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Crime victims and the police: Crime victims' evaluations of police behaviour, legitimacy, and cooperation: a multi-method study

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*Crime victims' evaluations of police behaviour, legitimacy, and cooperation:
A multi-method study*

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A multi-method study*

PROEFSCHRIFT

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Data about (repeat) victimization of property and violent crimes in the Netherlands

Crime is a major problem in society as, for instance, indicated by the most recent report of the Security Monitor.¹ According to this monitor, almost 2.5 million citizens in the Netherlands were victimized in 2016 by either a property crime (11.5%) or a violent crime (2.3%). Yet, the Security Monitor does not register how many of these victims were first-time victims or repeat victims.

Dutch studies into the prevalence of repeat victimizations, although rather out-dated, suggest that repeat burglary victimization is a serious issue to tackle in the Netherlands (e.g. Arends, 1997; Eijken & Van Overbeeke, 1998; Hakkert & Oppenhuis, 1996; Kleemans, 2001; López, 2001; Tseloni, Wittebrood, Farrell & Pease, 2004; Wittebrood, 2006). For example, Hakkert and Oppenhuis (1996) reported that 21% of the burglary victims have to deal with another burglary within a year and that these repeat burglary crime victims account for 44% of all (attempted) burglaries (see also Kleemans, 2001; Tseloni et al., 2004). In addition, repeat violent crime victimization may also be an important issue. Hakkert and Oppenhuis (1996), for example, reported that about 43% of victims of violent crime face another violent crime victimization within a year – accounting for 77% of all violent crimes (see also Police Monitor Population, 1999). These figures should be seen as a low estimate, because many victims do not report their victimization.

Crime victims that do report their victimization to the police may play an important role in reducing crime. By providing police officers with important and detailed information on the circumstances of the crime and possibly on the offender, they can help the police officers to investigate and solve the crime and to apprehend the offender (Cirel, Evans, McGillis & Whitcomb, 1977; Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997; Skogan & Antunes,

1 The Security Monitor is a yearly recurring study into the safety, liveability, and victimization experiences among citizens in the Netherlands. This monitor is conducted on behalf of the minister of Security and Justice (currently minister of Justice and Security), municipalities and the police and provides insight in the prevalence of crime in the Netherlands, based on citizens' self-reports.

1979). Without crime victims reporting their victimization to the police and offering their cooperation, many crimes go unnoticed and unsolved by the police and the criminal justice system (e.g. Ennis, 1967). In other words, the effectiveness of the criminal justice system depends to a large extent on crime victim cooperation with the police. This is why Hindelang and Gottfredson (1976) referred to crime victims as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system.

1.1.2 Data about crime reporting of property and violent crimes in the Netherlands

Under-reporting is a problem. Recent Security Monitors (e.g. CBS, 2013; 2014; 2015) indicate that many crime victims do not report their victimization to the police. For example, of all citizens of fifteen years or older feeling victimized in 2015, only 27% had officially reported their victimization to the police. Property crime victims (35%) were more likely to officially report their victimization to the police than victims of violent crime (21%). Information on other forms of cooperation besides reporting crime (e.g. providing the police with information on the suspect or allowing the police to investigate the crime scene) is practically non-existent. However, based on the numbers presented, it is clear that many victims choose not to cooperate with the police after victimization experiences (see also Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). Furthermore, Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2016) indicated that 19% of those who reported their victimization were unsatisfied with the way the police handled their case. The most prominent contributors to a negative evaluation of the police response were: “problems were not solved” (40.7%), “the police were reluctant” (28.2%), “the police kept me waiting” (20.8%), and “the police gave insufficient information” (14.6%). Previous research suggests that particularly repeat crime victims are less likely to report their victimization to the police (Tarling & Morris, 2010; Van Dijk, 2001) and that this may be influenced by crime victims’ evaluations of previous experiences with reporting their victimization to the police (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Shapland, Willmore & Duff, 1985; Ziegenhagen, 1976). This is a serious issue, as previous studies indicate that crime victims have an increased risk to be victimized compared to non-victims (Nicholas, Povey, Walker & Kershaw, 2005; Pease, 1998; Polvi, Looman, Humphries & Pease, 1990, 1991; Van Reemst, Fischer & Van Dongen, 2013). To counter the unfavourable situation that crime victims are dissatisfied with the police response and therefore withdraw from cooperation with the police in case of future crime victimization, several laws and policies have been introduced for police officers to interact with crime victims.

1.1.3 Law and policies for police officers to interact with crime victims

For many years, crime victims were a ‘forgotten party’ in criminal proceedings (Norton, 2007; Walklate, 2012; Wemmers & Cyr, 2006). However, since

the end of the 1960s, more legal, political and scientific attention has been given to the position of crime victims in criminal proceedings throughout the world (e.g. Tobolowsky, Gaboury, Jackson & Blackburn, 2010; Van der Aa et al., 2009). Instigated by the women's movement, increased empowerment of citizens, terrorist attacks in the 1970s, and increased crime rates, crime victims and their rights became more prominent across the world and in the Netherlands. To counter possible negative evaluations of crime victims regarding the police response and the subsequent possibility of not reporting a repeat victimization to the police, specific international and national laws and policies were introduced to guide police officers in their interaction with crime victims. Central aims were to (1) acknowledge the victims' special situation by restoring material and immaterial damage; (2) prevent secondary victimization (i.e. the feeling that victims are victimized again by the way people react to their victimization (see Symonds, 1975); (3) promote emotional recovery; and (4) offer protection of vulnerable victims (Directive 2012/29/EU).

1.1.4 Laws and policies in Europe

In 1983 the first European treaty was enacted to provide minimum provisions for crime victims of intentional crimes of violence who suffered bodily injury or impairment of health and for relatives of persons who died as a result of such crimes. In this European Convention on the compensation of victims of violent crimes, the committee established the minimum norms for victims to get financial compensation funded by states. In 2001, the European Union Framework Decision on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings was adopted. In this Framework Decision, rules at the supranational level were codified concerning the legal position of victims of member states, which were up to then only codified in guidelines, such as the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Recommendation of the Council of Europe. This Framework Decision has several pillars, amongst others the right to be respected and recognised at all stages of the criminal proceedings (including the police investigation phase) and the right to receive information, particularly information about the progress of the case. Victims' rights continue to be developed and the successor of the European Union Framework Decision, the European Union Directive on establishing minimum standards on the rights, support, and protection of victims of crime² explicitly states:

2 Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime. The directive had to be implemented by 16 November 2015 (see article 27). See <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32012L0029&from=EN>

“In order to encourage and facilitate reporting of crimes and to allow victims to break the cycle of repeat victimization, it is essential [...] that competent authorities are prepared to respond to victims’ reports in a respectful, sensitive, professional and non-discriminatory manner. This could increase victims’ confidence in the criminal justice systems of Member States and reduce the number of unreported crimes.” (p. 64)

According to this statement, criminal justice authorities (including police officers) are compelled to treat victims “in a respectful, sensitive, professional and non-discriminatory manner” (p. 64) during direct interactions, as it is assumed that this may enhance victims’ perceptions of confidence in the criminal justice system and subsequently enhances crime reporting by crime victims. Implicitly it is assumed that enhanced trust in the criminal justice system makes victims more willing to cooperate with the police and therefore more likely to report their (repeat) victimization resulting in a reduction of crimes that go unreported.

1.1.5 Laws and policies in the Netherlands

The first guidelines for the treatment of crime victims by criminal justice authorities in the Netherlands were introduced in 1986. Based on the recommendations of the Committee on violent sex crimes and the Committee on judicial policy and victims, administrative guidelines for the police and public prosecution were introduced to improve the position of victims of violent sex crime in pre-trial stages of criminal proceedings (guideline Beaufort and guideline Vaillant I; *Staatsblad*, 1986, 33). A year later, these guidelines were applicable to victims of all felonies (*Staatsblad*, 1987, 64). Amongst others, these guidelines instructed police officers to treat victims in a correct way, to inform crime victims about the procedure following the report, and to keep victims updated about the progress of investigative actions. These guidelines were adopted in the Directive for the Care of Victims (amended in 1999) and in the Act for the improvement of the position of victims in criminal procedure (enacted in 2011). Since then, police officers are bound to offer a respectful treatment to crime victims by national Criminal Procedural law regulations (art. 51a clause 2 CP jo. art. 288a clause 2 CP). In addition, since the enactment of the Police Act in 1993 – revised in 2012 – police officers have the legal task to offer help to those in need (art. 3 Police Act). In the recent vision document (Ministry of Security and Justice, 2013a) the Dutch government has formulated specific policy goals to do justice to crime victims. These policy goals include: (a) offering victims a strong position in criminal proceedings; (b) protecting victims where needed; (c) offering support to victims to recover from the consequences of victimization; (d) offering victims possibilities to recover from the consequences of victimization in financial, practical and emotional terms; and (e) recognizing victims’ status and making sure that victims are fairly treated and informed about their case (p. 23). These policy goals are aimed to result in positive evaluations from crime victims with regard to governmental organisations that support crime victims (such as Victim

Support the Netherlands and the Dutch Violent Offences Compensation Fund) and the criminal justice system. Particularly with regard to the police, guidelines have been proposed to improve the crime reporting process and to improve victims' willingness to report crimes to the police (Inspection Security and Justice, 2012). The central elements emphasized are correct treatment of crime victims by police officers and informing crime victims about the developments in their case after reporting a victimization. Particularly since the reorganisation of the National police force into 10 regions in 2013, the police strive for a more uniform reporting process that covers victims' needs as much as possible. Currently, a proposition for implementation of the EU Directive on establishing minimum standards of the rights, support, and protection of victims of crime has been adopted by the House of Representatives and approved by the Senate.³

1.1.6 The process of crime reporting in the Netherlands

Crime victims can generally choose between two ways of informing the police about their victimization: either by visiting the police station in person or by calling the police and let police officers visit them. When the police is called to come to the victim, it may be that the crime is on-going or recently terminated and that police officers need to provide first aid to settle the situation. After the crime victim has told what has happened, the police officers offer the choice to officially report the crime. If the victim chooses to do so, an official report is made by the police. That report is the victim's official request to the police to investigate the crime and should represent the victim's story on what has happened; it needs to be signed by the victim. A copy of this report should be offered to the crime victim. In order to meet victims' potential needs concerning recognition and careful treatment (including information provision; Ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2008) police officers need to ask victims whether they want to be updated on the proceedings in their case and whether they would appreciate victim assistance by Victim Support the Netherlands. Victims should also be informed about the termination of the police investigation; whether the investigation resulted in a dismissal (either because the event could not be regarded as a criminal act or because there were not enough investigative leads) or whether the investigation resulted in a suspect being referred to the prosecution for further examination.

Formal regulations on how to treat victims during criminal proceedings on both the international and national level seem to assume that crime victims who evaluate the police response in their case in a positive manner are more likely to trust the police (e.g. Inspection Security and Justice, 2012; Directive 2012/29/EU).

3 https://www.eerstekamer.nl/wetsvoorstel/34236_implementatie_richtlijn

1.1.7 Perceived trust in the police and perceived police legitimacy

The concept of perceived trust in the police deals with expectations about police functioning that may be disappointed (Luhmann, 1988). Perceived trust in the police may be formed through direct interactions with individual police officers (Gilmour, 2008; Tyler, 2006, 2011). Evaluations of such direct interactions could result in more favourable perceptions of trust or less favourable perceptions of trust (disappointment). If the level of perceived trust in the police has been damaged due to negatively evaluated behaviour of individual police officers, victims may choose to withdraw from cooperating with the police in the future (see Luhmann, 1988; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Perceived trust can be considered as a vital component of perceived police legitimacy (Tyler, 2006, 2011). However, whereas perceived trust may also relate to individual persons, perceived legitimacy is a characteristic on an institutional level (e.g. the police organisation; Tyler, 2006). Rooted in the classic work of Weber (1978), legitimacy of the police includes citizens' understanding and acceptance of police authority (Tyler, 2006, 2011). In other words, the police possess legitimacy if they adhere to society's norms and values, if they are trusted by the public and if the public accepts that they have a duty to obey the authority of the police and the law even when they personally disagree. As such, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law can be considered to be essential conditions for police legitimacy (Tyler, 2006, 2011). While no information is available on citizens' perceptions of legitimacy or perceived obligation to obey the law in the Netherlands, European comparisons have been made on citizens' perceived trust in the police.

Schaap and Scheepers (2014) examined differences in institutional trust in the police among 26 European countries based on European Social Survey (ESS) data. Their findings showed that perceived trust in the police in the Netherlands is relatively high compared to other European countries (especially compared to Eastern European countries). While Schaap and Scheepers (2014) have not reported on differences in levels of perceived trust in the police for victims and non-victims, previous research suggests that crime victimization decreases one's trust in the police (e.g. Ashworth & Feldman-Summers, 1978; Aviv & Weisburd, 2016; Koenig, 1980). Also based on ESS data, Van der Veer, Van Sluis, Van de Walle and Ringeling (2013) revealed that 74.6% of the citizens in the Netherlands expressed that they trusted the police in 2010 and that this percentage is rather stable since 1998. Their study also reveals that citizens who were victimized in the 12 months prior to the interview expressed lower levels of perceived trust in the police compared to citizens who were not victimized during that period ($M = 5.9$ vs. $M = 6.3$). Yet, their study does not reveal whether those victims contacted the police following their victimization. Therefore, no information is available whether these lower levels of trust may be caused by victims' negative evaluations of the police response in their case.

The aforementioned European and national regulations that guide police officers in interactions during criminal proceedings seem to assume that crime victims who evaluate the police response in their case in a positive manner are more likely to trust the police and to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization (e.g. Inspection Security and Justice, 2012; Directive 2012/29/EU). However, this underlying assumption is largely based on theorization and research among citizens in general and has not yet been validated by empirical research among crime victims. To examine its validity among victims of crime, it is necessary to explore whether this assumption can be extended to this group based on empirical research among crime victims. Given the acknowledgment that particularly crime victims' *evaluations* of the police response may have important implications for their trust in and cooperation with the police, the current thesis focuses on crime victims' *evaluations* of the police response, rather than actual police behaviour.

In the following sections, the research questions of the current thesis are presented (section 1.2), followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework used for this thesis (section 1.3). Then the theoretical and empirical contribution of the current thesis (section 1.4) and the methods used in this thesis are described (section 1.5). Lastly, this chapter presents the outline of the current thesis (section 1.6).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The current thesis seeks to explore to what extent can empirical research among crime victims validate the assumption that victims who feel positive about the police response in their case are more willing to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization than victims who feel less positive about the police response. The central research question to be addressed is the following:

To what extent, how, and why are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to their perceptions of the legitimacy of the police organisation and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization?

Addressing the central research question, the current thesis lies at the intersection of criminology and victimology. On the one hand it tries to gain more understanding of how victims experience the criminal justice system and how this may influence the fight against crime, which is an important issue studied in the field of criminology (e.g. Sutherland & Cressey, 1960; Reid, 1976). On the other hand, it is embedded in the field of victimology – often referred to as a sub-discipline of criminology – as it seeks to understand how victims' personal lives are impacted by the victimization and by interactions with the criminal justice system following the crime (e.g. Carmen, 2012).

The current thesis focuses specifically on victims of so-called high impact crimes: (attempted) burglary and violent crime (Ministry of Security and Justice, 2013b). What is meant by the term ‘crime victim’ may depend on the perspective taken. From a legal perspective, crime victims are citizens who have suffered pecuniary damage or other disadvantage as a direct result of a criminal act (see art. 51a clause 1, CP). A sociological perspective on crime victims is broader and may include animals, the environment, the society, or persons who were exposed to something that can be interpreted as a crime (see Lindgren & Nikolić-Ristanović, 2011). Furthermore, from a psychological perspective, crime victims are those persons who interpret an event that has happened to them as a criminal act (see Lindgren & Nikolić-Ristanović, 2011). The current dissertation focuses on crime victims who felt directly victimized by another person and subsequently reported this event to the police. Implicit in this conceptualization is that these citizens felt that they were harmed by another person and suffered in any way as a direct result. As police officers are usually the first and only representatives of the criminal justice system to interact with crime victims (Smit & Harrendorf, 2010), this thesis specifically focuses on interactions with the police, rather than on other criminal justice actors. To answer the central research question, five specific research questions were formulated:

- (1) To what extent does prior empirical research support the assumption that crime victims’ evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police?
- (2) What is the empirical structure of victims’ evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate with the police?
- (3) How are crime victims’ evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police; does it differ between victims of different types of crime, and do these relationships hold over time?
- (4) How does the police response influence mock victims’ perceptions of police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police?
- (5) Why are crime victims’ evaluations of the police response related to their willingness to cooperate with the police?

This thesis explores its central question by first examining what is already known about the relationships between victims’ evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and cooperation based on previous quantitative studies among crime victims (research question 1) and secondly by exploring these relationships among crime victims in the Netherlands using multiple research techniques (i.e. observational survey, experimental vignette design and qualitative in-depth interviews; research questions 2 to 5). The next section discusses the theoretical framework that guides the current thesis.

1.3 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The current thesis is guided by the well-established theoretical framework of procedural justice as developed by social psychologist Tom Tyler and colleagues with specific regard to interactions with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006, 2011; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). This framework helps understand how cooperation with the police can be motivated among citizens in general. According to this framework, fair treatment by police officers during direct interactions is the key element to motivate cooperation (Tyler, 2006, 2011). Yet, most citizens never directly interact with the police (e.g. Eith & Durose, 2011). Perhaps as a consequence, the framework largely focuses on *citizens' perceptions of the police in general* (i.e. *expectations*; see Gau, 2014) and not on *evaluations of a specific interaction*. To tailor this framework more to crime victims and their evaluations of the police response in their case, the current thesis also builds on previous qualitative victimological research among crime victims in specific (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott, Thomas & Ogloff, 2012). Below I will first describe the theoretical framework for citizens in general. Then I will apply that framework to crime victims with regard to the police response in their case and lastly I will discuss the conceptual and methodological limitations of the framework that will be addressed in the current thesis.

1.3.1 Citizens

Tyler's framework assumes that cooperation among citizens can be motivated if police officers treat citizens fair during direct interactions (Tyler, 2006, 2011). Moreover, Tyler suggests that fair treatment by police officers enhances citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy and subsequently makes them more willing to cooperate with the police. In other words, his framework hypothesizes that evaluations of procedural justice are indirectly related to cooperation with the police, via perceived police legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2011). Besides evaluations of procedural justice, evaluations of police performance are recognized to be an important determinant of perceived police legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; see Figure 1.1 and box 1.1 in which the concepts are defined).

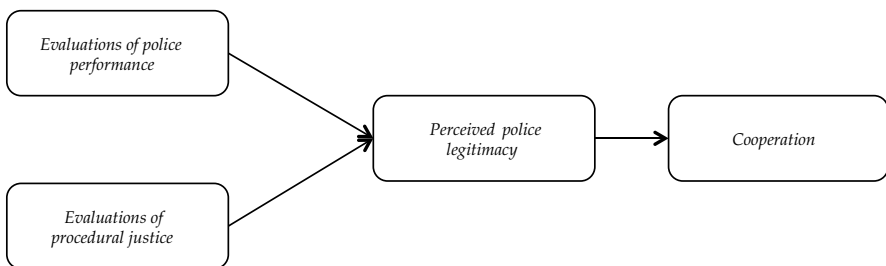


Figure 1.1 Graphical depiction of the current thesis' framework, based on Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice

Box 1.1 *Definitions of central concepts*

Evaluations of procedural justice: judgments of the quality of treatment by police officers and the quality of decision-making by police officers (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Blader, 2003).

Quality of treatment: the way police officers deal with citizens and is characterised by the opportunity given to citizens to express their views (i.e. 'voice' element of procedural justice) and by approaching citizens in a respectful manner (i.e. 'respect' element of procedural justice; Tyler & Lind, 1992).

Quality of decision-making: the way in which police officers make their decisions is characterised by the absence of bias and prejudice (i.e. 'neutrality' element of procedural justice) and by a sincere motivation to reach the best solution for all parties involved (i.e. 'trustworthiness' element of procedural justice; Tyler & Lind, 1992).

Evaluations of police performance: judgments of the effectiveness of the police in fighting crime (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Police legitimacy: the belief of citizens that the police organisation and its representatives can be trusted to faithfully uphold the norms and values in society and therefore the perception that one is morally obliged to engage in socially acceptable behaviour (see Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014).

Cooperation: any actions taken by citizens to help the police in fighting crime, whether that may be direct cooperation (e.g. reporting one's victimization to the police or helping the police to find a suspect) or indirect cooperation (e.g. participating in neighbourhood initiatives to fight crime; see Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

Tyler and colleagues' group-value model and group-engagement model seek to explain why procedural justice relates to perceived legitimacy and cooperation (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Blader, 2003). According to these models, people want to belong to society and value group membership. These models suggest that a procedurally just treatment by important group representatives may provide citizens with self-relevant information about their standing in a group. Police officers may be regarded as important representatives of society as they are responsible for faithfully upholding society's norms and values encoded in the law (Fleming & McLaughlin, 2012; Tyler, 2006, 2011). Following Tyler's framework, police officers may convey messages about one's status and value in society by treating citizens in a procedurally just manner (Tyler, 2001, 2006; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In other words, being treated in a procedurally just manner by police officers may communicate positive information about one's status and value in society.

A procedurally just treatment signals inclusion and communicates to citizens that they are valued and respected as members of society bolstering their attachment to society. This in turn shows citizens that the police as

an organisation pursues society's norms and values in a justifiable manner and encourages citizens' intrinsic and moral motivation to help maintain order in society, for example by cooperating with the police, because it is the right thing to do (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). At the other side of the spectrum, a procedurally unjust treatment signals exclusion and communicates to citizens that they are unworthy of a respectful and fair treatment, which would have negative consequences for their attachment to society. Such treatment would result in citizens developing negative attitudes towards the police organisation and as a consequence they might be unwilling to cooperate with the police in the future (see Tyler, 2011).

Police performance may also convey messages about the police organisation's ability to faithfully uphold the norms and values in society which makes people feel that one is morally obliged to engage in socially appropriate behaviour (i.e. legitimacy; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). If the police organisation is effective in fighting crime, it communicates that the organisation is able to effectively pursue the norms and values in society and that it would be beneficial for citizens to cooperate with the police (Tankebe, 2009a). In contrast, if the police organisation is ineffective in fighting crime, it communicates that the organisation is unable to effectively pursue the norms and values in society and that it would not be beneficial for citizens to cooperate with the police.

Although both police performance and procedural justice are argued to influence police legitimacy, they are important for different reasons. Whereas police performance is related to legitimacy and cooperation because of instrumental motives (i.e. to get concrete results), procedural justice is related to legitimacy and cooperation out of intrinsic feelings of moral responsibility (e.g. out of civic duty). It has been argued that the latter is a more prominent determinant of perceived police legitimacy among citizen in general (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006, 2011). While these assumptions have received considerable empirical support, theorization in this area has mostly focused on general evaluations of procedural justice and police performance (i.e. not with regard to a specific case or encounter) among the general public.

1.3.2 Tyler's theoretical framework applied to crime victims

Specifically applied to crime victims and their cases, evaluations of procedural justice cover victims' perceptions that they feel fairly treated by police officers during direct interactions. That is, whether victims feel that the police officers offered them an opportunity to express their views, that the police officers were neutral and unbiased in their decision-making, that the police treated them with dignity and respect and that the police officers were sincerely motivated to pursue the best possible solution for all parties involved (see Tyler & Lind, 1992). Specifically applied to the crime victims' cases, evaluations of police performance do not relate to the perception that the police are effective in combating

crime as it has been often operationalized in studies on general perceptions of police performance among citizens in general (see Reisig, Bratton & Gertz, 2007). Instead, evaluations of police performance with regard to the victim's case relate to the judgment that crime victims feel that the *police officers adequately performed investigative actions as to investigate and solve the crime* (Elliott et al., 2012; Murphy, 2009). In this sense, judgments of procedural justice and police performance may be interrelated, as they are evaluations of actions that often happen simultaneously (see Van den Bos, Vermunt & Wilke, 1997). In addition, police performance judgments depend to a great extent on whether police officers communicate to crime victims (which could be considered a part of procedural justice) about the performed investigative actions. If police officers conduct certain investigative actions, but not inform crime victims about those efforts, crime victims may think that police officers have not performed those actions. This may result in negative evaluations of both procedural justice and police performance. In essence, positive evaluations of both procedural justice and police performance in the crime victim's case seem to be important to victims as this communicates to them that they and their cases are being taken seriously (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012).

Following Tyler's theoretical framework, positive evaluations of procedural justice and police performance enhance perceived police legitimacy. In other words, by treating victims in a procedurally just manner and by adequately performing investigative efforts (and communicating those efforts to crime victims), police officers may convey the message that victims are important and worthy citizens of society and that officers pursue the values and norms in society (i.e. that crime is not tolerated). Positive perceptions of police legitimacy, in turn, enhance victims' intrinsic and moral feelings of responsibility to pursue and maintain social order in the community and thus their cooperation with the police. To summarize, crime victims who perceive the police organisation as legitimate – because they feel that they have been fairly treated by police officers and because they feel that police officers had adequately performed investigative effort in their case – are more willing to cooperate with the police.

1.3.3 Limitations of Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice for the current thesis

Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice – although well-established – continues to be developed and it is not without criticism and limitations. Some of these issues may be particularly relevant to the current thesis.

Applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework to victims of crime

Tyler's theoretical framework focuses on citizens in general and not specifically on crime victims. However, most citizens have very few superficial

or no direct interactions with police officers (e.g. Eith & Durose, 2011). To examine whether police officers might be able to counter the unfavourable situation that crime victims seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization, it is needed to explore whether Tyler's theoretical framework can be applied to crime victims who have had direct interactions with the police following their victimization.

Conceptualization of procedural justice, police performance and police legitimacy

The conceptualization of procedural justice, police performance, and legitimacy is fiercely debated, and without a well-agreed upon definition of these concepts, researchers in this area tend to use different operationalizations (see Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Hough, Jackson, & Bradford, 2013; Reisig et al., 2007; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; see Jackson & Gau, 2016 for an overview).

First, it remains to be seen whether evaluations of procedural justice and police performance are empirically distinct with regard to crime victims' evaluations of the police response in their case. Research among the general public typically focuses on perceptions of effectiveness of the police to fight crime on a general level (e.g. How effective are the police in fighting crime in your neighbourhood?; see Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In such a general sense, perceptions of police performance are argued to be conceptually and empirically distinct from perceptions of procedural justice (Reisig et al., 2007). However, with regard to crime victims and their cases, both the way victims feel treated by the police (procedural justice) and the efforts police officers take to investigate and solve the crime (police performance) may inform them that they and their cases are being taken seriously (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Therefore, it is needed to explore whether evaluations of procedural justice are empirically distinct from evaluations of police performance with regard to the victims' cases.

Second, it remains to be seen whether the elements of perceived legitimacy – perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law – represent empirically distinct concepts among crime victims. The concept of perceived legitimacy has traditionally been operationalized in terms of perceived trust in the police and/or perceived obligation to obey the law and/or the police (Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; see Jackson & Gau, 2016 for an overview).⁴ Whereas perceived trust in the police relates to the perception that the police are committed to enforcing social norms and values within society and motivate coopera-

4 A number of different operationalizations have been proposed to measure perceived legitimacy, possibly due to a lack of consensus on the definition of legitimacy (Gau, 2011). Recent operationalizations include moral alignment with the police and/or the law (e.g. Jackson et al., 2012; Murphy & Cherney 2012), but perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the police and/or the law seem to remain central elements within legitimacy operationalizations.

tion via positive expectations on how the police act in general, perceived obligation to obey the law relates to the pressure felt to engage in socially appropriate behaviour (see Jackson & Gau, 2016). It is necessary to explore whether perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law are empirically distinct among crime victims as well.

Cross-sectional nature of studies

Most studies on the relationships between evaluations of procedural justice, police performance, perceived legitimacy, and cooperation are based on cross-sectional data. Such data does not allow any conclusions on the temporal order in which these concepts occur. For example, it has been theoretically assumed that positive evaluations of procedural justice enhance perceived police legitimacy over time, but this has not yet empirically been examined for crime victims with regard to their case. In addition, no studies are available that examined whether perceived trust in the police may colour evaluations of how the police handled the victim's case.

Observational research

Tyler's theoretical framework is almost exclusively explored by using observational data (cf. Mazerolle, Bennet, Davis, Sargeant & Manning, 2013; Wheller, Quinton, Fildes & Mills, 2013). Such data does not allow any conclusions on the causal mechanisms implied by the framework. Therefore, it is needed to examine whether procedural justice and police performance influence perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police in victimization situations using experiments.

Heterogeneity among populations

Most research among crime victims with regard to their evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in relation to perceived legitimacy and cooperation do not distinguish between victims of different types of crime. Yet this may be important to understand under what conditions and circumstances proposed relationships may differ between victims of different types of crime (see Laxminarayan, 2012).

Quantitative research

Most studies on Tyler's theoretical framework are quantitative of nature (cf. De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Although such studies are informative on the statistical significance and strength of certain relationships within the framework, information on *why* these relationships are as they seem to be cannot be derived from them. To gain more contextual information on the framework's underlying mechanisms, qualitative research in terms of in-depth interviews might be beneficial.

Summary

To summarize, Tyler's theoretical framework and empirical research examining the framework, although a large body and well-established, suffers from several limitations: (1) it is unknown to what extent this framework is applicable to victims of crime with regard to their case; (2) the operationalization and empirical structure of evaluations of procedural justice, police performance and perceived legitimacy with regard to the victims' cases have not yet been explored; (3) there is a lack of acknowledgement of heterogeneity among certain populations; (4) there is a lack of information on the temporal order in which the concepts within the framework occur and whether the relationships hold over time; (5) there is a lack of information on causality of relationships; and (6) there is a lack of contextual information on the underlying mechanisms behind the framework.

1.4 CONTRIBUTION OF THE CURRENT THESIS TO LITERATURE AND SOCIETY

The current thesis aims to contribute to the literature and society in several ways. First, the scientific contribution of the current thesis is discussed. The scientific contribution addresses the aforementioned limitations surrounding Tyler's theoretical framework and empirical research in this area. Second, the societal contribution of the current thesis will be described.

1.4.1 Scientific contribution of the current thesis

The current thesis contributes to the literature as it improves our understanding of (1) the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims with regard to their case; (2) the empirical structure of evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, and perceived legitimacy among crime victims; (3) whether the proposed relationships hold for victims of different types of crime; (4) whether the proposed relationships hold over time; (5) the causal mechanisms implied in the framework; and (6) the underlying mechanisms of the framework.

1.4.2 Societal contribution of the current thesis

The current thesis may be of practical relevance to policy makers, police officers who interact with crime victims on a daily basis, and society as a whole for at least two reasons. First, despite the fact that victims are important sources of information for the police and the criminal justice system as a whole, they are still often referred to as the 'forgotten party' in criminal proceedings (Norton, 2007; Walklate, 2012; Wemmers & Cyr, 2006). Although recent initiatives have been undertaken to strengthen the position of crime victims in criminal justice systems across the world and in the Netherlands (see Tobolowsky et al., 2010; Van der Aa et al., 2009) most

of such initiatives focus on the court stages of the criminal justice process (e.g. allowing victims to deliver a Victim Impact Statement during trial). As only a small number of the victimization cases will ever proceed to the court stage (Smit & Harrendorf, 2010), it seems relevant to strengthen the position of crime victims in pre-trial phases as well. Initiatives during the investigation phase may be particularly beneficial, as the police are often the first and only representatives of the criminal justice system with whom victims interact (Smit & Harrendorf, 2010). The current thesis may help in identifying which concrete elements are important to crime victims and why this is the case, which can inform policy makers to guide initiatives to strengthen the position of crime victims during the investigation phase as well as help police officers in their daily interactions with crime victims.

Second, the former Dutch Ministry of Security and Justice (now Ministry of Justice and Security) has acknowledged that crimes such as burglary, violent robbery and assault may have a devastating impact on not only the direct victims, but also on their direct surroundings, and society at large (Minister of Security and Justice, 2013b). Therefore, it is one of the Ministry's key priorities to prevent such crimes from happening (Minister of Security and Justice, 2013b). One approach to do so is to increase crime detection rates – the number of crimes in which at least one offender was detected divided by the number of crimes reported to the police per year (Ahlberg & Knutsson, 1990) – which seem to be particularly low in the Netherlands compared to other European countries (see National Audit Office, 2012; Smit, Meijer & Groen, 2004). Increased detection rates might deter potential offenders from committing a crime, preventing citizens from getting victimized and thereby making society a safer place. However, to deter potential offenders by increasing detection rates, police officers need the help of crime victims. After all, many crimes only come to the attention to the police by crime victims and crime victims may be able to share relevant information on the circumstances of the crime and potentially about the offender which may help the police to investigate and solve the crime (Cirel et al., 1977; Sampson et al., 1997; Skogan & Antunes, 1979). Yet, previous research suggests that particularly repeat crime victims – compared to first-time victims – seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization and that this may be due to the way victims evaluate the police response in a previous victimization case (Van Dijk, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Shapland et al., 1985; Ziegenhagen, 1976). In order to counter this unfavourable situation, it is important to identify elements within the sphere of influence of individual police officers that may encourage victim cooperation as crime victims have an increased risk to become victimized compared to individuals without victimization experiences (Nicholas et al., 2005; Pease, 1998; Polvi et al., 1990, 1991; Van Reemst et al., 2013). The current thesis may help in identifying such elements, and that information can be used by policy makers to formulate guidelines for police officers helping them to encourage victims' cooperation with the police in case of future crime victimization.

1.5 METHODS

To answer the current thesis' research questions, several methods are employed. To explore the first research question – to what extent does prior empirical research support the assumption that crime victims' evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police – a systematic literature review was conducted. To answer the second research question – what is the empirical structure of victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate with the police? – and the third research question – how are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police; does it differ between victims of different types of crime, and do these relationships hold over time? – an observational structured survey study was conducted. To answer the fourth research question – how does the police response influence mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police? – an experimental vignette study was conducted. To answer the fifth research question – what value do crime victims place on evaluations of the police response and how does that relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police? – a semi-structured interview study was conducted.

All data were collected by the author of this thesis. For the first empirical study – the observational structured survey study – she had help of six research assistants. These research assistants were Bachelor Criminology students at Leiden University. All data collectors were screened by the police on antecedents and signed a confidentiality statement prior to collecting data in order to protect victims' privacy. In addition, the studies were approved by the former privacy department of the police Hollands Midden (now part of regional unit The Hague). Participants in all studies were informed that participation was voluntary, that their data would be processed anonymously and that they could terminate their participation at any moment during the study; and all participants were asked for an informed oral consent. Given the sensitive nature of the research topic, data collectors paid due respect to victims' emotional state, for example by pausing the interview for a moment when needed. In addition, victims were informed about the services of Victim Support the Netherlands if they felt they were in need of (further) emotional support.

1.6 OUTLINE OF THE CURRENT THESIS

The main objective of this thesis is to examine what victims' value in their contact with the police which could be helpful to understand how the police may counter the unfavourable situation that repeat crime victims seem to

be less willing to cooperate. Therefore, the current thesis examines to what extent, how, and why victims' evaluations of the police response in terms of procedural justice and police performance relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police and whether these relationships are mediated by perceived police legitimacy. It fulfils its purpose by conducting multiple research methods to come to methodological triangulation and comprehensive information on this issue.

Chapter 2 describes a systematic literature review of previous studies on the relationships between victims' evaluations of procedural justice, police performance, perceived legitimacy and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization. This chapter provides information on previous quantitative studies examining these relationships and identifies several shortcomings of those studies, some of which are addressed in the empirical research of this thesis.

Chapter 3 uses data from the structured survey study to test the measurement structure of crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police among real crime victims. It is necessary to examine the construct validity of the instrument that measures these concepts and specifically informs whether victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance should be treated as single or as separate concepts in statistical analyses and whether perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law should be treated as single or as separate concepts in statistical analyses.

Chapter 4 uses data from the structured survey study to explore both cross-sectionally and prospectively the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police. These interrelationships were examined based on the measurement structure described in Chapter 3. In addition, using cross-sectional data, this chapter also explores whether and how the interrelationships were different for victims of different types of crime (i.e. victims of property crime and victims of violent crime).

Chapter 5 uses data from the experimental vignette study to test whether procedural justice and police performance in response to violent crime victimization influences willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization and whether this relationship is mediated by perceived legitimacy among *mock* victims. In addition, it tests whether adequate procedural justice and police performance had a positive impact on perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate compared to inadequate procedural justice or having no contact with the police.

Chapter 6 uses data from the semi-structured interview study to gain in-depth and contextual information on why crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance relate to willingness to cooperate with the police, with due regard to perceived legitimacy. In addition, by including victims of on-going cases as well as cases closed by the police, it explores how the status of the case may shape victims' evaluations of

procedural justice, police performance and their willingness to cooperate with the police.

Chapter 7 provides a general discussion of the findings which are presented throughout this thesis and discusses the policy implications of the current thesis, its limitations, recommendations for future research and methodological strengths of the current thesis.

A schematic overview of the current thesis' outline is presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 *Outline of studies in thesis*

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Research question(s)</i>	<i>Methods</i>
Chapter 2	To what extent does prior empirical research support the assumption that crime victims' evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police?	Systematic literature review of 15 studies
Chapter 3	What is the empirical structure of victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate with the police?	Structured survey Real crime victims Wave I (N = 417)
Chapter 4	How are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police; does it differ between victims of different types of crime, and do these relationships hold over time?	Structured survey Real crime victims Waves I (N = 417) and II (N = 201)
Chapter 5	How does the police response influence mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police?	Experimental vignette study Mock crime victims Studies I (N = 75) and II (N = 414)
Chapter 6	Why are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to their willingness to cooperate with the police?	Semi-structured interview Real crime victims In-depth interviews (N = 32)

Crime victims' evaluations of police behaviour, legitimacy, and cooperation: A review of the literature

Research question (1)

To what extent does prior empirical research support the assumption that crime victims' evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police?

Highlights

- Fifteen studies were included in the review that examined one of the relationships between crime victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and cooperation;
- Most studies were of cross-sectional nature;
- Studies displayed considerable differences in operationalization of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and perceived legitimacy;
- None of the studies examined the theoretical framework as a whole;
- Partial support for the application of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims.

