, victims in middle disadvantage areas had a negative relationship between police cynicism and reporting. In other words, how the victim views the police does not matter for their reporting decisions for those residing in poor or affluent areas. It is possible that residents in both areas have social boundaries for possible reaction to property crimes, albeit in different ways. For instance, people residing in low disadvantage areas may be victimized in larger monetary amounts and they may feel more compelled to report the crime to the police regardless of how they feel about them because they want to recover their goods. Victims in high disadvantage areas, on the other hand, may have less social resources to resolve their problems and turn to the police regardless of how they view the police because they do not have many alternatives. Or perhaps each area has a culture of not reporting to the police, with those in affluent areas not reporting because they have more ties to other resources that can help them and they also have more economic freedom and ability to replace the stolen and/or damaged property more easily so police irreverent and those in poor areas not reporting because they are more likely living in more stressful situations and are less likely to bring in other authorities because it

means more work for them. Social disadvantage may be an important macro factor to explore with cynicism and reporting and future research can develop this relationship further with bigger samples.

Looking at area cynicism affects, there is a lack of evidence to say area cynicism is influential in victim reporting, regardless of cynicism type. Areas of higher cynicism do not have significantly smaller reporting rates and individuals of similar levels of cynicism do not significantly change their reporting behaviors by the level of total area cynicism. Neither area police cynicism nor area criminal justice cynicism had significant influence in reporting and it was the case for both crime types. The results were the same when area police cynicism and area criminal justice cynicism were divided further, to investigate the two aspects of cynicism, respectfulness and fairness, and competency.

These results echo the results of past studies regarding area perception on law enforcement and reporting. Most studies did not find a significant relationship between the two after controlling for other variables (Bennett & Weigand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Goudriaan et al., 2006). According to Bennet and Weigand (1994), the strength of variable influence on reporting is, from highest to lowest, crime characteristics, individual characteristics and environment characteristics, with the environment having no influence on reporting. As there is a dearth of research on macro effects on reporting, particularly cynicism and reporting, the reasons that this study had null results is not simple to explain. Regardless, there are some plausible interpretations.

First of all, it may be that cynicism is not a strong cultural framework that impacts reporting behaviors. A cultural framework can guide behavior in certain situations by shaping the possible options. For instance, in the 'Stop snitching' movement, when a person has information

on a crime, there is less social acceptability in offering the information to the police and the person may choose not to go forward with the information. However, with area cynicism, there is a lack of evidence that the highly cynical cultural framework has much clout in reporting decisions.

It is possible that cynicism in and of itself is a too general concept for it to have an impact on a specific behavior such as reporting to the police. With the 'Stop snitching' movement, there are 2 specific components: negative feelings towards law enforcement and the possible repercussions of engaging with them. Therefore, a person who lives in that environment may follow the cultural framework, even if they do not believe in it themselves, as they are aware of the cultural backlash that could occur if they did not follow themselves in the cultural framework. Cynicism, in the current study, is a more general cultural framework of disliking and distrusting the legal authorities. Legitimacy and legal cynicism studies have found that these concepts are helpful for certain social phenomenon. For example, willingness to cooperate with the police in general (Mazzerolle et al., 2013), how likely citizens will follow the rules of society and cooperate with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008) and willingness to obey the police and courts (Levi, Sacks & Tyler, 2009) have been found to be enhanced by higher legitimacy. Also, persistent high homicide rates (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011) and collective efficacy and low arrest rates (Kirk & Matsuda, 2011) have been related to high cynicism. Reporting may be related with these outcomes but that does not mean that cynicism affects reporting directly. In addition, intentions to report are correlated with actual reporting but may not necessarily mean victims will report when they have experienced a traumatic crime (Bickman & Helwig, 1979). Reporting decisions may require more than a negative cultural framework, especially if one considers the cost-benefits of reporting.

In addition, the cultural framework of an area may be negative towards law enforcement but still accepting of reporting to the police. According to Carr and colleagues (2007), youths in disadvantaged neighborhoods generally have negative views about the police but they also want more police to help their neighborhoods. Part of it can be explained theoretically, as the youths were negative about the police due to past procedurally unjust experiences, a cultural attenuation, but still hold conventional views about law and order. It may apply to the results to this study as well. Some areas may be more cynical due to how the police and the legal system interact with the public but at the end of the day, they still believe that reporting is the right thing to do after a crime. Or, in this case, as reporting rates are under 50%, people who live in less cynical areas are no more likely to report than those that live in cynical areas because they do not have a stronger beliefs regarding crime reporting.

Another explanation is that even if one lives in a cynical area where crime reporting is discouraged, one may still report because they do not have other options and need help. Therefore, even though it is a strong cultural framework, a personal cost-benefit analysis may still conclude that it is better to report than not report. Without weighing the costs and benefits, a person in a highly cynical area may be less likely to report than one in a less cynical area but those in highly cynical areas may ultimately choose to report due to consequences of not reporting, making their likelihood to report similar to those in less cynical areas.