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- Koster, N. N., Kuijpers, K. F., Kunst, M. J. J. & Van der Leun, J. P. (2016). Crime victims' perceptions of police behavior, legitimacy, and cooperation: A review of the literature. *Victims & Offenders: An International Journal of evidence-based research, policy, and practice*, 11(3), 392-435. doi: 10.1080/15564886.2015.1065532

ABSTRACT

According to Tyler's theoretical framework, police officers can motivate cooperation among citizens during direct interactions by using fair procedures and by showing how the police perform their job in combating crime. By conducting a systematic literature review, prior research was examined to see whether evaluations of procedural justice and police performance result in higher levels of perceived legitimacy of the police institution, and in turn, whether this perceived legitimacy stimulates cooperative behaviour among crime victims specifically. Results of the 15 included studies indicate that partial support for the applicability of this framework on crime victims was found. However, none of the included studies tested all relationships within the framework simultaneously among crime victims; they typically focused only on one of the interrelationships between the frameworks' key concepts. Implications for future research and police practice are discussed.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The police heavily depend on victim cooperation in reducing crime (Cirel et al., 1977; Sampson et al., 1997). Crime victims can be important sources of information for the police when it comes to investigating and solving crimes (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976; Mayhew, 1993; Warner, 1992). After notifying the police about their victimization, crime victims can provide crucial and detailed information about the crime, the circumstances, and possibly the offender or offenders (Skogan & Antunes, 1979). By sharing such relevant information, crime victims may contribute to solving crimes, getting offenders convicted and preventing future victimization of others. Yet, research shows that revictimization is common (Nicholas et al., 2005; Pease, 1998; Polvi et al., 1990, 1991). This observation makes victims not only important sources of information in solving a current case, but also in possible future cases of revictimization they may become involved in.

In view of the importance of victim cooperation, it is crucial to know which factors determine whether crime victims will cooperate with the police or not. Literature lists many factors that may contribute to victims' decisions to cooperate with the police, ranging from the type of crime they experienced to perceived seriousness of the crime and social cohesion in the neighbourhood (Goudriaan, Wittebrood & Nieuwbeerta, 2006; Van Dijk, 2001; Van Dijk & Mayhew 1992). However, as these types of factors are mostly outside sphere of influence of individual police officers, officers are usually not able to control these factors.

An important determinant of victim cooperation that is within police officers' sphere of influence is the quality of victims' experiences with the police. Victims who experienced their previous contact with the police as positive are more likely to cooperate than those who perceived the contact as a negative experience (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Shapland et al., 1985; Van Dijk, 2001; Ziegenhagen, 1976). The extent to which victims experience their contact with the police as being positive or negative depends for an important part on how police officers interact with them during direct encounters (Symonds, 1975). In other words, police officers may be able to facilitate positive experiences during direct encounters with victims, which in turn may foster victim cooperation.

Police officers are often the first and only representatives of the criminal justice system who interact with crime victims (Smit & Harrendorf, 2010). When crime victims feel unjustly treated by police officers, it may induce them to refuse future cooperation, for instance when the case is transferred to the prosecution phase. As a consequence, prosecutors may choose to dismiss the case of an allegedly uncooperative crime victim (Dawson & Dinovitzer, 2001). This makes the role of *police officers* in encouraging future cooperation particularly important. Therefore we aim to systematically review the literature on the role of police officers' performance and treatment of crime victims in stimulating victim cooperation with the police.

Our review process is guided by the theoretical framework of Tyler and colleagues that considers the influence of police officers' behaviour during direct interactions on subsequent cooperation (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 2001, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Lind, 1992).¹ According to this theoretical framework, procedural justice and, to a lesser extent, police performance judgments are indirectly related to cooperation in a two-staged model (see Figure 2.1). Tyler and colleagues argue that public views of the police using fair procedures (procedural justice) and public views of the police doing a good job in combating crime (police performance), result in higher levels of perceived legitimacy of the police institution by the public (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 2003, 2006; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Moreover, they argue that this perceived police legitimacy stimulates the public to cooperate with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002). In short, positive public views on police officers' behaviour may thus increase perceived police legitimacy, which in turn advances public cooperative behaviour.

To date, this two-staged model has almost exclusively been tested in general population samples (e.g. Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002). As these studies focused on citizens in general, the results may not necessarily be generalizable to victimized citizens. After all, "[crime] victims as a group may share needs and expectations that differ from those of the general public [...] because of their victimization [...]" (Brandl & Horvath, 1991, p. 110). Hence the purpose of this chapter is to systematically review prior research to examine whether Tyler's theoretical framework is applicable to crime victims. Before we describe the methods of this chapter, we will discuss the relationships between the key concepts of Tyler's theoretical framework in more detail.

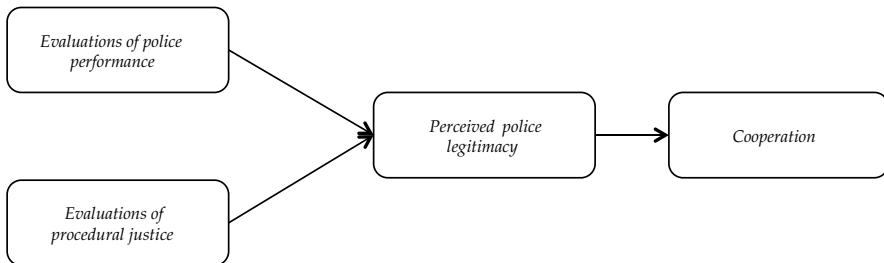


Figure 2.1 Graphical depiction of the current chapter's framework, based on Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice

1 Although Tyler might be mostly known for his work on procedural justice and its influence on legitimacy and cooperation, he also emphasizes the importance of perceptions of *police performance* in shaping these concepts (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001b; 2003). Moreover, qualitative studies among crime victims in specific by Elliott et al. (2012) and De Mesmaecker (2014) suggest that crime victims are interested in both procedural justice and police performance. To provide a complete overview of the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework, the current chapter focuses on both victims' evaluations of procedural justice as well as their perceptions of police performance.

2.1.1 Relationships between the key concepts of Tyler's theoretical framework

Given the dependence of the police on citizens' cooperation in combating crime, Tyler and colleagues attempted to understand how cooperation can be stimulated, for which they developed a two-staged model (see Figure 2.1). They argued that people are more likely to engage in cooperative behaviour with the police when the police are regarded as a legitimate power holder (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002). When the police organisation is thought to be a legitimate institute, they reasoned, people's own feelings of responsibility to maintain social order in their community will be activated (Tyler, 2001a; Tyler & Darley, 2000). These feelings make people willing to cooperate with the police, because they intrinsically feel that it is the right thing to do (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Perceived police legitimacy is then explained as the believe by the public that the police can be trusted to faithfully uphold the law and the moral acknowledgement that one should therefore engage in socially appropriate behaviour (Tyler, 2006; Weber, 1978). Tyler and colleagues argue that perceived police legitimacy is indicated by people's feelings to be morally obliged to obey directives of the police and/or the law (i.e. perceived obligation to obey the police/law) and by people's trust that the police will act on behalf of the public and in accordance with shared social values in a community (i.e. perceived trust in the police; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006). In gaining voluntary cooperation, it is thus important for the police to show the public that the police pursue common goals (e.g. fighting against crime) in a justifiable manner.

Furthermore, Tyler (2006) suggests that the ultimate way for police officers to show themselves as a legitimate power holder is by using fair procedures (i.e. procedural justice) in direct interactions with citizens. Besides procedural justice, police performance is also thought to influence perceived legitimacy of the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001b; 2004). During direct encounters, police officers – as representatives of the institute of policing and the state – are able to demonstrate how they perform their tasks and exercise their discretionary power in their daily work. Judgments of police legitimacy are thus argued to be based on both people's evaluations of procedural justice and police performance (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001b; 2003; 2004; 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

In the context of the current chapter, we will examine whether Tyler's theoretical framework can be applied to crime victims. In line with this framework, we hypothesized that victims' judgments of prior police contact in handling their victimization may be related to perceived legitimacy of the police institute, which, in turn, may stimulate victims' cooperative behaviour with the police. In the next sections, the key factors adapted from Tyler's framework – evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy, and cooperation – are discussed in more detail.

2.1.2 Crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance

Crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice refer to crime victims' evaluations of how they were treated by the police (Elliott, Thomas & Ogloff, 2011; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Tyler (1997) distinguished four elements in direct interactions that characterize procedural justice: (1) 'voice'; (2) neutrality; (3) respect; and (4) trustworthiness. 'Voice' refers to the perception that one was offered the opportunity to tell his/her side of the story and to express his/her views about past and future actions of the police. 'Neutrality' relates to the perception that police officers were unbiased in their decision-making. 'Respect' relates to the perception that police officers were polite and treated one with dignity. Lastly, 'trustworthiness' refers to the perception that police officers did their best to achieve the best possible solution for all parties involved. Evaluations of police performance, on the other hand, relate to the perceived quality of actions police officers took during the investigation process (Murphy, 2009).² For example, did they adequately investigate the crime scene?

As victims' evaluations of procedural justice and evaluations of police performance seem to be closely related to each other (Kunst, Rutten & Knijf, 2013), these evaluations will be discussed simultaneously in the remainder of this chapter. Together, these evaluations will be referred to as *victims' evaluations of the police response*. In the current chapter, we specifically focus on crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance during encounters which took place as a result of their crime report, rather than their evaluations of the police in general. In other words, our focus is specifically on victims' perceptions of the police responding to the crime victims' case.

2.1.3 Crime victims' perceptions of legitimacy of the police

The concept of legitimacy is rooted in the classic work of Weber (1978). Continuous debate surrounds the concept of legitimacy (cf. Barbalet, 2009; Beetham, 1991; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Hough et al., 2013; Peršak 2014; Siegrist, Gutscher & Keller, 2007; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; see Jackson & Gau, 2016 for an overview), which is in part concerned with construing an operational definition to measure legitimacy most comprehensively (cf. Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012, Hough et al., 2013; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2006). Also, the terms legitimacy, trust and confidence are often used interchangeably in literature, while some researchers suggest that these

2 Evaluations of police performance with regard to the victims' case should not be confused with general perceptions of police performance. Whereas the first relates to judgments on police officers' investigative efforts (e.g. De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012; Murphy, 2009) the latter refers to expectations on how good a job the police do in fighting crime (e.g. Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

terms are at least theoretically distinct (cf. Barbalet, 2009; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Luhmann, 1988; 1989; Siegrist et al., 2007).³

Despite this on-going discussion about how to measure or define legitimacy, there seems to be consensus that it includes individuals' intrinsic drive to obey and accept rules and decisions of the police (i.e. perceived obligation to voluntarily obey the police/law; see Zelditch, 2001). Tyler (2006, p. 47) suggests two ways to measure legitimacy, either by (1) combining items measuring perceived obligation to obey the law and perceived trust in the police into one scale, or by (2) treating both indicators separately. In any case, it seems necessary to account for both indicators of legitimacy – voluntarily felt obligation to obey the police/law and perceived trust in the police – in order to include all the relevant studies in our review.

2.1.4 Crime victims' cooperation with the police

The most studied and perhaps most obvious form of cooperating with the police is to report crimes or criminals (Murphy & Cherney, 2011, 2012; Murphy, Hinds & Fleming, 2008; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). However, there are many other ways in which cooperation with the police can take place. Some of these behaviours may help the police indirectly (e.g. working in community groups to combat crime, see Tyler & Fagan, 2008) or in a more direct way (e.g. providing the police with information about committed crimes and reporting suspicious activities to the police, see Murphy & Cherney, 2011, 2012). Cooperation with the police also includes several help-seeking behaviours, like calling the police to settle a neighbourhood dispute or calling the police in case of an emergency (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Studies examining cooperation with the police may either rely on measuring actual behaviour or self-reported willingness to cooperate with the police in the future. The latter are the so-called 'behavioural intention studies' (Skogan, 1984, p. 114), in which respondents are hypothetically asked to indicate the likeness to engage in certain behaviour in certain situations. As studies relying on victims' actual cooperative behaviours as well as their expressed intentions to cooperate may contain valuable information, we will account for both actual and intended behaviour in our review.

2.1.5 This chapter

This chapter aims to systematically review the literature on the role of police officers' performance and treatment of crime victims in stimulating victim cooperation with the police and examine the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims with regard to the police response

3 Noteworthy in this context is that several European languages have no distinct words for trust and confidence (e.g. German: Vertrauen, French: confidence, Dutch: vertrouwen).

in their case. More specifically, the aim is to answer the following research question: To what extent does prior empirical research support the assumption that crime victims' evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police?

2.2 METHODS

2.2.1 Literature search

To systematically review prior research on the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims, we searched for studies examining the indirect relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and/or police performance and cooperation with the police through victims' perceptions of legitimacy of the police. We also searched for studies partially examining this relationship. This means that studies focusing on the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and/or police performance and victims' perceptions of legitimacy of the police were considered for inclusion, as well as studies focusing on the relationship between victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and their cooperation with the police. In order to include all the relevant information about the assumed relationships, studies focusing on a direct relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and/or police performance and victim cooperation were also considered for inclusion.

In the search for relevant studies for the current systematic review, combinations of terms and/or truncated texts (indicated by '*') related to the relationships of interest were used as search terms in titles or abstracts. These included terms related to: (1) victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance (victim, satisf*, police, procedural justice, procedural fairness, performance, and distributive justice)⁴; (2) perceived legitimacy (legitim*, confid*, trust, law obedience, and obligation to obey the law); (3) cooperation (cooperat*, participat*, and report crime); and (4) the criminal justice system (criminal justice system, crime, justice, police, prosecutor, and judge). The following databases were searched: Criminal Justice Abstracts, JSTOR, PsychArticles, PsychInfo, Psychological and Behavioural Sciences Collection, Social Services Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, SSRN, Web of Science, and Wiley Online Library. Finally, reference sections of studies included in the review were examined for other potentially relevant studies that had not come up using the combinations

4 Although Tyler's framework is specifically concerned with procedural justice, rather than distributive justice (i.e. the outcomes of a judicial process), this search term was deliberately added to make sure we would not miss any relevant studies.

of search terms in the databases. The literature search was conducted from April 3, 2013 until May 14, 2013.⁵

2.2.2 Study eligibility

Strict criteria were defined for study inclusion: (1) studies had to include a sample or sub-sample of victims who had reported their victimization to the police and distinguish these victims from non-victims and/or non-reporters in their analyses, if non-victims and/or non-reporters were also part of the sample; (2) studies had to report findings about at least one of the relationships of interest; and (3) studies had to report on the significance of findings. Studies focusing specifically and only on children (under 18) were excluded from further analysis. In determining whether studies reported on the relationships of interest, our interpretation of studies and their measurements was decisive. In the next paragraphs we will briefly describe our criteria to determine whether studies focused on victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceptions of police legitimacy, and cooperation with the police.

Victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance

For the first key factors of this chapter's theoretical framework – victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance – studies had to report on evaluations of the police response which took place as a result of the victims' crime report, as we specifically focused on victims' evaluations of the police responding to the crime victims' case and not on their perceptions of the police in general. Studies focusing on victims' *satisfaction* with the police response in their case (e.g. "I am satisfied with the service provided by the police") were also considered for inclusion, as satisfaction with the provided service is also an indicator of victims' evaluations of the police response. Studies or findings specifically focusing on *outcomes* of the police response (such as whether or not the perpetrator was arrested, and whether or not the outcome was in accordance with victims' earlier stated preference) were excluded, as these are not relevant to victims' evaluation of the contact they had with the police (i.e. the police response), which was the focus of the current chapter.

Victims' perceptions of police legitimacy

For the next key factor, police legitimacy, studies focusing on legitimacy as such were considered for inclusion, as well as studies focusing on the indicators of legitimacy (i.e. perceived obligation to obey the police/law and perceived trust in the police). Since the terms trust and confidence are

5 A last check for recent relevant studies was done from July 7, 2014 to July 11, 2014, which resulted in the inclusion of one additional study.

often used interchangeably in literature, studies focusing on confidence in the police were also considered for inclusion. Studies focusing on attitudes toward police legitimacy in a broader sense, such as whether or not the police are efficient, law-abiding, non-violent, and helpful to citizens, were also included. Besides studies on the legitimacy of the police, studies on the legitimacy of the criminal justice system in general were also considered appropriate for inclusion, since the police are part of the criminal justice system as a whole.

Cooperation with the police

For the last key factor, cooperation with the police, studies measuring intended as well as actual cooperative behaviour were deemed eligible for inclusion in the current systematic review.

2.2.3 Study selection

The initial search yielded 135 unique abstracts, which were analysed by the first author to decide whether or not the inclusion and exclusion criteria were met. If she questioned the eligibility of a particular study ($n = 5$), the second author was consulted. Of the 43 studies that seemed to be eligible based on the title and abstract, full texts were obtained and read for further examination. Of these, 34 were excluded after reading. One study was excluded because it did not include a sample or sub-sample of victims who had reported their victimization to the police. Three studies were excluded because these studies included both victims and non-victims and did not distinguish accordingly in their analyses. Another 24 studies were excluded because these studies did not report findings about at least one of the relationships of interest. Five studies were excluded because these studies did not report on the significance of the findings and one study was excluded because that study focused specifically on children. This resulted in the inclusion of nine studies in the current review. Scanning reference sections of these nine studies for other relevant studies led to the additional inclusion of six studies. In total, 15 studies were found that fully met the inclusion and exclusion criteria and hence were included in this review.

No restrictions regarding publication year were formulated, but the majority of studies has been published in the past two decades, indicating the relatively recent interest in the consequences of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance. Also no restrictions regarding place of data collection were formulated and studies were conducted worldwide – ranging from the Australia, Great-Britain and the USA to Finland, the Netherlands, Israel, Belize and Trinidad and Tobago. Possible implications of the country of data collection on the research findings are considered in the discussion section.

2.2.4 Data extraction

Relevant information of the 15 included studies was extracted and systematically documented according to a fixed format. Relevant information included units of analysis,⁶ type of crime experienced by participants, place of data collection, type of victim survey (where applicable), study design, type of statistical analysis used, operationalization of the key concepts of Tyler's framework, and the studies' findings on the investigated relationships. If available, results from multivariate analyses are presented rather than results from bivariate analyses, as the first provide more conclusive information than the latter.

2.3 RESULTS

Results are presented along the three lines of the theoretical framework discussed in the introduction: (1) victims' evaluations of the police response in relation to perceived police legitimacy; (2) victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and cooperation with the police (3) victims' evaluations of the police response and their cooperation with the police. For each relationship, background information on the study sample and the measurements of the key variables is provided before discussing the study's findings.

2.3.1 Crime victims' evaluations of the police response and of police legitimacy

Of the 15 included studies, six specifically focused on the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived legitimacy of the police. In this section, results of these six studies are discussed in more detail. Four of these six studies focused on the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and legitimacy (see Table 2.1a; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Wemmers, 1996, 1998).⁷ Two of the six studies focused on victims' evaluations of the police response in general (measured in terms of victims' satisfaction with the service provided by the police) and did not specifically distinguish between evaluations of procedural justice and evaluations of police performance (see Table 2.1b; Bradford, 2011; Myhill & Bradford,

6 Instead of using individual victims as units of analysis, some studies focused on incidents of victimization instead (Bradford, 2011; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011). By doing so, these studies accounted for the fact that some victims may have experienced not one but multiple victimizations and included information on each of these victimization experiences.

7 Findings of Wemmers' study were described in her thesis (Wemmers, 1996) as well as in a published manuscript (Wemmers, 1998). Therefore, both publications are mentioned to refer to this (single) study.

2012). No studies were found that explicitly examined the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and legitimacy.

Sample characteristics of studies

Of the six studies, three reported on victims of personal and property crime (Bradford, 2011; Elliott et al., 2011; Wemmers, 1996, 1998). One study reported on victims of burglary, robbery, rape, theft, motor vehicle theft, and assault (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). One study reported on victims of violent crime only (Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014), and another study did not specify the type of crime that victims had experienced (Myhill & Bradford, 2012). Two of these six studies were conducted in Great-Britain (Bradford, 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012), one in Australia (Elliott et al., 2011), one in the Netherlands (Wemmers, 1996, 1998), one in both Australia and the Netherlands (Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014) and one on Barbados (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). Five of these six studies reported their findings based on cross-sectional data (Bradford, 2011; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Wemmers, 1996, 1998), while only one used longitudinal data (Myhill & Bradford, 2012).

Operationalization of victims' perceptions of the police response and perceived legitimacy

Crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice were measured differently across the four studies that focused on this concept. While one of these studies measured victims' evaluations of procedural justice more generally by asking victims whether they felt fairly treated or not (Wemmers, 1996, 1998), the other three studies focused on at least two of the four components of procedural justice (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014). Only one of these three studies captured all four elements that characterize procedural justice according to Tyler's definition (i.e. 'voice', neutrality, respect, and trustworthiness; Elliott et al., 2011). The other two out of three focused only on the 'voice' and respect elements of procedural justice (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014).

Although no studies were found which explicitly focused on victims' evaluations of police performance, in one of the studies focusing on evaluations of procedural justice the scale measuring victims' evaluations of procedural justice also included items concerning efforts made by the police and being told about the offender (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). Given the phrasing of these items, one may question whether these items truly reflect victims' evaluations of procedural justice, or whether they rather reflect victims' evaluations of police performance. This finding indicates that not all studies distinguish very clearly between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and their evaluations of police performance.

The two studies on victims' perceptions of the police response in general, measured these perceptions in terms of victims' satisfaction (Bradford, 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012). Specifically, they directly asked victims to indicate their satisfaction with the service provided by the police.

Perceived police legitimacy was also operationalized differently across the six studies. Only one of them (Elliott et al., 2011) captured both indicators of legitimacy (i.e. perceived obligation to obey and perceived trust in the police) in a single scale as suggested by Tyler (2006, p. 47). Four other studies relied solely on the perceived trust indicator (Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Wemmers, 1996, 1998; Bradford, 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012). One of these studies (Myhill & Bradford, 2012) further subdivided this indicator by examining victims' perceptions of trust in terms of procedural justice and victims' perceptions of trust in terms of police effectiveness separately. One of the six studies focused on legitimacy in a broader sense, i.e. how victims' attitudes toward the police were changed given the police response in their case (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). Four studies (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012; Wemmers, 1996, 1998) specifically focused on perceived police legitimacy, whereas the other two (Bradford, 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014) focused on perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system in general.

Study findings on the relationship between victims' perceptions of the police response and legitimacy

Overall, study findings on the relationship between crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and legitimacy or, more generally, victims' satisfaction with the police response and legitimacy were consistent, as each study reported a positive and significant association. This positive and significant association was found despite differences in operationalization of the study variables, differences in the type of crime the victims had suffered, differences in study design across studies, differences in country in which the study was conducted, and differences in styles of policing within those countries.

Table 2.1a: Overview of included studies reporting on the relationship between victims' perceptions of the police response (in terms of procedural justice) and their evaluations of legitimacy

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of the police response	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Results
I. Braithwaite and Yeboah (2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims (N = 458) of burglary (n = 97), robbery (n = 89), rape (n = 32), theft (n = 97), motor-vehicle theft (n = 50), and assault (n = 93); - Barbados; - Cross-sectional; - Chi-square test. 	<p>Procedural justice, 6 items (yes/no), summed up into one variable and dichotomised in two dummy variables: satisfactory (3 or more times 'yes') and not satisfactory (less than 3 times 'yes');</p> <p>1. Victims who were satisfied that the police showed interest in what they had to say;</p> <p>2. Victims who were satisfied with the efforts made by the police;</p> <p>3. Victims who said that the police treated the matter seriously;</p> <p>4. Victims who said that they were kept informed by the police of progress in the case;</p> <p>5. Victims who said that they were told about the offender by the police;</p> <p>6. Victims who described the police as polite.</p>	<p>Perceived trust in the police in terms of attitudes to the police, 1 item, 3-point Likert-scale;</p> <p>1. How interactions with police affected victims' attitudes to the police.</p>	<p>Evaluations of procedural justice were positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the police. (+)</p>

Table 2.1a: Continued.

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of the police response	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Results
2. Elliott, Thomas and Oglloff (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims (N = 110) of violent (n = 77) and non-violent crime (n = 33); - Australia; - Cross-sectional; - Hierarchical linear regression analysis. 	<p>Procedural justice, 11 items, 7-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .96$;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Police treated me politely; 2. Police showed concern for my rights; 3. Police treated me with dignity and respect; 4. Police made decisions based on facts; 5. Police gave me a chance to express my views before making decisions; 6. Police considered my views; 7. Police tried to do the right thing by me; 8. Police tried to take account of my needs; 9. Police cared about my concerns; 10. I trust the police officers who handled my case; 11. Police explained the reasons for their actions. 	<p>Obligation to obey and trust in the police, (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), 19 items, 6-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .92$;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You should accept the decisions made by police, even if you think they are wrong; 2. You should do what the police tell you to do even when you do not understand the reasons for their decisions; 3. You should do what the police tell you to do, even when you disagree with their decisions; 4. You should do what the police tell you to do even when you do not like the way they treat you; 5. There are times when it is ok for you to ignore what the police tell you (reversed); 6. Sometimes you have to bend the law for things to come out right (reversed); 7. The law represents the values of the people in power, rather than the values of people like you (reversed); 8. People in power use the law to try to control people like you (reversed); 9. The law does not protect your interests (reversed); 10. Overall, the NYPD is a legitimate authority and people should obey the decisions that NYPD officers make; 11. I have confidence that the NYPD can do its job well; 12. I trust the leaders of the NYPD to make decisions that are good for everyone in the city; 13. People's basic rights are well protected by the police; 14. The police care about the well-being of everyone they deal with; 15. I am proud of the work of the NYPD; 16. I agree with many of the values that define what the NYPD stands for; 17. The police are often dishonest (reversed); 18. Some of the things the police do embarrass our city (reversed); 19. There are many things about the NYPD and its policies that need to be changed (reversed). 	<p>Evaluations of procedural justice were positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the police. (+)</p>

Table 2.1a: Continued.

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of the police response	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Results
3. Laxminarayan and Pemberton (2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims of violent crime (N = 163); - the Netherlands and New South Wales, Australia; - Cross-sectional; - Hierarchical linear regression analysis. 	<p>Procedural justice in terms of 'voice', 2 items, 5-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .87$;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To what extent were you able to express your opinion?; 2. To what extent were your views considered? <p>Procedural justice in terms of 'respect', 2 items, 5-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .90$;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To what extent did the police treat you with respect?; 2. To what extent did the police take you seriously?; 	<p>Trust in the criminal justice system, 1 item, 5-point Likert-scale;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What effect did the process have on your trust in the legal system? 	<p>Evaluations of procedural justice in terms of 'voice' were positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system. (+)</p> <p>Evaluations of procedural justice in terms of 'respect' were positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system (+), but only for victims who reported high outcome favourability.</p>
4. Wemmers (1996, 1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims of property crime and minor assault (N = 640); - the Netherlands; - Cross-sectional; - T-test. 	<p>Procedural justice, 1 item, 5-point Likert-scale, dichotomised in two dummy variables: Fair and not fair treatment (including 'neutral');</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you feel that you have been treated fairly or not fairly by the police? 	<p>Trust in the police, (Tyler, 2006), 4 items, 5-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .80$;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I have a great deal of respect for the local police; 2. On the whole, police officers in my area are honest; 3. I feel proud of the local police; 4. I feel that I should support the local police. 	<p>Evaluations of procedural justice were positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the police. (+)</p>

Table 2.1b: Overview of included studies reporting on the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of satisfaction with the police response) and their perceptions of legitimacy

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of the police response	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Results
5. Bradford (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incidents of personal and household crime (N = 13,160); - Great-Britain; British Crime Survey; - Cross-sectional; - Linear regression analysis. 	<p>Satisfaction with police response, 1 item, 4-point Likert-scale, dichotomised in two dummy variables: Satisfied and unsatisfied (reference category: No contact);</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How satisfied were you with the service provided by the police? 	<p>Trust in terms of the procedural justice of the criminal justice system (CJS), 4 items, 4-point Likert-scale, internal consistency of scale was not reported;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The CJS gives victims and witnesses the support they need; 2. The CJS takes into account the views of witnesses and victims; 3. The CJS achieves the correct balance between rights of the offender and rights of the victims; 4. When handing out sentences the CJS takes into account the circumstances surrounding the crime. <p>Trust in terms of the effectiveness of the criminal justice system, 5 items, 4-point Likert-scale, internal consistency of scale was not reported,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How confident are you that the police are effective at catching criminals?; 2. How confident are you that the CJS is effective at prosecuting people accused of committing a crime?; 3. How confident are you that the courts are effective at dealing with cases promptly?; 4. How confident are you that the courts are effective at giving punishments which fit the crime?; 5. How confident are you that prisons are effective in punishing offenders who have been convicted of a crime? 	<p>Satisfaction with the police response was positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system (+).</p>

Table 2.1b: *Continued.*

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of the police response	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Results
6. Myhill and Bradford (2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of crime victims not mentioned; - England; - NRPPb data; - Quasi-experimental panel design; - Linear regression analysis. 	<p>Satisfaction with police response, 1 item, 4-point Likert-scale, dichotomised in two dummy variables: Satisfied and unsatisfied (reference category: No contact);</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How satisfied were you with the service provided by the police? 	<p>Trust in the police, 3 items, 5-point Likert-scale, internal consistency of scale was not reported;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How good a job do local police do?; 2. How effective are local police at working with the community?; 3. How effective are local police at responding to emergencies?; 	<p>Satisfaction with the police response was positively associated with perceived legitimacy of the police. (+)</p>

Note. The number in the 'nature of the study' column refers to the number of respondents/ victimization incidents which constituted the basis for the results regarding the relationship between victims' perceptions of the police response and perceived legitimacy of the police or the criminal justice system in general. In the column 'results', '(+)' indicates a positive association (at least $p \leq .05$).

a. Findings of Wemmers' study were described in her thesis (Wemmers, 1996) as well as in a published manuscript (Wemmers, 1998). Therefore, both publications are mentioned to refer to this (single) study.

b. NRPP = National Reassurance Policing Programme

2.3.2 Crime victims' perceptions of legitimacy of the police and their cooperation with the police

Of the 15 included studies, five specifically focused on the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation (see Table 2.2; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Kochel, Parks & Mastrofski, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). In this section, results of these five studies are discussed in more detail.

Sample characteristics of studies

Four of these five studies (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Kochel et al., 2011) reported on victims of personal and property crime, yet only one of them (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011) reported its findings separately for both types of crime. Another study (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014) included victims of burglary, motor vehicle theft, vandalism, physical assault and domestic violence and presented its results separately for all types of crime. These five studies all used a cross-sectional design, and they were conducted in different countries: Belize (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994), Israel (Fishman, 1979), Finland (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011), Trinidad and Tobago (Kochel et al., 2011), and Australia (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014).

Operationalization of victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation with the police

The concept of perceived legitimacy was assessed with different measures in these five studies. Only one study (Kochel et al., 2011) focused on the perceived obligation to obey as an indicator of legitimacy. Two studies (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014) relied on the perceived trust indicator. One of these studies (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014) further subdivided this indicator by separately examining victims' perceptions of police legitimacy in terms of procedural justice and victims' perceptions of police legitimacy in terms of police effectiveness. Two other studies (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Fishman, 1979) focused on attitudes toward legitimacy in a broader sense (e.g. whether or not the police are being considered efficient, law-abiding, non-violent, and helpful to citizens). Four of these studies (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Kochel et al., 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014) focused on perceived police legitimacy, while only one (Fishman, 1979) focused on perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system in general.

Cooperation was measured in a comparable manner across four of these five studies, focusing on actual cooperation: whether or not the victimization had been reported to the police (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Kochel et al., 2011). One study focused on willingness to engage in cooperative behaviour and took a broader view

on cooperation, by including not only victims' willingness to report a crime, but also victims' willingness to help the police in finding someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information, to willingly assist the police if asked, and to report dangerous or suspicious activities to the police (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014).

Study findings on the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation

The results of the five studies reporting on the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation were mixed. One study reported a counterintuitive negative relationship between perceived legitimacy in terms of attitudes in the criminal justice system and actual cooperation with the police (Fishman, 1979).⁸ One study reported no significant relationship between perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived obligation to obey and crime reporting (Kochel et al., 2011).⁹ One study focusing on the relationship between perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in the police in relation to actual cooperation reported a positive relationship (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994). These three studies did not distinguish between victims who suffered from violent crimes and victims who suffered from property crimes in their analyses. Another study (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011) revealed a positive non-linear relationship between perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in the police and crime reporting for victims of violent crime. In that study, victims who trusted the police 'very much' were more likely to report their victimization of violent crime than victims who trusted the police 'quite a lot', but victims who trusted the police 'not very much or not at all' did not differ from victims who trusted the police 'very much' in reporting violent victimization. Moreover, this chapter reported no significant relationship between perceived legitimacy of the police and reporting victimization of property crimes. Therefore, it seems that the type of crime that victims experienced may have produced different results for the relationship between perceived legitimacy and cooperation with the police. This also seems to be suggested by the findings of the study that distinguished between perceived legitimacy of the police in terms of trust in procedural justice and in terms of trust in police effectiveness (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014), which reported a positive relationship between both these concepts and willingness to engage in cooperative behaviour for victims of some types of crime (burglary, vandalism, and physical assault), but not for motor vehicle theft and domestic violence. For victims of motor vehicle theft, perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in procedural justice was unrelated to

8 Given the weak strength of the relationship ($r = -0.035$), the author concluded that victims' perceptions of legitimacy were unrelated to victim cooperation (Fishman, 1979, p. 156).

9 Although the authors reported a positive relationship, this was based on a significance level of $p = .068$, instead of the more conventional significance level of $p \leq .05$.

willingness to engage in cooperative behaviour, and for victims of domestic violence, perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in police effectiveness was unrelated to willingness to engage in cooperative behaviour. These findings also indicate that differentiation in perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in procedural justice and in terms of trust in police performance may produce different associations with willingness to engage in cooperative behaviour for victims of certain types of crimes.

Overall, the empirical evidence regarding the relationship between perceived legitimacy of and cooperation with the police was inconclusive. The inconsistent operationalization of perceived legitimacy and the cross-sectional nature of the studies prevent us from drawing firm conclusions about this relationship.

Table 2.2: Overview of included studies reporting on the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and their cooperation with the police

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Operationalization of cooperation with the police	Results
7. Bennett and Wiegand (1994)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims of property crime (N = 340); - Belize City, Belize; - Cross-sectional; - Logistic regression analysis. 	<p>Trust in the police in terms of attitudes towards the police, 5 items, scale on which respondents could answer was not mentioned, neither were the exact formulations of questions.</p>	<p>Whether or not victims reported their victimization to the police, 1 item, (yes/ no), exact formulation of question was not mentioned.</p>	<p>Perceived legitimacy of the police was positively associated with the probability of reporting one's victimization to the police. (+)</p>
8. Fishman (1979)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims of offences against persons, property crimes and economic crimes (N = 569); - Haifa, Israel; - Cross-sectional; - Path analysis. 	<p>Trust in the criminal justice system in terms of attitudes towards the criminal justice system, 12 items, 5-point Likert-scale, internal consistency of scale was not reported;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The police are efficient; 2. The police are law-abiding; 3. The police are non-violent; 4. The police act to help the citizen; 5. The police make life easier; 6. Policemen are honest people; 7. The legal procedure is simple; 8. The laws are just; 9. The law applies equally to everyone; 10. Most judges are kind; 11. Judges cannot be bribed; 12. There is nothing above the law. 	<p>Whether or not victims notified their victimization to the police, 1 item, (yes/ no), exact formulation of question was not mentioned.</p>	<p>Perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system was negatively associated with the probability of reporting one's victimization to the police. (-)</p>

Table 2.2 Continued.

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Operationalization of cooperation with the police	Results
9. Kääräinen and Sirén (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incidents of violent crime (N = 505) and incidents of property crime (N = 1043); - Finland; - Finnish Crime Victim Survey; - Cross-sectional; - Logistic regression analysis. 	<p>Trust in the police, 1 item, 3-point Likert-scale, (reference category: Very much trust in the police);</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To what extent do you trust the police? 	<p>Whether or not victims reported their victimization to the police, 2 items, (yes/no), dichotomised in one dummy variable: case made known to the police by the victim and case not made known to the police by the victim, exact formulations of questions were not mentioned.</p>	<p>Those who trusted the police quite a lot were less likely to report violent crime than those who trusted the police very much. (+) Those who trusted the police not very much or not at all did not differ in their likelihood to report their violent victimization compared to those who trusted the police very much. (0) Perceived legitimacy of the police was not associated with the probability of reporting property crime victimization to the police. (0)</p>
10. Kocheł, Parks and Mastrofski (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Victims of burglary, robbery and assault (N = 280); - Trinidad and Tobago; - Cross-sectional; - SEM-analysis. 	<p>Obligation to obey, 4 items, 4-point Likert-scale, internal consistency of the scale was not reported;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. If a police officer tells a person to stop doing something, the person should stop even if the person feels that what he is doing is legal; 2. I feel that I should accept the decisions made by police, even if I do not understand the reasons for their decisions; 3. I feel that I should accept the decisions made by legal authorities; 4. People should obey the law even if they will not be caught for breaking it. 	<p>Whether or not victims reported at least one incident of robbery, burglary, or assault within the six months prior to interview, 1 item, (yes/no), exact formulation was not mentioned.</p>	<p>Perceived legitimacy of the police was not associated with the probability of reporting one's victimization to the police. (0)</p>

Table 2.2: Continued.

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of perceived legitimacy	Operationalization of cooperation with the police	Results
11. Murphy and Barkworth (2014)	- Victims of burglary ($n = 368$), motor vehicle theft ($n = 175$), vandalism ($n = 378$), physical assault ($n = 81$), and domestic violence ($n = 67$); - Australia; - Cross-sectional; - Hierarchical regression analyses.	Trust in the police in terms of procedural justice, 7 items, 5-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .88$; 1. Police listen to people before making decisions; 2. Police give people the opportunity to express their views before decisions are made; 3. Police make decisions based upon facts, not their personal biases or opinions; 4. Police treat people as if they can be trusted to do the right thing; 5. Police treat people with dignity and respect; 6. Police are always polite when dealing with people; 7. Police try to be fair when making decisions.	Willingness to cooperate, 4 items, 5-point Likert-scale, $\alpha = .88$; If the situation arose, how likely would you be to ... 1. Help police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information; 2. Willingly assist police if asked; 3. Call police to report a crime; 4. Report dangerous or suspicious activities to police.	Perceived legitimacy of the police was positively associated with willingness to cooperate with the police for victims of all types of crimes (+), but perceived legitimacy of the police in terms of procedural justice was not associated with willingness to cooperate for victims of motor vehicle theft (0), and perceived legitimacy of the police in terms of police effectiveness was not associated with willingness to cooperate for victims of domestic violence. (0)

Note. The number in the 'nature of the study' column refers to the number of respondents/ victimization incidents which constituted the basis for the results regarding the relationship between victims' perceptions of the legitimacy of the police or the criminal justice system in general and cooperation with the police. In the column 'results', '(+)' indicates a positive association (at least $p \leq .05$), '(−)' indicates a negative association (at least $p \leq .05$), and '(0)' indicates no association ($p > .05$).