One area effect that did occur in this study was the negative relationship between area criminal justice cynicism and reporting for contact crime victims in low disadvantage areas. For victims living in more affluent areas, as the area criminal justice cynicism increased, their probability of reporting decreased. It is possible that victims in these areas feel they have more to lose if they got involved in the criminal justice system for a crime they reported. It may be more

stigmatizing to get involved in the process, which is lengthy and costly, as it may gather more public interest, deterring them from reporting. Affluent community residents may be more likely to avoid confrontations and less likely to get involved in interpersonal conflicts (Baumgartner, 1998). As court cases are lengthy reminders of conflict and confrontation, it may convince them to let it go rather than get the authorities involved. As a result of this type of distaste, residents in more affluent areas may be more tolerant of violence than residents of other areas (Baumer, 2002). Another possible explanation is that residents in low disadvantage areas may have more experience, first or second hand, as criminal justice system administrators (i.e. lawyers, judges) and if the experiences have left a negative view of the system, they do not have the incentive to report since reporting the crime could lead to high involvement with a system they are cynical of.

While victims in low social disadvantage areas with higher criminal justice cynicism may report less because they decide not to do anything about their victimization, they may also be reporting less because they turn to other methods of conflict resolution rather than the police. Affluent areas may have stronger informal social control, such as social support, collective efficacy and neighborhood organizations, which allows them to resolve conflicts without turning to authorities (Baumer, 2002). Therefore, the more people in affluent areas view the criminal justice system negatively, the more likely they are to turn to the alternative sources to resolve issues.

Many reporting studies so far have been helpful for our understanding of victim reporting but there are many unexplored topics, especially with normative influences. This study furthered the field of victim reporting by exploring the influence of legal cynicism on reporting, both at the macro and micro level and with different dimensions of cynicism. Since past studies on this topic used data that were about intentions to report, not actual reports, and factors related to reporting

were not well controlled for, this study used a victimization survey that includes questions about the crime experience and their evaluations of the legal authorities to examine actual reporting patterns. The results reveal that cynicism does matter for reporting, with individual police cynicism being the most influential. As suggested by legitimacy researchers, procedural justice seems to be important for reporting in all crimes but there is a difference between contact crimes and property crimes in that procedural justice may be enough to influence contact crime reporting but property crime requires procedural justice and perception of police competency. This is an important distinction as studies looking at one type of crime or grouping multiple crimes together may not be presenting a comprehensive picture of the relationship between cynicism and reporting. Furthermore, social disadvantage may be an important concept to consider, as cynicism may affect reporting in different directions by level of disadvantage, depending on level of disadvantage, type of crime and dimension of cynicism. Legal cynicism studies have suggested that cynicism matters more for high disadvantage areas than low disadvantage areas but this study revealed that is not the case, at least for victim reporting decisions, and further research is required to unpack the relationship between social disadvantage, cynicism and reporting.

## 6.2. Limitations

As the study is restricted by variables available in the BCS, there are some limitations. First of all, the dataset provides limitations for area grouping. While PFAs are useful for this study, heterogeneity of PFAs was not captured and that may have influenced the results. Also, there are 42 of them and when divided by social disadvantage, it limited the number of PFA further, which may have obstructed observation of the relationship between social disadvantage, cynicism and reporting. Smaller units, such as neighborhoods, in greater numbers can better test



the relationship between normative influences and reporting. Having said that, as the null effects of area variables were similar with previous studies, the limited number of PFAs and the wider area range of them may not be an issue.

Due to the number of cases available in a wave of BCS and the number of variables used for this study, it was not feasible to divide out the models by crime type any further than groupings by contact crime and property crime. Each crime may have differential effects with cynicism and reporting, especially as certain property crimes have the added incentive of insurance claims. Also, not all crimes are included in the dataset. Homicide, business and commercial victimization and sexual victimization are not included.

There are various ways of measuring cynicism and the current study's definition, while based on theory, was limited to the available survey questions. The applicability of the current results to a wider population will be contingent on future studies that use similar and different methods of measuring cynicism. Also, there are other variables that may influence victim reporting and cynicism such as victim's criminal behavior and police reporting history that were not captured for this study. Furthermore, BCS is based in a specific area, England and Wales, and the results may not be applicable universally, as different countries have different relationships with legal authorities.

Finally, not everyone is included in the sample. Those with no addresses or living in group residences or institutions are not interviewed and children under 16 are not interviewed as well. According to Pickering and colleagues (2008), however, the exclusion of this small population does not have significant effects on BCS estimates. Within the sample of people eligible and asked to participate in the survey, though, not everyone responded. Those who refused to participate in the survey may be different in their police reporting patterns. For

instance, those who refuse to participate in surveys may also refuse to report their victimization to the police.

### 6.3. Future research

In regards to normative influences and reporting, while this study generally did not find area cynicism to significantly influence victim reporting, it is still early to make any firm conclusions about the relationship. Future studies should examine the relationship between area cynicism and reporting further in different regions and samples, to see if the results are replicated. Area social disadvantage has been shown to be an interesting concept when looking at the relationship between cynicism and reporting but this study's exploration of the relationship was hindered by the sample size. The relationship should be examined further with bigger samples. Cynicism may interact with area characteristics other than social disadvantage as well, such as political views.