2.3.3 Crime victims' evaluations of the police response and their cooperation with the police

Of the 15 included studies, four focused on the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and their cooperation with the police. In this section, results of these four studies are discussed in more detail. Two studies were found that focused on victims' evaluations of procedural justice in relation to cooperative behaviour (see Table 2.3a; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007). The other two of these four studies examined the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperative behaviour (see Table 2.3b; Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006).

Sample characteristics of studies on victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperation

Both studies focusing on victims' evaluations of procedural justice (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007) reported on victims of domestic violence, one using cross-sectional data (Johnson, 2007) and one longitudinal data (Hickman & Simpson, 2003). Both were conducted in the USA.

Operationalization of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperation

These two studies used different instruments to measure victims' evaluations of procedural justice, including victim's perceptions of being listened to, being taken seriously, and the police really wanting to help (i.e. 'voice', respect, and trustworthiness components of procedural justice; Hickman & Simpson, 2003), as well as perceptions of helpfulness and the police showing interest (i.e. 'voice' and trustworthiness components of procedural justice; Johnson, 2007). The latter study also focused on victims' satisfaction with the police response. As the authors intended to measure victims' satisfaction in terms of procedural justice, it was decided to consider this item an indicator of victims' evaluations of procedural justice as well. The operationalization of victims' cooperation with the police also showed differences across studies. One study examined actual cooperative behaviour in terms of the likelihood that a victimization or a repeat victimization would be reported to the police (Hickman & Simpson, 2003), the other reported on behavioural intent in terms of victims' willingness to call the police again in case of repeat victimization (Johnson, 2007).

Study findings on the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperation

The results of these two studies reporting on the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperative behaviour were mixed. One study reported a negative relationship between victims'

evaluations of procedural justice and actual cooperative behaviour in case of repeat victimization (Hickman & Simpson, 2003). Although the authors tried to explain this counterintuitive finding and performed additional analyses, the data did not provide a satisfying explanation. The other study focusing on this relationship reported a positive association with intended cooperative behaviour (Johnson, 2007).

Overall, it thus seems that the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and their cooperation with the police is mixed, as one study reported a positive relationship with intended cooperative behaviour and another a negative relationship with actual behaviour. As both studies were conducted in the USA and both focused on victims of domestic violence, the counterintuitive negative relationship between perceived procedural justice and cooperation with the police could not be explained by difference in policing styles across countries or type of crime victims had suffered from.

Sample characteristics of studies on victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperation

The two studies focusing on the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperation reported on longitudinal data of the NCVS (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006), which includes victims of personal and property crime. However, one of these studies only included victims of violent crime in their analyses (Conaway & Lohr, 1994). Both studies were conducted in the USA.

Operationalization of victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperation

One of these two studies focused on evaluations of police follow-up as an indicator of victims' evaluations of police performance (Conaway & Lohr, 1994). The other study's original intent was to measure victims' evaluations of procedural justice in relation to cooperative behaviour (Xie et al., 2006). However, this study measured victims' perceptions of whether the police searched around and took evidence as indicators of victims' perceptions of the police response. Given the phrasing of items used to build this scale, this scale may rather reflect victims' evaluations of police performance. Therefore, we decided to classify this study as focusing on victims' evaluations of police performance.

The operationalization of victims' cooperation was similar: both studies examined actual cooperative behaviour in terms of the likelihood that a repeat victimization was reported to the police (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006).

Study findings on the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperation

Concerning the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperative behaviour, findings were rather consistent. Both studies reported a positive association with actual cooperative behaviour (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006). However, in one study, this relationship disappeared in additional analyses when specifically accounting for possible internal structures in the data, such as autocorrelation, trend, and seasonal variation (Conaway & Lohr, 1994).

Overall, it seems that the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and actual cooperative behaviour is positive. Both studies focusing on this relationship reported a positive association, even though one study focused on victims of violent crime only and the other included both violent and property crime victims. As these two studies were also both conducted in the USA, these findings are not necessarily generalizable to other countries, which may have different styles of policing.

Table 2.3a: Overview of included studies reporting on the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice) and their cooperation with the police

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of procedural justice	Operationalization of cooperation with the police	Results
12. Hickman and Simpson (2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Repeat victims who suffered from prior domestic violence - victimization in which the police was summoned by the victim (N = 180); - Florida, the USA; - Longitudinal (experimental design); - Logistic regression analysis. 	<p>Procedural justice in a previously reported incident, 3 items, 2 items on a 4-point Likert-scale, 1 item (yes/no), $\alpha = .84$;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How carefully listened the police to your side of the story?; 2. How seriously took the police your situation?; 3. Did you feel like the police really wanted to help? (yes/no) 	<p>Whether the victim called police or not in response to at least one incident of revictimization prior to either interview, 1 item, (yes/no), exact formulation of question was not mentioned.</p>	<p>Perceptions of procedural justice in a previously reported incident were negatively associated with reporting revictimization to the police. (-)</p>
13. Johnson (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Female victims of domestic violence (N = 39); - Alabama, the USA; - Cross-sectional; - Somers' D. 	<p>Procedural justice in terms of helpfulness of the police and showed interest, 2 items on a 3-point Likert-scale, exact formulation of questions was not mentioned;</p> <p>Satisfaction with the police response, 1 item on a 3-point Likert-scale, exact formulation of question was not mentioned;</p>	<p>Willingness for victims to call the police again in case of revictimization, 1 item, (yes/no), exact formulation of question was not mentioned.</p>	<p>Perceptions of procedural justice were positively associated with reporting revictimization to the police. (+)</p> <p>Satisfaction with the police response was positively associated with reporting revictimization to the police. (+)</p>

Table 2.3b: Overview of included studies reporting on the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of police performance) and their cooperation with the police

Study	Nature of the study	Operationalization of victims' evaluations of police performance	Operationalization of cooperation with the police	Results
14. Conaway and Lohr (1994)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Revictimized households whose members were victimized by violent crime (N = 1239); - the USA; - NCVS^a data; - Longitudinal (panel design); - Logistic regression analysis. 	Police performance in terms of whether the police followed-up in a previously reported incident, 1 item, (yes/no), exact formulation of question was not mentioned;	Whether or not any member of the household reported a revictimization of a household member or the house to the police, 1 item, (yes/no), exact formulation was not mentioned.	Evaluations of police performance in a previously reported incident was positively associated with reporting revictimization in the marginal model (+) but not in the time-series model. (0)
15. Xie, Pogarsky, Lynch and McDowell (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Repeat victims who suffered from prior victimization in which the police was summoned by the victim (N= 1079); - the USA; - NCVS^a data; - Longitudinal (panel design); - Logistic regression analysis. 	Police performance in terms of whether the police searched around and took evidence in a previously reported incident, 2 items merged in one dummy variable, exact formulation of questions were not mentioned;	Whether or not the victim reported the repeat victimization to the police, 1 item (yes/no), exact formulation of question was not mentioned.	Evaluations of police performance in a previously reported incident were positively associated with reporting revictimization to the police. (+)

Note. The number in the 'study sample' column refers to the number of respondents/ victimization incidents which constituted the basis of the results regarding the relationship between victims' perceptions of the police response and cooperation with the police. In the column 'results', '(+)' indicates a positive association (at least $p \leq .05$), '(-)' indicates a negative association (at least $p \leq .05$), and '(0)' indicates no association ($p > .05$).

^aNCVS = National Crime Victim Survey

2.3.4 Synthesis of findings

Figure 2.2 summarizes this review's overall findings with regard to each of the relationships between the key factors within Tyler's theoretical framework among crime victims. Lines instead of arrows are used to connect the key concepts to each other, because many studies used a cross-sectional design and therefore do not allow us to draw conclusions on the temporal order in which the key factors occurred. Also, results of the four longitudinal studies that were included appear to be mixed. These longitudinal studies focused on different aspects of Tyler's framework.

One of these longitudinal studies examined and reported a positive relationship between victims' satisfaction with the police response and perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in police effectiveness (Myhill & Bradford, 2012). The other three longitudinal studies focused on the direct relationship between victims' perceptions of the police response and cooperation. One of these examined and reported a counterintuitive negative relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperation (Hickman & Simpson, 2003). The remaining two studies focused on the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and cooperation, both initially reporting a positive relationship (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006). One of these accounted for possible internal structures in the data by performing additional analyses, through which the previously reported positive relationship disappeared (Conaway & Lohr, 1994).

While conducting this review, we also encountered some issues that were not covered in previous research. First, the studies included in the current systematic review typically focused on only one of the interrelationships between the key concepts. In our search for studies examining the relationships between victims' evaluations of the police response (i.e. evaluations of procedural justice and police performance), their perceptions of the legitimacy of the police, and their cooperation with the police, no studies were found that investigated all these relationships simultaneously. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn on whether or not Tyler's framework as a whole is empirically supported among crime victims.

Second, no studies explicitly examined the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and perceived legitimacy. Although one study in the current review included a limited number of items reflecting victims' evaluations of police performance in their scale of victims' evaluations of procedural justice (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004), findings were not reported separately for this subset of items. For this reason, we cannot draw any conclusions about the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and perceived legitimacy.

Third, Tyler's theoretical framework implies that perceived legitimacy of the police can be shaped through prior police contact. However, no studies were found that tested the relationship between perceived legitimacy specifically resulting from prior police contact and future cooperation with the police among crime victims. The studies that reported on this relationship focused on victims' perceptions of legitimacy in a broader sense, not necessarily formed through prior police contact. Therefore, we cannot draw any conclusions about the impact of victims' perceptions of prior police contact on their perceptions of police legitimacy and subsequent cooperation.

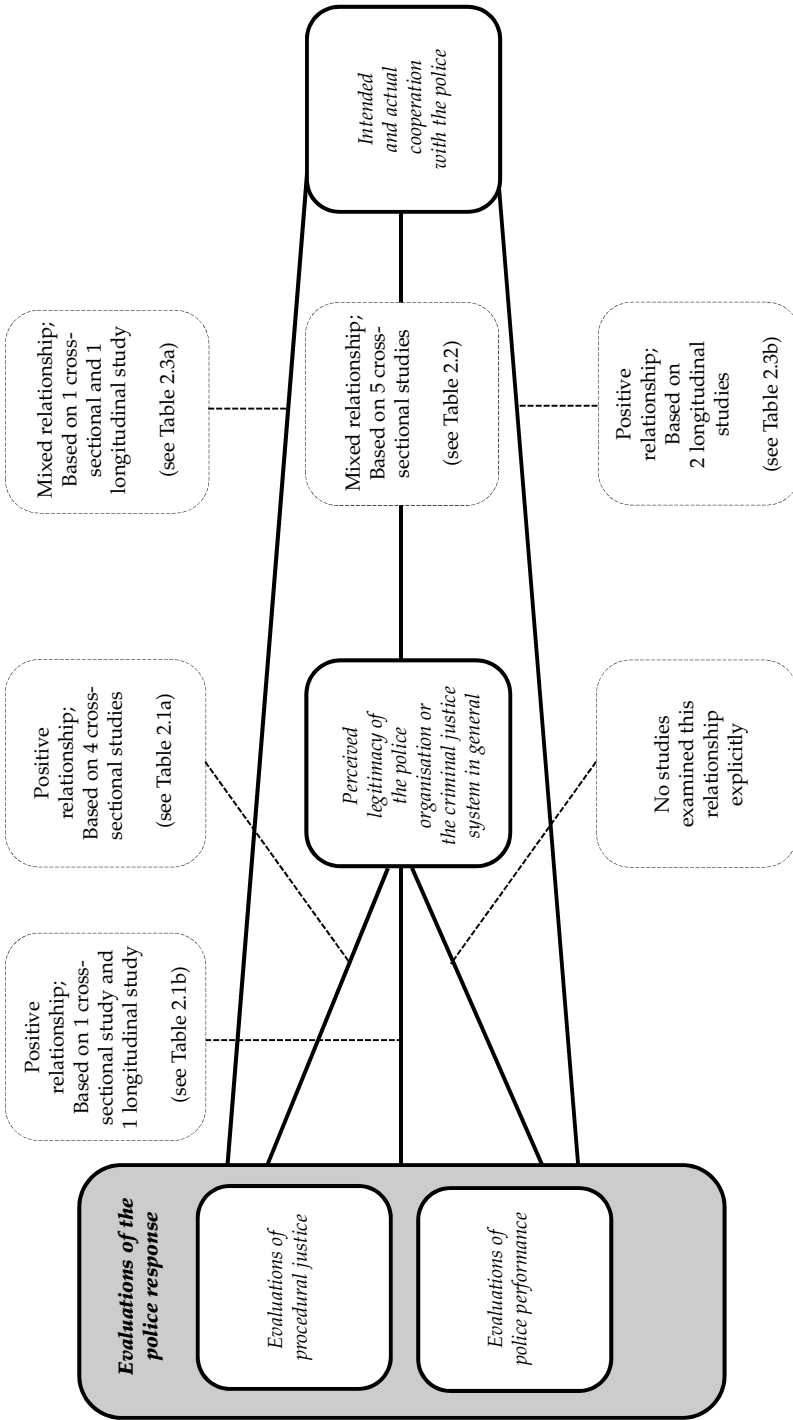


Figure 2.2 Graphical depiction of the current chapter’s framework and its findings for each relationship

2.4 DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter was to systematically review the literature on the role of police officers' performance and treatment of crime victims in stimulating victim cooperation with the police through victims' perceptions of police legitimacy. This is not only relevant from a scientific perspective (i.e. determining the amount of empirical support for the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims in specific), but also from a more practical point of view (i.e. more insight in how and to what extent police officers can shape victims cooperative behaviour). Findings of this systematic review among 15 studies demonstrated partial support for the application of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims.

The six studies focusing on the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice, or more generally, victims' satisfaction with the police response and perceived legitimacy consistently reported a positive and significant association (Bradford, 2011; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Myhill & Bradford, 2012; Wemmers, 1996, 1998). This indicates that victims who felt that they had been treated in a procedurally fair or satisfactory manner by police officers were also more likely to have positive perceptions of legitimacy of the police and the criminal justice system in general. Surprisingly, no studies explicitly examined the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and legitimacy.

Partial support was found for the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and victims' cooperation. Out of the five studies examining this relationship, three reported a positive association (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). This indicates that in these studies victims who had more positive perceptions of police legitimacy were also more willing to cooperate with the police. However, one of these three studies reported a positive, but non-linear relationship for victims of violent crime and no relationship for victims of property crime (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011). Another study also reported a positive relationship for some, but not all types of crimes (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). Further, one of the five studies reported no association between perceived legitimacy and cooperation (Kochel et al., 2011) and another one reported a counterintuitive negative association (Fishman, 1979). Overall, this indicates that the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation is mixed. Therefore, we cannot draw firm conclusions on the nature of this relationship.

Out of the four studies that examined the direct relationship between victims' perceptions of the police response and cooperation, two specifically focused on victims' evaluations of procedural justice (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007). Results of these two studies were mixed as one study reported a positive association between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and victims' cooperation (Johnson, 2007), whereas the other one reported a counterintuitive negative association (Hickman & Simpson,

2003).¹⁰ Overall, this means that we cannot draw firm conclusions on the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and their cooperation. The other two (out of four) studies considered the relationship between victims' evaluations of police performance and victims' cooperation (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006). These studies consistently reported a positive and significant association between these concepts. This indicates that in these studies victims who had more positive evaluations of police performance were also more willing to cooperate with the police.

Differences in findings may partly be explained by the differences in studies that came up in conducting the current review on a variety of aspects, including differences in policing styles across countries, differences in type of crime victims had suffered from, and differences in the operationalization of key concepts. Considering differences in policing styles across countries, previous research among citizens in general suggests that the socio-economic status of countries moderates the relationship between procedural justice and cooperation with the police, with procedural justice judgments being more strongly related to cooperation in developed countries than in developing countries (Park, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2009a). For example, Tankebe's (2009a) research among the general public in Accra, Ghana suggests that people's willingness to cooperate with the police was not so much predicted by their evaluations of procedural justice or perceived police legitimacy, but rather by their perceptions of police *effectiveness* in fighting crime. Based on these findings, Tankebe (2009a) suggests that evaluations of procedural justice and police legitimacy may be less important determinants of victims' cooperation in developing countries, especially when the style of policing in those countries is 'characterized by abuse, violence, intimidation, and widespread corruption' (p. 1271). This is in line with the findings of international comparative research showing that crimes in developed countries are reported primarily because one feels that it 'should be reported' (i.e. perceived legitimacy), while the main reasons to report in developing countries are because one wants to 'recover property' or to 'get the offender caught/punished' (i.e. police effectiveness; Van Dijk, 2001, p. 31-32).

Some studies included in our review were conducted in developing countries, such as Belize, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago.¹¹ Police corruption in Israel during the 70s and in Trinidad and Tobago may partly explain why

10 Concerning this relationship, the study of Wheller et al. (2013) is also worth mentioning. This study was not included in our review, because it had not come up using the databases and search strategies described. However, the results seem relevant for our review. In their study, no significant relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperation was found, as victims who had interacted with police officers who were explicitly trained to act in accordance with the principles of procedural justice were not more willing to cooperate with the police than victims who had interacted with officers who were not explicitly trained to do so.

11 These countries are considered developing regions by the United Nations Development Programme (see <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/developing-regions>)

no significant positive relationship between perceived police legitimacy and cooperation with the police was reported in studies conducted in these countries (Kochel et al., 2011; Mastrofski & Lum 2008). However, a positive relationship between victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and cooperation with the police was not only reported in well-developed countries such as Finland (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011) and Australia (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). Such a positive relationship was also reported in a study conducted in Belize (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; included in our review), a country in which policing seems to be characterized by corruption (Duffy, 2000; Wiegand & Bennett, 1993). Therefore we cannot firmly conclude that differences in styles of policing across countries caused the inconsistent results on the relationship between perceived legitimacy and cooperation.

Besides different styles of policing across countries, studies also differed in the type of crimes experienced by victims. Comparing study findings among victims of different types of crime might enhance our understanding of whether the relationships hypothesized in Tyler's framework are more or less pronounced among victims of specific types of crimes. Two of the included studies reported on victims of violent crime only (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014). However, the majority of studies reported their findings on victims of property crimes and victims of violent crimes simultaneously (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Bradford, 2011; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Fishman, 1979; Kochel et al., 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012; Wemmers, 1996, 1998; Xie et al., 2006), while other studies reported their findings separately for victims of different types of crimes (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014), or focused on a specific crime type, such as domestic violence (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007).

Not distinguishing between the types of crime victims have experienced might explain the inconsistent results reported on the relationship between victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation. Out of the five studies examining this relationship, three studies included victims of both property and violent crime, but did not present their results separately for these categories of crime. These three studies reported either a positive relationship (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994), no relationship (Kochel et al., 2011), or a negative relationship (Fishman, 1979). These inconsistent findings may be partly due to differences in specific crime types included in these studies and the distribution of those specific crime victims in the sample. A study that distinguished victims of violent crime from property crime victims in its analyses reported a (non-linear) positive relationship between perceived police legitimacy and cooperation for victims of violent crime, but no significant relationship for victims of property crime (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011). This finding suggests that perhaps a positive association can be expected for victims of violent crime, but not for victims of property crime. Murphy and Barkworth (2014) presented their findings on this relationship for five types of crimes. In that study, victims' perceptions of trust in the police were further subdivided in victims' perceptions of trust in the police in terms of

procedural justice and perceptions of trust in the police in terms of effectiveness. In their study, both indicators of perceived trust in the police were positively correlated with willingness to cooperate for victims of burglary, vandalism and physical assault. However, for victims of motor vehicle theft, victims' perceptions of trust in the police in terms of police effectiveness was related to willingness to cooperate with the police, but victims' perceptions of trust in the police in terms of procedural justice was not. In addition, for victims of domestic violence, willingness to cooperate with the police was related to their perceived trust in terms of procedural justice, but unrelated to their perceived trust in the police in terms of effectiveness. Lastly, the mixed findings on the direct relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and cooperation with the police cannot be explained by differences in type of crime, as both of the studies examining this relationship focused on victims of domestic violence (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007). Overall, the type of crime victims' experienced thus seems not to fully explain this review's occasional inconsistent findings on the relationships within Tyler's theoretical framework.

Besides differences in type of crime victims had experienced, studies used different operationalizations of the key concepts (i.e. victims' evaluations of the police response, legitimacy, and cooperation) which may have had implications for our reported findings and may provide insight in directions for future research. Of the 15 included studies, 10 focused on the concept of victims' evaluations of the police response in relation to either perceived legitimacy of cooperation with the police. Two of these studies focused more generally on victims' satisfaction with the police response (Bradford, 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012), two studies explicitly focused on victims' evaluations of police performance (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006), and six studies focused on victims' evaluations of procedural justice (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Wemmers, 1996, 1998).

The studies on victims' satisfaction with the police response used identical indicators, namely a single question on how satisfied victims were with the service provided by the police (Bradford, 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012). Additionally, both studies on victims' evaluations of police performance used comparable indicators, namely whether the police followed up (Conaway & Lohr, 1994), for example by searching around and taking evidence (Xie et al., 2006). Although victims' evaluations of police performance were operationalized in a comparable manner in these two studies, future research might broaden the indicators of this concept by including victims' evaluations of the promptness of police officer and the efficiency of police officers (see Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Murphy, 2009).

Studies explicitly focusing on victims' evaluations of procedural justice used different operationalizations to measure this concept. While one of the six studies on evaluations of procedural justice measured more generally whether victims felt fairly treated or not (Wemmers, 1996, 1998), the other

five studies focused on at least two of the four components of procedural justice (i.e. Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014). The opportunity to express one's views was considered in all of these five studies (i.e. 'voice'; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014). Being treated with respect and dignity was considered in four of these five studies (i.e. respect; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014). Perceptions of unbiased decision-making were considered in only one study (i.e. neutrality; Elliott et al., 2011). The last element of procedural justice, whether police officers were trusted to sincerely try to achieve the best possible solution for all parties involved, was considered in three studies (i.e. trustworthiness, Elliott et al., 2011; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007). This overview shows that only one study captured all four components of procedural justice (Elliott et al., 2011). It also demonstrates that most studies consider the 'voice', 'respect', and 'trustworthiness' components of procedural justice, while the 'neutrality' component is understudied in current literature among crime victims. Future research should thus incorporate victims' perceptions of police neutrality, in order to get more insight into the role this component of procedural justice may play within Tyler's framework, when applied to victims of crime. Further, it is worth mentioning that one of the six studies examining victims' evaluations of procedural justice study combined items measuring this concept with items reflecting victims' evaluations of police performance in one scale (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). This indicates that studies do not always distinguish very clearly between victims' evaluations of police performance and their evaluations of procedural justice. For future research, it would be beneficial to empirically examine whether it is appropriate to combine items reflecting victims' evaluations of procedural justice with items reflecting victims' evaluations of police performance (for example by exploring the factor structure of these concepts), or whether these are best treated as two separate concepts when examining these among crime victims in specific.

Differences were also found in the operationalization of perceived legitimacy of the police in the 11 studies that focused on this concept. Tyler (2006) suggests that perceived legitimacy can be measured through either perceptions of both trust in the police and obligation to obey the police/law as separate measures or a combination of these measures. Six of the 11 studies focusing on perceived legitimacy relied solely on victims' perceptions of trust in the police (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014; Myhill & Bradford, 2012; Wemmers, 1996, 1998). One of these six studies further distinguished between victims' perceptions of trust in terms of procedural justice and perceptions of trust in terms of police effectiveness (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). Two of these six studies focused on victims' perceptions of trust in the police in terms of attitudes towards the police (Bennett & Wiegand,

1994; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). Only one of the 11 studies measured both victims' perceptions of trust and perceptions of obligation to obey (Elliott et al., 2011) and one other study only measured victims' perceptions of obligation to obey (Kochel et al., 2011). Three other studies measured perceived legitimacy in terms of trust in the criminal justice system in general (Bradford, 2011; Fishman, 1979; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014). One of these studies further distinguished between victims' perceptions of trust in the criminal justice system in terms of procedural justice and trust in the criminal justice system in terms of police effectiveness (Bradford, 2011), and another one focused on victims' perceptions of trust in the criminal justice system in terms of attitudes towards the criminal justice system (Fishman, 1979). Overall, this demonstrates that most studies focused on perceived trust in the police, or more generally, perceived trust in the criminal justice system as an indicator of legitimacy, while very few studies focused on the other legitimacy indicator suggested by Tyler: perceived obligation to obey. In terms of future research it is recommended to include perceived obligation to obey as an indicator of legitimacy as well, which may broaden our understanding of how this indicator relates to the other key concepts of Tyler's framework when applied to crime victims. Moreover, given the absence of reported internal consistency of measurement scales used to assess victims' perceptions of legitimacy in some of the studies included in this review (Bradford, 2011; Fishman, 1979; Kochel et al., 2011; Myhill & Bradford, 2012), it seems worthwhile in terms of future research to examine the psychometric properties of such scales.

Lastly, cooperation was measured fairly consistent across all nine studies focusing on this concept. Most studies focused on actual cooperative behaviour (whether or not a victimization had been reported to the police; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Kochel et al., 2011). Only two of the nine studies measured willingness to cooperate with the police (Johnson, 2007; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). Surprisingly, only one of these studies took a broader view on willingness to cooperate, by not only including victims' willingness to report crime, but also their willingness to engage in other cooperative behaviours, such as helping the police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing the police with information and assisting the police if asked (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). For future research it would be recommended to not only focus on actual cooperative behaviour in terms of reporting crimes to the police, but to include other indicators of cooperative behaviour as well, such as victims' willingness to give information to the police to solve the crime, victims' willingness to allow the police to investigate the crime, and victims' willingness to help the police to find a suspect (see also Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Reisig et al., 2007).

Conducting this review, we observed that only four of the 15 included studies reported on longitudinal data instead of cross-sectional data, which has implications for drawing conclusions about the temporal order of the

key relationships in Tyler's model. One of these four studies focused on the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response in terms of satisfaction with the service provided by the police and reported a positive relationship with perceived police legitimacy. The other three of these four studies reported on the *direct* relationship between crime victims' evaluations of the police response (i.e. one on procedural justice and two on police performance) and their cooperation with the police, which produced mixed results. This means that the *indirect* path – victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance and its influence on subsequent cooperation through perceived legitimacy of the police – whereas this is one of the core premises of Tyler's model (Tyler & Fagan, 2008), has not yet been fully examined among crime victims in a longitudinal research design. In terms of future research, it may be beneficial to examine Tyler's theoretical framework among crime victims using a longitudinal research design. This may reveal more information about the direction of the hypothesized relationships such as whether victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance influence perceived legitimacy of the police, or instead, whether previous perceptions of police legitimacy shape victims' perceptions of the police response. Perhaps both influence each other, which may imply that this relationship is therefore best considered to be bidirectional (see Tankebe, 2013).

Given the considerable differences across studies in terms of operationalization of key concepts and the fact that each of the relationships of interest was examined in relatively few studies, we were unfortunately unable to calculate valid effect sizes of reported findings. This means that we cannot draw any conclusions on the *strength* of the relationships between the key factors of the current chapter's framework. Nevertheless, this chapter has provided partial support for Tyler's theoretical framework among crime victims. A review of the literature showed that positive evaluations of procedural justice seem to hold a positive association with crime victims' perceptions of police legitimacy. Perceived legitimacy, in turn, seems to be associated with victims' cooperation, although findings were slightly mixed on this relationship. Further, crime victims' evaluations of police performance seem to hold a direct, positive relationship to victims' cooperation. This information is of great importance for police practice. For police officers, these findings suggest that they may be able to shape victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and possibly victims' intended and actual cooperative behaviour by (1) encouraging victims to express their side of their story and their views on the investigation process, (2) showing victims that decisions are based on facts in a neutral and unbiased manner, (3) treating victims politely and with respect and dignity, (4) showing victims the sincere intention to do everything possible to solve the problem, and (5) showing victims the efforts made to investigate the crime and arrest the offender (see Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Elliott et al., 2011; Johnson, 2007; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Xie et al., 2006).

Crime victims' evaluations of police behaviour, legitimacy, and cooperation: A test of measurement and structure

Research question (2)

What is the empirical structure of victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate with the police?

Highlights

- Exploring the interrelationships between concepts in a certain model requires to examine the measurement validity of those concepts;
- Measurement validity of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police was explored among victims of crime (Wave I: $N = 417$);
- Victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance represent a single construct and victims' perceptions of trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate represent distinct constructs;
- Future research should examine whether victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance) enhances perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law and subsequently willingness to cooperate with the police.

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ABSTRACT

Crime victims seem to be less likely to report their victimization to the police in case of repeat victimization. Previous research suggests that victims' experiences with the police in a previous victimization case may influence their perceptions of police legitimacy and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization, but only partly examined these assumptions and used different operationalizations of victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived legitimacy. This chapter examines the measurement structure of victims' evaluations of procedural justice, police performance, police legitimacy, and their willingness to cooperate with the police among crime victims in the Netherlands ($N = 417$). Results indicate that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance cannot be distinguished from each other in statistical analyses and that perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law as indicators of perceived legitimacy are empirically distinct from each other. Convergent and discriminant validity was present for all other concepts in the model. Implications for theory and practice are discussed.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

About half of the crimes conducted worldwide go unexamined, since crime victims often fail to report their victimization and end up not cooperating with the police (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren & Smit, 2008). This is undesirable, as the police need victims to provide information to investigate the crime and find the offender (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976; Mayhew, 1993; Warner, 1992). Previous studies suggest that reporting practices are particularly low for victims who have repeatedly been victimized (López, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Van Dijk, 2001), which may be due to victims' negative perceptions of police officers' behaviour in a previous case (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Shapland et al, 1985; Ziegenhagen, 1976). Following Tyler's theoretical framework of procedural justice experiences during direct interactions with the police may influence perceived police legitimacy and subsequently willingness to cooperate with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006).

This framework suggests that a procedurally just treatment by police officers enhances citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy and, in turn, that these perceptions of legitimacy make citizens more willing to cooperate with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006, 2009, 2011; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). A procedurally just treatment is characterized by offering citizens the opportunity to express their views to a neutral and unbiased police officer who is sincerely motivated to pursue the best possible solution for those involved and treats them with respect and dignity (Tyler & Lind 1992; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Citizens who are treated in such a manner feel appreciated and valued as a member of society by the police, which makes them feel that the police as an organisation can be trusted to faithfully uphold the law and evokes the moral acknowledgment that one should therefore engage in socially appropriate behaviour (i.e. the police organisation is perceived as a *legitimate* organisation; Tyler & Lind 1992; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). In turn, perceived legitimacy is argued to influence (willingness for) voluntary cooperation with the police by evoking people's intrinsic feelings of responsibility to cooperate (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

Tyler's theoretical framework is mostly concerned with perceptions of fair treatment by authorities (i.c. the police), but it also acknowledges the importance of police officers effectiveness in fighting crime (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001b; 2003; 2004). This is supported by previous qualitative research among crime victims, which suggests that victims are also interested in investigative actions taken by the police (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). These evaluations of the police response can be at least theoretically distinguished. For example, whether police officers were efficient during a contact indicates police performance, while being treated with respect during that contact indicates procedural justice (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012; see also Murphy, 2009). Based on Tyler's theoretical framework and previous studies, we propose that victims' evaluations of procedural justice are distinct from evaluations of police performance – see Figure 3.1.

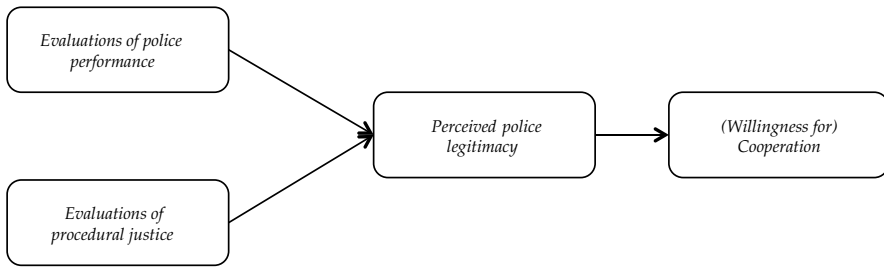


Figure 3.1 Graphical depiction of the current chapter's framework, based on Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice

Scholars are in continuous debate on an operational definition on the concept of legitimacy (cf. Barbalet, 2009; Beetham, 1991; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Hough et al., 2013; Peršak 2014; Siegrist et al., 2007; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; see Jackson & Gau, 2016 for an overview), but it has been traditionally operationalized in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law and/or the police (Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). While some studies included these two dimensions of perceived legitimacy in a single index (e.g. Elliott et al., 2011; Tyler, 2006; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), it has become more apparent that these constructs are both theoretically and empirically distinct and should therefore be treated as separate concepts (e.g. Gau, 2011; 2014; Jackson & Gau, 2016; Reisig et al., 2007).

Perceived trust in the police relates to the perception that the police are committed to enforcing social norms and values within society and motivates cooperation via positive expectations on how the police generally act (Jackson & Gau, 2016). Perceived obligation to obey the law relates to the perception that one is morally obliged to engage in socially acceptable behaviour. Perceived obligation to obey the law motivates cooperation via an internalized felt civic duty to align one's behaviour with the law, or more generally, with the norms and values within society. However, as Tyler (2006) suggests that both perceived trust and perceived obligation to obey the law are indicators of perceived legitimacy and, as such, could be either treated as a single concept or as separate concepts in statistical analysis, we need to examine which of these two options suit the data of the current chapter best.

To make it possible to adequately examine the interrelationships in this model, it is necessary to examine the measurement validity of these concepts. Without information on the convergent and discriminant validity of the concepts in a model, we might misleadingly examine the interrelations between theoretical one-dimensional concepts which are empirically multidimensional or between theoretically distinct concepts which are not empirically distinct (Byrne, 2012). For example, perceived legitimacy has been proposed as a single concept (Tyler, 2006), but empirical research among the general public demonstrates that the indicators of perceived legitimacy, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey

the law or the police are empirically distinct concepts (Reisig et al., 2007). In addition, Gau (2011) observed that *general* evaluations of procedural justice and perceived trust in the police as indicators of police legitimacy – although theoretically distinct – were not empirically distinct concepts. This might explain the “consistent and usually strong relationship between the two constructs” (Gau, 2011, p. 491; cf. Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Reisig et al., 2007). Gau (2011, p. 496) asserts that “researchers in this area should start using confirmatory factor analysis [to examine the measurement structure of concepts in a model and prevent examining misleading relationships, NK] as a matter of routine”. In line with Gau’s recommendation, we assess the measurement structure of victims’ evaluations of treatment by police officers (i.e. procedural justice), victims’ evaluations of police officers’ investigative actions (i.e. police performance), perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law), and cooperation in this chapter. The operationalization of these concepts in previous research will now be discussed.

3.1.1 Unsolved issues in previous research

The systematic literature review described in Chapter 2 suggests that partial support has been found for the interrelationships between victims’ evaluations of procedural justice and perceived legitimacy and between perceived legitimacy and cooperation, but concludes that several issues remain unclear. This chapter addresses two of these issues: (1) lack of information on whether victims’ evaluations of procedural justice and victims’ evaluations of police performance should be regarded as distinct concepts; and (2) lack of information on whether perceived legitimacy in terms of trust and obligation to obey the police should be regarded as a single concept.

Concerning the first issue, Chapter 2 observed that studies included in the review measuring victims’ evaluations of the police response in their own case exclusively focused on victims’ evaluations of procedural justice (e.g. Elliott et al., 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Wemmers, 1998). Only one study combined items on victims’ evaluations of procedural justice (e.g. whether the police was polite) with items on evaluation of police performance (e.g. efforts made by the police) to measure victims’ evaluations of the police in their own case (Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004). This may suggest that victims’ evaluations of procedural justice were not empirically distinguishable from victims’ evaluations of police performance in that study, but that was not explicitly examined or reported by the authors. The current chapter examines whether victims’ evaluations of procedural justice and evaluations of police performance should be treated as distinct concepts in this thesis.

Concerning the second issue, Chapter 2 observed that prior studies examined either perceived trust in the police or the criminal justice system in general (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Fishman, 1979; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Murphy

& Barkworth, 2014; Wemmers, 1998), perceived obligation to obey (Kochel et al., 2011), or a combined measure (Elliott et al., 2011). As none of these studies considered or reported the measurement validity of the concepts using exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) or confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs), no information is available on how these indicators of perceived legitimacy should be treated in statistical analyses. We will examine whether victims' perceptions of trust is empirically distinct from perceived obligation to obey the law in the current chapter.

Overall, Chapter 2 observed that no previous studies are available that examined the measurement validity of victims' evaluations of procedural justice, police performance, perceived legitimacy (in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate simultaneously among crime victims with regard to their own case.

3.1.2 Psychometric properties of concepts in previous studies among victims and citizens in general

Although no studies are available that examined the measurement validity of all concepts in the current chapter's framework among crime victims simultaneously, studies are available that examined the scale dimensionality (1) between *citizens'* (i.e. not specifically crime victims) evaluations of procedural justice and police performance (Murphy, 2009); (2) between crime victims' *general expectations* of procedural justice and police performance (i.e. not *evaluations* with regard to the case following their victimization) and willingness to cooperate with the police (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014); and (3) between *citizens' general expectations* of procedural justice and perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the police (Gau, 2014).

Murphy (2009) performed a principal axis factor analysis to examine the empirical structure of evaluations of procedural justice (e.g. 'the police were helpful') and evaluations of police performance (e.g. 'the police were efficient') among *citizens* (not exclusively victims) who had had recent contact with police officers. Evaluations of procedural justice were found to be distinct from evaluations of police performance. As Murphy's study was not exclusively about crime victims, examining the measurement structure of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance seems worthwhile.

Murphy and Barkworth (2014) explored the measurement structure of crime victims' *general expectations* of procedural justice and police performance (i.e. not *evaluations* of the police response in their own case) and willingness to cooperate with the police using CFA. Findings suggest that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in general, although strongly correlated ($r = .66$), were distinct from each other and from victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. We need to examine whether this holds with regard to victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in *their own case*.