Research on legitimacy and legal cynicism is ongoing and future studies should apply new findings, especially in regard to measuring the concepts. It is possible that there may be interaction effects between cynicism and variables that impact reporting, such as the victim's criminal history and prior police encounters. These variables may be related to legal cynicism as well, since they are historical occurrences that build a person's perception of legitimacy. Finally, Baumer (2002) found that different crimes have different reporting patterns by socioeconomic disadvantage. While the current study controlled for each crime type in the models, it would be interesting to see if different crimes have different relationships with cynicism. Therefore, future studies should build models based on specific crimes.

The relationship between police cynicism and reporting at the individual level was found to be significant and different dimensions of police cynicism mattered for different type of

crimes. Future studies should continue separating cynicism by multiple dimensions to understand how reporting decisions vary. Different datasets may offer different ways of measuring and separating the different aspects of legitimacy and legal cynicism. Or there may be new theoretical reasons to separate legitimacy and legal cynicism in aspects different from the current study. While this study helped advance research in reporting and cynicism, there is much to be done in the future to have a comprehensive understanding of how legitimacy and legal cynicism impact reporting. Hopefully the current findings will help build a base for more research.

## APPENDIX

### Appendix A. Bivariate correlations among independent variables: Property crime

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)	(I)	(J)	(K)	(L)	(M)	(N)	(O)	(P)	(Q)	(R)
Police cynicism (A)	1																	
Criminal justice cynicism (B)	.492**	1																
Household income (C)	-.036**	-0.007	1															
Home ownership (D)	-.044**	.054**	.371**	1														
Household size (E)	-0.001	-.119**	.243**	-0.006	1													
Household ethnicity (F)	-.027**	-.080**	-0.018	-.055**	.121**	1												
Urbanicity (G)	0.015	-0.008	-.088**	-.069**	0.004	.105**	1											
Completed crime (H)	-.028**	-0.012	0.014	.023*	.022*	-.024*	0	1										
Series crime (I)	.069**	.053**	-0.015	-.025*	0.005	0.006	.025*	.048**	1									
Financial loss (J)	.026*	.048**	.090**	.092**	-0.001	-0.003	-.028**	-.030**	.082**	1								
Perceived seriousness of crime (K)	.074**	.066**	-.138**	-.102**	-0.019	.115**	.051**	-.037**	.027**	.175**	1							
Burglary (L)	-0.013	-0.019	-.070**	-.062**	-.044**	0.01	-0.01	-.278**	-.058**	-.022*	.167**	1						
Personal theft (M)	-0.01	0.003	-.056**	-.039**	-.049**	.029**	.037**	-.070**	-.060**	-.165**	.044**	-.077**	1					
Household theft (N)	0.005	.023*	-.066**	-0.016	-.067**	-.046**	-0.011	.119**	-0.004	-.252**	-.123**	-.133**	-.070**	1				
Vehicle theft (O)	-0.016	-.029**	.063**	0.011	.131**	.038**	0.006	-.149**	-.103**	-.056**	.034**	-.238**	-.125**	-.215**	1			
Other theft (P)	-0.016	-.046**	.056**	-0.006	-0.004	0.004	-.030**	.051**	-.055**	-.198**	-.031**	-.118**	-.062**	-.107**	-.191**	1		
Area police cynicism (Q)	.092**	.035**	-.066**	.028**	-0.004	-.087**	-0.001	0.002	0.01	0.013	.034**	.024*	-.022*	-0.003	0.012	-.022*	1	
Area criminal justice cynicism (R)	.052**	.039**	-.083**	.033**	-0.013	-.117**	0.012	0.01	0.002	0	0.017	.026**	-.040**	0.008	0	-0.019	.698**	1
Area crime rate (S)	0.019	0.021	-.032**	-.044**	.025*	.226**	.222**	-.034**	-0.006	-.023*	.074**	.022*	.078**	-0.014	.043**	-.025*	0.018	-0.015