Gau (2014) explored the measurement structure of perceived legitimacy (perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the police) and perceptions of 'specific procedural justice' (perceived treatment of police officers in their own case) among *citizens*¹ (not specifically victims) who ever had had direct contact with police officers using CFAs. Findings suggest that citizens' evaluations of procedural justice in their own case, perceptions of trust in the police, and perceptions of perceived obligation to obey the police all represented distinct concepts. However, we need to examine whether Gau's findings hold also for victims.

In sum, it is necessary to explore the measurement structure between those concepts, before the interrelations between these concepts among crime victims can be examined.

3.1.3 This chapter

Before we can examine the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police to gain more understanding on why particularly repeat crime victims seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police, we need to examine the measurement validity of these concepts. This is necessary, because it may prevent misleading results (Byrne 2012; see also Gau 2011). Previous quantitative research in this area has often neglected the measurement structure of concepts in the model, has only examined the measurement structure of some of these concepts, or was not (exclusively) conducted among crime victims or not with regard to the victims' own case. Based on these considerations, we aim to examine the empirical structure of the concepts in this chapter – victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in their own case, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police – by answering the following research question: What is the empirical structure of victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate with the police?

3.2 METHODS

3.2.1 Procedure

This chapter used data from the first wave of a larger study investigating the consequences of initial police contact among victims of property and violent crime in the Netherlands. Participants were recruited among crime victims who had reported their victimization to the police in the former police

1 Gau (2014) is not clear on the type of contact citizens had had with the police.

region Hollands Midden (now part of Regional Unit The Hague) during a period of eight months (May 2012 to December 2012). Eligible for inclusion were (1) victims of violent crime (e.g. assault, threat, and mugging) or property crime (e.g. [attempted] domestic burglary or trespassing), who were (2) aged over 18 at the moment of victimization, and (3) could be contacted and interviewed within four weeks after reporting their victimization to the police. Victims who met all criteria were contacted by phone to inform them about the study and to ask their consent to participate in the study. Potential participants were informed that their data would be processed anonymously if they agreed to participate, that participation was voluntary, and that they could terminate their participation at any moment during the study. The study was approved by the former privacy department of the police Hollands Midden (now part of Regional Unit The Hague).

3.2.2 Participants

During the study period, 2,479 victims reported either violent or property crime victimization to the police, after which the first author received their contact details. Of these, 1,454 were excluded because they did not meet the other two inclusion criteria. Of the 1,025 victims who met all criteria and were contacted, 417 (40.7%) agreed to participate. Participating victims ranged between 18 and 99 years of age ($M = 47.4$, $SD = 17.6$), 51.8% ($n = 217$) were male, and 54.9% ($n = 229$) were victims of property crime.

To account for potential response bias, victims who participated in the study were compared to victims who refused to participate on type of crime. Victims who participated in the study did not differ from victims who did not participate in type of crime ($X^2(1, N = 1025) = 1.051, p < .05$).

3.2.3 Measures

To measure our key study variables – evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived trust, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law as indicators of perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate – a set of standardised questionnaires were administered. All items wordings were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*totally disagree / very unlikely*) to 5 (*totally agree / very likely*).

Evaluations of procedural justice. This concept was measured using a Dutch translation (Kunst et al., 2013) of the 5-item procedural justice scale developed by Murphy (2009; see Table 3.1). Kunst et al. (2013) reported excellent internal consistency in a sample of Dutch crime victims ($\alpha = .90$). As Murphy's scale does not measure all elements of procedural justice with multiple items, seven items used in previous research were added (Reisig et al., 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Evaluations of police performance. This concept was measured using a Dutch translation (Kunst et al., 2013) of the 4-item police performance scale developed by Murphy (2009; see Table 3.1). Kunst et al. (2013) reported satisfactory internal consistency ($\alpha = .82$) in a sample of Dutch crime victims. One item was excluded ('the police kept me informed and followed up') as this item may pertain to informational justice, rather than police performance.

Perceived legitimacy. This concept was measured using the legitimacy scale developed by Wemmers (1996; see Table 3.1), capturing two subscales: the *perceived trust in the police*² subscale (four items) and the *perceived obligation to obey the law* subscale (six items). Wemmers reported satisfactory internal consistency for both scales in a sample of Dutch crime victims ($\alpha \geq .78$). Three items of perceived obligation to obey were excluded (i.e. 'Disobeying the law is seldom justified'; 'It is difficult to break the law and keep one's self-respect'; and 'A person who refuses to obey the law is a menace to society'), as these items may pertain to general obedience, rather than an internal felt obligation to obey the law.

Willingness to cooperate with the police. This concept was measured by asking victims to indicate the likeliness that they would be involved in certain behaviour if they would be criminally victimized in the future. Five items were formulated by the authors based on survey questions used in previous research (see Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; see Table 3.1). All items were administered twice to measure willingness to cooperate in case of future property crime victimization and future violent crime victimization.

3.2.4 Statistical analyses

First, descriptive statistics were computed for all study items measuring victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate to give an impression of how victims scored on these items. Second, CFAs were performed to examine the convergent within and discriminant validity between the concepts of the current thesis' framework. Univariate analyses were performed using SPSS version 21 and CFAs were performed using Mplus version 6.12.

2 Wemmers named this subscale 'support for the police' which is semantically different from 'trust in the police'. Therefore, we have also examined the measurement structure of the concepts in the model with different items for this particular concept (e.g. the police are there when you need them; the police are trustworthy; the police do their job well). Results were similar to the ones reported in this chapter and in Chapter 4.

Standardized solutions are presented for all models. Because of the ordered categorical nature of all items, weighted least squares with mean and variance-adjusted chi-squares (WLSMV) estimations were used in Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). The original dataset contained 2.7% missing values. These missing values were imputed using multiple imputations based on five generated datasets (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2010; Teman, 2012).³ Fit indices, factor loadings, and between-factor correlations were used to evaluate the models. We relied on the confirmatory fit index (CFI), the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Yu, 2002). The CFI and TLI are normed fit indexes, ranging from 0.00 to 1.00, with values of 0.95 and above indicating a very good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The RMSEA is a measurement of error, ranging from 0.00 to 1.00, with values of 0.05 and lower indicating a good fit and values lower than 0.08 indicate adequate fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Convergent validity was assessed based on the factor loadings, which should be at least 0.40. Discriminant validity was assessed based on the between-factor correlations, which should be lower than 0.70 (Gomez, Burns, Walsh & Hafetz, 2005).

3.3 RESULTS

3.3.1 Descriptives

To give an impression of the scores on the key variables of this chapter's framework, means and standard deviations are reported in Table 3.1. All mean scores are on the top half of the maximum possible scores (are all above 3 on a scale of 1 = *totally disagree/very unlikely* to 5 = *totally agree/very likely*) and most mean scores exceed 4. Noteworthy is that none of the average scores on willingness to cooperate with the police are below 4.5. Although this suggests that that most victims reported that they would '*very likely*' be involved in such behaviours in case of future victimization, due to a lack of norm scores no conclusion can be drawn on whether victims in the sample scored exceptionally high on this measure.

3 Using Bayesian analysis, each missing value was replaced with a plausible categorical value in five separate datasets. After imputation, analyses were run on these five complete datasets. The results represent the average parameter estimates and fit indices over these five datasets. Multiple imputation is preferred over single value imputation, because it acknowledges the uncertainty of the correct value to impute.

Table 3.1. *Means and standard deviations on study items for victims of property crime and victims of violent crime (N = 417)*

Study items	Mean (SD)
<i>Evaluations of procedural justice</i>	
1. The police were polite, respectful, and courteous	4.54 (1.559)
2. The police were approachable and friendly	4.50 (1.421)
3. The police were professional	4.31 (0.891)
4. The police were fair	4.37 (0.942)
5. The police were helpful	4.27 (0.951)
6. The police tried their best to find the best solution for my problems	4.33 (1.053)
7. The police took the time and listen to me	4.46 (1.304)
8. The police clearly explained the reasons for their actions	3.90 (0.957)
9. The police sincerely tried to help me with my problems	3.82 (1.124)
10. The police made decisions based on facts	4.06 (1.121)
11. The police considered my opinion when deciding what to do	3.31 (1.348)
12. The police listened to all citizens involved before deciding what to do	3.48 (1.243)
<i>Evaluations of police performance</i>	
1. The police were efficient	3.93 (1.243)
2. The police did their job and took appropriate action	4.05 (1.224)
3. The police were prompt	3.98 (1.232)
<i>Perceived legitimacy</i>	
Perceived trust in the police	
1. I have a great deal of respect for the police	3.81 (1.065)
2. On the whole, police officers are honest	3.89 (1.003)
3. I feel proud of the police	3.44 (1.142)
4. I feel that I should support the police	3.52 (1.278)
Perceived obligation to obey the law	
1. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right	4.16 (0.981)
2. I always try to follow the law even if I think that it's wrong	3.96 (1.038)
3. A person who refuses to obey the law is a menace to society	3.94 (1.071)
<i>Willingness to cooperate with the police</i>	
In case of future crime victimization, how likely would you...	
1. ... file a police report? (property crime)	4.82 (0.560)
2. ... help the police to find a suspect? (property crime)	4.63 (0.883)
3. ... give an eyewitness testimony? (property crime)	4.80 (0.581)
4. ... give information to the police to solve the crime? (property crime)	4.83 (0.575)
5. ... allow the police to investigate the crime? (property crime)	4.83 (0.536)
6. ... file a police report? (violent crime)	4.78 (0.629)
7. ... help the police to find a suspect? (violent crime)	4.67 (0.850)
8. ... give an eyewitness testimony? (violent crime)	4.78 (0.634)
9. ... give information to the police to solve the crime? (violent crime)	4.80 (0.563)
10. ... allow the police to investigate the crime? (violent crime)	4.80 (0.526)

3.3.2 Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Confirmatory factor analyses allow researchers to test the goodness of fit of two or more competing models and ultimately select the best fitting model. In this chapter, two models were specified based on Tyler's theoretical framework.

The first model contained four factors: (1) victims' evaluations of procedural justice; (2) victims' evaluations of police performance; (3) perceived legitimacy; and (4) willingness to cooperate with the police. For clarification, in this model it was hypothesized that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance were distinct concepts and that victims' perceptions of trust in the police and victims' perceptions of obligation to obey the law was one concept, following Tyler's theoretical framework and the suggestion that perceived trust in the police and obligation to obey the law could be treated as a single concept (Tyler, 2006, p. 47). This model yielded adequate results on goodness of fit (CFI: 0.955; TLI: 0.952; RMSEA: 0.66). Table 3.2. lists the factor loadings and between-factor correlations for this model. Despite the adequate fit, the factor loadings and between-factor correlations suggested serious problems with the structure of this model. The factor loadings of the three items pertaining to perceived obligation to obey the law were below .40, indicating a lack of convergent validity of the combined perceived legitimacy factor. Additionally, the between-factor correlations suggested a lack of discriminant validity between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and victims' evaluations of police performance ($r = .92$). Based on these evaluations, this model was rejected.

Table 3.2. *Factor loadings on study items for victims of property crime and victims of violent crime and between-factor correlations for model 1 (N = 417)*

Study items	Factor loadings
<i>Evaluations of procedural justice</i>	
1. The police were polite, respectful, and courteous	.566
2. The police were approachable and friendly	.787
3. The police were professional	.889
4. The police were fair	.859
5. The police were helpful	.930
6. The police tried their best to find the best solution for my problems	.878
7. The police took the time and listen to me	.790
8. The police clearly explained the reasons for their actions	.875
9. The police sincerely tried to help me with my problems	.922
10. The police made decisions based on facts	.761
11. The police considered my opinion when deciding what to do	.599
12. The police listened to all citizens involved before deciding what to do	.649
<i>Evaluations of police performance</i>	
1. The police were efficient	.805
2. The police did their job and took appropriate action	.905
3. The police were prompt	.829
<i>Perceived legitimacy</i>	
1. I have a great deal of respect for the police	.801
2. On the whole, police officers are honest	.848
3. I feel proud of the police	.665
4. I feel that I should support the police	.712
5. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right	.369
6. I always try to follow the law even if I think that it's wrong	.337
7. A person who refuses to obey the law is a menace to society	.365
<i>Willingness to cooperate with the police</i>	
In case of future crime victimization, how likely would you...	
1. ... file a police report? (property crime)	.837
2. ... help the police to find a suspect? (property crime)	.869
3. ... give an eyewitness testimony? (property crime)	.938
4. ... give information to the police to solve the crime? (property crime)	.879
5. ... allow the police to investigate the crime? (property crime)	.927
6. ... file a police report? (violent crime)	.913
7. ... help the police to find a suspect? (violent crime)	.899
8. ... give an eyewitness testimony? (violent crime)	.941
9. ... give information to the police to solve the crime? (violent crime)	.937
10. ... allow the police to investigate the crime? (violent crime)	.924
<i>Between factor correlations</i>	
Evaluations of procedural justice with evaluations of police performance	.917
Perceived legitimacy with evaluations of procedural justice	.526
Perceived legitimacy with evaluations of police performance	.566
Willingness to cooperate with the police with evaluations of procedural justice	.207
Willingness to cooperate with the police with evaluations of police performance	.320
Willingness to cooperate with the police with perceived legitimacy	.291

To eliminate the problem of a lack of discriminant validity between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance and the problem of a lack of convergent validity of perceived legitimacy, an additional model was estimated. This model contained four factors: (1) victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance; (2) perceived trust in the police; (3) perceived obligation to obey the law; and (4) willingness to cooperate with the police. For clarification, in this model it was hypothesized that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance represented one concept and that victims' perceptions of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law should be treated as separate concepts. This model had good absolute fit indices (CFI: 0.970; TLI: 0.967; RMSEA: 0.054), factor loadings (lowest: 0.566), and between-factor correlations (highest correlation between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance and victims' perceptions of trust in the police, $r = .58$). These results are presented in Table 3.3.

To summarize, the second model was the only tested model that fitted the data well and displayed discriminant validity between and convergent validity within all concepts. In this model, victims' evaluations of procedural justice and victims' police performance were combined in one factor and victims' perceptions of trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate with the police represented distinct factors. This data-driven model should be used to examine the interrelations between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy), and cooperation with the police as hypothesized in the current chapter's theoretical framework.

Table 3.3. *Factor loadings on study items for victims of property crime and victims of violent crime and between-factor correlations for model 2 (N = 417)*

Study items	Factor loadings
<i>Evaluations of the police response</i>	
1. The police were polite, respectful, and courteous	.566
2. The police were approachable and friendly	.783
3. The police were professional	.887
4. The police were fair	.585
5. The police were helpful	.928
6. The police tried their best to find the best solution for my problems	.874
7. The police took the time and listen to me	.787
8. The police clearly explained the reasons for their actions	.873
9. The police sincerely tried to help me with my problems	.919
10. The police made decisions based on facts	.758
11. The police considered my opinion when deciding what to do	.598
12. The police listened to all citizens involved before deciding what to do	.648
13. The police were efficient	.811
14. The police did their job and took appropriate action	.861
15. The police were prompt	.781
<i>Perceived legitimacy</i>	
Perceived trust in the police	
1. I have a great deal of respect for the police	.809
2. On the whole, police officers are honest	.671
3. I feel proud of the police	.857
4. I feel that I should support the police	.723
Perceived obligation to obey the law	
1. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right	.770
2. I always try to follow the law even if I think that it's wrong	.736
3. A person who refuses to obey the law is a menace to society	.673
<i>Willingness to cooperate with the police</i>	
In case of future crime victimization, how likely would you...	
1. ... file a police report? (property crime)	.869
2. ... help the police to find a suspect? (property crime)	.938
3. ... give an eyewitness testimony? (property crime)	.880
4. ... give information to the police to solve the crime? (property crime)	.927
5. ... allow the police to investigate the crime? (property crime)	.913
6. ... file a police report? (violent crime)	.898
7. ... help the police to find a suspect? (violent crime)	.941
8. ... give an eyewitness testimony? (violent crime)	.937
9. ... give information to the police to solve the crime? (violent crime)	.924
10. ... allow the police to investigate the crime? (violent crime)	
Between factor correlations	
Evaluations of the police response with perceived trust in the police	.579
Evaluations of the police response with perceived obligation to obey the law	.192
Perceived trust in the police with perceived obligation to obey the law	.270
Willingness to cooperate with the police with evaluations of the police response	.302
Willingness to cooperate with the police with perceived trust in the police	.232
Willingness to cooperate with the police with perceived obligation to obey the law	.293

3.4 DISCUSSION

Crime reporting among repeat victims seems to be particularly low (López, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001), which may be due to previous experiences with the police (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Shapland et al., 1985; Ziegenhagen, 1976). To counter this undesirable situation, it is important to gain more understanding on why this may be true. Based on Tyler's theoretical framework and previous research, it is expected that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, influence perceived police legitimacy, and in turn, that perceived legitimacy of the police enhances victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. However, before these interrelationships can be tested, it is necessary to examine the measurement structure of the concepts within this model to prevent misleading results (Byrne, 2012; see also Gau, 2011). Based on Gau's recommendation (2011), the current chapter examined the measurement validity of the concepts within the model between crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in *their own case*, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police.

Contrary to expectations based on Tyler's framework and previous research among citizens in general (Murphy, 2009), we found preliminary evidence that *victims' evaluations* of procedural justice and evaluations of police performance in *their own case* should be considered as a one-dimensional concept in the current chapter, given the unacceptably high correlation between these concepts. Our finding corresponds with the study of Brathwaite and Yeboah (2004) in which items reflecting victims' evaluations of procedural justice and items reflecting evaluations of police performance were combined in one scale. As treatment by police officers and investigative actions simultaneously take place, crime victims might perhaps evaluate the police response as a whole (see Van den Bos et al., 1997). However, this finding needs to be replicated by future studies among crime victims to gain more conclusive answers on this matter.

Our findings suggest that perceived legitimacy, operationalized in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law is a two-dimensional construct in the current dataset. Apparently, crime victims – and the general public (see Reisig et al., 2007) – distinguish their felt obligation to behave in line with the law from their perceptions of trust in the police to act on behalf of the society. Although recent studies measure perceived obligation to obey the *police*, we measured perceived obligation to obey the *law* – in accordance with Tyler's original work (1990) – as we feel that the latter operationalization better represents an *intrinsic and moral* obligation to engage in socially acceptable behaviour than the first. Nonetheless, previous research among citizens in general suggests that perceived trust in the police is also distinct from perceived obligation to obey the police (Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler, 2006; Gau 2011, 2013). Whether this is also true for crime victims could be a subject for future research.

Our findings further indicate that victims' willingness to cooperate with the police can be regarded as a single concept, which is in line with previous research among citizens in general. For example, Tyler and Fagan (2008) examined the factor structure of citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police in the USA using principal components analysis. They reported that willingness to cooperate with the police in terms of calling the police to report a crime that was occurring; helping the police to find a criminal, and reporting suspicious activity to the police loaded on a single factor (see also Murphy & Cherney 2011, 2012; Pryce 2014; Sargeant, Murphy & Cherney, 2014). This form of cooperation was distinct from citizens' willingness to cooperate with the *community* to combat crime in terms of volunteering time to help the police, patrolling the streets with others, and attending community police meetings about crime. Among crime victims, Murphy and Barkworth (2014) used confirmatory factor analysis to examine the factor structure of other items pertaining to willingness to cooperate. They reported that victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in terms of reporting dangerous or suspicious activities to the police or helping the police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information was a one-dimensional concept. Nevertheless, future studies may also reveal more insight in the measurement structure of victims' willingness to cooperate with the police and the community to combat crime.

3.4.1 Study limitations

When interpreting the findings of the current chapter, some limitations need to be mentioned. First, our sample included only individuals who had been victimized in the Netherlands. Therefore we are unable to determine to what extent results may be generalizable to other countries. Replications of the study described in this chapter in different countries would provide more conclusive information on the generalizability of our findings across countries.

Second, all concepts in this chapter were self-reported by victims, which incorporates the possibility of responding in a socially desirable manner. However, as especially victims' *evaluations* of the police response to their case and *perceived* police legitimacy are inherently subjective concepts, eliminating this possibility might not be realistic when conducting research in this area. In future studies, researchers may add scales to their questionnaire that are specifically designed to measure respondents' tendency for socially desirable responding (e.g. Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Responses of participants who seem to respond in a socially desirable manner might be excluded from the analyses, thereby improving the reliability of the study results.

Third, as slightly more than 40% of all eligible crime victims agreed to participate in the first interview, the response rate was rather low. Although respondents did not differ from non-respondents in terms of type of crime, we do not know to what extent respondents may have been different from non-respondents on other characteristics, and thus we do not know to what extent this may or may not have influenced generalizability of the current chapter's findings.

3.4.2 Conclusion

Despite the aforementioned limitations, the study described in this chapter was the first to explore the empirical measurement structure of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in their own case, perceived police legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police. Our findings are particularly relevant for future research, by highlighting the importance of examining the measurement structure of concepts prior to exploring the interrelations between theoretically related concepts. Furthermore, our findings are relevant for police practice, as it shows that crime victims' may not distinguish between evaluations of fair treatment and police officers' investigative efforts when evaluating the police response. This means that police officers should be concerned with both treating victims in a fair manner and performing investigative actions.

Crime victims' evaluations of police behaviour, legitimacy, and cooperation: A cross-sectional and prospective exploration

Research question (3)

How are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police, does it differ between victims of different types of crime, and do these relationships hold over time?

Highlights

- Testing the interrelationships between crime victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate with the police separately for victims of property crime ($n = 229$) and victims of violent crime ($n = 188$) using cross-sectional data;
- Testing the interrelationships between these concepts over time using prospective data (Waves I and II: $N = 201$);
- Evaluations of the police response for victims of violent crime are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate with the police, via perceived obligation to obey the law;
- Findings hold over time;
- The relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police is reciprocal.

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ABSTRACT

The police response may particularly be important to crime victims (as opposed to the general public), given their possible vulnerability and their personal stakes in adequate police performance. The current chapter explores whether victims' evaluations of the police response indirectly relate to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization via perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law) among a sample of 229 property crime victims and 188 victims of violent crime in the Netherlands. Furthermore it explores whether the interrelationships hold over time and the temporal order of evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police among a sample of 201 crime victims of property crime and violent crime in the Netherlands. Main findings suggest that for victims of violent crime, but not for victims of property crime, evaluations of the police response are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization via perceived obligation to obey the law. In addition, these findings seem to hold over time and the relationship between evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police seems to be reciprocal. Implications for theory and practice will be discussed.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Procedural justice, the fairness of procedures used by authorities in decision-making processes, has become an important topic in criminology, with a focus on public perceptions of the police in general (Tyler, 2007, 2011). Studies suggest that citizens' general perceptions of procedural justice (i.e. not with regard to a specific situation), and to a lesser extent, police performance – which concerns the effectiveness of the police in combating crime – are indirectly associated with their willingness to cooperate (e.g. Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). These general perceptions may be shaped by a range of factors, such as vicarious experience, societal norms, or media reports (Orr & West, 2007; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins & Ring, 2005), which may not be easily influenced by individual police officers. What may be influenced by individual police officers, however, is the way in which victims perceive the quality of treatment by police officers (i.e. procedural justice) and the investigative actions taken by the police (i.e. police performance) in their own case.

Instead of focusing on general perceptions (i.e. expectations of fair treatment and estimations of police effectiveness), the current chapter will explore to what extent crime victims' evaluations of the police response *in their own case* (i.e. evaluations of fair treatment and investigative actions to solve the crime) indirectly relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization via perceived legitimacy. Furthermore, it tests whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate differ between victims of property crime and victims of violent crime and whether the interrelationship between these concepts hold over time.

It is important that crime victims are willing to cooperate with the police, since they may be able to share relevant information on the circumstances of the crime and, possibly, the offender, which could help the police to investigate and solve the crime (Cirel et al., 1977; Sampson et al., 1997; Skogan & Antunes 1979). This may not only be true in a current case, but also in the future, as victims have an increased risk to be victimized again compared to non-victimized individuals (Nicholas et al., 2005; Pease, 1998; Polvi et al., 1990, 1991; Van Reemst et al., 2013). As crime victims may become relevant sources of information for the police in the future, it is important not to discourage them from cooperating with the police. However, studies suggest that victimization reporting seems to be less likely for repeat crime victims (Van Dijk, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010), which might be due to previous negative experiences of crime victims with police officers (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Shapland et al., 1985; Ziegenhagen, 1976).

Crime victims may have different needs and expectations of the police than the general public (Brandl & Horvath, 1991). Given their possible vulnerability caused by the victimization, crime victims may feel the need to be acknowledged by the police in terms of their status as a victim and acknowledgment of what has happened to them (Ten Boom & Kuijpers,

2008). This could make them particularly vulnerable for the way they feel treated by police officers (e.g. whether the police was fair, polite and respectful). Additionally, given the personal stake crime victims have in the police performing investigative actions to solve the crime, they may be largely concerned with adequate police performance in their case (e.g. the police doing their job and taking appropriate action; De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012).

It could be that negative evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance) result in victims questioning the legitimacy of the police, which makes them subsequently less willing to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization, but this has not yet been explored in previous research. More information on the associations of victims' *evaluations* of the police response *in their case* (as opposed to general expectations) with perceived legitimacy and victims' willingness to cooperate may help our understanding of why especially repeat victims seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police and how this unfavourable situation could be countered. Relying on the work of Tyler and colleagues (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006, 2009, 2011; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Jackson, 2014) and the empirical structure of the central concepts as presented in Chapter 3, we propose that victims' evaluations of the police response (i.e. evaluations of procedural justice and evaluations of police performance) are positively and indirectly related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (see Figure 4.1; see also De Mesmaecker, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Jackson, 2014).

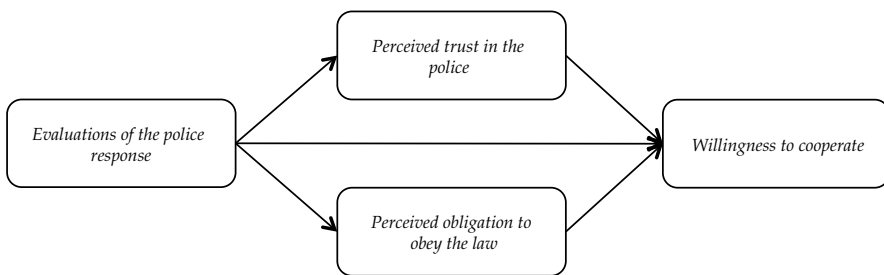


Figure 4.1 Graphical depiction of the current chapter's framework, based on Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice and the empirical measurement structure of concepts within this model (see Chapter 3)

4.1.1 Theoretical framework

Crime victims' evaluations of the police response in terms of procedural justice (i.e. fair treatment) and police performance (i.e. investigative actions) are assumed to be related to two indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law),

because it would make victims feel being taken seriously and being appreciated and valued as a member of society by the police (De Mesmaecker, 2014). This would inform crime victims that the police as an organisation can be trusted to faithfully uphold the social norms and values in society and that they therefore should engage in socially acceptable behaviour (i.e. the police is considered to be a *legitimate* organisation; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). In turn, if crime victims feel that the police organisation is a legitimate institute, they would be more willing to voluntarily cooperate with the police, because it evokes victims' intrinsic and moral feelings to do so, because it is the right thing to do (see Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; Tyler & Sunshine, 2003).

4.1.2 Unsolved issues in previous research

The systematic literature review described in Chapter 2 on the influence of victims' evaluations of the police response in their case on perceived legitimacy and cooperation suggests that partial support has been found for the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims, but concludes that several issues remained unclear. In the current chapter, we specifically target three of these issues: (1) lack of information on whether victims' evaluations of the police response indirectly relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization via perceived legitimacy; (2) lack of information on whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate differ between victims of property crime and victims of violent crime; and (3) lack of information on whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate hold over time.

Concerning the first issue, Chapter 2 observed that studies included in our review had typically focused on only one of the interrelationships between the key variables of this thesis' framework (i.e. evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey, and cooperation) instead of examining the framework as a whole. Examining the framework as a whole seems to be important, as it may advance our current understanding about the extent and how crime victims' evaluations of the police response relate to willingness to cooperate with the police. Therefore, the current chapter examines whether evaluations of the police response are indirectly related to victims' willingness to cooperate through both perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law.

Concerning the second issue, Chapter 2 observed that most studies included both victims of property crime and violent crime in their sample, but did not present their results separately for these categories of crime (cf. Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). Examining whether the framework holds for victims of different types of crime seems to be important, as it may advance our current understanding about the conditions under which victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police

performance are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate via perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law. Therefore, the current chapter examines the interrelationships between these concepts separately for property crime victims and victims of violent crime.

Concerning the third issue, Chapter 2 observed that most studies used a cross-sectional design to examine interrelationships between the concepts of the current thesis' framework. Doing so leaves it up to question whether victims' evaluations of the police response are related to perceived legitimacy and willingness for future cooperation over time. It is however important to examine these relationships in a prospective manner to gain more information on the temporal order in which the key concepts in this chapter occur. For example, it has typically been assumed that evaluations of the police response influence perceived trust in the police (as an indicator of perceived legitimacy), but no studies have examined whether perceived trust in the police may colour victims' evaluations of the police response in a prospective manner (see Bradford, 2010 for a cross-sectional example). It may be true that victims who express their trust in the police may also evaluate the police response in their case in a more favourable manner than victims who express less trust in the police. Therefore, this chapter examines whether victims' evaluations of the police response are prospectively related to perceived legitimacy and willingness for cooperation over time, whether perceived legitimacy prospectively relates to willingness for cooperation over time, and whether perceived trust in the police (as indicator of perceived legitimacy) relates to victims' evaluations of the police response over time.

4.1.3 This chapter

Given the aforementioned considerations, this chapter aims to advance current knowledge on the role police officers may play in victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization by contributing to the literature in this area in three important ways. Generally, it explores whether victims' evaluations of the police response indirectly relate to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police via two indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law). To date, this has never been done before. It does so by first exploring whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate differ between property crime victims and victims of violent crime. To our knowledge, this has never been empirically examined before either. Secondly, this chapter explores whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate hold over time and, thirdly, the temporal order of victims' evaluations of the police response in relation to perceived trust in the police (as indicator of perceived legitimacy). More specifically, the current chapter seeks to

answer the following research question: How are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police, does it differ between victims of different types of crime, and do these relationships hold over time?

Exploring this research question seems necessary to advance current knowledge on how and under which conditions police officers could play a role in preventing repeat crime victims from refraining from cooperation to counter the unfavourable situation that crime victims seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police in case of a future victimization. After all, it is important that crime victims remain willing to cooperate with the police after an experience with the police, as they have an increased risk to become victimized and may therefore be important sources of information to the police in the future (Nicholas et al., 2005; Pease, 1998; Polvi et al., 1990, 1991).

4.2 METHODS

4.2.1 Procedure

This chapter used data from the first wave and the second wave of a larger study investigating the consequences of initial police contact among crime victims in the Netherlands. Participants were recruited among victims who had reported their victimization to the police in the former police region Hollands Midden (now part of Regional Unit The Hague) during a period of eight months (May 2012 until December 2012). Eligible for inclusion were (1) victims of violent crime (e.g. assault, threat, and mugging) or property crime (e.g. [attempted] domestic burglary or trespassing), who were (2) aged over 18 at the moment of victimization, and (3) could be contacted and interviewed within four weeks after reporting their victimization to the police. Victims who met all criteria were contacted by phone to inform them about the study and to ask their consent to participate. All potential participants were informed that their data would be processed anonymously if they would choose to participate, that participation was voluntary, and that they could terminate their participation at any moment during the study. After the potential respondents agreed to participate, an appointment was made for an interview by telephone. The study was approved by the former privacy department of the police Hollands Midden (now part of Regional Unit The Hague).

4.2.2 Participants

Of the 2,479 victims whose contact details were sent to the author, 1,454 were excluded from the study because they could not be reached within the time frame of the study or were under 18 years at the moment of victimization. Those 1025 victims who met all the inclusion criteria were contacted and 417 (40.7%) of them were willing to participate. Participants were

between 18 and 99 years old ($M = 47.4$, $SD = 17.6$), 51.8% ($n = 217$) were male, 54.9% ($n = 229$) were victims of property crime, and 29.7% ($n = 124$) had had contact with the police as a crime victim in the previous five years.

To account for potential response bias, victims who participated in the study were compared to victims who refused to participate on type of crime. Victims who participated in the study did not differ from victims who did not participate in type of crime ($X^2(1, N = 1025) = 1.051, p > .05$). Of the 417 victims who participated in the first wave, 114 victims (27.3%) did not want to participate in the next wave and 102 victims (24.5%) could not be reached within the time period of the second wave, leaving 201 (48.2%) victims to fully finish both the first and the second wave.

4.2.3 Differences between victims of violent crime and property crime wave I ($N = 417$)

The first wave ($N = 417$) was used to examine whether the relationships between crime victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy), and willingness to cooperate with the police differ between victims of different types of crime. Therefore, this paragraph lists the differences between victims of violent crime and property crime at Wave I.

Victims of property crime ($M = 52.9$, $SD = 17.9$) were generally older than victims of violent crime ($M = 40.7$, $SD = 15.0$, $t(417) 7.496, p < .001$). In addition, victims of property crime were more often female than male ($X^2(1, N = 417) = 18.13, p < .001$). However, victims of property crime and violent crime did not differ with regard to prior contact with the police as a victim in the five years prior to the interview ($X^2(1, N = 417) = 1.96, p > .05$).

Concerning the study variables, victims of violent crime, compared to victims of property crime, had generally lower evaluations of the police response ($M = 3.8$, vs. $M = 4.2$, $t(417) 4.451, p < .001$) and perceived trust in the police ($M = 3.5$, vs. $M = 3.8$, $t(417) 3.995, p < .001$). However, victims of both types of crime did not seem to differ in their perceptions of obligation to obey the law ($M = 4.0$, vs. $M = 4.0$, $t(417) 0.148, p > .05$) and willingness to cooperate with the police ($M = 4.8$, vs. $M = 4.8$, $t(417) -.398, p > .05$).

4.2.4 Differences between victims participating in wave I and wave II

In the second part of this chapter, we examined whether the relationship between the study's key variables holds over time. Therefore we compared respondents who participated only in the first wave to respondents who participated in both waves on relevant characteristics. Victims who participated only in the first wave did not significantly differ from victims who participated at both waves in age ($M = 46.41$, $SD = 17.81$ vs. $M = 48.53$, $SD = 17.24$; $t(417) = -1.229, p > .05$), sex ($X^2(1, N = 417) = 0.581, p > .05$), type of crime ($X^2(1, N = 417) = 0.102, p > .05$), or whether they had contact with

the police as a crime victim in the five previous years ($X^2(1, N = 417) = 0.015, p > .05$). Also, no differences were found between victims' who participated only in the first interview and victims' who participated in both interviews with regard to their evaluations of the police response ($M = 3.96, SD = 1.06$ vs. $M = 4.11, SD = 1.09; t(417) = -1.818, p > .05$), their perceptions of trust in the police ($M = 3.63, SD = 0.80$ vs. $M = 3.69, SD = 0.76; t(417) = -0.689, p > .05$), their perceptions of obligation to obey the law ($M = 3.94, SD = 0.66$ vs. $M = 4.10, SD = 0.72; t(417) = -1.91, p > .05$), and their willingness to cooperate with the police ($M = 4.75, SD = 0.52$ vs. $M = 4.70, SD = 0.49; t(417) = -1.082, p > .05$).

4.2.5 Measures

To measure our key study variables – evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law as indicators of perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate – the set of standardised questionnaires were administered as used and described in Chapter 3. All items wordings were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*totally disagree / very unlikely*) to 5 (*totally agree / very likely*).

Evaluations of the police response were measured by a Dutch translation (Kunst et al., 2013) of the 5-item procedural justice subscale (e.g. 'the police were fair') and the 4-item police performance subscale (e.g. 'the police did their job and took appropriate action') developed by Murphy (2009), and seven additional items to fully cover the concept of perceived procedural justice (see Reisig et al., 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). One of the items of the police performance subscale was excluded (i.e. 'The police kept me informed and followed up') as we felt that this items may reflect evaluations of informational justice, rather than evaluations of police performance. All items were administered in both waves and the internal consistence was excellent (T1: $\alpha = .95$; T2: $\alpha = .93$). Based on the results of paired samples t-test, victims' evaluations of procedural justice at T1 were more favourable than their perceptions at T2, $p < .001$.

Perceived obligation to obey the law was measured using a Dutch translation of a 6-item scale (Wemmers, 1996) which was originally developed by Tyler (1990; 2006). An example of one of the items is 'I always try to follow the law, even if I think that it's wrong'. Three items were not included (i.e. 'Disobeying the law is seldom justified'; 'It is difficult to break the law and keep one's self-respect'; and 'A person who refuses to obey the law is a menace to society') as we felt that these items may reflect general obedience, rather than victims' feelings of obligation to obey the law themselves. The items were administered in both waves and the internal consistency was satisfactory (T1: $\alpha = .74$; T2: $\alpha = .70$). Based on the results of a paired samples t-test, victims' perceptions of obligation to obey the law at T1 did not differ from their perceptions at T2, $p > .05$.

Perceived trust in the police was also measured using a Dutch translation of a 4-item scale (Wemmers, 1996) which was originally developed by Tyler (1990, 2006). An example of one of the items is 'I feel that I should support the police'. The items were administered in both waves and the internal consistency was satisfactory (T1: $\alpha = .81$; T2: $\alpha = .84$). Based on the results of a paired samples t-test, victims' perceptions of trust in the police at T1 did not differ from their perceptions at T2, $p > .05$.

Willingness to cooperate with the police was measured by asking victims to indicate the likeliness that they would be involved in five types of cooperative behaviour in case of future crime victimization. These questions were formulated by the authors based on survey questions used in previous research (see Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). All questions were administered twice to measure willingness to involve in cooperative behaviour as a future victim of property crime and violent crime. For example "In case of future victimization of property/violent crime, how likely would you help the police to find a suspect?". The ten questions were administered in both waves and the internal consistency was excellent (T1: $\alpha = .93$; T2: $\alpha = .92$). Based on the results of a paired samples t-test, victims' willingness to cooperate with the police at T1 did not differ from their willingness at T2, $p > .05$.

Background variables

When examining the interrelations between the concepts of this chapter, we controlled for victims' age, sex, and prior contact with the police as a victim in the five years prior to the interview. The selection of background variables was based on previous research (e.g. Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Kochel et al., 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2011, 2012; Tankebe, 2009a; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Jackson, 2014).