\* Correlation is significant at the  $p < .05$  level

\*\* Correlation is significant at the  $p < .01$  level

## Appendix B. Bivariate correlations among independent variables: Contact crime

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)	(I)	(J)	(K)	(L)	(M)	(N)	(O)
Police cynicism (A)	1														
Criminal justice cynicism (B)	.460**	1													
Victim sex (C)	-.048*	-0.001	1												
Victim age (D)	-.062**	.253**	.050*	1											
Victim race (E)	0.001	-.055*	-0.019	-.083**	1										
Victim marital status (F)	.066**	-.106**	.052*	-.358**	-0.003	1									
Victim employment status (G)	.071**	0.041	.122**	.122**	0.008	.127**	1								
Victim education (H)	-.053*	-0.04	-0.034	-0.033	.074**	-0.04	-.263**	1							
Household income (I)	-.078**	0.039	-.150**	-0.007	-0.036	-.300**	-.475**	.311**	1						
Urbanicity (J)	0.005	-0.028	-0.031	-.124**	.116**	.089**	.050*	-0.043	-.084**	1					
Female offender (K)	0.03	-0.012	.255**	-0.018	-0.019	.065**	0.027	-0.041	-.086**	0.01	1				
Mixed sex offenders (L)	0.045	.062**	0.022	0.024	0.033	-0.043	0.041	-0.036	0.006	-0.003	-.116**	1			
Perceived offender age (M)	-.049*	0.04	.122**	.137**	-0.027	-0.026	-.058*	0.033	0.032	-0.041	.067**	-.147**	1		
Perceived offender race (N)	0.025	-0.028	0.022	-0.027	.279**	0.017	0.011	-0.003	-0.016	.136**	-0.042	0.028	-.080**	1	
Victim-offender relationship (O)	.055*	0.03	.204**	-.083**	-0.02	.083**	.110**	-.156**	-.197**	-.075**	.164**	0.024	.188**	-.075**	1
Multiple offenders (P)	.065**	0.016	-.128**	-.048*	.071**	-0.031	0.038	-0.021	-0.017	.047*	-.142**	.429**	-.421**	.121**	-.244**
Series crime (Q)	0.001	.054*	.115**	-0.029	-0.007	0.016	0.032	-.045*	-.065**	-0.018	0.004	.056*	.056*	0.003	.230**
Weapon presence (R)	.060*	0.029	-0.036	-.083**	.084**	0.007	0.026	-.057*	-0.041	.071**	-0.036	.087**	-.124**	.109**	-0.044
Victim was injured (S)	-0.005	-.073**	-.077**	-.160**	-0.017	.187**	.052*	-.077**	-.137**	0.043	0.012	-.056*	-0.037	0.017	.065**
Third party presence (T)	-0.002	-0.03	0.008	-.152**	-0.026	-.056*	-.052*	0.015	.082**	-0.026	.064**	0.041	-0.032	-.061**	.087**
Place of crime (U)	-0.022	-0.031	.204**	-0.008	0.003	.122**	.113**	-.074**	-.169**	-0.01	.065**	-.062**	.161**	-.047*	.320**
Completed crime (V)	-0.03	-0.036	0.044	-0.041	-.049*	.054*	-0.03	0.027	0.004	-0.03	.070**	-.045*	.125**	-.076**	.141**
Perceived seriousness of crime (W)	.104**	.115**	.054*	0.034	.106**	.051*	.137**	-.150**	-.186**	0.044	-.063**	.053*	0.041	.111**	.054*
Assault (X)	0.033	-.065**	-.062**	-.181**	0.011	.146**	0.003	-.050*	-0.043	0.043	0.03	-.049*	-0.003	-0.025	.106**
Robbery (Y)	-.059*	-0.044	-0.021	0.028	.050*	.058*	.101**	0.002	-.063*	0.039	-.071**	-0.005	-.175**	.142**	-.228**
Area police cynicism (Z)	.092**	.063**	-0.019	0.029	-.063**	-0.028	0.034	-.048*	-.064*	0.002	0.019	-0.005	-0.031	-.051*	0.016
Area criminal justice cynicism (AA)	0.043	.085**	0.021	0.018	-.100**	-0.01	0.03	-.046*	-.069**	0.016	0.029	0.007	-0.038	-.079**	0.007
Area crime rate (BB)	0.013	-0.016	0.004	-0.044	.221**	.066**	.052*	-0.01	-.073**	.237**	-0.012	0.018	-.054*	.208**	-.054*

Appendix B. Bivariate correlations among independent variables: Contact crime (Continued)

	(P)	(Q)	(R)	(S)	(T)	(U)	(V)	(W)	(X)	(Y)	(Z)	(AA)
Multiple offenders (P)	1											
Series crime (Q)	-0.018	1										
Weapon presence (R)	.207**	-0.008	1									
Victim was injured (S)	-0.019	-.072**	.049*	1								
Third party presence (T)	0.027	.047*	0.035	.056*	1							
Place of crime (U)	-.201**	.187**	-.045*	.114**	-0.008	1						
Completed crime (V)	-.147**	0.04	-.329**	.110**	.062**	.080**	1					
Perceived seriousness of crime (W)	.097**	0.044	.232**	.181**	-.051*	.110**	-.090**	1				
Assault (X)	-0.026	-0.04	.187**	.535**	.096**	.106**	-.062**	.106**	1			
Robbery (Y)	.139**	-.112**	.137**	.066**	-.144**	-0.041	-.396**	.107**	-.276**	1		
Area police cynicism (Z)	0.025	.050*	-0.003	0.002	-0.012	-0.023	-0.004	0.025	0.004	-0.027	1	
Area criminal justice cynicism (AA)	0.018	.064**	-0.007	-0.007	0.021	-0.027	-0.012	0.013	-0.01	-0.033	.668**	1
Area crime rate (BB)	.055*	-0.017	.062**	0.013	-.063**	-0.037	-.046*	.055*	0.006	.090**	0.009	-0.029