4.2.6 Statistical analyses

The current chapter consists of two separate parts. In the first part, the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate with the police are explored for victims of property crime and violent crime separately. This part uses data of wave I only ($N = 417$). In the second part, the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police are explored over time. This part uses data of wave I and wave II ($N = 201$) and does not distinguish between property crime victims and victims of violent crime due to lack of statistical power.

In the first part of this chapter, structural equation modelling (SEM) was used to conduct a multi-group analysis based on type of crime (i.e. property crime victims vs. victims of violent crime). In this model, the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and perceived cooperation were examined. This type of analysis makes it possible to examine both the direct and the indirect relationships between victims' evaluations of the police response and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, through victims' perceived obligation to obey the law and their perceived trust in the police concurrently.

In the second part of this chapter, structural equation modelling (SEM) was used to explore whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy), and willingness to cooperate with the police hold over time and the temporal order of victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police. Ideally, these relationships are examined in a three-wave longitudinal research design. However, since only two waves were available, the best alternative was to split the model in two parts, which were tested simultaneously (Little, Preacher, Selig & Card, 2007; see Figure 4.2). In the first part, the interrelations of victims' evaluations of the police response at T1 and T2 with perceived trust in the police (at T1 and T2) and perceived obligation to obey the law (at T2) were examined, while controlling for baseline levels of both indicators of perceived legitimacy and willingness for cooperation. The second part examined the interrelations of both indicators of perceived legitimacy at T1 with victims' willingness to cooperate with the police at T2, while controlling for baseline values of willingness for cooperation.

Given the non-normal categorical distribution of the study variables, regression paths were estimated using WLSMV-estimation (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). Missing values in both waves were imputed using multiple imputation based on five generated datasets (Asparouhov & Muthén 2010; Teman 2012). All analyses are performed using Mplus version 6.12. All models controlled for victims' age, sex, and type of crime.¹ The standardized factor solutions are shown for the models presented.

1 Four different approaches to treat covariates in longitudinal structural models are suggested: (1) partial the covariates from all indicators of all concepts; (2) model the covariate as a direct effect on all concepts; (3) model the covariate as a direct effect on the concepts of the first measurement occasion; and (4) model the covariate as a direct effect on the concepts of the last measurement occasion (Little et al., 2007). None of these approaches resulted in considerable different results. The third approach was chosen to report, as this is the most commonly used approach.

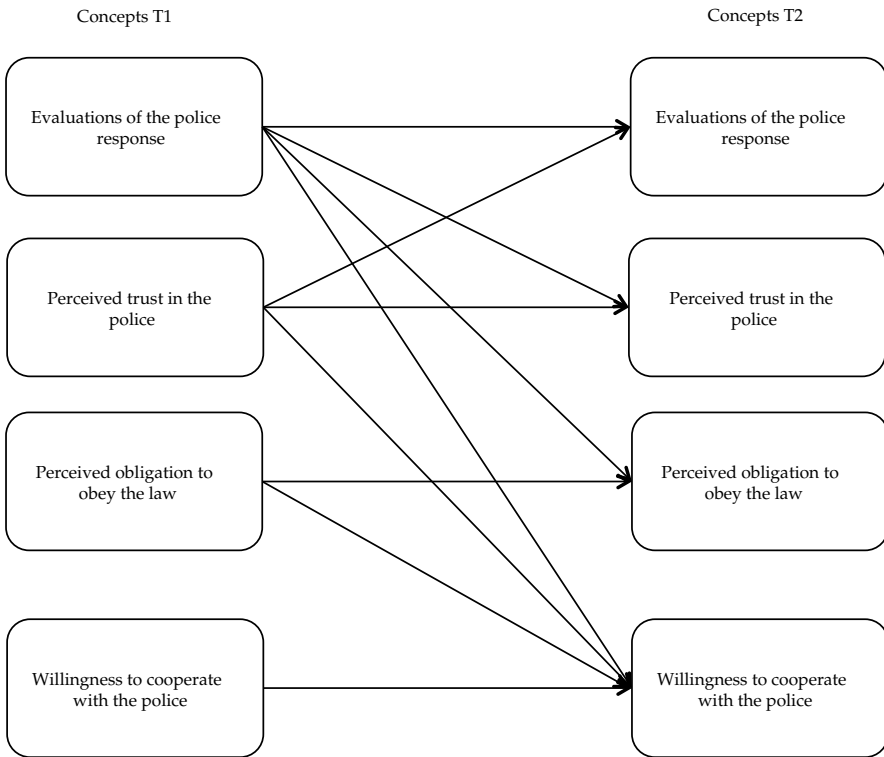


Figure 4.2 Schematic overview of the interrelationships between the concepts in this chapter to test whether interrelationships hold over time and the temporal order of victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police

4.3 RESULTS

4.3.1 Associations between background variables and study variables

Concerning the included background variables, older victims of property crime seem to have more favourable evaluations of the police response and express more perceived obligation to obey the law than younger property crime victims. However, older victims of violent crime seemed to be more willing to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization than younger victims of violent crime. Other associations between the background variables and the study variables were not statistically significant. We controlled for these background variables in estimating the multi-group model.

4.3.2 Multi-group structural equation model

The first part of the study explores whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate are different for victims of property crime and victims of violent crime. Conceptualization of the concepts in this model is based on the examination of the measurement structure of these concepts presented in Chapter 3.

Simplified results of the multi-group (property crime victims vs. victims of violent crime) structural equation model are presented in Figures 4.3a and 4.3b. The multi-group model suggested adequate model fit (CFI: 0.972; TLI: 0.972; RMSEA: 0.048).² Results for victims of property crime will be discussed first, followed by the results for victims of violent crime. Lastly, differences in the associations between evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate for victims of property crime and victims of violent crime will be summarized.

Victims of property crime

For victims of property crime, evaluations of the police response are directly related to willingness to cooperate with the police. Furthermore, for victims of this type of crime, evaluations of the police response were related to both indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law). However, property crime victims' perceptions of both trust in the police and obligation to obey the law were unrelated to willingness to cooperate with the police. This suggests that property crime victims' evaluations of the police response are not indirectly related (i.e. through one or both of the indicators of legitimacy) to willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization.

Victims of violent crime

For victims of violent crime, evaluations of the police response were unrelated to willingness to cooperate with the police in a direct manner. However, for victims of this type of crime, evaluations of the police response were related to both indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law). For these victims, perceived trust in the police was unrelated to willingness to cooperate with the police, but perceived obligation to obey the law was. This suggests that

2 The multi-group model was also examined holding all thresholds constant. This resulted in slightly improved model fit (CFI: 0.973; TLI: 0.974; RMSEA: 0.046), suggesting that the two groups could be meaningfully compared.

evaluations of the police response by victims of violent crime are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived obligation to obey the law.

Differences between victims of property crime and victims of violent crime

To summarize, results on the associations between victims’ evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate with the police differed in two important ways between victims of property crime and victims of violent crime. First, for victims of property crime, evaluations of the police response were directly related to willingness to cooperate with the police, while they were not for victims of violent crime. Second, for victims of violent crime, perceived obligation to obey the law was related to willingness to cooperate with the police, while it was not for victims of property crime. Overall, the multi-group analysis suggests that evaluations of the police response are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived obligation to obey the law for victims of violent crime, but not for property crime victims. These findings provide partial support for our theoretical framework, which was based on Tyler’s theoretical framework on procedural justice.

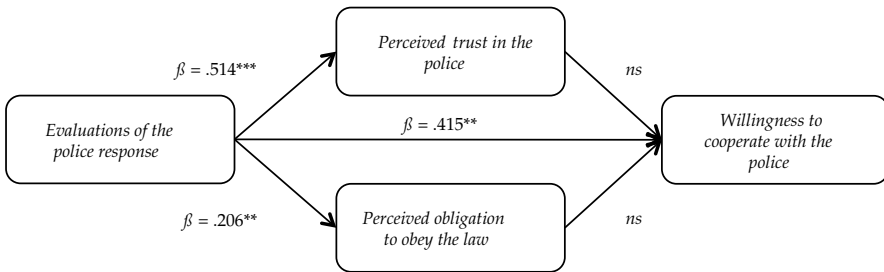


Figure 4.3a Simplified multi-group SEM model of current chapter’s framework for victims of property crime (n = 229)
 *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

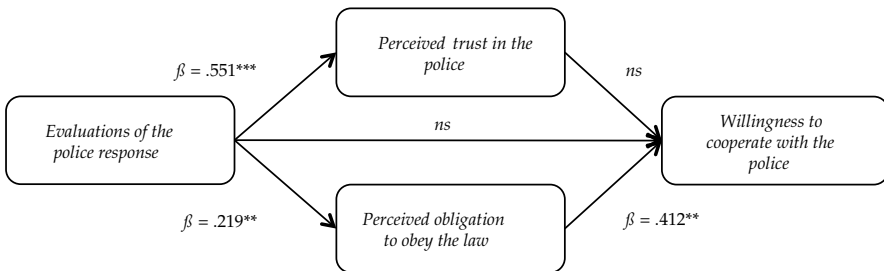


Figure 4.3b Simplified multi-group SEM model of current chapter’s framework for victims of violent crime (n = 188)
 *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

4.3.3 Longitudinal SEM analysis of current study's framework

The second part of this chapter explores the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy), and willingness to cooperate in a prospective manner. In addition we explore the temporal order of victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police. That is, whether victims' perceptions of trust in the police may colour their evaluations of the police response. Again, conceptualization of the concepts in this model is based on the examination of the measurement structure presented in Chapter 3. Due to lack of statistical power given the small sample size, this part does not distinguish between victims of property crime and victims of violent crime.

Simplified results of the prospective structural equation model are presented in Figure 4.4. The model suggested adequate model fit (CFI: 0.943; TLI: 0.940; RMSEA: 0.043). Findings showed that victims' evaluations of the police response were not directly associated with their willingness to cooperate with the police over time. However, evaluations of the police response were prospectively associated with perceptions of police legitimacy (i.e. both perceived trust for the police and perceived obligation to obey the law). Furthermore, only one indicator of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived obligation to obey the law) was related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police over time. Victims' perceptions of trust for the police were not related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police over time. Lastly, victims' perceptions of trust in the police seemed to be prospectively associated with victims' evaluations of the police response, suggesting a reciprocal relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police.

Overall, the findings indicate that victims' evaluations of the police response are positively and indirectly related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, through their perceptions of obligation to obey the law, but not through their perceptions of trust in the police. These findings provide partial support for our theoretical framework, based on Tyler's theory of procedural justice. In addition, our findings suggest that victims' evaluations of the police response could be partly shaped by their perceptions of trust in the police.

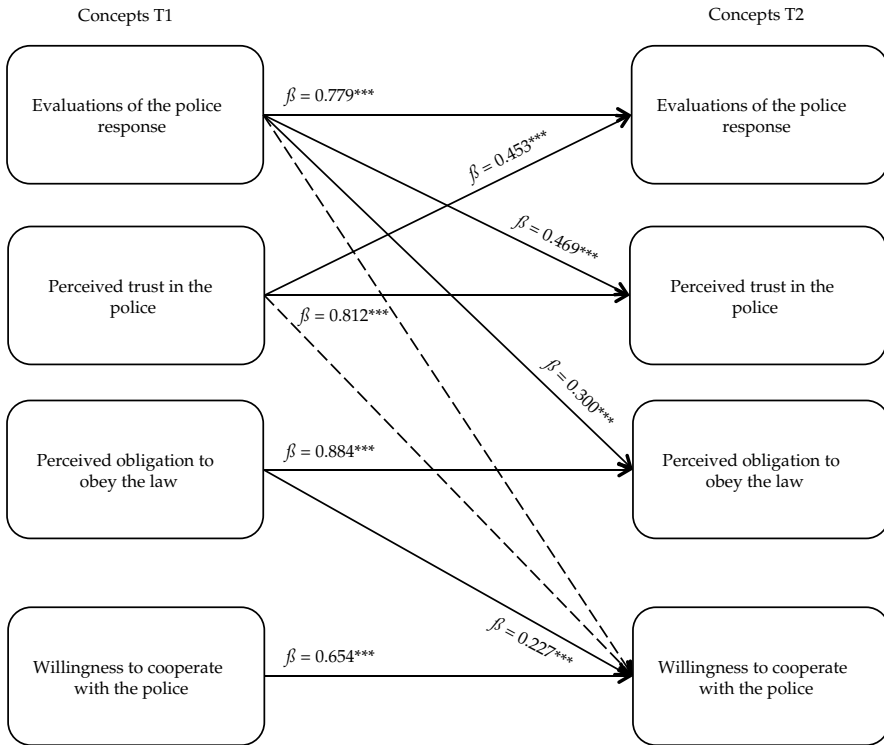


Figure 4.4 Longitudinal associations of the current chapter's framework ($N = 201$)

Note: dashed lines represent relationships that were estimated, but were not statistically significant

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

4.4 DISCUSSION

The current chapter explored to what extent victims' evaluations of the police response in their own case indirectly relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization via perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy) and whether these relations differed between victims of property crime and victims of violent crime. Furthermore, it explored whether the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate hold over time and the temporal order of victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police. Knowledge on these issues is important to gain more information on the role of police officers in stimulating crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. This is necessary because previous research suggests that particularly repeat crime victims are less likely to cooperate with the police (López, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Van Dijk, 2001).

Based on Tyler's theoretical framework, previous qualitative research, and the exploration of the measurement structure of the concepts in this framework (Chapter 3), it was expected that evaluations of the police response were predictive of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy) for victims of both types of crimes and over time, and that both indicators of perceived legitimacy were positively correlated with victims' willingness to cooperate with the police over time.

Findings of the first part of this chapter – the cross-sectional examination of the interrelationships in this chapter's framework for victims of property crime and victims of violent crime separately – yielded partial support for Tyler's theoretical framework. Partly in line with expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework, property crime victims' evaluations of the police response were directly, but not indirectly, associated with willingness to cooperate with the police. While evaluations of the police response were related to both indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law), these indicators were in turn unrelated to property crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Also partly in line with expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework is that evaluations of the police response seemed to be not directly, but indirectly associated with willingness to cooperate with the police for victims of violent crime. This indirect relationship runs via perceived obligation to obey the law, but not via perceived trust in the police. In sum, for victims of property crime, evaluations of the police response were directly related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, but not for victims of violent crime. In contrast, for victims of violent crime, evaluations of the police response were indirectly related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived obligation to obey the law, but not for victims of property crime.

Findings of the second part of this chapter – the prospective examination of the interrelationships in this chapter's framework – also yielded partial support for Tyler's theoretical framework. In line with this framework, the findings suggest that victims' evaluations of the police response are prospectively related to their perceptions of police legitimacy (i.e. both perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law). Furthermore, the results indicate that victims' evaluations of the police response are indirectly related to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization through perceived obligation to obey the law, but not through victims' perceptions of trust in the police. Lastly, our findings suggest that perceived trust in the police may partly shape victims' evaluations of the police response in their case.

Contrary to expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework, our findings imply that victims' perceptions of trust in the police as a dimension of perceived legitimacy are not related to willingness to cooperate with the police for both property crime victims and victims of violent crime. Although it is theoretically assumed that people will cooperate with

the police when the organisation can be trusted to act on behalf of society and in accordance with its principles (Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014), empirical results among crime victims are mixed. Some studies reported a positive relationship (Bennett & Wiegand 1994; Kääriäinen & Sirén 2011, for victims of violent crime) or a non-significant relationship (Kääriäinen & Sirén 2011, for victims of property crime). To explain the non-significant relationship between perceived trust in the police and cooperation among property crime victims, Kääriäinen and Sirén (2011) suggested that financial motives to cooperate with the police perhaps outpace the influence of other factors such as perceived trust in the police. This explanation could partly clarify the non-significant relationships found between both dimensions of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law) and willingness to cooperate with the police among victims of property crime (as a separate group) – even though evaluations of the police response were directly associated with willingness to cooperate with the police for victims of this type of crime.

At least two alternative explanations can possibly explain the non-significant relationship between perceived trust in the police and crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization. One explanation might be that victims who feel less trust in the police to pursue the norms and values in society are nevertheless willing to cooperate with the police, because they feel that the police organisation is the only institute to which they can turn to solve their problems. Another explanation might be that victims still want to cooperate with the police, because they intrinsically feel it is the right thing to do. Our findings concerning the relationship between crime victims' perceptions of obligation to obey the law and willingness to cooperate seem to point in the latter direction (particularly for victims of violent crime).

Our findings indicate that evaluations of the police response are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate with the police through perceived obligation to obey the law for victims of violent crime, which is in line with our expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework, but not with previous research. We are aware of one study that explicitly examined the relationship between perceived obligation to obey and cooperation among crime victims, which was conducted by Kochel et al. (2011) in Trinidad and Tobago. They found perceived obligation to obey the police, the law and authorities – as a single index – to be unrelated to crime reporting.³ It may well be that the reliance on such a composite index of perceived obedience to the law, the police, and legal authorities instead of a specific focus on law obedience, the focus on actual crime reporting instead of victims' willingness to cooperate, or cultural differences between Trinidad and Tobago and the Netherlands accounted for these inconsistent findings. However, previous research among citizens in general also suggests that perceived

3 Although the authors reported a positive relationship, this was based on a significance level of $p = .068$, instead of the more conventional significance level of $p \leq .05$.

obligation to obey the law and/or the police is not or only weakly related to cooperation with the police (e.g. Reisig et al., 2007, 2012; Tankebe, 2009a). It seems remarkable that the indirect relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police runs through victims' perceived obligation to obey the law in the current chapter. After all, victims are not lawfully obliged to cooperate with the police. However, it may be that victims' perceptions to obey the law outpace a strict obligation to obey the *law*, but more broadly concerns victims' perceptions to comply with norms in society. This would align with Tyler's theoretical framework, suggesting that perceived obligation to obey the law makes citizens to cooperate with the police, because it evokes an intrinsic motivated responsibility to act in accordance with society's norms, even without direct incentives (Tyler, 2006). In other words, victims' who feel that they should obey the law might be more willing to cooperate with the police, because of an intrinsic felt civic duty to do so (Tarling & Morris, 2010). To gain more understanding on the specific nature of the relationship perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate among victims of property crime and victims of violent crime future research is needed, for example by conducting in depth interviews (see Chapter 6).

4.4.1 Study limitations

When interpreting the findings of the current chapter, some limitations need to be mentioned. First, our sample included only individuals who had reported their victimization in the Netherlands. Therefore we are unable to determine to what extent results may be generalizable to other countries. However, as most of our findings were in line with studies among victims in several democratic countries (e.g. Australia: Laxminarayan & Pemberton 2014, Barbados: Brathwaite & Yeboah 2004, Finland: Kääriäinen & Sirén 2011, Great-Britain: Bradford 2011; Myhill & Bradford 2012; US: Johnson 2007), we think that our results may also be generalizable to other democratic countries. Replications of the study described in this chapter in non-democratic countries with different styles of policing would produce more conclusive information on the generalizability of our findings in those countries.

Second, all concepts in this chapter were self-reported by victims, which incorporates the possibility of responding in a socially desirable manner. However, as especially victims' evaluations of the police response in their case and perceived police legitimacy are inherently subjective concepts, eliminating this possibility might not be realistic when conducting research in this area. In future studies, researchers could add items to their questionnaire that measures respondents' tendency to respond in socially desirable manner (e.g. Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Responses of participants who seem to do so might be excluded from the analyses, improving the reliability of the study results. Additionally, as our focus was on victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, future studies may extend our design by including victims' actual cooperative behaviour.

Third, as slightly more than 40% of all eligible crime victims agreed to participate in Wave I and slightly less than 20% in Wave II, the response rate was rather low. Although respondents did not differ from non-respondents in terms of type of crime, we do not know to what extent respondents may have differed from non-respondents on other characteristics, and thus do not know to what extent this may or may not have influenced generalizability of the current chapter's findings. Coherent with the low response rate is the small number of participants in the second wave. Although our sample size ($n = 201$) was sufficient to perform the statistical analyses presented here, we would have had insufficient power to examine whether the prospective model displayed different results for victims of property crime ($n = 111$) and victims of violent crime ($n = 90$) separately.

Fourth, the prospective relationships explored in this chapter were ideally examined using a three-wave research design instead of a two-wave design. In a three-wave design, it would be possible to prospectively examine the relationships between victims' evaluations of the police response at T1 and victims' perceptions of both indicators of police legitimacy at T2 and between perceived legitimacy at T2 and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police at T3. However, using a two-wave design, the best alternative to examine the proposed relationships prospectively was employed by exploring the relationships between victims' evaluations of procedural justice at T1 and victims' perceptions of legitimacy at T2 and perceived police legitimacy at T1 in relation to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police at T2. Nevertheless, for future studies it is recommended to examine the proposed relationships in a three-wave research design.

Fifth, the time between T1 and T2 was only four weeks. This means that memory modification or memory loss was kept to a minimum. However, to gain more information on whether the relationships hold over a longer period of time, future studies may want to extend this period.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, the study described in this chapter was the first to explore the associations between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate with the police. More specifically, as we cross-sectionally examined these relationships for victims' of property crime and violent crime separately, we were able to show that these relationships were partly conditioned by type of crime in this chapter. In addition, we were able to prospectively demonstrate that these interrelationships hold over time and that perceived trust in the police may shape victims' evaluations of the police response.

4.4.2 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has provided useful insights into the relationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived police legitimacy, and their willingness to cooperate with the police in the future for both theory and police practice. Our findings suggest that crime victims' evaluations of the police response are indirectly related to willingness for cooperation with the police in case of future crime victimization via perceived obligation to obey the law (particularly for victims of violent crime). In other words, when victims' evaluations of the police response become more positive, their internal felt obligation to obey the law will also increase as will their willingness to cooperate with the police in the future. This indicates that individual police officers may play an important role in encouraging victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization by making them feel fairly treated and by showing them the effort they took in investigating the crime as this makes them intrinsically motivated to align their behaviour with social norms in society and thus to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization.

The effect of police behaviour on crime victims' perceptions of legitimacy and cooperation: An explorative experimental vignette study

Research question (4)

How does the police response influence mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police?

Highlights

- Exploring how police behaviour causes mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police;
- Exploring whether the relationship between police behaviour and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police is mediated by perceived trust in the police and/or perceived obligation to obey the law;
- Two experimental vignette studies among university students (Study 1: $N = 75$; Study 2: $N = 414$);
- Willingness to cooperate was lower when the police were unfair and did not perform investigative actions compared to the control condition;
- Willingness to cooperate was not higher when the police were fair and performed investigative actions compared to the control condition;
- The relationship between police behaviour and cooperation is mediated by perceived trust in the police, but not by perceived obligation to obey the law.

Parts of this chapter have been published:

- Koster, N. N., Bal, M., Leun, J. P., van der & Kunst, M. J. J. (2017). Het effect van de politierespons in een specifieke zaak op de bereidheid tot medewerking onder slachtoffers van criminaliteit: Een vignette-experiment. *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie*, 59(1-2), 92-112. doi: 10.5553/TvC/0165182X2017059102006

ABSTRACT

Crime victims seem to be less willing to report a repeat victimization to the police. Previous research suggests that this might be due to negative evaluations of the police response in a previous victimization case. Two experimental vignette studies among university students (Study 1: $N = 75$; Study 2: $N = 414$) were used to explore how police behaviour *influences* mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police and whether this relationship is mediated by perceptions of police legitimacy. Participants read a scenario about a violent incident and were asked to identify themselves with the victim. Subsequently, they answered questions on police legitimacy (in Study 2) and their willingness to cooperate with the police (in Studies 1 and 2). Police behaviour was manipulated in two ways: the police offered a fair/unfair treatment and had/had not performed investigative actions. There was no police contact in an additional control group. Results suggest that particularly an inadequate police response may have detrimental consequences for mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police and imply that this relationship is mediated by perceived trust in the police, but not by perceived obligation to obey the law. Implications of these findings and study strengths and limitations will be discussed.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Imagine that you are walking home late at night. Suddenly, someone approaches you and demands you give him your wallet. When you do not offer your wallet immediately, he slaps you in the face and kicks you in your stomach, making you fall on the ground. When you are lying on the ground, the man takes your wallet, runs off to his scooter and speeds away. Startled and hurt, you run home and call the police. Two officers arrive quickly and when you open the door for them, they kindly ask you how you are doing and whether you are in a lot of pain. Then they ask you to tell what has happened. After that, they ask you several questions and when they have enough information, they tell you that they are sorry for what has happened to you and that they want to catch the offender. When two weeks pass by, you are called by one of the officers. He tells you that they had performed an investigation in the neighbourhood and that they are still working on the case.

Would you be willing to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization? Would your answer be different when the police officers took a long time to arrive, did not listen to your story, were biased, were reluctant in catching the offender and did not inform you about the proceedings of the case? Previous research suggests your likeliness to offer cooperation would decrease. More specifically, studies suggest that previous experiences with the police might explain why victims are particularly less willing to report a repeat victimization to the police, but have rarely explored whether police officers behaviour may *influence* willingness to offer cooperation (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Shapland et al., 1985; Van Dijk, 2001; cf. Wheller et al., 2013). As the police need victims' cooperation to investigate and solve the crime, it is important to understand whether and to what extent police behaviour *causes* victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. This chapter describes a vignette experiment to explore causality between police behaviour and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, based on Tyler's theoretical framework on procedural justice (Tyler, 2006, 2011; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Sunshine, 2003) and previous qualitative research among victims of crime (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012).

5.1.1 Theoretical framework

The current chapter's framework is guided by Tyler's theory of procedural justice and previous research among crime victims (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012; see also Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). Based on this framework, it is expected that the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance) in a victim's case determines his/her willingness to cooperate with the police in the future, through perceptions of trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. legitimacy). More specifically, it is assumed that a positive police response (fair treatment and adequate investigative efforts) enhances victims' perceptions of

both indicators of perceived legitimacy, and, in turn, that this enhanced perceived legitimacy evokes willingness to cooperate with the police (see Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; Tyler & Sunshine, 2003). Four elements were identified that characterise a procedurally just treatment: 'voice', neutrality, respect and trustworthiness (Tyler & Lind, 1992). 'Voice' relates to police officers letting someone express his/her views, neutrality relates to police officers being unbiased, respect relates to police officers being polite, and trustworthiness relates to police officers' aim to come to the best possible solution for everyone involved. Evaluations of procedural justice and police performance are conceptually distinct; whereas evaluations of procedural justice relate to perceived fairness of treatment, evaluations of police performance relate to investigative actions taken by the police (Elliott et al., 2012). Empirical studies suggest that these evaluations on different aspects of the police response are closely related for victims of crime (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Moreover, empirical examination of the measurement structure suggest that despite the theoretical distinctness of these concepts, evaluations of procedural justice and police performance represent empirically a single construct, suggesting that victims may not distinguish between procedural justice and police performance when evaluating the police response (see Chapter 3).

Treating victims in a fair manner and performing adequate investigative actions makes them feel respected and valued by police officers according to the group-value model (Tyler & Blader, 2003; see also De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). It communicates that police officers as representatives of the police force and society in general are concerned with the social norms and values in society and that one therefore needs to behave in a socially appropriate manner (i.e. the police is perceived as a *legitimate* police force). According to the group-engagement model (Tyler & Blader, 2003) perceived police legitimacy, in turn, evokes victims' intrinsic feelings of responsibility to obtain or maintain social order in society and thus people's willingness to cooperate with the police (see Figure 5.1; see also De Mesmaecker, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Jackson, 2014).

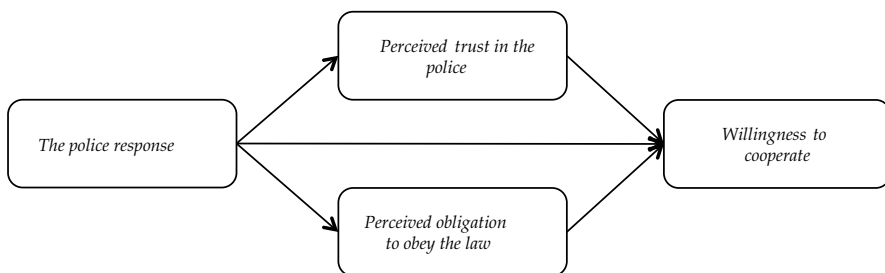


Figure 5.1 Graphical depiction of the current chapters' framework

5.1.2 Previous research

The systematic literature review presented in Chapter 2 suggests that the current chapters' framework is partially supported by previous research among crime victims. However, most of the included studies based their findings on correlational data, which are inappropriate in testing the causality of relationships. We know of one study that experimentally examined the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and willingness to cooperate with the police (Wheller et al., 2013). In this field experiment, one group of police officers was explicitly trained to treat victims in a procedurally just manner, while another group of police officers was not. Victims who had had contact with either group were asked to indicate their willingness to cooperate with the police. In this study, no significant difference on willingness to cooperate with the police was found between victims who interacted with police officers who were explicitly trained to treat victims in a procedurally just manner and victims who interacted with police officers who were not explicitly trained to do so. The authors suggest that the training had not had an effect on victims' willingness to cooperate, because most victims were already cooperative. However, an alternative explanation might be that the study focused exclusively on procedural justice, neglecting police performance, while this seems important to crime victims as well (see Aviv & Weisburd, 2016; De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Another explanation might be that the manipulation was not effective in provoking more positive and less positive evaluations of procedural justice respectively. Also, knowledge of the study being conducted might have prevented police officers in both groups to treat victims in a procedurally unjust manner, while this may occur (occasionally) during daily practices. For obvious reasons, it would be unethical to manipulate procedural justice and police performance in a negative manner in a real life experiment. However, it can be manipulated in a vignette experiment. In a vignette design, participants are asked to hypothetically place themselves in a certain situation. To make participants able to do so, it is necessary that the situation described is realistic and familiar to the participants (Leeper Piquero & Piquero, 2006).

5.1.3 This chapter

This chapter aims to explore the influence of the police response on victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization and whether this direct relationship is mediated by perceived police legitimacy in a vignette experiment. Based on Tyler's framework and previous research, we propose several hypotheses:

- (1) An adequate police response has a positive direct effect on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police.

- a. An adequate police response will result in higher willingness to cooperate with the police compared to having no contact with the police;
 - b. An inadequate police response will result in lower willingness to cooperate with the police compared to having no contact with the police.
- (2) The police response has a positive indirect effect on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police via the positive effect on the mediating concepts perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy).
- a. An adequate police response will result in higher perceived legitimacy compared to having no contact with the police;
 - b. An inadequate police response will result in lower perceived legitimacy compared to having no contact with the police;
 - c. The police response has a positive effect on willingness to cooperate via perceived trust in the police;
 - d. The police response has a positive effect on willingness to cooperate via perceived obligation to obey the law.

This chapter advances current knowledge in three important ways. First, it explores the *causal* relationship between the police response in terms of both procedural justice and police performance and fictional victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Second, it explores not only whether an inadequate police response has a harmful impact on perceived legitimacy and mock victims' willingness to cooperate, but also whether an adequate police response enhances perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate, compared to mock victims who have had no contact with the police. Third, it explores whether this relationship can be explained (i.e. mediated) by perceived legitimacy. Overall, the current chapter seeks to answer the following research question: How does the police response influence mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police?

5.2 STUDY 1

Prior to examining whether perceived legitimacy mediates the relationship between the police response and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, we needed to determine the minimum sample size required to find an effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate. To determine the minimum sample size, an a priori power analysis was conducted. To conduct such an analysis, information is needed on the given alpha (usually set at 0.05), desired power (i.e. the probability that the null hypothesis will be rejected given that it is in fact false, usually set at 0.80; Cohen, 1988), the number of groups in the study (three), and the effect size. The effect size can be estimated by conducting a pilot study (Lenth, 2001). The primary aim of

the first study was to estimate the effect size of the relationship between the police response and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police to be used for the Study 2 sample size calculation. By conducting Study 1, we were also able to examine whether our manipulation of the police response was effective in evoking respectively positive and negative evaluations of procedural justice and police performance among mock victims of crime.

5.2.1 Methods

Participants

To determine the required sample size for the first study, we relied on rules of thumb, suggesting that we needed at least 70 participants (Teare, Dimairo, Shephard, Hayman, Whitehead & Walters, 2014). In total, 77 Leiden University Criminology students participated in Study 1. Of these, 2 participants were excluded because they were not yet 18 years of age. The analyses are based on the 75 remaining participants (17 men and 58 women). Their ages ranged from 18 to 49 ($M = 19.32$, $SD = 3.75$). Of these participants, 15 indicated that they had been victimized during the 12 months prior to the experiment. Of those who had been victimized, eight participants had notified the police and all but one of them evaluated their contact with the police as positive.

Design

The study contrasted three conditions; an adequate police response condition ($n = 24$), an inadequate police response condition ($n = 24$) and a control condition ($n = 27$) in which the police response was not manipulated. The control condition would give us information on mock victims' general willingness to cooperate with the police, which would help us interpreting the findings of the experimental conditions. Participants were randomly allocated over the different conditions.

Procedure

Undergraduate students were approached during methodology classes in criminology. The paper and pencil questionnaire was handed out to the students and it was emphasised that participation in the study was voluntary. Participants read a hypothetical situation of a violent robbery and were asked to identify themselves with the victim (see appendix). In the control condition, the scenario ended after the victimization. In this condition, there was no contact with the police. In the experimental conditions, the scenario proceeded by the victim having contact with the police.¹ After reading the

1 As our focus was on police behaviour in relation to their willingness to cooperate with the police, we deliberately did not mention anything about the outcome of the case (i.e. whether the offender was caught or not).

scenario, participants in the experimental conditions were asked to answer questions about their evaluations of the police response with regard to the case they had just read and participants in all three conditions answered questions on their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization. Lastly, some control questions and demographic questions were asked. The data collector and the supervising Associate Professor made sure that respondents were not communicating with each other during the study. The questionnaire was completed in about 10 minutes and participants were thanked and debriefed after completion.

Police response manipulation. In the adequate police response condition, police officers arrived quickly (i.e. police performance) and kindly asked how s/he [the victim] was doing and whether s/he was in a lot of pain (i.e. respect element of procedural justice). Next, police officers asked to tell his/her story (i.e. 'voice' element of procedural justice) and asked some questions in an open and unbiased manner (i.e. neutrality element of procedural justice). At the end of the conversation, the officers expressed that they were sorry for what had happened to the victim and that they also wanted to catch the offender (i.e. trustworthiness element of procedural justice). After two weeks, the police informed the victim about the performed investigation activities (i.e. police performance).

In contrast, in the inadequate police response condition, police officers took a long time to arrive (i.e. lack of police performance), did not pay any attention to the victim's wellbeing (i.e. lack of respect), and were not interested to hear the victim's story (i.e. lack of 'voice'). Next, the officers asked some questions in a biased manner (i.e. whether the offender was male and whether the offender was foreign; lack of neutrality). Finally, the officers merely stated that they would see in the next week what they could do (i.e. lack of trustworthiness). After two weeks, the police had not (yet) informed the victim about the investigative activities (i.e. lack of police performance).

To ensure participants in the experimental conditions had carefully read the scenario we asked them to recall whether the police had arrived quickly; whether the victim was able to tell his/her story to the police; and whether the police recontacted the victim. Most participants answered these three questions correctly. Only two participants answered two of these questions incorrectly, none of the participants answered all three questions incorrectly, and one participant did not answer these questions.

Measures

Several items were used to measure mock victims' evaluations of the police response and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police.

Mock victims' evaluations of the police response. Participants in the manipulated conditions (i.e. adequate police response vs. inadequate police response) were asked to evaluate the described police response in terms of procedural

justice and police performance on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*) on 15 items (see Chapter 3). These items were used in previous research to measure procedural justice (e.g. 'The police was fair'; Murphy, 2009; Reisig et al., 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003) and police performance (e.g. 'The police was efficient'; Kunst et al., 2013; Murphy, 2009). The internal consistency of this scale was excellent ($\alpha = .98$).

Victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Participants in all three conditions were asked to indicate their willingness to be involved in five cooperative behaviours in case of future victimization (e.g. 'If I would be violently victimized in the future, I would help the police in finding a suspect'), based on previous research on a 7-point Likert scale (Reisig et al., 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). One of the items was formulated in a reversed manner ('If I would be violently victimized in the future, I would not give a testimony'), which resulted in a low internal consistency ($\alpha = .62$). Removal of this item resulted in an excellent internal consistency of this scale ($\alpha = .83$).

Manipulation checks. To test the perceived realism of the scenarios, we asked participants to indicate whether they could easily place themselves in the situation described (yes/no) and whether they could imagine that something like the situation described could happen in real life (yes/no).

Statistical analyses

To estimate the effect size of the police response in relation to mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, the primary aim of Study 1, we performed a one-way ANOVA. In this analysis, scores on willingness to cooperate with the police among the three conditions (i.e. two experimental conditions and one control condition) were compared. If a significant difference between the three conditions was found, Tukey's HSD post-hoc test was used to examine which conditions differed from each other. Before estimating the effect size, some preliminary analyses were performed to test for the randomization of participants on the conditions and the effectiveness of our manipulation in evoking positive and less positive evaluations of the police response.

First, we tested whether participants were equally distributed across the three conditions in terms of gender (Chi²-test) and age (one-way ANOVA). Next, we tested whether the perceived realism of the scenario differed across the three conditions, using one-way ANOVA. Lastly, we tested whether the manipulation of the police response was effective in evoking positive and less positive perceptions of police behaviours. We performed a t-test in which the scores on evaluations of the police response among the two experimental conditions were contrasted. All analyses were performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 23.

5.2.2 Results

Preliminary analyses

A Chi²-test revealed that male and female participants were equally distributed across the three conditions (adequate police response, inadequate police response, and control condition), $X^2(2, N = 75) = 2.157, p > .05$. Additionally, an ANOVA indicated that no significant age differences were found between participants across the conditions, $F(2, 72) = 1.128, p > .05$. Furthermore, two Chi²-tests showed that the perceived realism of the scenarios (i.e. whether it was easy to place themselves in the situation described, $X^2(2, N = 74) = 1.019, p > .05$, and whether the scenario could happen in real life, $X^2(2, N = 74) = 5.76, p > .05$) did not depend on the conditions. This indicates that these characteristics did not vary for the conditions.

A t-test on the manipulation check with evaluations of the police response as dependent variable revealed that participants in the positive police response condition ($M = 5.01, SD = 0.73$) reported higher scores on evaluations of procedural justice and police performance than participants in the negative police response condition ($M = 2.05, SD = 0.54$). This difference was significant $t(46) = -16.228, p < .001$, and represents a strong sized effect (Cohen's $d = 4.68$).² This indicates that our manipulation of the police response was successful in evoking respectively positive and less positive evaluations of procedural justice and police performance.