\* Correlation is significant at the  $p < .05$  level

\*\* Correlation is significant at the  $p < .01$  level

Appendix C. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting

	Contact		Property	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Victim characteristics</b>				
Police cynicism	-0.095	0.0518	-0.048*	0.0195
Criminal justice cynicism	0.042	0.0746	-0.003	0.0314
Female	0.31*	0.1552		
Age	0.001	0.0052		
Other race	0.14	0.2166		
Not married	-0.111	0.1685		
A-levels or above	-0.107	0.177		
Not employed	-0.175	0.1263		
<b>Household characteristics</b>				
Household income	-0.052*	0.0244	-0.004	0.0106
Urban	-0.333	0.2266	-0.11	0.0669
Home owner			-0.103	0.0673
Household size			-0.098*	0.0292
Household race other			0.11	0.1299
<b>Offender characteristics</b>				
Female	0.014	0.2117		
Mixed sex	0.769*	0.2534		
25 or older	0.282	0.1472		
Other race	0.246	0.1656		
Non-stranger	0.126	0.1816		
Multiple offenders	0.191	0.1547		
<b>Crime characteristics</b>				
Weapon	0.394	0.2341		
Injury	-0.11	0.1708		
Third party	-0.147	0.1269		
At home private	0.36*	0.1555		
Series crime	-0.095	0.1288	-0.051	0.0836
Completed crime	0.045	0.2829	0.666*	0.1175
Perceived seriousness of crime	0.096*	0.0165	0.115*	0.0082
Financial loss			0.237*	0.0303
Assault	0.145	0.1409		
Robbery	0.685*	0.2794		
Burglary			1.396*	0.1383
Personal theft			1.472*	0.1773
Household theft			0.194	0.1156
Vehicle theft			0.926*	0.0955
Other theft			0.852*	0.1418
<b>Area characteristics</b>				
Area police cynicism	-0.007	0.0429	-0.003	0.0181
Area criminal justice cynicism	-0.016	0.0416	0.017	0.0162
Violent crime rate	0	0.0011	-0.001*	0.0006
<b>Constant</b>	-0.577	1.7239	-3.066*	0.665
Chi-square (df)	130.015 (28)*		786.138 (19)*	
-2 Log likelihood	1,339.77		7,390.86	
N	1,302		7,080	

\* p<0.05

Appendix D. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism (respectfulness and fairness vs. competency) and other indicators on reporting

	Contact		Property	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Victim characteristics</b>				
Police cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	-0.248*	0.1196	-0.057	0.036
Police cynicism: Competency	0.057	0.1104	-0.039	0.0374
CJ cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	-0.117	0.1496	-0.003	0.062
CJ cynicism: Competency	0.178	0.1955	-0.006	0.0699
Female	0.345*	0.1534		
Age	0.001	0.0051		
Other race	0.206	0.2268		
Not married	-0.109	0.16		
A-levels or above	-0.095	0.1776		
Not employed	-0.178	0.1267		
<b>Household characteristics</b>				
Household income	-0.052*	0.0242	-0.004	0.0108
Urban	-0.332	0.2255	-0.11	0.0679
Home owner			-0.105	0.0667
Household size			-0.098*	0.0292
Household race other			0.114	0.1297
<b>Offender characteristics</b>				
Female	-0.008	0.2073		
Mixed sex	0.758*	0.2573		
25 or older	0.317*	0.1531		
Other race	0.276	0.1636		
Non-stranger	0.115	0.186		
Multiple offenders	0.186	0.1581		
<b>Crime characteristics</b>				
Weapon	0.425	0.2311		
Injury	-0.122	0.1671		
Third party	-0.138	0.127		
At home private	0.394*	0.155		
Series crime	-0.107	0.1364	-0.052	0.0828
Completed crime	0.078	0.2936	0.668*	0.118
Perceived seriousness of crime	0.095*	0.0169	0.115*	0.0083
Financial loss			0.237*	0.0305
Assault	0.158	0.1464		
Robbery	0.752*	0.2824		
Burglary			1.397*	0.1391
Personal theft			1.474*	0.1765
Household theft			0.196	0.116
Vehicle theft			0.927*	0.0957
Other theft			0.852*	0.143
<b>Area characteristics</b>				
Police cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	-0.017	0.0392	-0.009	0.0162
Police cynicism: Competency	0.009	0.0244	0.003	0.0115
CJ cynicism: Respectfulness & fairness	0.026	0.0328	0.016	0.0139
CJ cynicism: Competency	-0.057	0.043	-0.002	0.0177
Violent crime rate	0	0.0012	-0.001*	0.0006
<b>Constant</b>	0.58	1.9255	-2.809*	0.7615
Chi-square (df)	135.708 (32)*		786.663 (23)*	
-2 Log likelihood	1,334.08		7,390.333	
N	1,302		7,080	

\* p<0.05



Appendix E. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Contact crime

	Low disadvantage		High disadvantage	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Victim characteristics</b>				
Police cynicism	-0.062	0.1173	-0.129	0.1215
Criminal justice cynicism	-0.062	0.1067	0.181	0.1575
Female	0.251	0.2904	0.277	0.3332
Age	-0.019	0.0102	0.013	0.012
Other race	-1.522*	0.4265	1.036*	0.4087
Not married	-0.252	0.4072	-0.102	0.2869
A-levels or above	0.126	0.3503	0.129	0.2579
Not employed	-0.26	0.2628	-0.335	0.2595
Household income	-0.067	0.0382	-0.081	0.0586
Urban	-0.749*	0.2421	0.095	0.4488
<b>Offender characteristics</b>				
Female	0.191	0.3624	-0.117	0.4454
Mixed sex	0.604	0.4168	1.139*	0.4894
25 or older	0.719*	0.3177	0.084	0.2689
Other race	0.98*	0.3805	0.035	0.2628
Non-stranger	-0.18	0.3293	0.118	0.3266
Multiple offenders	0.403	0.2547	0.067	0.3561
<b>Crime characteristics</b>				
Weapon	1.073*	0.4384	-0.33	0.4411
Injury	-0.166	0.1853	0.041	0.4541
Third party	-0.211	0.25	-0.159	0.2336
At home private	0.134	0.2697	0.638*	0.2189
Series crime	-0.108	0.2777	-0.051	0.2265
Completed crime	0.034	0.4568	-0.651	0.4843
Perceived seriousness of crime	0.116*	0.0283	0.058*	0.0278
Assault	0.454	0.2589	0.084	0.3169
Robbery	0.921	0.4756	-0.513	0.8924
<b>Area characteristics</b>				
Area police cynicism	0.041	0.0648	0.058	0.0575
Area criminal justice cynicism	-0.236*	0.0638	-0.028	0.0483
Violent crime rate	0.003	0.0038	-0.003	0.0021
<b>Constant</b>	11.558*	2.8387	-0.591	1.5959
Chi-square (df)	78.144 (28)*		47.711 (28)*	
-2 Log likelihood	384.673		427.508	
N	419		425	

\* p<0.05

Appendix F. Regression of police and criminal justice cynicism and other indicators on reporting by area socioeconomic disadvantage: Property crime

	Low disadvantage		High disadvantage	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Victim/Household characteristics</b>				
Police cynicism	-0.014	0.0346	-0.032	0.0351
Criminal justice cynicism	-0.043	0.0634	0.013	0.0568
Household income	-0.021	0.014	-0.015	0.0179
Urban	0.069	0.0942	-0.4*	0.0954
Home owner	-0.122	0.1037	-0.089	0.0978
Household size	-0.08	0.0573	-0.04	0.0423
Household race other	0.045	0.2118	0.347	0.1959
<b>Crime characteristics</b>				
Series crime	-0.198	0.1314	0.02	0.1361
Completed crime	0.705*	0.2005	0.73*	0.2189
Perceived seriousness of crime	0.114*	0.0106	0.1*	0.0161
Financial loss	0.264*	0.0314	0.313*	0.0666
Burglary	1.212*	0.2144	1.693*	0.271
Personal theft	1.743*	0.2463	1.67*	0.27
Household theft	0.262	0.2396	0.07	0.2372
Vehicle theft	0.921*	0.1521	0.876*	0.2012
Other theft	1.025*	0.2734	0.9*	0.2366
<b>Area characteristics</b>				
Area police cynicism	0.005	0.029	-0.001	0.0273
Area criminal justice cynicism	-0.048	0.0259	0.03	0.0205
Violent crime rate	-0.002	0.0012	0	0.0012
<b>Constant</b>	0.417	1.0181	-4.357*	0.7568
Chi-square (df)	251.739 (19)*		294.825 (19)*	
-2 Log likelihood	2,445.93		2,393.451	
N	2,375		2,328	

\* p<0.05

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the street: Decency, violence and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Avakame, E., Fyfe, J. & McCoy, C. (1999). Did you call the police? What did they do? An empirical assessment of Black's theory of mobilization of law. *Justice Quarterly*, 16, 765–792.
- Bachman, R. (1993). Predicting the reporting of rape victimizations: Have reforms made a difference? *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 20, 254–270.
- Bachman, R. (1998). The factors related to rape reporting behavior and arrest. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 25, 8–29.
- Ballinger, G. (2004). Using Generalized Estimating Equations for longitudinal data analysis. *Organizational Research Methods*, 7, 127–150.
- Baumer, E. (2002). Neighborhood disadvantage and police notification by victims of violence. *Criminology*, 40, 579–616.
- Baumer, E., Felson, R. & Messner, S. (2003). Changes in police notification for rape, 1973–2005. *Criminology*, 41, 841–872.
- Baumer, E. & Lauritsen, J. (2010). Reporting crime to the police, 1973–2005: A multivariate analysis of longterm trends in the National Crime Survey (NCS) and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). *Criminology*, 48, 131–186.
- Baumgartner, M. (1988). *The moral order of a suburb*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bass, S. (2001). Policing space, policing race: Social control imperatives and police discretionary decisions. *Social Justice*, 28, 156–76.
- Beetham, D. (1991). *The legitimation of power*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International.
- Bennett, R. & Weigand, B. (1994). Observations on crime reporting in a developing nation. *Criminology*, 32, 135–148.
- Berk, R., Berk, S., Newton, P. & Loseke, D. (1984). Cops on call: Summoning the police to the scene of spousal violence. *Law and Society Review*, 18, 479–498.
- Bickman, L. & Helwig, H. (1979). Bystander reporting of a crime: The impact of incentives. *Criminology*, 17, 283–300.
- Black, D. (1970). Production of crime rates. *American Sociological Review*, 35, 733–748.