Main analyses

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of the police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in the adequate police response, inadequate police response, and no police contact conditions. These three conditions differed significantly in their willingness to cooperate with the police, $F(2, 72) = 11.566, p < .001$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the adequate police response condition ($M = 6.29, SD = .64$) was significantly higher than for the inadequate police response condition ($M = 5.08, SD = 1.25, t(46) = 4.21, p < .001, d = 1.22$). The mean score for the control condition ($M = 5.94, SD = .69$) was significantly higher than the inadequate police response condition ($t(49) = 3.08, p < .01, d = 0.85$), but not significantly lower than the adequate police response condition ($t(49) = -1.86, p > .05, d = -0.53$). The significant results suggest that our sample size was sufficient to detect an effect of the police response in relation to mock victims' willingness to cooperate, and more specifically to detect an effect of an inadequate police response on willingness to cooperate compared to mock victims who had

$$2 \quad d = \frac{M1 - M2}{\sqrt{\frac{(SD1^2 + SD2^2)}{2}}} = \frac{5.01 - 2.05}{\sqrt{\frac{((0.73)^2 + (0.54)^2)}{2}}} = 4.68$$

no contact with the police (i.e. control group). However, the non-significant result of an adequate police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police suggests that we had insufficient power to detect a significant relationship, given the effect size and sample size. Post hoc power analyses using GPower (Erdfelder, Faul & Buchner, 1996; Faul & Erdfelder, 1992) indeed confirmed that we had insufficient statistical power to detect a significant effect: based on a sample size (N) of 51³, an alpha (α) of 0.05, an effect size (d) of 0.526 and two groups (adequate police response vs. control condition), the statistical power is .581.

With the information on the magnitude of the effect, we could estimate the minimum sample size required to detect an effect on mock victims' willingness to cooperate between the conditions of the adequate police response group and the control group. To do so, an a priori power analysis was conducted using GPower (Erdfelder et al., 1996; Faul & Erdfelder, 1992). Based on an effect size (d) of 0.526, an alpha (α) of 0.05, the desired power of 0.80, and an allocation ratio N_2/N_1 of 1 (i.e. equal number of participants in both groups), the number of participants per group should be at least 46. In other words, given the effect size of the difference in willingness to cooperate between the adequate police response condition and control condition, we needed to include at least 46 participants per condition to achieve the desired power of 0.80.

5.2.3 Conclusion

The primary aim of the first study was to estimate the minimum required sample size to detect an effect of the police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in the future based on the effect size. Our manipulation turned out to be effective in evoking respectively more and less positive evaluations of the police response. The results indicate that the sample was sufficient to detect a significant effect between the way police officers respond to the victimization and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Specifically, the results suggest that the sample size was sufficient to detect differences in mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police between the inadequate police response condition and the control condition. In contrast, the results suggest that the sample size was insufficient to detect differences in mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police between the adequate police response condition and the control condition, given the effect size of the difference in willingness to cooperate between these two conditions. An a priori power analysis based on this effect size suggested that the sample size should be at least 46 per group to detect an effect of an adequate police response compared to the control condition on willingness to cooperate. Now that we have knowledge on the minimum required sample size, we can replicate our first

3 The number of participants in the adequate police response condition and control condition combined.

study using a bigger sample size and examine whether (1) there is a causal relationship between the police response and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police; (2) whether an adequate police response has positive consequences for willingness to cooperate compared to having no contact with the police; (3) whether an inadequate police response has negative consequences for willingness to cooperate compared to not having contact with the police; and (4) whether this relationship is mediated by perceived legitimacy.

5.3 STUDY 2

In the second study, the first study was advanced by exploring whether the effect of the police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police is mediated by perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy). The design of the study was similar to the first study as the same scenario and police response manipulation were used. However, in the second study, we measured not only mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, but also their perceptions of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law. The primary aim of Study 2 was to examine whether mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy mediate the relationship between the police response and willingness to cooperate with the police. By conducting this second study, we were also able to examine whether the police response had a causal relationship on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police and their perceptions of legitimacy. More specifically, we were able to examine whether an inadequate police response had a harmful impact on perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate compared to an adequate police response or having no contact with the police. Additionally, we were able to examine whether an adequate police response enhanced perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police compared to an inadequate police response or having no contact with the police.

5.3.1 Methods

Participants

In total, 414 Leiden University students (165 men, 247 women; two participants did not indicate their sex) participated in Study 2. Their ages ranged from 18 to 46 ($M = 21.59$, $SD = 2.89$). Of these participants, 24 indicated that they had been victimized during the last 12 months. Of those who were victimized, 15 participants had notified the police and nine of them evaluated their contact with the police as positive.

Design

As in the pilot study, three conditions were contrasted: an adequate police response condition ($n = 138$), an inadequate police response condition ($n = 138$), and a control condition in which the police response was not manipulated ($n = 138$). The control condition would give us information on mock victims' general willingness to cooperate with the police, which would help us interpreting the findings of the experimental conditions. Participants were randomly allocated over the different conditions.

Procedure

Undergraduate students were approached during lunch breaks at the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences of Leiden University. A questionnaire was handed out to the students and it was emphasised that participation in the study was voluntary. Subsequently, participants read the scenario used in the first study. After reading the scenario, participants were asked to answer questions about their perceptions of police legitimacy, their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization and some control questions and demographic questions. The data collector made sure that respondents were not communicating with each other during the study. The questionnaire was completed in about 10 minutes and participants were thanked and debriefed after completion.

Police response manipulation. The police response manipulation was the same as in the first study. To ensure participants had read carefully the scenario we asked whether the police arrived quickly; whether the victim was able to tell his/her story to the police; and whether the police recontacted the victim. Most participants answered these three questions correctly. Only two participants failed to answer correctly on two of these questions and none of the participants incorrectly answered on all three questions.

Measures

The measures used in Study 2 are mediators (perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived obligation to obey the law and perceived trust in the police) and the dependent variable (mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police).

Mediators

Perceived legitimacy. In line with Tyler's original work (1990; 2006, p. 47), two indicators were used to measure perceived legitimacy: perceived obligation to obey the law and perceived trust in the police. However, based on the measurement structure of these concepts reported in previous research (see Chapter 3) these concepts were treated as separate concepts.

Perceived obligation to obey the law. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with three items (e.g. 'I always try to follow the law even if I think that it's wrong') on a 7-point Likert-scale ranging from (1) totally disagree to (7) totally agree (see Wemmers, 1996). The internal consistency of this scale was satisfactory ($\alpha = .72$).

Perceived trust in the police. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with four items (e.g. "I have a great deal of respect for the police") on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) totally disagree to (7) totally agree (see Wemmers, 1996). The internal consistency of this scale was excellent ($\alpha = .86$).

Dependent variable

Victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. The same measure as in the pilot study was used. However, the reversed item ('If I would be violently victimized in the future, I would not give a testimony') was unreversed in Study 2 ('If I would be violently victimized in the future, I would give a testimony'). The internal consistency of this measure in the current study was excellent ($\alpha = .88$), similar to the one reported in Study 1 ($\alpha = .83$).

Manipulation checks. The same measures as in the first study were used.

Statistical analyses

To test the primary hypothesis, that perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (i.e. perceived legitimacy) mediate the relationship between the police response and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, multiple mediation analysis was conducted. This is a mediation model that contains two mediation variables (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law). First, the total effect was explored (i.e. the aggregate mediating effect of both proposed mediators and the direct effect) and second, the specific indirect effects were explored (i.e. the mediating effect of a specific mediator; see Preacher & Hayes, 2008). By contrasting the specific indirect effects, we could determine which indirect effect (through which mediator) is stronger. A multiple mediation SPSS macro was used to test the model, which tests the significance of the indirect effects using bootstrap analysis (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). This analysis uses the original sample to generate multiple random samples with replacement to repeatedly compute the statistic of interest (Mallinckrodt, Abraham, Wei & Russell, 2006). In the current study, 10,000 samples were requested to yield parameter estimates and accompanying confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects. A specific indirect effect is computed as the product of the effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate through either perceived trust in the police (a_1b_1) or perceived obligation to obey the law (a_2b_2), whereas the total effect (c) is computed as the sum of the indirect effect of both mediators in our model and the direct effect ($(a_1b_1) + (a_2b_2) + c$) (see Figure 5.2).

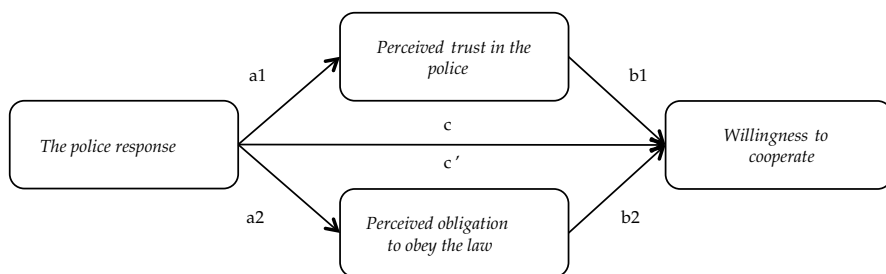


Figure 5.2 Graphical depiction of current chapter's multiple mediation model

If the confidence intervals of the specific indirect effects did not contain zero, it meant that they were significant and mediation occurred. The significance of the indirect effect was also examined with the Sobel test (1982), which tests whether the indirect effect on an outcome via a particular mediator is significantly different from zero. If mediation occurred, the effect size was calculated in terms of the indirect effect relative to the total effect, the indirect effect relative to the direct effect, and the indirect effect relative to the maximum possible indirect effect (see for a discussion on different approaches to determine effect sizes Preacher & Kelley, 2011; Wen & Fan, 2015). Before testing the mediation model, some preliminary analyses to test for the randomization of participants on the conditions were performed.

First, and similar to the first study, we tested whether participants were equally distributed across the three conditions in terms of gender (Chi²-test) and age (ANOVA). Next, we tested whether the perceived realism of the scenario differed across the three conditions, using one-way ANOVAs. Lastly, we performed three one-way ANOVAs in which the scores on (1) willingness to cooperate with the police; (2) perceived trust in the police; and (3) perceived obligation to obey the law were compared among the three conditions. If a significant difference between the three conditions was found, Tukey's HSD post-hoc test was used to examine how conditions differed from each other. Since three ANOVAs were tested, we tested whether statistical significant relationships remained significant when applying a Bonferroni correction of $p < .0167$ ($p < .05 / 3$). All analyses were performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 23.

5.3.2 Results

Preliminary analyses

A Chi²-test revealed that male and female participants were equally distributed across the conditions, $X^2(2, N = 412) = .719, p > .05$. Additionally, an ANOVA indicated that no significant age differences were found between participants across the conditions, $F(2, 411) = .829, p > .05$. Furthermore, two Chi²-square tests showed that the perceived realism of the scenarios (i.e.

whether it was easy to place themselves in the situation described, $X^2(2, N = 414) = .266, p > .05$ and whether the scenario could happen in real life, $X^2(2, N = 414) = 5.038, p > .05$) did not depend on the conditions. This indicates that these characteristics did not vary for the conditions.

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of the police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law in the adequate police response, inadequate police response and no police contact conditions. Significant differences between the three conditions were found for willingness to cooperate with the police ($F[2, 411] = 62.428, p < .001$), perceived trust in the police ($F[2, 411] = 54.607, p < .001$), and perceived obligation to obey the law ($F[2, 20.737] = 82.11, p < .001$).

Mean scores and standard deviations are displayed in Table 5.1a and results of comparisons between conditions are displayed in Table 5.1b. The post hoc analyses indicated that the mean scores for the adequate police response condition on all variables – willingness to cooperate with the police, perceived trust in the police, and perceived obligation to obey the law – were significantly higher than for the inadequate police response condition and the control condition. These results suggest that a adequate police response results in more positive perceptions of legitimacy and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police compared to a inadequate police response or having no contact with the police. However, after applying the Bonferroni correction, differences between mean scores on perceived trust in the police and willingness to cooperate with the police for the adequate condition and the control condition lost its significance. On the other hand, results suggest the mean scores for the inadequate police response condition on the dependent variables were significantly lower than for the control condition. This suggests that an inadequate police response results in less positive perceptions of legitimacy and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police compared to having no contact with the police. These results remained significant when applying Bonferroni correction.

Table 5.1a Mean scores on dependent variables for each condition

Dependent variables	Adequate condition		Inadequate condition		Control condition	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Willingness to cooperate with the police	6.25	0.64	5.13	1.10	5.97	0.80
Perceived trust in the police	5.10	0.93	3.87	1.13	4.79	0.98
Perceived obligation to obey the law	5.09	0.90	4.43	0.87	4.77	0.79

Table 5.1b Mean differences between conditions on dependent variables

Dependent variables	Condition (1)	Condition (2)	Mean difference (1-2)	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Willingness to cooperate	Control	Inadequate	0.84	0.87***
		Adequate	-0.28	0.39*
Perceived trust in the police	Adequate	Inadequate	1.12	1.25***
	Control	Inadequate	0.92	0.87***
		Adequate	-0.31	0.32*
	Adequate	Inadequate	1.23	1.19***
Perceived obligation to obey the law	Control	Inadequate	0.34	0.41**
		Adequate	-0.32	0.38**
	Adequate	Inadequate	0.66	0.75***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Main analyses

Table 5.2 contains the parameter estimates for the total effect and for the specific and aggregate indirect effects of the relationship between the police response and mock crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law. The indirect effect via perceived obligation to obey the law was not significant as indicated by the confidence intervals that contained zero. However, the indirect effect via perceived trust in the police was significant as indicated by the confidence intervals that did not contain zero. Thus, perceived trust in the police was a significant mediator such that an adequate police response positively influenced perceived trust, which, in turn, was positively related to willingness to cooperate with the police (see Figure 5.3). Since perceived trust in the police was the only significant mediator, its specific effect was also examined in a single mediation analysis (see Table 5.3 and Figure 5.4). The mediation effect was confirmed by a Sobel test, which revealed that the indirect effect of the police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived trust in the police was significantly different from zero, $z = 7.75$, $p < .001$.

Table 5.2 Total and indirect effects of the police response on willingness to cooperate through perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law

	Parameter estimate	SE	95% BC CI	
			Lower	Upper
Total effect ^a	1.136	.110	.920	1.352
Direct effect ^b	0.469	.102	.268	.671
Aggravate indirect effects ^c	0.666	.102	.483	.885
Perceived trust in the police ^d	0.634	.102	.458	.872
Perceived obligation to obey the law ^e	0.033	.047	-.054	.134
Perceived trust in the police minus perceived obligation to obey the law ^f	0.601	.122	.389	.869

Note: BC CI = Bias corrected confidence interval.

^a Sum of specific indirect effects and direct effect (c-path).

^b Total effect minus specific indirect effects (c'-path).

^c Sum of specific indirect effects ($[a1b1]+[a2b2]$).

^d Specific indirect effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate via perceived trust in the police (a1b1).

^e Specific indirect effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate via perceived obligation to obey the law (a2b2).

^f Specific indirect effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate via perceived trust in the police minus specific indirect effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate via perceived obligation to obey the law ($[a1b1]-[a1b2]$).

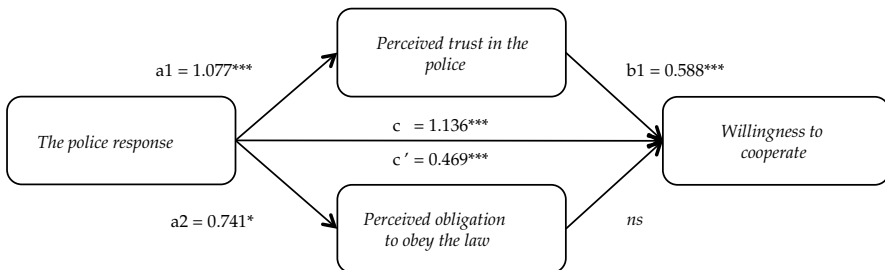


Figure 5.3 Multiple mediation model of the current chapter's theoretical framework.

Standardized regression coefficients from a bootstrap procedure are provided along the paths ($n = 276$)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.3 Total and indirect effects of the police response on willingness to cooperate through perceived trust in the police

	Parameter estimate	SE	95% BC CI	
			Lower	Upper
Total effect ^a	1.136	.110	.920	1.352
Direct effect ^b	0.480	.102	.268	.671
Perceived trust in the police ^c	0.656	.099	.483	.887

Note: BC CI = Bias corrected confidence interval.

^a Sum of specific indirect effects and direct effect (c-path).

^b Total effect minus specific indirect effects (c'-path).

^c Specific indirect effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate via perceived trust in the police (ab).

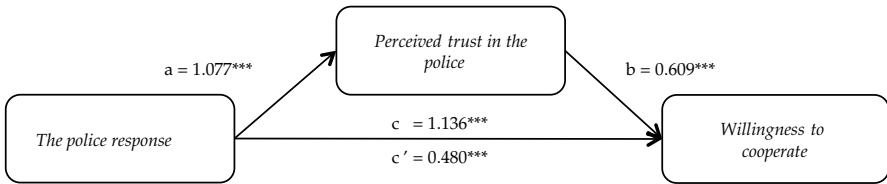


Figure 5.4 Multiple mediation model of the current chapter's theoretical framework, without perceived obligation to obey the law. Standardized regression coefficients from a bootstrap procedure are provided along the paths ($n = 276$)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

To interpret the strength of the mediation effect, several measures have been proposed and criticized (see for an overview Preacher & Kelley, 2011; Wen & Fan, 2015). Here we report on the traditional and commonly used effect size measures: the ratio of the indirect to the total effect (P_M ; Alwin & Hauser, 1975) and the ratio of the indirect to the direct effect (R_M ; Sobel, 1982). In addition, we report on a more recent proposed effect size measure: the ratio of the indirect to the maximum possible effect ($K2$; Preacher & Kelley, 2011).

The effect size in terms of the proportion of the indirect effect via perceived trust in the police in relation to the total effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate was 0.58⁴ (CI: .440-.749), suggesting that perceived trust in the police mediates slightly more than half of the total effect of the police response on cooperation (Alwin & Hauser, 1975). The effect size in terms of the ratio of the indirect effect via perceived trust in the police to the direct effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate was 1.37⁵ (CI: .785-2.984), indicating that the indirect effect of

$$4 \quad P_M = \frac{ab}{ab + c'} = \frac{(1.077)(0.609)}{(1.077)(0.609) + 0.480} = 0.58$$

$$5 \quad R_M = \frac{ab}{c'} = \frac{(1.077)(0.609)}{0.480} = 1.37$$

the police response on cooperation is 1.37 times the size of the direct effect (Sobel, 1982). The effect size in terms of the ratio of the indirect effect via perceived trust in the police to the maximum possible indirect effect – given the covariance matrix of the police response, perceived trust in the police, and willingness to cooperate – was 0.319,⁶ implying that the observed indirect effect was almost a third of the maximum possible indirect effect. This measure could be interpreted using Cohen's (1988) guidelines: 0.01 (small), 0.09 (medium), and 0.25 (strong), suggesting a strong effect (Preacher & Kelley, 2011). In sum, all the effect size estimates suggested that the effect size of the mediating effect of perceived trust in the police on the relationship between the police response and mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police was strong.

5.4 GENERAL DISCUSSION

Crime victims seem to be less willing to report a repeat victimization (López, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Van Dijk, 2001). Previous studies suggested that this may be due to the way they feel treated by the police and their perceptions of police investigation in their case (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Shapland et al., 1985), but have rarely examined whether this may be a causal relationship. Based on Tyler's theoretical framework and previous research among real crime victims (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012) this chapter examined whether the police response to a victimization case influences victims' willingness to cooperate with the police and whether this relationship is mediated by perceived legitimacy using a vignette experiment. This chapter advanced current knowledge in three important ways. First, it explored whether there is a *causal* relationship between the police response and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Second, it examined not only whether an adequate police response resulted in more willingness to cooperate with the police compared to the control condition, but also whether an inadequate police response resulted in less willingness compared to the control condition. Third, it explored whether this relationship can be explained (i.e. mediated) by perceived police legitimacy. By

$$6 \quad K^2 = \frac{ab}{M(ab)} = \frac{(1.077)(0.609)}{2.055} = 0.319$$

$$M(a) = \left(\frac{S_{ym}S_{yx} \pm \sqrt{S_m^2 S_y^2 - S_{ym}^2} \sqrt{S_x^2 S_y^2 - S_{yx}^2}}{S_x^2 S_y^2} \right) = \left(\frac{0.805 * 0.285 \pm \sqrt{(1.109)(1.15) - (0.805)^2} * \sqrt{(0.251)(1.15) - (0.285)^2}}{(0.251)(1.15)} \right) = \{-0.455, 2.045\}$$

$$M(b) = \left(\pm \frac{\sqrt{S_x^2 S_y^2 - S_{yx}^2}}{\sqrt{S_m^2 S_y^2 - S_{ym}^2}} \right) = \left(\pm \frac{\sqrt{(0.251)(1.15) - (0.285)^2}}{\sqrt{(0.251)(1.109) - (0.270)^2}} \right) = \{-1.005, 1.005\}$$

$$M(ab) = 2.045 * 1.005 = 2.055$$

using a vignette study, the police response was manipulated in two ways (i.e. adequate police response vs. inadequate police response) to examine how this influences mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and their willingness to cooperate with the police. Also, we included a control condition in which the police response was not manipulated to interpret the study's results. To ensure that the study had enough statistical power to detect a significant effect of the police response on willingness to cooperate, we first conducted a preliminary study to estimate the magnitude of this effect. The effect size was subsequently used in an a priori power analysis to calculate the minimum required sample size.

In line with hypothesis 1, most previous studies among *real* crime victims (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Johnson, 2007; Xie et al., 2006; but cf. Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Wheller et al., 2013), and our theoretical framework, the results indicate that the police response holds a positive relationship with *mock* victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. As shown by the results of the second study, particularly an inadequate police response had a harmful impact on mock victims' willingness to cooperate compared to having no contact with the police (support for hypothesis 1b). In contrast, the results of the second study suggest that an adequate police response resulted in slightly higher scores on willingness to cooperate compared to having no contact with the police, but these results were not significant anymore after Bonferroni correction was applied (rejection of hypothesis 1a).

In line with hypotheses 2a and 2b, our theoretical framework, and previous research among *real* victims of crime (see Brathwaite & Yeboah, 2004; Elliott et al., 2011; Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014; Wemmers, 1996; see also Chapter 4), we found a positive effect of the police response on both indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law) among *mock* victims. However, it should be noted that the effect of an adequate police response on perceived trust compared to having no contact with the police disappeared after applying Bonferroni correction, which means that only partial support was found for hypothesis 2a. Consistent with our theoretical framework and previous studies among *real* victims of violent crime (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011) and victims of physical assault (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014), our results indicate that perceived trust in the police is related to *mock* crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police (cf. Chapter 4). As mixed results on this relationship have been found for other types of crime (see Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014) it might be that the nature of this relationship partly depends on the type of crime the victims experiences. Future research may replicate the study design described in this chapter, but use a different type of crime scenario instead of a violent crime scenario to gain more information on the influence of type of crime on the relationship between perceived trust in the police and cooperation.

In addition to the direct relationships between the police response and perceived trust in the police and between perceived trust in the police and

willingness to cooperate, mediation analyses of Study 2 suggest that the effect of the police response on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police is partly mediated by perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police (support for hypothesis 2c), but not by perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived obligation to obey the law (rejection of hypothesis 2d). The indirect relationship between the police response and willingness to cooperate with the police via perceived obligation to obey the law was not significant, because of the lack of a statistical direct relationship between perceived obligation to obey the law and perceived willingness to cooperate with the police. While this result contradicts our theoretical framework, it is in line with some (Kochel et al., 2011), but not all previous research among *real* crime victims (Chapter 4). Given that perceived obligation to obey the law is part of perceived legitimacy, we expected it to be correlated with mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. An explanation for not finding a statistical significant relationship might be that perceived obligation to obey the law pertains to passive behaviour, rather than active cooperation (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). This line of reasoning is supported by the findings of Kochel et al. (2011), who found a non-significant relationship between victims' perceptions of obligation to obey the law and cooperation.⁷ However, this thesis found a positive significant relationship in Chapter 4. The fact that a non-significant relationship was found in this chapter, is remarkable given that the study described in this chapter is more similar to the one described in Chapter 4 than to the study of Kochel et al. (2011). While Kochel et al. (2011) focused on crime victims in Trinidad and Tobago, perceived obligation to obey the police, the law, and the criminal justice system as a whole, and actual cooperation, Chapter 4 focused on crime victims in the Netherlands, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate. However, an important difference between the studies presented in Chapter 4 and the current chapter is that this chapter included mock victims instead of actual crime victims. Nevertheless, experimental vignette designs have previously been used to examine causal factors that predict fictional victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of victimization (e.g. Boekhoorn & Tolsma, 2016; Goudriaan & Nieuwbeerta, 2007; Tolsma, Blaauw & Te Grotenhuis, 2012). For example, Goudriaan and Nieuwbeerta (2007) manipulated the location of the crime (public, semi-public, or private), the extent to which victim and offender knew each other (well-known, vaguely known, or unknown), and whether or not the offender belonged to the same organisation as the victim (their school) to examine its effects on juveniles' willingness to contact the police in case of violent victimization. Results indicate that willingness to contact the police is lower when the incident took place within the organisation (vs. in the public domain) and when the offender was known (vs. vaguely

7 Although the authors reported a positive relationship, this was based on a significance level of $p = .068$, instead of the more conventional significance level of $p \leq .05$.

known or unknown), and when the offender belonged to the same organisation as the victim (school).

Another example is the study of Tolsma, Blaauw and Te Grotenhuis (2012) in which the duration and flexibility (i.e. possibility to report outside office hours), method of reporting (i.e. phone, Internet, or police station), anonymous reporting, and encouragement by police officers was manipulated to examine the effects on mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. The authors conclude that the police force may be able to influence aspects of the reporting process (e.g. duration and methods of reporting) that are under direct control of the police and that this would improve crime reporting rates, especially for less severe crimes.

5.4.1 Study limitations

When interpreting the findings of the current chapter, some limitations need to be considered. First, the external validity of this chapters' findings is limited since our respondents were approached using convenience sampling among university students in the Netherlands. This may have hampered the generalizability of our results.

Second, the reliability of our findings might also be limited given our focus on *mock* victims' willingness to cooperate instead of actual cooperation. Although empirical studies suggest a strong correlation between reported intentions and actual behaviour (for a meta-analysis see Kim & Hunter, 1993), we do not know whether they will actually cooperate in case of future victimization. Another result of the focus on willingness to cooperate is the possibility of socially desirable answering by participants.

The current chapter is limited by our focus on the police response during the investigation phase. Future studies may extend this focus by also including the outcome of the case (e.g. whether the offender has been caught by the police). In doing so, future studies may examine the relative impact of the police outcome and the police response on victims' cooperation in case of future crime victimization (see Laxminarayan & Pemberton, 2014).

In addition, our findings were based on cross-sectional data as we measured our concepts on a single occasion. This may have hampered the reliability of our results. Future studies might improve this chapter's study design by measuring the concepts over different time periods to examine whether the results hold over time.

5.4.2 Conclusion

Despite these limitations, this chapter is the first to explore whether the police response *influences* victims' willingness to cooperate with the police and whether this relationship can be explained by their perceptions of police legitimacy. By using a vignette design, we were able to randomly distribute participants among the conditions and to manipulate the police response in

a way that would be inappropriate in real life. The results suggest that the police response in a previous case might explain why particularly repeat victims, compared to first-time victims, seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police. Moreover, findings suggest that this can at least partly be explained by the influence of the police response on perceptions of the police force's concern with social norms and values in society. This is of practical relevance for the police, because it suggests that police officers may be able to limit repeat victims' unwillingness to cooperate in case of future victimization by treating them fairly and by performing adequate investigative actions in a previous incident and informing victims about that. In fact, they might even be able to stimulate victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. However, whether this is true in real life interactions between crime victims and police officers could be subject of future research by using a field experiment design.

5.5 APPENDIX

*Scenario for the adequate police response condition*⁸

When you're on your way home late at night, you are harassed by a man. He wants to steal your wallet. When you don't give it immediately, he hits you hard in your face. Then he gives you a kick in your stomach, making you fall on the ground. He grabs your wallet, runs away with it to his scooter, which is just down the way and rips off. You know the offender's name, but you haven't spoken to this person before and you do not know where he lives. Your face and stomach hurt, but you do not have to see a doctor.

You hurry home startled and you call the police.

Two officers arrive quickly. When you open the door for them, they see that you're startled and the officers kindly ask you how you are doing and whether you're in a lot of pain. When you say you're doing alright, the officers indicate that that they have received your notification and that robberies are frequent in this neighbourhood. Then they ask interested: "Could you please tell us what happened exactly?" Once you've told your story, they ask you several questions: "What was the offender's sex?"; "What was the offender's ethnicity?". After you have answered them, they say: "We have enough information. We feel sorry for you that this has happened to you and we would like to catch the offender. You'll hear from us."

You're doing a lot better after two weeks and you are called by one of the officers saying that they have done research in the neighbourhood and that they are still working on the case.

8 Translated from Dutch by the author.

Scenario for the inadequate police response condition

When you're on your way home late at night, you are harassed by a man. He wants to steal your wallet. When you don't give it immediately, he hits you hard in your face. Then he gives you a kick in your stomach, making you fall on the ground. He grabs your wallet, runs away with it to his scooter, which is just down the way and rips off. You know the offender's name, but you haven't spoken to this person before and you do not know where he lives. Your face and stomach hurt, but you do not have to see a doctor.

You hurry home startled and you call the police.

It takes a long time before two officers arrive. When you open the door for them, they see that you're startled, but the officers do not go into there. The officers indicate that they have received your notification and that robberies are frequent in this neighbourhood. Then they say curtly: "You don't have to tell us what happened anymore though; we already know these stories well". They do have several questions: "Was the perpetrator male?"; "Was the perpetrator an immigrant". On your answer that the perpetrator was white, the officers ask: "Are you sure?". Once you answered that you are certain, they say: "We have enough information. We'll see if we can do something with it. You'll hear from us".

You're doing a lot better after two weeks, but you haven't heard anything from the police.

Crime victims' evaluations of police behaviour in relation to cooperation: A qualitative exploration

Research question (5)

Why are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to their willingness to cooperate with the police?

Highlights

- Exploring what value crime victims place on the police response in their case and why this relates to their willingness to cooperate with the police
- Qualitative in-depth interviews with 32 crime victims of property crime ($n = 18$) and violent crime ($n = 14$) whose case had ended by the police ($n = 14$) or was still under investigation ($n = 14$);
- Both property crime victims and victims of violent crime appreciated fair treatment
- Emotionally expressive crime victims appreciated it when police officers took a clear-stance against the crime;
- Rapid case handling was particularly important to property crime victims while victims of violent crime expected the police to find the offender to make it clear to the offender that such law-breaking behaviour was not tolerated;
- Lack of police performance in the eyes of victims of violent crime made them feel abandoned by the police, resulting in less willingness to cooperate and feelings of vigilantism.

A slightly modified version of this chapter has been submitted to *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy* (status: revise and resubmit).

- Koster, N. N., Van der Leun, J. P., Kunst, M. J. J. (2017). Crime victims' perceptions of procedural justice and police performance in relation to cooperation: A qualitative study in the Netherlands

ABSTRACT

Previous research suggests that perceived negative treatment by police officers may have consequences for victims' willingness to share information with the police. This might explain why particularly repeat victims are less likely to cooperate with the police. The current chapter explores why this would be true by conducting in-depth interviews with 32 crime victims who had recently reported their victimization of property crime or violent crime to the police. Results indicate that victims of both types of crime had similar thoughts on what was deemed fair treatment. Emotionally expressive crime victims thought it was also important that the police took a clear-stance against the crime. While rapid case handling seemed to be more important for property crime victims than police officers' investigative actions and the outcome, victims of violent crime expected the police to find the offender to make it clear to the offender that such (law-breaking) behaviour was not tolerated. When victims of violent crime felt that the police had failed in this task, they would feel abandoned by the police. This feeling had not only negative consequences for these victims' willingness to cooperate, but could even lead to feelings of vigilantism, particularly among victims of violent crime who knew the offender. Implications for policy and future research are discussed.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

When crime victims decide to report their victimization to the police, the contact between crime victims and police officers is important for both parties. It is important for the police, because crime victims may be able to share relevant information about the circumstances of the crime and possibly the offender (Cirel et al., 1977; Sampson et al., 1997). This kind of information may help the police to solve the crime and, more generally, such information may be helpful to preserve law and order (Skogan & Antunes, 1979). In turn, for crime victims the contact with the police is important, because they have to cope with uncertainty about the way the police will handle their case and can only hope that they will do so in a satisfactory way.

This uncertainty may make victims especially vulnerable for the way in which they are treated by police officers (see Aviv & Weisburd, 2016). Research suggests that perceived negative treatment may not only have harmful consequences for victims' well-being (e.g. Wemmers, 2013; cf. Kunst, Popelier & Varekamp, 2015), but also for victims' willingness to share information with the police (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Shapland et al., 1985; Ziegenhagen, 1976). For example, a study by Ipsos MORI (2003) among crime victims in the UK suggests that victims who evaluated their previous experience with police officers as negative, were less likely to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization. This might explain why, as is suggested by previous research (e.g. López, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Van Dijk, 2001), particularly repeat victims are less likely to cooperate with the police. Ipsos MORI (2003) marked victims' evaluations of treatment by police officers and victims' evaluations of investigative efforts by officers as two important issues with regard to future engagement with the police and more broadly the criminal justice system. Following up on this observation, the current chapter explores why this would be true by conducting in-depth interviews with victims who have recently reported their victimization to the police.

6.1.1 Theoretical framework

Previous research suggests that victims' willingness to cooperate with the police is predicted by both victims' evaluations of procedural justice (i.e. fair treatment; Johnson, 2007; c.f., Hickman & Simpson, 2003) and victims' evaluations of police performance (i.e. investigative actions; Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006). Victims' evaluations of procedural justice and their evaluations of police performance are at least theoretically distinct. For example, whereas victims' evaluations of procedural justice captures victims' judgments of the way they have been treated by police officers, such as whether they felt that police officers were polite, courteous, and whether victims felt that they had the opportunity to express their views (Elliott et al., 2011), victims' evaluations of police performance reflect victims' opinions of

the investigative actions taken by police officers, such as whether they felt that the police officers were prompt, efficient, and took appropriate action (Elliott et al., 2012). To further understand the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance and cooperation, we rely on the theoretical framework of procedural justice (Tyler, 2006, 2011; De Mesmaecker, 2014).

Based on the group-value model and group engagement model (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler & Blader, 2003), one might argue that positive perceptions of the police response in terms of treatment and investigative efforts have a norm-reinforcing effect. By treating victims in a fair manner and by performing investigative actions, police officers can show that they take victims and their case seriously (see De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2011, 2012). This makes victims feel valued and respected and may indirectly endorse the social norms and values in society, because it makes victims perceive the police as a legitimate organisation. That is, an organisation that can be trusted to faithfully uphold the law and therefore evoke appropriate behaviour, such as cooperation with the police (Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). As a result, this perceived legitimacy of the police may encourage victims' intrinsic sense of responsibility and their willingness to help to establish or maintain social order in the community by cooperating with the police.

This line of reasoning with respect to victims of crime has up to date only been examined and partially supported by quantitative studies (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 4). While such studies provide important information on the statistical relationships between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy, and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, the underlying context behind these relationships still remain unclear. Detailed information about the nature of victims' experiences with the police can give us further insight into how and why victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance are related to willingness to cooperate with the police. Such in-depth information could be derived from qualitative research.

6.1.2 Previous qualitative research among victims of crime

The meaning of fair treatment (i.e. procedural justice) and the meaning of investigative actions (i.e. police performance) for crime victims have been examined in two recent qualitative studies (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Although both studies did not consider the impact of procedural justice and police performance on future cooperation with the police, they may nevertheless provide useful information on what victims' value in their contact with the police. Results of both studies suggest that victims are especially concerned with being believed and taken seriously by officers. Important indicators of being taken seriously were: victims' evaluations that officers took care of emotional needs by allowing victims to tell their story and letting them express their emotions; evaluations that officers were

unbiased towards the victim; and evaluations that police officers took investigative efforts to solve the crime and informed victims about those efforts (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). De Mesmaecker (2014) also notes that victims were interested in whether the police caught the offender. While acknowledging that this may indicate a concern with outcome as opposed to process, she observed that victims were interested in the police apprehending the offender, not particularly out of retaliation motives, but rather because it informed victims that they and their case were being taken seriously. Integrating this observation with the current chapters' framework suggests that it could be that apprehending the offender may shape victims' evaluations of police performance, and consequently perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police. As the status of the case may be informative on the investigative efforts taken by the police (especially when the case has been forwarded to the prosecution), it seems worthwhile to take the status of the case into account when studying victims' evaluations of police performance in relation to cooperation in cases where the police investigation has ended.

6.1.3 This chapter

This chapter seeks to advance the studies of Elliott et al. (2012) and De Mesmaecker (2014) by not only examining what value crime victims place on perceived procedural justice and police performance when evaluating the police response, but also how this relates to their willingness to cooperate with the police in the future. Moreover, this chapter compares evaluations of the police response between victims who already had been notified about the outcome of the police investigation (i.e. the case had been dropped by the police or the case had been referred to the prosecution) and victims who had not yet received such a notification (i.e. the case was still under investigation by the police). This is important, because it provides information on victims' evaluations of the police response during the police investigation phase, but also on victims' evaluations of the police response when the police investigation phase has ended. This chapter aims to fill a gap in the literature and might also help police officers in their daily interactions with crime victims to promote cooperation with the police in case of future victimization.

6.2 METHODS

6.2.1 Procedure

Participants were recruited via the police of the Regional Unit of The Hague, the third-largest police region in the Netherlands in terms of operational strength (National police, 2015). Victims who had reported being victim of a property crime (i.e. domestic burglary or attempted domestic

burglary) or a violent crime (i.e. threat or physical assault) and were over 18 at the moment of victimization were sent a letter by the police, on behalf of the researchers. For privacy reasons, no contact details of victims were directly sent to the researchers. The letter contained information about the purpose of the study, the voluntariness of participation in the study, the anonymous processing of the data, the estimated duration of the interview (one hour), and contact details of the interviewer. This information was accompanied by a letter of support from the police organisation. Victims who agreed to participate had to contact the interviewer either by phone or by email themselves to make an appointment for the interview. All interviews were conducted face-to-face by the interviewer and lasted from 40 to 90 minutes. Based on the participants' choice, interviews were held in a private room at Leiden University or at the participants' home. At the start of the interview, permission was asked to audio-record the interview. All interviewees gave their permission. The interviewer signed a confidentiality statement compiled by the Dutch police in order to protect victims' privacy. Data collection took place over a 3-month period, from August 2015 until November 2015.