Black, D. (1976). *The behavior of law*. New York: Academic Press.

Block, R. (1974). Why notify the police: The victim's decision to notify the police of an assault. *Criminology*, 11, 555–569.

Brunson, R. (2007). “Police don't like Black people”: African-American young men's accumulated police experiences. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6, 71–102.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2003). *Reporting crime to the police, 1992–2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2006). *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin: Criminal Victimization, 2005*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2007). *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin: Criminal Victimization, 2006*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2012). *Special Report: Victims not reported to the police, 2006-2010*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2011). *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin: Criminal Victimization, 2010*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Bursik, R. & Grasmick, H. (1993). *Neighborhoods and crime: The dimensions of effective community control*. San Francisco, CA: Lexington Books.

Carr, P., Napolitano, L. & Keating, J. (2007). We never call the cops and here is why: A qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods. *Criminology*, 45, 445–80.

Conaway, M. & Lohr, S. (1994). A longitudinal analysis of factors associated with reporting violent crimes to the police. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10, 23–39.

Davis, R. & Henderson, N. (2003). Willingness to report crimes: The role of ethnic group membership and community efficacy. *Crime and Delinquency*, 49, 564–580.

Dugan, L. (2003). Domestic violence legislation: exploring its impact on the likelihood of domestic violence, police involvement, and arrest. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 2, 283–312.

Fagan, J. & Tyler, T. (2005). Legal socialization of children and adolescents. *Social Justice Research*, 18, 217-242.

Felson, R., Messner, S. & Hoskin, A. (1999). The victim-offender relationship and calling the police in assaults. *Criminology*, 37, 931–948.

Felson, R., Messner, S., Hoskin, A. & Deane, G. (2002). Reasons for reporting and not reporting domestic violence to the police. *Criminology*, 40, 617–647.

Fisher, B., Daigle, L., Cullen, F. & Turner, M. (2003). Reporting sexual victimization to the police and others: results from a national-level study of college women. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 30, 6–38.

Fishman, G. (1979). Patterns of victimization and notification. *British Journal of Criminology*, 19, 146–157.

Gottfredson, M. & Gottfredson, D. (1988). *Decision-making in criminal justice: Toward the rational exercise of discretion*. New York: Plenum Press.

Gottfredson, M. & Hindelang, M. (1979). A study of the behavior of law. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 3–18.

Goudriaan, H., Lynch, J. & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2004). Reporting to the police in western nations: a theoretical analysis of the effects of social context. *Justice Quarterly*, 21, 933–969.

Goudriaan, H., Wittebrood, K. & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2006). Neighbourhood characteristics and reporting crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 46, 719–42.

Greenberg, M. & Ruback, B. (1985). Crime victims as witnesses. *Victimology: An International Journal*, 10, 410-424.

Greenberg, M. & Ruback, B. (1992). *After the crime: Victim decision making*. New York: Plenum Press.

Hawkins, D. (1987). Beyond anomalies: Rethinking the conflict perspective on race and criminal punishment. *Social Forces*, 65, 719–745.

Hindelang, M. & Gottfredson, M. (1976). The victim's decision not to invoke the criminal justice process. In W. McDonald (Ed.), *Criminal justice and the victim*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Home Office. (2006). *Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Crime in England and Wales 2005/06*. London, UK: Home Office Statistics.

Home Office. (2011). *Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Crime in England and Wales 2010/11*. London, UK: Home Office Statistics.

Jensen, G. & Karpos, M. (1993). Managing rape: Exploratory research on the behavior of rape statistics. *Criminology*, 31, 365–385.

Jones-Brown, D. (2007). Forever the symbolic assailant: The more things change, the more they stay the same. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6, 103–22.

- Kahn, J. (2007). The story of a snitch. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved May 10, 2011. <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200704/stop-snitching/>
- Kane, R. (2005). Compromised police legitimacy as a predictor of violent crime in structurally disadvantaged communities. *Criminology*, 43, 469–498.
- Kennedy, R. (1997). *Race, crime, and the law*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Kidd, R. & Chayet, E. (1984). Why do victims fail to report? The psychology of criminal victimization. *Journal of Social Issues*, 40, 39-50.
- Kirk, D. & Matsuda, M. (2011). Legal cynicism, collective efficacy, and the ecology of arrest. *Criminology*, 49, 443-472.
- Kirk, D. & Papachristos, A. (2011). Cultural mechanisms and the persistence of neighborhood violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, 116, 1190–1233.
- Klinger, D. (1997). Negotiating order in police work: An ecological theory of police response to deviance. *Criminology*, 35, 277–306.
- Laub, J. (1981). Ecological considerations in victim reporting to the police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 9, 419–430.
- Levi, M., Sacks, A. & Tyler, T. (2009). Conceptualizing legitimacy, measuring legitimating beliefs. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53, 354-375.
- Liang, K. & Zeger, S. (1986). Longitudinal data analysis using generalized linear models. *Biometrika*, 73, 13-22.
- Lizotte, A. (1985). The uniqueness of rape: Reporting assaultive violence to the police. *Crime and Delinquency*, 31, 169-190.
- Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S. & Tyler, T. (2013). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: A randomized field trial of procedural justice. *Criminology*, 51, 33–64.
- Orcutt, J. & Faison, R. (1988). Sex-role change and reporting of rape victimization, 1973–1985. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 29, 589–604.
- Pattillo, M. (1998). Sweet mothers and gangbangers: Managing crime in a black middle-class neighborhood. *Social Forces*, 76, 747–774.
- Pickering, K., Smith, P., Bryson, C. & Farmer, C. (2008). *British Crime Survey: Options for extending the coverage to children and people living in communal establishments*. London: Home Office.

Piquero, A., Fagan, J., Mulvey, E., Steinberg, L. & Odgers, C. (2005). Developmental trajectories of legal socialization among serious adolescent offenders. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 96, 101-133.

Police Act 1996. (1996). Retrieved January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012 from <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/16>

Portes, A. (2000). The hidden abode: Sociology as analysis of the unexpected. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 1–18.

Reisig, M. & Parks, R. (2000). Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with the police. *Justice Quarterly*, 17, 607–629.

Reiss, A. (1971). *The police and the public*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rosenfeld, R., Jacobs, B. & Wright, R. (2003). Snitching and the code of the street. *British Journal of Criminology*, 43, 291–309.

Ruback, R., Greenberg, M. & Westcott, D. (1984). Social influence and crime-victim decision making. *Journal of Social Issues*, 40, 51-76.

Ruback, R. & Menard, K. (2001). Rural-urban differences in sexual victimization and reporting : Analyses using UCR and crisis center data. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 28, 131-155.

Ruback, R., Menard, K., Outlaw, M. & Shaffer, J. (1999). Normative advice to campus crime victims: Effects of gender, age, and alcohol. *Violence and Victims*, 14, 381–396.

Sampson, R. & Bartusch, D. (1998). Legal cynicism and (subcultural?) tolerance of deviance: The neighborhood context of racial differences. *Law and Society Review*, 32, 777–804.

Schnebly, S. (2008). The influence of community-oriented policing on crime-reporting behavior. *Justice Quarterly*, 25, 223–251.

Schneider, A., Burcat, J. & Wilson, L. (1976). The role of attitudes in the decision to report crimes to the police. In W. McDonald (Ed.), *Criminal Justice and the Victim*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Shaw, C. & McKay, H. (1972 [1942]). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas, Revised Edition*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Skogan, W. (1976). Citizen reporting of crime: Some national panel data. *Criminology*, 13, 535–49.

Skogan, W. (1984). Reporting crimes to the police: the status of world research. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 21, 113–137.



Skogan, W. (2006). Asymmetry in the impact of encounters with police. *Policing & Society*, 16, 99-126.

Slocum, L., Taylor, T., Brick, B. & Esbensen, F. (2010). Neighborhood structural characteristics, individual-level Attitudes, and youths' crime reporting intentions. *Criminology*, 48, 1063-1100.

Smith, D. (1986). The neighborhood context of police behavior. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: A review of research*, vol. 8. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Solis, C., Portillos, E. & Brunson, R. (2009). Latino youth's experiences with and perceptions of involuntary police encounters. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 623, 39-51.

Sunshine, J. & Tyler, T. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law & Society Review*, 37, 555-89.

Tankebe, J. (2009). Public cooperation with the police in Ghana: Does procedural fairness matter? *Criminology: An International Journal*, 47, 1,265-1,293.

Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: Examining the dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology*, 51, 103-135.

Tonry, M. (1995). *Malign neglect: Race, crime, and punishment in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tyler, T. (2006). *Why people obey the law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tyler, T. & Fagan, J. (2008). Why do people cooperate with the police? *Ohio Journal of Criminal Law*, 6, 231-75.

Tyler, T. & Huo, Y. (2002). *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts*. New York: Russell-Sage Foundation.

Warner, B. (1992). The reporting of crime: a missing link in conflict theory. In A. Liska (Ed.), *Social threat and social control* (pp. 71-87). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Warner, B. (2007). Directly intervene or call the authorities? A study of forms of neighborhood social control within a social disorganization framework. *Criminology*, 45, 99-129.

Weber, M. (1968). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. New York: Bedminster Press.

Wells, W., Schafer, J., Varano, S. & Bynum, T. (2006). Neighborhood residents' production of order: The effects of collective efficacy on responses to neighborhood problems. *Crime and Delinquency*, 52, 523-550.



Xie, M. & Lauritsen, J. (2011). Racial context and crime reporting: A test of Black's stratification hypothesis. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*.

Xie, M., Pogarsky, G., Lynch, J. & McDowall, D. (2006). Prior police contact and subsequent victim reporting: Results from the NCVS. *Justice Quarterly*, 23, 481-501.