6.2.2 Participants

The invitation letter for participation was sent to victims of 352 cases. These cases were extracted from all eligible cases during the study period by making separate files for all property crime victims and all victims of violent crime respectively and systematically selecting each n^{th} case in both files. Thirty-two crime victims who reported 28 cases in the Regional Unit of The Hague agreed to participate, a response rate of 8.0%.

Conducting this research, our aim was to interview approximately 30 crime victims that met our inclusion criteria. In our first attempt to approach crime victims, invitation letters were sent out to 30 crime victims. Only two of these crime victims contacted the first author for an interview. Reminders were sent to the 28 crime victims that had not responded, but none of them contacted the researcher. As a crime may weigh high on crime victims, it was decided not to send an additional reminder, but to approach other crime victims. Another 322 letters were sent out and 30 crime victims responded to the request to be interviewed. Given that crime victims were approached by mail instead of a more direct approach (e.g., face-to-face or per telephone) might have contributed to the low response rate. After all, this approach required crime victims to actively contact the researchers and the researchers were unable to provide additional information on the study to potentially hesitating victims. This may have caused that a specific type of crime victim was drawn to agree to participate in this chapter's study. It may be that specifically those who were extremely satisfied with the police response or those who were extremely unsatisfied with the police response were more likely to actively contact the researchers to be interviewed. While such selection may be detrimental for studies that seek generalizability of

study findings, it may be beneficial for this chapter's purpose to examine the underlying mechanisms behind the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. This allowed us to more easily contrast victims with positive experiences to victims with negative experiences with the police in relation to their willingness to cooperate with the police to provide contextual insight into how and why evaluations of the police response may shape victims' willingness to cooperate with the police.

The number of interviewed crime victims exceeds the number of cases as some of the burglary victims were interviewed as a couple. Victims of 14 cases were interviewed within three weeks after victimization, to examine their evaluations of procedural justice and police performance while the police investigation was still running. Victims of the 14 other cases were interviewed three months after victimization, to examine victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance when the police investigation had ended. Of the ended police investigations, six resulted in the case being referred to the prosecution office and eight cases were dropped by the police, either because the police deemed the importance of the incident too small or because of a lack of leads to proceed with the investigation. Participants' age ranged from 19 to 83 ($M = 46.63$; $SD = 19.43$). Of the participants, 14 (43.8%) were female victims and 18 (56.3%) were male victims. Concerning the type of crime, 14 (50%) interviews were held with 18 victims of (attempted) domestic burglary and 14 (50%) interviews were held with victims of physical threat or physical assault. In 11 (71.4%) of the violent cases the victim knew the offender at least by name. None of the burglary victims expressed that they knew the offender.

6.2.3 Materials

The interview schedule was developed to allow participants to elaborate on why they had reported their victimization to the police, their perceptions of the police response to their victimization, whether they would have contacted the police given what they knew at the time of the interview and in case of future victimization, and what they would advise police officers who interact with crime victims (not necessarily in this order). Open follow-up questions on these topics were used to stimulate an extensive and in-depth response from participants.

6.2.4 Data analysis

Data was transcribed and analysed using Atlas.ti version 7.5.6 (Scientific Software Development GmbH, Berlin, Germany, 2015). This is one of the most comprehensive computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. The data was analysed using a combination of a hybrid approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) and an approach of constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 2012). Using the hybrid approach, we used both the theory-driven

deductive approach in which the data was analysed for theoretical themes (Crabtree & Miller, 1999) and the data-driven inductive approach in which relevant themes emerged from the data (Boyatzis, 1998). In addition to these methods, the approach of constant comparison was used in which the data was coded in three phases: open, axial, and selective coding. After additional data collection, this process of coding continued based on the insights of the analysis of the analysed data and thereby informed the analyses of the additional data. Codes were assigned to all text parts that seemed relevant for identifying the underlying mechanisms behind the current chapter's framework. These coded text parts were then grouped if they had similar meaning. Thematic analysis of these categories, including looking at co-occurring or overlapping codes, depth, frequency, and relationships between codes, was used to examine what value victims placed on their interactions with police officers and how this related to their willingness to cooperate with the police. The interviews were held in Dutch, quotes used below have been translated into English by the authors. Each participant was assigned a unique reference code which appears each time when the participant is cited. The first letter indicates whether the participant was a victim of property crime (P) or violent crime (V), the second letter indicates whether the participant was male (M) or female (F), the number indicates the unique number of the participant, followed by the age of the participant and the status (i.e. case open) or outcome of the case (i.e. case dropped or case prosecuted) as known by the victim.

6.3 RESULTS

Participants spoke very differently about what had happened to them and about the aftermath of the crime. These differences did not seem to exclusively depend on the outcome of the police investigation (i.e. whether the case was dropped by the police or whether the case was referred to the prosecution), but also on whether victims expressed that they felt severely harmed and/or humiliated by the crime and/or the offender. While some victims expressed that they were not deeply affected by the crime, others said that they were highly emotional and expressed feelings of fear, anger, and resentment. Intense emotions and rumination of the crime were mostly expressed by victims of violent crime, particularly when they knew the offender. Four victims of violent crime went to see a doctor for their injuries and four other victims of violent crime coped with minor physical injuries. Four burglary victims felt seriously harmed by the crime and/or the offender and experienced feelings of anger towards their burglar(s). They reported that they found it difficult to leave their house for longer periods of time in the weeks after the event. In our examination of what value crime victims place on their interactions with police officers, we focus on victims' evaluations of procedural justice first, before turning to victims' evaluations of police performance.

6.3.1 Victims' evaluations of procedural justice

In general, both victims of property crime and victims of violent crime felt that one of the most important aspects in their contact with the police was being able to tell their story to genuinely interested officers. As one victim mentioned, telling her story was the main reason for contacting the police: "I just wanted to tell my story. I just wanted to be listened to." (VF2, 65 years, case dropped). To explain why this was so important a victim told: "That was exactly what I needed that moment: just a listening ear [...] to get the first tension out of your body." (PF1, 55 years, case dropped). Another one agreed: "It was really nice that they [the police officers] listen to you. It makes you feel that they have your back." (PM7, 19 years, case open). It thus seems that telling the story of what has happened to a responsive officer reassured victims and made them think that officers believed them and took their case seriously. On the other hand, the feeling of being denied to tell one's story was a major point of frustration:

"I wanted to tell a lot, but I wasn't allowed to at that moment. [...] 'easy, easy' is what he [the police officer] said, but I wasn't able to [relax, NK] at that moment, because I was so angry. And the officer kept saying: 'easy, easy'. That wasn't helpful at all. It only got me more frustrated." (VF24, 43 years, case open)

Fulfilment of the need to tell one's story and express emotions has been previously identified as one of the most important factors indicating that one is valued and respected (Barkhuizen, 2015; De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). This finding supports the salience of being attentive to crime victim's emotional needs. This was further expressed by a victim who said: "They really cared for me at that moment. That's what they also said: 'He can't do this [to you, NK]'." (VF13, 42 years, case prosecuted). Other victims appreciated it when officers angrily expressed their disapproval of the crime:

"She [the police officer, NK] was also a little agitated... against the offender, and they should keep doing that. I think that's best for crime victims, empathy." (VM14, 80 years, case prosecuted).

The police showing compassion and taking a clear stance against the crime or against the offender seems to reassure both male and female victims of different ages who felt deeply harmed by what had happened to them. For victims with such feelings, it was also important that the police made clear that they could not have prevented the crime from happening. Such sentiments were mostly, but not exclusively expressed by victims of violent crime: "They said to me that it wasn't my fault, this could happen to everyone. It was a big relief to hear that from police officers." (PF28, 83 years, case open).

The importance of evaluations of officers' disapproval of the crime or offender has been supported by previous research (De Mesmaecker, 2014;

Elliott et al., 2012). However, Elliott and colleagues and De Mesmaecker are not clear on whether these feelings were particularly shared among emotionally expressive crime victims, as in the current chapter, or by victims in general. In any case, by condemning the crime, officers affirm the norms and values in society. This is in line with the idea that police officers may have norm-enforcing capabilities (Tyler, 2011; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). That is, a clear stance against committing violence and stealing property indicates what kind of behaviour is not allowed and what is. However, while valued by crime victims, police officers should be careful with condemning the alleged offender, as this may indicate bias and partiality. Nevertheless, by saying that it was not the victim's fault, officers make it clear that blame falls on the offender and not the victim. This absence of bias or prejudice on the victim's role (guilt) in the offence can be seen as an important element of procedural justice (De Mesmaecker, 2014; see also Tyler & Lind, 1992).

Other important aspects in contact with the police were victims' evaluations of being informed about the proceedings in their case and being able or unable to contact police officers. Most victims of both types of crimes explicitly stated that they wanted to be informed about the progress in their case, but – when this did not happen – many were reluctant to contact the police themselves: "I don't want to bother them [...] when I call they probably think: 'oh, that guy again, that guy who wants to know more'." (PM5, 58 years, case open). In contrast, one victim expressed the wish not to be informed: "At a certain point, you just leave it all behind and don't want to be confronted with information anymore. It's done." (PM12, 34 years, case open). Concerning the ability to contact police officers, some victims highly appreciated that they had received a personal email address of the officers handling the case. This gave them the opportunity to ask questions, which officers usually quickly answered. Two burglary crime victims wanted to make some adjustments in their police report and experienced difficulties in contacting the police officer who handled their case. As they had no personal phone number or email address, their only option was to call the police station. Officers at the police stations did not pass on direct contact information and it took a while for the officers handling the case to get back in touch with these victims. This caused some hassle, but since these victims felt fairly treated by police officers when they finally regained direct contact with the officers and the matter was not urgent, it was no reason for them to be dissatisfied with the overall police response. Yet, they would have preferred to be able to come into contact with the relevant officers more easily. This is in line with De Mesmaecker's findings (2014) who reported that police availability was important to crime victims, especially when the matter was deemed urgent by the victim.

Summary

Overall, property crime victims and victims of violent crime seemed to have an equally important interest in being treated in a procedurally just manner,

irrespective of the status of the police investigation (i.e. open or closed). Victims who expressed angry or sad emotions during the interview, mostly – but not exclusively – victims of violent crime, thought it was important that the police took clear stance against the crime and/or the offender and reassured them that it was not their fault that they had fallen victim to a crime. Differences between property crime victims' evaluations and evaluations of victims of violent crime became even more apparent with regard to police performance.

6.3.2 Victims' evaluations of police performance

It should be noted that although we distinguished between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance for reasons of clarity, this distinction is often blurred in practice (see also Chapter 3). Difficulties with the theoretical distinction between evaluations of procedural justice and police performance become particularly noticeable with regard to victims' judgments of being kept informed about the proceedings in their case. While being informed in itself may be considered part of procedural justice (i.e. fair treatment), the content of the information shared or asked by the police could indicate (a lack of) police performance. Additionally, particularly evaluations of police officers' investigative actions of victims of violent crime seemed to be largely shaped by the results of these actions (i.e. the outcome of the case). Therefore crime victims' evaluations of police performance will be considered with due regard to the status (i.e. open or closed) or outcome (i.e. dropped by the police or forwarded to the prosecution) of the police investigation in their case.

Victims of domestic burglary

Most burglary victims expressed their satisfaction with police performance in their case: “[...] they have acted adequately and missed nothing. Precisely as expected.” (PM10, 45 years, case dropped) and praised the quick response time of the police to arrive. In most of these cases, police officers had searched for fingerprints, traces of the burglar and took some photos of the crime scene, which made victims feel that the officers had done everything they reasonably could to investigate the crime.

Interesting in this respect is that couples seem to align their opinion with each other. For example, only after a crime victim's partner had expressed that he thought that the police officer was finished very quickly with the investigation in their case and wondered if the officer had noticed all possible evidence, she changed her opinion and agreed with him. This example marks how participants may influence each other's opinions when they are interviewed simultaneously. However, this may not necessarily be a limitation of interviewing couples together, because it could be that partners jointly negotiate and construct their perspectives (e.g. Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2012; Taylor & De Vocht, 2011). While a few burglary victims

questioned the thoroughness of the police investigation, almost all of them expressed their understanding if police officers did not further investigate the crime, for example by searching for witnesses in a neighbourhood. Moreover, stopping the investigation did often not result in negative evaluations of the police:

“If you’d compare it with murder, then I understand that they do not spend all their time in this case. That doesn’t bother me. It [investigative actions, NK] should be within the boundaries of reasonableness.” (PV1, 55 years, case dropped).

On the other hand, taking prompt action was appreciated by a burglary victim, who called the police just after the crime has happened:

“He [the police officer, NK] arrived really quickly and we said: ‘he [the offender, NK] may still be in the area’. To which he [the police officer, NK] responded: ‘Well, let’s not stand here talking then, but let’s take a drive and see if you see him.’ I thought that was very clever of him. We hadn’t thought about that yet.” (PM8, 21 years, case open).

Considering the outcome, victims generally expressed their understanding and more or less accepted that the investigation would not result in the apprehension of the burglar: “I think the case is simply closed. I have not received a notification thereof, but [...] if I were the police, I would not keep it open, because there is just nothing that they can continue with.” (PM8, 21 years, case open). This indicates that even when burglary victims had not (yet) received an official notification, most of these victims felt the case was closed after the initial report. In fact, most burglary victims, while they thought the police wanted to apprehend burglars, were not interested in the outcome of the case: “For me personally, I’m not interested in whether or not an offender is caught.” (PM17, 52 years, case open). Instead of arresting the offender, rapid case handling for financial settlement seemed to be more important for burglary victims: “It is really just something bad that happens to you and you don’t want to spend too much time on it. Certainly not with the paper work [for insurance reasons].” (PM27, 47 years, case dropped). In contrast, some burglary victims were interested in the police taking investigative actions and apprehending the offender. This was especially true for the few burglary victims who felt outraged by the crime and could not easily pick up their lives again:

“If the police are able to give us the answer: ‘we have found a suspect’, then I could leave it all behind me. But as long as I have not received a message, I will have to wait. And then I am left hanging [...] I cannot distance myself from it.” (PF18, 47 years, case open).

In short, burglary victims’ judgments of adequate police performance were mainly shaped by their evaluations of rapid case handling, but they generally did not expect the police officers to use all possible resources to investigate the crime. Moreover, most of them accepted and understood this; they realised that the chances of finding an offender was small.

This finding is partly in line with findings by Elliott et al. (2012). They also reported that victims of non-violent crimes, in which case the chances of apprehending an offender were slim, understood that police had to prioritize their time and resources. However, they also stated that these victims found it difficult to accept that the police had lost interest in their case. Such sentiments were not reported during the interviews. An explanation for this inconsistent finding could be sought in the main reason for reporting the crime. While Elliott and colleagues (2012) are not clear about the reasons for reporting, one of the main reasons mentioned during the interviews for burglary victims to report the crime to the police was to get financial compensation from insurance companies. Once the report was filed, they thought the police had done everything they reasonably could to help them and did not expect anything more from the police.

Victims of violent crime

While most victims of domestic burglary did not expect much more from the police than an initial search in and around the house, this was different for almost all victims of violent crime:

"I expect that they [the police, NK] are going to look for that guy [the offender, NK] based on the witnesses reports. And then they'll invite him [at the police station] for a serious conversation. [...] that they make him understand that he cannot do this to other people [...] it won't be tolerated." (VM11, 32 years, case open).

Expectations that police officers would make it clear to offenders that they should comply with the norms and values in society were particularly prominent among victims of violent crime. When the police failed to do so, even when these victims had not (yet) received official notification that the case was dropped by the police, they felt abandoned. This seems to be in line with the current chapter's framework in the sense that a perceived inadequate police performance, makes people feel alienated and excluded (De Mesmaecker, 2014; see also Tyler & Lind, 1992). As one victim stated: "the police only cares for big cases and not for the little guy, the common man, the ordinary citizen like us." (VM26, 52 years, case dropped). This feeling seemed to make both male and female victims of violent crime question the impartiality and utility of the police:

"The police let that boy just walk away. I was knocked-out myself [...], but I've heard from others that the police just stood there and didn't do anything. That's incomprehensible [...] Then you wonder: 'Who is the police for anyway? For the victim or for the offender?' Well, apparently for the offender. They let the victim all alone." (VM6, 42 years, case open).

"Besides that I'm angry because of what happened I'm even angrier with the fact that nothing happens. That apparently this [the crime, NK] is all allowed. [...] At the moment, I don't understand the utility of the police. [...] Then they can be all friendly, but that doesn't bring me anything." (VF9, 38 years, case dropped)

For victims of violent crime, it seemed that their evaluations of (lack of) police performance were to a large extent shaped by the status or outcome of the police investigation in their case. Particularly victims of violent crimes whose cases were dropped by the police, but also victims whose cases of violent crime were still under police investigation accused the police of not doing enough to solve the crime. In contrast, victims of violent crime whose cases were referred to the prosecution seemed to evaluate the police performance in their case as adequate. For these victims, evaluations of adequate police performance seemed to affirm judgments of the norms and values the police stand for:

“I thought they handled [the case, NK] very neatly and actually really adequately. There was a clear division of tasks: one officer dealt with him, the other officer dealt with me. And then they questioned him [...] This means to me that they are there for you, to help you with these things. Thus for the victim, and against violence.” (PF13, 42 years, case prosecuted).

Overall, it seems that evaluations with regard to procedural justice (i.e. fair treatment) and evaluations with regard to police performance (i.e. adequate police performance) both inform victims whether or not they are being taken seriously. This is in line with the findings of Elliott and colleagues (2012) and De Mesmaecker (2014). While virtually all victims expressed that they were treated in a polite and friendly manner, differences were found in victims’ evaluations of police performance. Victims of violent crime appeared to have different standards of adequate police performance than property crime victims. While most interviewed victims of domestic burglary pointed out that they understood that the police could not do much more than search for fingerprints, traces of burglary, and take photos, most victims of violent crime wanted the police to reaffirm the norms and values in society and to take investigative actions to make that happen. If victims thought the police had failed at their investigative tasks, they seemed to feel alienated and left alone. According to the framework of procedural justice, such feelings would result in non-cooperation (Tyler, 2011). The next section explores how differences in crime victims’ expectations and wishes and consequently different evaluations of the police response (in particular with regard to police performance) relate to victims’ willingness to cooperate with the police.

6.3.3 Victims’ evaluations of the police response in relation to future cooperation

Victims’ evaluations of fair treatment and adequate investigative actions are assumed to increase victims’ willingness to cooperate with the police, based on the current chapter’s framework. In contrast, perceived unfair treatment and inadequate investigative actions would result in non-cooperation. This section explores what would motivate crime victims to cooperate with the police with a specific focus on victims’ evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in their current case.

Victims of domestic burglary

For burglary victims, it seemed that one of the main reasons to report their victimization was to get financial compensation by insurance companies. This is in line with previous research (see Huys & Smit, 2009; Van Dijk et al., 2007; Wittebrood, 2006). Moreover, a majority of the burglary victims considered the case being taken care of once an official report was filed by the police which they could hand over to the insurance company for payment. However, even when financial damage was low or practically non-existent, burglary victims felt a responsibility to inform the police in case of future victimization: "It is a sort of civic duty to call the police" (PM20, 62 years, case open). Another victim explained:

"The only right thing to do is to call the police. That is what you should do. You could do nothing, but then it won't stop either. It is their [the police's, NK] job to do something about it, but you have to do something yourself as well. If you don't pass something on [provide information, NK], then they can't do anything with it. Then they won't know about it." (PF19, 62 years, case open).

It seems that in addition to financial motives, informing the police about what happens in a neighbourhood is an important reason for burglary victims to contact the police in case of future victimization. These victims expressed that when the police are informed about the number of burglaries, they may be able to distribute their resources more efficiently and effectively by targeting high crime areas. These victims said that the police could patrol more often in a specific area and although realising that it may not directly result in a burglar being caught in the act, they hoped it would deter potential burglars. In addition, several victims talked about initiatives to assist the police such as neighbourhood watch groups that had been set up in response to burglaries that were committed in their neighbourhood:

"The police can't be everywhere of course. So to keep your neighbourhood safe, you can also do something yourself. That doesn't only help your neighbourhood, but also the police. People from the neighbourhood will notice things faster. They know what's normal and what's not normal in a neighbourhood and they are with more [people, NK] of course." (PM7, 19 years, case open).

Such initiatives, in which residents actively cooperate with local police officers, could be helpful in reducing crime (see for an overview: Bennett, Holloway & Farrington, 2008). For example, visible and frequent surveillance by residents may not only increase the information flow from the public to the police on suspicious activities after which the police can take appropriate action, but might also deter potential offenders to commit crimes as this would increase the potential offenders' perceptions of the risk of being caught.

For burglary victims, evaluations of police performance and the outcome seemed to be less important in motivating cooperation. These

victims seemed to acknowledge and understand that the police could not do much to find the burglar(s). Rather, being treated in a respectful manner made victims believe that the police wanted to apprehend the burglars, even if the chances to do so were slim. This would enforce perceived police legitimacy for these victims, even though burglary victims' willingness to cooperate with the police seemed to be mostly induced by financial motives (see also Chapter 4).

Victims of violent crime

In contrast to burglary victims, victims of violent crime seemed to be more concerned with police officers performing investigative actions and making the offender understand that such behaviour is not tolerated in society. Particularly a lack of perceived police performance might have a negative impact on the willingness to cooperate with the police for victims of violent crime. As one victim of physical threat pointed out:

"I've been threatened another time thereafter. I have emails to prove it, but I don't do anything with it anymore. No. They [the police, NK] won't do anything with it anyway. That may not be how it is supposed to go, but they can thank themselves for that." (VM26, 52 years, case dropped).

This illustrates how evaluations of lack of police performance may result in non-cooperation for victims of violent crime. Among victims of this type of crime who felt particularly harmed by the offender, disappointment with the way the police handled their case could even turn into feelings of vigilantism:

"I felt like they didn't understand me and particularly felt not being taken seriously. What the police basically said was: 'Take care of it yourself, we don't do anything'. I felt alone and I thought: Why do we have the police? They should help me, shouldn't they? But they did nothing. [...] I have really wondered why on earth I had reported this. I really get it that some people in some circumstances take the right in their own hands." (VF9, 38 years, case dropped).

Such feelings of vigilantism might take serious forms as another victim of violent crime expressed:

"When I look at how they dealt with my report, they do nothing at all. You cannot count on the police in the Netherlands. They are there for themselves and themselves alone. From now on, I will never call the police again [...] the police has the choice, it's in their hands. If they do something, then I'll do nothing. If they don't do anything, than I will." (VM6, 42 years, case open).

Feelings of vigilantism, in different degrees, were shared among eight of the 11 victims of violent crime who knew the offender and were not exclusively reported by younger males, but also by older and female victims of violent crime. Empirical research among crime victims' feelings or acts of

vigilantism is almost non-existent (Silke, 2001). An exception is the quantitative study by Weisburd (1988). He had not included age in his model, but reported that males and victims were more likely to perform some form of vigilant act than females and non-victims. Although this may seem to contradict with the findings reported here regarding victims' gender, Weisburd's study (1988) was specifically focused on self-reported *acts* of vigilantism by the general public instead of victims' *feelings* of vigilantism and its findings may therefore not be generalizable to the study described in this chapter. Another exception is the quantitative study by Orth (2004). He found that younger female victims of sexual crime retrospectively expressed more feelings of revenge than older male victims of non-sexual crime in the four weeks after victimization. However, four years after the victimization, age, gender and type of crime were no longer predictive of reported feelings of revenge.

Victims of violent crime who expressed feelings of vigilantism during the interviews experienced feelings of desolation and despair when they felt the police lacking in their investigative efforts. Prominent is the feeling of being left alone by the police, who are supposed to protect citizens from becoming victimized (again). This perceived unresponsiveness may have negative consequences for perceptions of police legitimacy for these victims. Lack of perceived legitimacy may in turn not only make victims of violent crime who know the offender less willing to cooperate with the police, but also more supportive of vigilantism. Although previous studies on the relationship between perceived legitimacy and vigilantism are often focused on *public* support for the use of violence to settle disputes, they seem to concur with this line of reasoning (see Haas, De Keijser & Bruinsma, 2012; 2014; Jackson, Huq, Bradford & Tyler, 2013; Nivette, 2016; Tankebe, 2009b). In these studies – which reported mixed results on associations with regard to gender and age – negative relationships were found between perceived legitimacy of the police and public support for vigilantism. Moreover, Haas et al. (2014) – using an experimental vignette design in which they manipulated police responsiveness – found that lack of police responsiveness caused higher levels of support for vigilantism. Of course, this is not to say that the victims who expressed these sentiments in during the interviews will actually turn to vigilantism. However, these thoughts by themselves could be harmful for police legitimacy as they threaten the belief that the police uphold the law in a faithful manner and are the only rightful force in society to use violence (Jackson et al., 2013).

Important to note is that thoughts about vigilantism were exclusively expressed by victims of violent crime in the present study and not by victims of property crime. Perhaps this could be explained by the motives of burglary victims to report which seemed to be fairly unrelated to the offender. Another explanation could be that none of the burglary victims knew who had broken into their house and thus had no reasonable opportunity to get back at the offender. Perceived police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate may, for these victims, be mainly shaped by evaluations

of procedural justice and to a lesser extent by evaluations of police performance and the outcome. In contrast, while evaluations of procedural justice are also important for victims of violent crime, evaluations of police performance and the outcome may be just as, or perhaps even more important in shaping perceived legitimacy and cooperation for these victims, particularly when they know the offender and feel intensely hurt by the offender and/or the crime.

6.4 GENERAL DISCUSSION

Earlier research suggests that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance are related to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization, but has two important limitations; (1) studies examining the relationship between victims' evaluations of procedural justice (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007) or police performance (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie et al., 2006) and cooperation are all of a quantitative nature; and (2) qualitative studies on victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance have not linked this to future cooperation (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). As such, contextual information on why victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance are linked to cooperation is lacking. However, such information seems necessary to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the role police officers may play in fostering future cooperation among repeat crime victims. Therefore, the current chapter explored what value property crime victims and victims of violent crime place on perceived procedural justice and police performance in their interaction with police officers and why this relates to their willingness to cooperate with the police in the future. In doing so, the study described in this chapter included victims whose cases were still under police investigation at the moment of the interview and victims who had received a notification that the case had either been dropped by the police or referred to the prosecution for further investigation.

Our findings suggest that victims of both property crimes and violent crimes place much value in being fairly treated (i.e. procedural justice) which is in line with previous research (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Victims of these two types of crime had equal perceptions of what was deemed as fair treatment by police officers. First and foremost, victims thought it was important that they could tell their story to genuinely interested police officers. In addition, for victims who felt deeply harmed by the offender and/or the crime, it was also important that they were allowed to express their emotions; that officers took a clear stance against the offender and the crime; and that officers reassured victims that they were not to blame for what had happened to them. This gave victims the feeling that officers understood their feelings and that they were being taken seriously.

Additionally, our findings suggest that differences emerged between

victims of property crimes and violent crimes with regard to their perceptions of police officers' investigative actions (i.e. police performance). Most burglary victims understood and accepted that it would be hard for the police to find the burglar and more or less agreed that the police would not perform further investigations beyond searching for fingerprints, traces of burglary, and taking photos of the crime scene. Their evaluations of police performance seemed generally not to be shaped by the outcome of the case. This could be explained by property crime victims' main reasons for reporting their victimization: to get financial compensation by insurance companies and to inform the police about what had happened in their neighbourhood (see Huys & Smit, 2009; Van Dijk et al., 2007; Wittebrood, 2006). It should be noted that this was different for victims of property crimes who felt outraged by the burglar. For these victims, needs with regard to police performance were more in line with the needs of victims of violent crime. Victims of violent crime were generally concerned with the police taking investigative efforts to find the offender and having a serious conversation with the offender to make it clear to the offender that such behaviour was not tolerated in society. For these victims, evaluations of police performance seemed to be shaped to a large extent by the outcome in their case. The outcome and evaluations of police performance would inform these victims whether they and their case were being taken seriously, which is in line with the findings reported by De Mesmaecker (2014). When victims judged that the police had failed in their investigative efforts and their task to enforce society's norms (i.e. the case had not [yet] resulted in apprehension of the offender), most of them felt that they could not count on the police. Moreover, these victims generally felt that the police chose sides for the offender over them (i.e. the victim), which could have detrimental effects on their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization.

Results of this chapter suggest that victims of property crime would cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization to get financial compensation and to inform the police about the amount of burglaries in their neighbourhood, even when the police had not carried out many investigative actions after the initial examination of the crime scene. In contrast, victims of violent crime who felt disappointed with police performance in their case seemed to question the legitimacy of the police which had negative consequences for their willingness to cooperate with the police. While most of these victims said they would not contact the police anymore, some felt alienated by the police to such an extent that they considered vigilantism.

6.4.1 Study limitations

When interpreting the findings of the current chapter, it should be noted that the sample was small and cannot readily be regarded as a representative sample of victims of burglary and violent crime in the Netherlands.

Respondents had to contact the researcher themselves. It could be that particularly victims who had either extremely positive or extremely negative evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in their case were more willing to participate in this chapter's study. However, the current sample includes a diverse set of crime victims regarding age, sex, type of crime, emotional state, and status and outcome of the case. In addition, the current chapter was not aimed at generalizability of findings, but rather at providing useful contextual insight into how and why victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance may shape victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. As the current chapter relies on victims' reports of procedural justice and police performance in their case, we do not know what actually happened during the interactions victims had had with police officers. To gain more objective information on what happened during the interactions and how this relates to victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, future research could use participant observation or recorded interviews by the police during their interactions with crime victims as a research method.

6.4.2 Conclusion

Overall, the findings suggest that a procedurally just treatment is appreciated by different types of crime victims. In addition, it seems that particularly victims of violent crime who felt deeply humiliated and harmed by the offender and the crime and had negative evaluations of police performance seemed to be less cooperative in case of future victimization. While such information could also be derived from quantitative studies, the present qualitative study advances our knowledge on why this may be the case. Results suggest that, because of a perceived lack of police performance, these victims felt alienated and excluded by the police. This seems to be important information for police practice. Police officers could identify victims of violent crime who cope with a lot of anger and resentment against the offender and specifically reaffirm their valuable position in society. Police officers could for example do so by taking a clear-stance against the crime and underlining the importance for victims to report crime to the police. It may well be that a current incident was not enough for the police to build a case, but perhaps it will be enough when more of such incidents are reported. This seems especially important when officers are not able to perform investigative actions that would result in apprehension of the offender in cases of these crime victims. Perhaps by explicitly assuring victims that they and their case are being taken seriously and by explaining why investigative actions were not taken, police officers could temper victims' feelings of desolation and despair with the police, encouraging them to cooperate in case of future victimization.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this thesis was to examine what victims value in their contact with the police, by answering the central research question: to what extent, how and why crime victims' evaluations of the police response relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. In doing so, it expands current knowledge on the role police officers might play in crime victims' willingness to cooperate in case of future crime victimization. This is important, because previous studies suggest that particularly repeat crime victims – compared to first-time victims – are less likely to cooperate with the police (López, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010) and that this might be due to the way crime victims evaluate the police response in their (previous) victimization case (Ipsos MORI, 2003; Shapland et al., 1985; Kidd & Chayet, 1986; Ziegenhagen, 1967). With the studies conducted, the present thesis seeks to reduce repeat crime victims' reluctance to cooperate with the police.

7.1.1 Theoretical framework and expectations

This thesis builds on Tyler's theory of procedural justice (Tyler, 2006, 2011; Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; Tyler & Lind, 1992), which was adapted to the study of crime victims in relation to the police by the authors based on previous studies among crime victims (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Concerning the police response, this thesis distinguished between victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance. On the basis of previous work (see Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Lind, 1992), four indicators of a procedurally just treatment by the police were assessed: (1) allowing crime victims to express their views, (2) making neutral and unbiased decisions (i.e. without prejudice); (3) treating crime victims with respect and dignity, and (4) being sincerely motivated to come to the best solution for all parties involved. Based on the group-value model and group-engagement model of procedural justice – which was developed by Tyler and colleagues (see Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler & Jackson, 2014) – it was expected that crime victims who evaluated the treatment by police officers in a procedurally just manner (i.e. a fair manner), would be more likely to cooperate with the police. According to the group-value model and group-engagement model, a fair treatment by police officers – as representatives of the state – communicates to crime victims that they are valued

and respected as members of society. This makes victims view the police as an organisation that faithfully strives to enforce shared social norms and values in society (i.e. against crime) and therefore as a legitimate organisation. These models suggest that when the police organisation is deemed to be legitimate, it evokes victims' own feelings of moral responsibility to pursue and maintain order in society, for example by cooperating with the police. Besides procedural justice, Tyler and Sunshine (2003) acknowledge that general perceptions of police performance (i.e. the ability of the police to effectively fight crime) may also influence perceptions of police legitimacy. Previous research specifically with regard to the victim's case indeed suggests that crime victims are concerned with the investigative efforts taken by the police to solve the crime and to apprehend the offender or offenders (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). Positive evaluations of police officers' investigative efforts might consequently make victims feel that they and their cases are taken seriously and thus contribute to perceptions of a legitimate police force (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012).

7.1.2 Reader's guide

In this concluding chapter, the main findings of the thesis are summarized, discussed and integrated with previous research (section 7.2). Thereafter considerations for theory (section 7.3), the strengths (section 7.4) and the limitations of the current thesis are addressed (section 7.5). Subsequently directions for future research are provided (section 7.6), followed by recommendations for police practice (section 7.7).

7.2 SUMMARY OF MAIN RESULTS

The aim of the current thesis was to examine to what extent empirical research support the assumption that crime victims' evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police. To do so, it sought answers to five specific research questions: (1) to what extent is this assumption supported by prior empirical research? (Chapter 2); (2) what is the empirical structure of victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law) and willingness to cooperate with the police? (Chapter 3); (3) how are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police; does it differ between victims of different types of crime and do these relationships hold over time? (Chapter 4); (4) how does the police response influence mock victims' perceptions of legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police? (Chapter 5); and (5) why are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to their willingness to cooperate with the police?

(Chapter 6). These research questions along with the main findings are listed in Table 7.1.

In order to achieve knowledge triangulation, this section summarizes and discusses the main findings of the empirical studies (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) in the current thesis in light of previous literature (Chapter 2) along the lines of the theoretical framework that underlines the current thesis. That is, it starts with (1) discussing the findings with regard to crime victims' evaluations of the police response linked to police legitimacy; (2) it subsequently discusses the findings with regard to crime victims' perceptions of police legitimacy in relation to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization; and (3) finally, it discusses the findings with regard to crime victims' evaluations of the police response in relation to victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. Each section ends with a reflection of the main findings of the empirical studies with the findings of previous studies, reported in the systematic literature review (Chapter 2). This approach is different from the Dutch summary in which the results are summarized by chapter.

Before these findings are discussed, however, this section starts with outlining the measurement validity of the central concepts in this thesis – crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law, and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization (Chapter 3). This is necessary to interpret the main findings of the empirical (quantitative) studies.

Table 7.1 Research questions and main findings per chapter

Chapter	Research question(s)	Method	Main findings
Chapter 2	(1) To what extent does prior empirical research support the assumption that crime victims' evaluations of the police response lead to improved perceptions of the legitimacy of the criminal justice system and subsequently enhanced (willingness for) cooperation with the police?	Systematic literature review of 15 studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fifteen studies were included in the review that examined one of the relationships between crime victims' perceptions of the police response, perceived legitimacy, and cooperation; • Most studies were of cross-sectional nature; • Studies displayed considerable differences in operationalization of victims' evaluations of procedural justice and perceived legitimacy; • None of the studies examined the theoretical framework as a whole; • Partial support for the application of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims.
Chapter 3	(2) What is the empirical structure of victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance), perceived legitimacy (in terms of trust in the police and obligation to obey the law), and willingness to cooperate with the police?	Structured survey Real crime victims Wave I (N = 417)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance represent a single construct and victims' perceptions of trust in the police, perceived obligation to obey the law, and willingness to cooperate represent distinct constructs. • Future research should examine whether victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance) enhances perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law and subsequently willingness to cooperate with the police.
Chapter 4	(3) How are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to perceived legitimacy and to willingness to cooperate with the police; does it differ between victims of different types of crime, and do these relationships hold over time?	Structured survey Real crime victims Waves I (N = 417) and II (N = 201)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluations of the police response for victims of violent crime are indirectly related to willingness to cooperate with the police, via perceived obligation to obey the law; • Findings hold over time • The relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police is reciprocal.
Chapter 5	(4) How does the police response influence mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police?	Experimental vignette study Mock crime victims Studies 1 (N = 75) and 2 (N = 414)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Willingness to cooperate was lower when the police were unfair and did not perform investigative actions compared to the control condition; • Willingness to cooperate was not higher when the police were fair and performed investigative actions compared to the control condition; • The relationship between police behaviour and cooperation is mediated by perceived trust in the police, but not by perceived obligation to obey the law.
Chapter 6	(5) Why are crime victims' evaluations of the police response related to their willingness to cooperate with the police?	Semi-structured interview Real crime victims In-depth interviews (N = 32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both property crime victims and victims of violent crime appreciated fair treatment against the crime; • Emotionally expressive crime victims appreciated it when police officers took a clear stance against the crime; • Rapid case handling was particularly important to property crime victims while victims of violent crime expected the police to find the offender to make it clear to the offender that such law-breaking behaviour was not tolerated; • Lack of police performance in the eyes of victims of violent crime made them feel abandoned by the police, resulting in less willingness to cooperate and feelings of vigilantism.

7.2.1 Measurement validity of central concepts in the current thesis

Based on the data of Wave I of the structured survey study, Chapter 3 provided insight into the measurement validity of the central concepts in the current thesis – crime victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law, and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. Insight into the measurement validity of these concepts was necessary prior to examining the interrelationships between those concepts to prevent examining interrelations between theoretical one-dimensional concepts which are empirically multidimensional or between theoretically distinct concepts which are not distinct empirically. This could result in misleading findings (Byrne, 2012; see Gau, 2011). The aim of this chapter was to examine whether all theoretically distinct concepts were indeed empirically distinct from each other (e.g. whether victims' evaluations of procedural justice were empirically distinct from victims' evaluations of police performance) and whether all theoretically unidimensional concepts were empirically unidimensional as well (e.g. whether perceived legitimacy was empirically a single concept with two indicators – perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law).

Using confirmatory factor analyses – an analytic approach in which researchers are able to test multiple theory-guided models to examine which model suits the data best – it was shown that victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance, although theoretically distinct, were empirically indistinct concepts in the used dataset. The correlation between these two concepts was very high, suggesting that victims may not distinguish between their judgments of procedural justice and police performance when evaluating the police response in their case. As both fair treatment by police officers and police officers' investigative actions take place simultaneously, it might be that victims evaluate the police response as a whole (see Van den Bos et al., 1997). Another explanation might be that crime victims evaluate police officers' investigative efforts as an indicator of being taken seriously (De Mesmaecker, 2014) and therefore investigative efforts might be regarded as an element of procedural justice (e.g. trustworthiness or respect), rather than as a distinct concept. This seems to align with Brathwaite and Yeboah's (2004) approach to include items reflecting victims' evaluations of procedural justice and police performance in one scale.

Concerning perceived legitimacy, confirmatory factor analyses revealed that perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law represent two distinct dimensions of perceived legitimacy and should therefore be treated as separate concepts in statistical analyses. Although Tyler (2006, p. 47) suggested that researchers could choose to treat these concepts as a combined measure or as two separate measures of perceived legitimacy, these concepts are found to be both theoretically and empirically

distinct concepts in crime victims (for theoretical discussion see Jackson & Gau, 2016; for empirical studies among the general public see; Reisig et al., 2007; Tankebe, 2013; Gau, 2011; 2014).

Concerning crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, confirmatory factor analyses suggest that this is empirically a single concept. This finding aligns with previous research among crime victims (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014) and the general public (e.g. Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

7.2.2 Crime victims' evaluations of the police response and of police legitimacy

Findings regarding the relationship between crime victims' evaluations of the police response and police legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law revealed a consistent pattern throughout the empirical studies (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 [Study 2], and Chapter 6). All studies suggested a positive relationship between these two concepts.

Evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance) were positively associated with both indicators of perceived legitimacy for both real victims of property crime and victims of violent crime and over time (Chapter 4) and for mock victims of violent crime (Chapter 5). Furthermore, there seems to be a reciprocal relationship between real victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived trust in the police. That is, not only were victims' evaluations of the police response at a previous moment related to perceived trust in the police at a latter moment, but victims who initially held positive perceptions of trust in the police, were also more likely to evaluate the police response in a positive manner over time (Chapter 4). Additionally, the police response seems to have a causal effect on both indicators of police legitimacy and particularly an inadequate police response could have detrimental effects on perceived legitimacy (Chapter 5). This could be explained by the message victims received from a fair or an inadequate response. Crime victims who evaluated the police response as fair were likely to think that the police were there for them and shared the same norms and values against committing crime (i.e. perceived legitimacy: Chapter 6). In contrast, crime victims who evaluated the police response as unfair or inadequate were likely to question the utility of the police and their stance against crime committing. Adequate police performance was particularly important for crime victims who felt deeply harmed by the offence and/or the offender (Chapter 6).

Overall, it seems that the police response and how it is evaluated has important consequences for perceived police legitimacy by crime victims, particularly when the police response is inadequate and/or negatively evaluated.

Reflection of main findings in light of previous research and the current thesis' theoretical framework

The findings of this thesis are in line with the findings of previous studies which consistently reported a positive relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and perceived legitimacy despite differences in operationalization of the concepts and differences in policing styles across different countries (Chapter 2). These findings are also in line with expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework of procedural justice. Based on this framework, it was expected that crime victims who evaluated their treatment by police officers as fair would be more likely to view the police organisation as a legitimate institute, because it communicates to them that they are respected and valued members of society and that the police as an organisation can be trusted to faithfully uphold the norms and values in society (see Tyler, 2011; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). In addition to a fair treatment, crime victims seem to be concerned about police officers' investigative actions as well, because it makes them feel that they themselves and their cases are being taken seriously (De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012). This seems to be generally true for victims of both property crime and violent crime (Chapter 4; see also Chapter 5 [Study 2]), but particularly for victims who feel deeply harmed by the offence and/or the offender (Chapter 6).

7.2.3 Crime victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and their willingness to cooperate

Findings regarding the relationship between crime victims' perceptions of police legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization were mixed throughout the empirical studies in this thesis (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 [Study 2], and Chapter 6). For real crime victims – particularly for victims of violent crime – was perceived obligation to obey the law, but not perceived trust in the police (Chapter 4 and Chapter 6), associated with victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Yet, mock victims' willingness to cooperate with the police was associated with perceived trust and not with perceived obligation to obey the law (Chapter 5, [Study 2]). Willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization was not associated with any of the indicators of perceived legitimacy for victims' of property crime (as a separate group). Combined with victims of violent crime, perceived obligation to obey the law was associated with willingness to cooperate over time for property crime victims as well (Chapter 4).

These differences may at least be partly explained by (a) the sample (mock victims vs. real victims) and (b) the motives to report (norm reinforcing vs. financial compensation). First of all, mock victims had not really experienced the violent crime that was described in the scenario, but instead

were asked to identify themselves with the victim. Moreover, most participants were never victimized at all. Although the scenario was deemed plausible and participants said that they could easily place themselves in it, participants may have had difficulties to experience similar feelings of distress as real crime victims (of violent crime) might have. Therefore, they may have answered the questions as 'ordinary' citizens. In studies among citizens in general, perceived trust in the police and not perceived obligation to obey seems to be the main driver of willingness to cooperate. Experiencing a real violent crime may make victims feel personally targeted and therefore more aware of the social norms and values in society. This may evoke a deeper sense of what is right and what is wrong and the need to bring one's own behaviour in line with society's rules (e.g. cooperating with the police: see also Chapter 6). This might explain why perceived obligation to obey the law was associated with victims' willingness to cooperate for victims of real (violent) crimes, but not for mock victims and why perceived trust in the police was associated with willingness to cooperate for mock victims, but not for real victims.

Secondly, the differences between property crime victims (as a separate group) and violent crime victims may be explained by the motives to cooperate. While some property crime victims thought it was their 'civic duty' to report their victimization to the police, the main reason for reporting was often to get financial compensation by insurance companies (Chapter 6). As this is not directly related to the police or society's norms, it may explain why neither perceived trust nor perceived obligation to obey the law was associated with willingness to cooperate for property crime victims (as a separate group: Chapter 4). Yet, for crime victims of violent crime, it was important that the police would find the offender and let him or her know that such criminal behaviour is not tolerated (Chapter 6). If the police failed to do so in the eyes of the victim, he or she would question the legitimacy of the police, refrain from further cooperation, and think about taking the matter in their own hands (Chapter 6), which might explain why a relationship was found between perceived obligation to obey the law and willingness to cooperate with the police in the future for victims of violent crime (Chapter 4).

Reflection of main findings in light of previous research and the current thesis' theoretical framework

Mixed findings on the relationship between perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate were found in previous studies as well (Chapter 2). One study reported on victims of property crime and victims of violent crime together (Kochel, et al., 2012), two studies reported its findings for victims of property crime as a separate group (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2008), and all three studies reported on trust in the police only. One of these studies found no significant relationship for victims of property crime who were victimized in the 12 months preceding

the interview and concluded that financial motives may have outpaced the influence of other factors such as perceived trust in the police (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011). The other two studies found a positive relationship between perceived trust in the police and willingness to cooperate (Kochel, et al., 2011; Murphy & Barkworth, 2014). However, these study identified victims if the respondents had ever been victimized, which implies that the victimization experience may not have been as recent on average as it was in this thesis. It could be that the relationship between perceived trust and willingness to cooperate is more similar to that of citizens in general (i.e. a positive relationship instead of no significant relationship), as the victimization is less recent.

Only one study reported on the relationship between perceived obligation to obey and willingness to cooperate (Kochel, et al., 2011). This study used a heterogeneous group of victims of property crime and victims of violent crime and reported no significant relationship (Kochel, et al., 2011). However, no information is available on the distribution of victims of property crime or violent crime in the sample. An uneven distribution (i.e. a lot more property crime victims compared to victims of violent crime) could perhaps explain why no significant relationship was found in this study between perceived obligation to obey and willingness to cooperate with the police. Furthermore, this study reported not only on obligation to obey the law, but also obligation to obey the police and legal authorities in a composite scale. Moreover, all three studies used only one indicator of perceived legitimacy (i.e. either perceived trust in the police or perceived obligation to obey) instead of on both indicators, leaving it up to question what the results would be if they had included both indicators in their models.

The findings of this thesis are partly in line with expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework of procedural justice. Based on this framework, it was expected that perceived legitimacy (and thus both indicators) positively influenced victims' willingness to cooperate with the police. Although it has been suggested that people are more likely to cooperate with an organisation they can trust (Tyler & Jackson, 2014), Tyler (2006) suggests that perceived obligation to obey the law is a more direct measure of perceived legitimacy than perceived trust in the police. It seems that the relationship between perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police depends on the type of crime victims suffered from (violent crime vs. property crime) and whether individuals were really victimized or not.

7.2.4 Crime victims' evaluations of the police response and their willingness to cooperate

Findings regarding the direct relationship between (crime victims' evaluations of) the police response and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization were mixed throughout the quantitative empirical studies in this thesis (Chapters 4 and 5). A direct relation-

ship was found for real victims of property crime (as a separate group: Chapter 4) and for mock victims of violent crime (Chapter 5). However, for real victims of violent crime (as a separate group) and when they were combined with real property crime victims, no direct relationship was found (Chapter 4).

Interestingly, in the analyses of the current thesis where no direct relationship was reported, an indirect relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and willingness through perceived obligation to obey the law was found (Chapter 4 for victims of violent crime and prospectively for victims of both types of crime). It thus seems that a direct relationship was mediated by perceived obligation to obey the law for these victims: positive evaluations of the police response made them more willing to cooperate, because it had a norm reinforcing impact on them (Chapter 6). Particularly an inadequate or negatively evaluated police response had detrimental effects on the willingness of (mock) victims of violent crime to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization (Chapters 5 and 6). This was especially true for real victims of violent crime who felt that the police failed to perform adequate investigative activities. Instead of cooperating with the police, these victims thought about vigilantism.

In the studies where a direct relationship was found, this relationship was not (Chapter 4 for property crime victims) or only partly mediated by perceived trust in the police (Chapter 5 [Study 2]). It may be that property crime victims are generally positive of the police response and likely to report their victimization (Chapter 6). However, their willingness to cooperate seems to be mainly because of insurance reasons rather than because of their views of police legitimacy (Chapter 6). This may explain why a direct relationship was found, but no indirect relationship via perceived legitimacy for real victims of property crime (as a separate group: Chapter 4). For mock victims of violent crime (who may not have experienced similar feelings of distress as real victims of violent crime) results were similar to results that were found among the general public. People in general are more likely to cooperate with organisations they trust, which might explain why the direct relationship between the police response and willingness to cooperate was partly mediated by perceived trust in the police for mock victims of violent crime: Chapter 5 [Study 2]). Yet, there may be other explanations why the general public would cooperate with the police that were not included in the model, such as a feeling of moral alignment with the police, which may explain why the direct relationship was only partly and not fully mediated by perceived trust in the police.

Reflection of main findings in light of previous research and the current thesis' theoretical framework

Mixed findings on the direct relationship between evaluations of the police response and willingness to cooperate were found in previous studies as well (Chapter 2). These studies included both victims of property and

violent crime (Xie, et al., 2006), victims of violent crime only (Conaway & Lohr, 1994), or a specific type of violent crime: domestic violence (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007) and focused either on procedural justice (Hickman & Simpson, 2003; Johnson, 2007) or police performance (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; Xie, et al., 2006) instead of a combination. One of these studies reported a negative relationship (Hickman & Simpson, 2003) and the other three reported a positive relationship. However, no potential mediators were included in these studies. Therefore, it is unknown whether perceived obligation to obey the law would have mediated the direct relationship that was found in these studies, if it had been included.

The findings of this thesis are partly in line with expectations based on Tyler's theoretical framework of procedural justice. Based on this framework, it was expected that (victims' evaluations of) the police response would have a direct relationship with willingness to cooperate with the police that could be mediated by perceived legitimacy in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law (Tyler, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). It seems that the direct relationship between (evaluations of) the police response and willingness to cooperate with the police depends on the inclusion of potential mediators, type of crime victims suffered from (violent crime vs. property crime), and whether individuals were really victimized or not.

7.2.5 Conclusions

Firstly, this dissertation underlines that crime victims are not only interested in procedural justice, but also in investigative activities that the police may perform to solve their case. Both are important to them: A fair treatment makes them feel valued and respected and performing investigative activities let them know that their case is being taken seriously. Secondly, by using various research methods in this thesis, no conclusive answer can be offered to the question how the police response can influence victims' willingness to cooperate (directly or through perceived trust in the police and/or perceived obligation to obey the law). It seems that an answer to this question depends on the type of crime victims suffered from and whether individuals were really victimized or not. Thirdly, it seems clear that (evaluations of) the police response has important consequences for both perceived police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. Negative evaluations of the police response and/or an inadequate police response, particularly concerning a lack of investigation activities, could have detrimental effects on both perceptions of police legitimacy and victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. To prevent repeat crime victims from evading the criminal justice system it is, therefore, of utmost importance that the police avoids negative evaluations as much as possible.

7.3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This thesis was guided by Tyler and colleagues' theoretical framework of procedural justice and the group-value and group-engagement models (Tyler, 2006, 2011; Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler & Jackson, 2014; Tyler & Sunshine, 2003). Specifically applied to crime victims, the current thesis suggests that procedural justice theory might be extended in three ways: (1) inclusion of victims' evaluations of police performance; (2) inclusion of victims' emotions in evaluating procedural justice and police performance; and (3) inclusion of feelings of vigilantism as a potential outcome of evaluations of procedural justice and police performance and perceived legitimacy.

First, although it has been acknowledged that general perceptions of police performance might influence perceived police legitimacy (e.g. Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), most studies focus exclusively on procedural justice. However, research among crime victims suggests that crime victims are concerned with police officers' investigative efforts in their case (Conaway & Lohr, 1994; De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2012; Xie et al., 2006). This was supported in the current thesis and it showed that crime victims in general may not distinguish between judgments of procedural justice and police performance when evaluating the police response. This suggests that police officers' investigative efforts in a crime victims' case may be regarded part of procedural justice, rather than an alternative predictor of police legitimacy and cooperation. In other words, to the four elements of procedural justice (i.e. 'voice', neutrality, respect and trustworthiness; Tyler & Lind, 1992) a fifth element might be included when applying this framework to crime victims' evaluations of the police response in their case: police officers' investigative efforts, or this element could be integrated with the trustworthiness element of procedural justice. The current thesis showed that (victims' evaluations of) procedural justice and police performance together may be important determinants of perceived legitimacy and (either directly or indirectly) of (mock) victims' willingness to cooperate with the police.

Second, perhaps because of the main focus on the general public rather than crime victims, the role of emotions in the framework of procedural justice has, to date, largely been ignored. Findings of the current thesis suggest that victims who expressed that they coped with emotions such as anger, sadness or despair may have different expectations of and different needs from the police than victims who expressed no intense emotions. Results suggest that particularly emotionally expressive crime victims may be more concerned with police officers' investigative efforts and may evaluate these efforts more critically. Falling victim to a crime may cause intense emotions concerning the perpetrator, because the victims' sense of agency might be impaired (see Kunst & Koster, 2016; Pemberton, 2015; Pemberton, Aarten & Mulder, 2017). To restore this sense of agency, crime victims may turn to important group representatives to receive self-relevant information on their status and value. This would make especially the more emotionally

expressive crime victims vulnerably for the way they are treated by police officers. However, the role of emotions on procedural justice and police performance evaluations has rarely been explored in previous studies (see for an exception Kunst et al., 2015).

Third, findings of the current thesis suggest that besides compliance with the law and cooperation with the police, feelings of vigilantism may be also be considered as a potential consequence of (lack of) perceived legitimacy. Perceived police legitimacy entails the perception that the police can be trusted to faithfully uphold the law and that one therefore needs to align her/his behaviour with social norms and values in society (Tyler, 2006, 2011; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). As a consequence, it seems reasonable to infer that perceived police legitimacy is associated with judgments on whether the police are the one and only rightful authority to use force and violence in society or whether citizens may take the law in their own hands in some occasions. Findings of the current thesis suggest that particularly emotionally expressive crime victims who evaluated the police response as inadequate would not only be less likely to cooperate with the police in future crime victimization, but also be more open to feelings of vigilantism. These crime victims were disappointed by the police to such an extent that they questioned the legitimacy of the police organisation and began to fantasize how vigilantism could help them. Yet, studies on predictors of vigilantism (instead of public support for vigilantism) seem to be rare (Silke, 2001; cf. Orth, 2004; Weisburd, 1988).

7.4 METHODOLOGICAL STRENGTHS OF THE CURRENT THESIS

The current thesis has some methodological strengths. Those strengths may have improved our knowledge on the applicability of Tyler's theoretical framework on crime victims' interactions with the police. First, instead of focusing on general perceptions of the police that may reflect expectations of the police, rather than evaluations of police officers' behaviour, the current thesis focused on crime victims' evaluations of the police response with regard to their own case. As crime victims were asked about their experiences with the police shortly after reporting their victimization to the police, memory modification was kept to a minimum. Therefore, the current thesis has provided more information on what value victims place on their contacts with the police. Consequently, this has offered more concrete information on the role of police officers in crime victims' decision on whether or not to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization.

Second, by using structural equation modelling, this thesis studied the research framework as a whole. That is, it was able to examine the (theoretically) subsequent associations between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate in one model. Although structural equation modelling as an analytic approach has become increasingly common in procedural justice studies among the

general public, it is still rare among studies focused on crime victims (see for an exception Murphy & Barkworth, 2014 who used structural equation modelling to examine the empirical structure of the variables included in the model). By examining the model as a whole, the current thesis has offered more information on the two indicators of perceived legitimacy as mediating variables of the relationship between victims' evaluations of the police response and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization.

Third, one of the studies in this thesis used a prospective design, which revealed a prospective association between crime victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. Furthermore, employing this research design, this thesis was able to examine the temporal order of victims' evaluations of the police response and the perceived trust in the police. Most studies among crime victims use cross-sectional research designs, which are unable to examine the direction of the relationship. By using a prospective design, this thesis showed that a reciprocal relationship exists between crime victims' evaluations of the police response and the perceived trust in the police. That is, crime victims' evaluations of the police response may not only shape victims' perceptions of trust in the police – as is assumed in procedural justice literature – but also that perceptions of trust may shape victims' evaluations of the police response. As these concepts seem to reinforce each other, this might partly explain why studies often report a consistent and strong relationship between evaluations of procedural justice and perceived trust in the police.

Fourth, this thesis used multiple research strategies to examine to what extent, how and why crime victims' evaluations of the police response would be related to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. Most studies have relied on a structured survey design to examine the interrelationships between victims' evaluations of the police, perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police. While such research designs could offer important information on the interrelationships between those concepts, they are unable to demonstrate whether the relationships are causal, for which an experimental design is needed, as well as their inability to provide a lot of context information about the underlying mechanisms behind these relationships, for which a semi-structured interview design might be helpful. By using an experimental vignette design, the current thesis demonstrated that the police response positively influenced mock victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. By using a semi-structured interview design, the current thesis provided more in-depth information on why victims' evaluations of the police response relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police and how this may be different for different crime victims. Using multiple research designs, the current thesis has offered a more comprehensive understanding on to what extent, how and why crime victims' evalua-

tions of the police response relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization.

7.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE CURRENT THESIS

When interpreting the findings of the current thesis, some important limitations need to be acknowledged. All empirical studies in the current thesis suffer from characteristics that might make their findings not being readily generalizable to crime victims who reported their victimization to the police in the Netherlands. All studies used self-reported willingness for cooperation with the police. This incorporates the possibility of social desirable responding by participants and we do not know whether victims would actually cooperate with the police in case of future victimization.

First, the structured survey suffers from a low response rate. Out of consideration for the victim, victims were approached by the author or one of her research assistants up to three times on different moments of the day by phone. Although no differences between participants and non-participants were found with regard to type of crime, it could be that crime victims with specific characteristics would be more likely to participate in the current studies (e.g. Dutch background vs. non-Dutch background or older victims vs. younger victims), which may have hampered the generalizability of the study's results.

Second, the time between the waves in the prospective study was only a month. This means that while relationships over time were identified, it was over a relatively short period. In addition, the relationships between victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived legitimacy (in terms of perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey the law) are ideally examined using a three-wave design instead of a two-wave design. A three-wave design would have enabled us to examine the relationships between victims' evaluations of the police response at T1 and perceived police legitimacy at T2 and between perceived legitimacy at T2 and willingness to cooperate with the police at T3.

Third, the experimental study was conducted among university students using a vignette design instead of a field experiment among real crime victims. A violent crime scenario was developed because the structured survey showed that, particularly for victims of violent crime, willingness to cooperate with the police would be associated with at least one of the indicators of perceived legitimacy (i.e. perceived obligation to obey the law). The choice for university students as participants instead of the general public was made out of the consideration that university students might be more familiar with going home late at night than the general public, and thus more familiar with the scenario described. However, as a consequence, findings may not readily be generalizable to the crime victim population which reports its victimization to the police in the Netherlands.

Fourth, the response rate of the semi-structured interview was

extremely low. This may be due to the fact that the researcher was unable to personally contact potential respondents. The police had not offered contact details of potential respondents out of privacy reasons. Therefore, crime victims had to contact the researcher themselves if they wanted to participate and it may be that particularly those crime victims who were extremely positive about the police response or instead extremely negative about the police response were more likely to participate. Nevertheless, the sample included a diverse set of victims regarding age, sex, type of crime, emotional state, status and outcome of the case. In addition, it should be noted that this chapter was not aimed at generalizability of findings, but rather to provide useful contextual information on why crime victims' evaluations of the police response would relate to their willingness to cooperate with the police.

7.6 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A number of suggestions for future research arise from this thesis. Some of these suggestions focus on the measurement of the key concepts in this thesis – the police response, police legitimacy, and cooperation – and on the generalizability of the findings of this dissertation. In addition, the findings from this thesis evoke new questions which could be addressed in future research.

Measurement of crime victims' evaluations of the police response

Concerning the measurement of crime victims' evaluations of the police response, future studies might choose to measure victims' evaluations of the police response (in terms of procedural justice and police performance) in a more concrete way that would allow more objective indicators of these evaluations. For example, future studies might include measures on how much time police officers spent on the crime scene, whether the police searched for witnesses, whether the police searched for fingerprints and whether the police took photos of the crime scene. In addition, future studies might broaden the focus by not only including victims' evaluations of the police response, but also police officers' actual behaviour. This could be realised by using participant observation or analysing recorded interviews by the police during their interactions with crime victims as a research method. This could provide more concrete indications on what kind of behaviour is valued by crime victims.

Measurement of crime victims' perceptions of police legitimacy

Concerning the measurement of crime victims' perceptions of police legitimacy, future studies might follow recent developments by not only including perceived trust in the police and perceived obligation to obey

the law, but also perceived obligation to obey police directives and moral alignment with the police and/or the law (e.g. Jackson, Bradford, Hough, Myhill, Quinton & Tyler, 2012; Murphy & Cherney, 2012). This may offer more insight into the motivation for victims' willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization.

Measurement of crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police

Concerning the measurement of crime victims' willingness to cooperate with the police, future studies could include measures of actual behaviour. Because there is a possibility that the share of repeat crime victims in a particular study sample is small, researchers could also include measures of actual cooperation in the current case. For example, whether the victim provided details that would help the police identify the offender, if the offender is known to the victim.

Generalizability

Concerning generalizability of findings, future studies could try to include relatively more participants with a non-Dutch background to make the sample more representative of the national population, for example by offering victims to be interviewed in English or in their native language. In addition, as all studies were conducted in the Netherlands, it is recommended to replicate these studies and examine whether the findings are generalizable to other countries with different legal traditions and styles of policing. Also, future prospective studies could try to examine whether the relationships identified in the current thesis hold over a longer period of time than a month. In addition, future studies could examine whether the relationships found hold for victims of other types of crime (such as sexual crime). Finally, future studies could explore whether evaluations of procedural justice and police performance are causally related to perceived legitimacy and cooperation among victims of crime by using a field experiment (see Wheller et al., 2013).

Expectations and emotional crime victims

Although the qualitative findings of this thesis suggest that crime victims can have different expectations with regard to the investigation activities of the police depending on their emotional reaction to the crime, the type of crime victims suffered from, and, in case of victims of violent crime, whether they know the perpetrator (by name), it is advisable to test whether or not this finding is based on coincidence via quantitative research methods. More specifically, it could be tested whether victims who experience a lot of suffering, were victimized by a violent crime, and know the perpetrator (by name) have higher expectations with regard to the investigation activities than victims who experience less suffering, were victimized by a property

crime, and do not know the perpetrator (by name) and how living up to these expectations (or not) relate to victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived police legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police.

Elements of procedural justice

The qualitative findings of this thesis provide indications that not all elements of procedural justice – 'voice', neutrality, respect, and trustworthiness – may be equally valued by crime victims. For example, some victims seem to appreciate it when police officers take a clear stance against the perpetrator, because it makes them feel supported and strengthened. This implies that some crime victims may appreciate it if police officers are 'biased' if it favours the victim. Whether this is indeed the case, could be tested in future research.

Process versus outcome

The findings of this thesis provide indications that the outcome of the police investigation, in the sense of apprehending a suspect, is not equally important to all crime victims. For example, victims who expressed that they were severely harmed by the crime/offender and victims of violent crime (who know the perpetrator) seem to attach greater importance to apprehending the offender than victims who expressed that they were not severely harmed by the crime/offender and victims of domestic burglary. Previous research among crime victims on the relative importance of outcome-related factors and process-related factors report inconsistent results. A possible explanation for the inconsistent results may be that the outcome of the case is especially important to crime victims under specific circumstances. Future research could be conducted to examine under which specific circumstances the outcome of the case is more or less important to crime victims' evaluations of the police response, perceived police legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with the police.

Intervention studies

As the current thesis focused on crime victims' evaluations of the police response, it is still unclear what the best way would be to teach police officers how they could respond to crime victims in a correct and respectful manner, how they could demonstrate their impartiality and their sincere motivation to apprehend the offender, how they could inform crime victims about the developments in their case, and how they can explain their reasons for performing investigative activities or not. Police officers can be trained in various ways, for example by use of written information, group discussions, role playing, via an online training module or a combination of these methods. Future intervention studies could provide more information about which method works best.

7.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICE PRACTICE

Results of this thesis might offer some guidelines for the development of policy and practice for police officers who interact with crime victims on a daily basis. While victims have often been referred to as the 'forgotten party' (Norton, 2007; Walklate, 2012; Wemmers & Cyr, 2006), recent national and international initiatives have been taken to strengthen the victims' position in criminal proceedings (see Tobolowsky et al., 2010; Van der Aa et al., 2009). However most of these initiatives focus on the court stage of criminal proceedings, such as the right for victims to deliver an impact statement during the trial phase. While such initiatives indeed seem to strengthen the victim's position, it should be noted that many cases do not proceed in the criminal justice system after the police investigation phase (Smit & Harrendorf, 2010). As such, the police might not only be the first, but also often the only representative of the criminal justice system to interact with crime victims. National guidelines in the Netherlands instruct police officers to treat victims in a correct way, to inform crime victims about the procedure following the report and to keep victims updated about the progress in their case (see Act for the improvement of the position of victims in criminal procedure, 2011; art. 51a Clause 2 CP jo. art. 288a Clause 2 CP). The current thesis' findings seem to underline the importance of these guidelines and may also offer more concrete information on how police officers may offer such a respectful treatment.

The current thesis emphasised that crime victims are interested in both a fair treatment by police officers and in police officers' investigative efforts. A fair treatment and performing investigative efforts (and communicating to crime victims about those efforts) is not only ethically just and in line with the mission of the police, but it may also have positive consequences for victims' perceptions of police legitimacy and their willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization. Furthermore, it may prevent vigilantism. This thesis' findings suggest that police officers can try to counter the unfavourable situation that repeat crime victims seem to be less likely to cooperate with the police than first-time victims (López, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001; Tarling & Morris, 2010) by offering a fair treatment and by performing investigative efforts. That is, police officers should (1) give victims the opportunity to express their views on the situation and consider their opinion on how to proceed; (2) be neutral and unbiased with regard to the victims' role (i.e. guilt) in the victimization; (3) treat victims with respect and dignity; (4) should communicate that they are sincerely motivated to come to the best solution for all parties involved; (5) inform crime victims on the developments in their case if they want to be informed; and (6) should clearly communicate on the investigative efforts taken or on the reasons for not taking investigative efforts (see also De Mesmaecker, 2014; Elliott et al., 2011, 2012; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Most of these elements are already implemented in national and international guidelines for the police to interact with crime victims. However, while most of these

regulations focus on procedural justice, the current thesis emphasized that crime victims are interested in police performance as well. Therefore, officers could communicate more about their investigative efforts to make victims feel taken seriously and to make them feel valued and respected as members of society. It is recommended to assign a central point of contact to the victim who is aware of the (proceedings) of the case.

Second, findings of the current thesis suggest that victims of different types of crime can have different expectations with regard to the police response. Virtually all crime victims expect a respectful treatment (i.e. a procedurally just treatment), but expectations with regard to performing investigative activities are more diverse. Although future research is recommended, the police may discuss a victim's expectations on the performance of investigative activities at an early stage. In that way, unrealistic expectations could be tempered by explaining why certain means of investigation cannot be used, what means can be used and/or which steps will be taken to solve the case.

Third, findings of the current thesis suggest that victims who expressed that they felt deeply harmed by the offender and/or the crime may evaluate the police response in a different way than victims who showed less severe emotions. Although the current thesis lacks information on whether emotionally expressive victims were treated in a different manner than victims who had not expressed such emotions or whether emotionally expressive victims only evaluated their treatment by police officers differently, it seems that police officers should offer special attention to those crime victims. While these victims may already receive special attention by police officers trying to prevent victims to develop posttraumatic stress disorder, the current thesis suggests special attention would also be beneficial from a crime detection perspective. For example, it might be important for these crime victims to hear from police officers – as representatives of society's norms and values – that they are not to blame for what has happened to them and that criminal behaviour is not tolerated. Some of these crime victims appreciated it if police officers would not only take a clear stance against the crime, but against the alleged offender as well. This may be understandable, but police officers – especially because they are often the first and only representatives of the criminal justice system who have contact with the victim – should listen to the stories of both parties in an open and unbiased manner in order to discover the truth. Police officers taking a clear stance against the alleged perpetrator could possibly be at the expense of their impartiality. It is therefore advisable to condemn crime rather than the alleged perpetrator when interacting with the victim.

In addition, crime victims who expressed that they experienced intense emotions might be more concerned with police officers' investigative efforts to solve the crime and apprehend to offender than victims who did not report such emotions. Particularly when crime victims knew who had victimized them, it was hard for them to understand why the police would not have a serious talk with the offender. It should be noted that

these crime victims did not express retributive motives, but rather they wanted the police officers to inform 'their' offender that criminal behaviour would not be tolerated. In cases where the police are not able to perform such investigative actions, they should clearly explain why no actions will be taken and reaffirm victims' valuable position in society, for example by underlining the importance of informing the police on their victimization and by taking a clear stance against the crime. This may help to prevent feelings of desolation, despair and vigilantism among these crime victims and may encourage cooperation in case of future crime victimization.

Fourth, the current thesis' findings suggest that crime victims who had contact with the police may offer valuable information on what they value in their interactions with police officers. While national surveys have been conducted to examine victim satisfaction with criminal proceedings and victim services (see Koolen, Van der Heide & Ziegelaar, 2005; Winkel, Spapens, Letschert, Groenhuisen & Van Dijk, 2006), more concrete information could be gathered by using a so-called Legal System Victim Impact Statement (Wexler, 2008). Such a statement would allow crime victims to evaluate the case handling by criminal justice actors (e.g. the police) in a qualitative manner by listing both elements that they thought went well and elements that could have been done better. Such detailed information could be used to identify concrete aspects that victims appreciate and factors they do not appreciate. Such information could be used in the development of training for police officers. Also, police officers might be able to explain or apologise for elements that were negatively evaluated and thereby improve victims' evaluations of their interactions with the police. This may further help the police to improve the quality of their interactions with crime victims. In developing a template for a Legal System Victim Impact Statement, the current thesis suggests that victims could be asked about aspects of procedural justice and police performance.

Fifth, the importance of crime victims' evaluations of the police response is emphasized in this thesis. Positive evaluations of the police response would contribute to the police's goal of making the Netherlands a safer place to live in, because it makes victims more willing to cooperate with the police in case of future crime victimization than when the police response is negatively evaluated. For this reason, it is recommended to not only formulate key performance indicators in terms of number of investigations conducted, closed cases, or reducing crime, but also in terms of victims' evaluations of the police response in their case. Paying attention to victims in a helpful way not only benefits the individual person and wider society but also the police as an institution.

Nederlandstalige samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Slachtoffers van criminaliteit en de politie
*Oordelen van slachtoffers van criminaliteit over het
gedrag van de politie, legitimiteit en medewerking:
Een multi-method studie*

INLEIDING

Criminaliteit is een serieus probleem voor de samenleving. Jaarlijks worden bijna 2,5 miljoen inwoners van Nederland slachtoffer van een woning-inbraak of een geweldsmisdrijf. Wanneer slachtoffers aangifte doen van hun slachtofferschap bij de politie, kunnen zij een belangrijke bijdrage leveren aan het bestrijden van criminaliteit. Zij kunnen immers door het verstrekken van belangrijke en gedetailleerde informatie over de omstandigheden van het delict en mogelijk over de dader, de politie helpen om de zaak te onderzoeken, op te lossen en de dader op te pakken. Zonder de medewerking van slachtoffers zullen veel delicten niet door de politie opgemerkt worden en daarmee zullen veel daders het strafrechtssysteem kunnen ontlopen. De effectiviteit van het strafrechtssysteem hangt dus in grote mate af van de bereidheid van slachtoffers om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie.

Toch doen veel slachtoffers geen aangifte van hun slachtofferschap. Eerder onderzoek suggereert dat dit vooral geldt voor slachtoffers die meer dan eens een slachtofferervaring hebben gehad en dat dit mogelijk het gevolg is van negatieve oordelen over eerdere ervaringen met de politie bij een aangifte van een eerder slachtofferschap. Dit is zeer onwenselijk, aangezien eerder onderzoek ook laat zien dat mensen die eerder slachtoffer zijn geworden een hoger risico op slachtofferschap lopen dan mensen zonder eerdere slachtofferervaringen. In dit proefschrift wordt onderzocht of, in welke mate, hoe en waarom oordelen van slachtoffers over het politie-optreden in hun zaak gerelateerd zijn aan hun bereidheid om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie in het geval van toekomstig slachtofferschap. Met behulp van deze kennis kan mogelijk de onwenselijke situatie worden tegengegaan dat slachtoffers van criminaliteit minder bereid zijn om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie in geval van toekomstig slachtofferschap (vanwege voorgaande negatieve ervaringen met de politie).

Theoretisch kader

Het proefschrift bouwt voort op de procedurele rechtvaardigheidstheorie zoals ontwikkeld door Tom Tyler en collega's. Van een procedurele rechtvaardige behandeling van slachtoffers van criminaliteit door de politie kan worden gesproken, indien (1) burgers op een respectvolle wijze bejegend worden, (2) burgers de mogelijkheid hebben om hun verhaal te doen, (3) burgers neutraal en onbevooroordeeld tegemoet worden getreden door de

politie en (4) burgers erop kunnen vertrouwen dat de politie er alles aan zal doen om tot de beste oplossing voor alle betrokken partijen te komen. Volgens de procedurele rechtvaardigheidstheorie zal een procedureel rechtvaardige bejegening door de politie de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking door burgers aan de politie verhogen. Een rechtvaardige bejegening door de politie – als vertegenwoordiger van de staat – straalt namelijk uit dat iemand een gewaardeerd en gerespecteerd lid is van de samenleving. De politie laat daarmee zien dat zij een organisatie is die de normen en waarden in een samenleving nastreeft (en dus tegen criminaliteit optreedt), wat ertoe leidt dat de organisatie gezien wordt als een legitiem instituut. Wanneer de politie gezien wordt als een legitiem instituut, gaan burgers zich innerlijk verantwoordelijk voelen om zelf eveneens orde in de samenleving na te streven, bijvoorbeeld door medewerking te verlenen aan de politie.

Naast procedurele rechtvaardigheid, kan het politie-functioneren in het algemeen (de mate waarin de politie in staat is om criminaliteit op effectieve wijze te bestrijden) volgens Tyler en collega's ook bijdragen aan de door burgers gepercipieerde legitimiteit van de politieorganisatie. Wanneer de politie namelijk effectief is in de bestrijding van criminaliteit zullen burgers de indruk hebben dat de politie het belangrijk vindt om door de samenleving gedeelde normen en waarden na te streven. Eerder onderzoek onder slachtoffers van criminaliteit laat zien dat slachtoffers zowel een respectvolle bejegening door de politie (procedurele rechtvaardigheid) als de verrichte opsporingsactiviteiten om een dader te vinden en de zaak op te lossen (politie-functioneren in een concrete zaak) belangrijk vinden in hun contact met de politie. Dit geeft hen het gevoel dat zij en hun zaak serieus worden genomen door de politie en zou daarmee potentieel bijdragen aan de gepercipieerde legitimiteit van de politieorganisatie.

Onderzoeksvragen

De algemene doelstelling van dit proefschrift is te onderzoeken of er empirische ondersteuning is voor de aanname dat slachtoffers die het politieoptreden in hun zaak positiever beoordelen meer geneigd zijn om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie dan slachtoffers die het politieoptreden minder positief beoordelen. Meer specifiek richt dit proefschrift zich op de vraag of, in welke mate, hoe en waarom oordelen van slachtoffers over het politieoptreden in hun zaak (in termen van procedurele rechtvaardigheid en het politie-functioneren) gerelateerd zijn aan hun bereidheid om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie in geval van toekomstig slachtofferschap. Naar aanleiding van het beschreven theoretisch kader en beperkingen van eerder onderzoek, zijn vijf deelvragen geformuleerd:

1. In welke mate ondersteunt eerder onderzoek de aanname dat positieve oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons een positieve invloed hebben op percepties van de legitimiteit van de politie en vervolgens de bereidheid tot medewerking verhogen?

2. Wat is de empirische structuur van de oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons (in termen van procedurele rechtvaardigheid en politiefunctioneren), percepties van legitimiteit (in termen van vertrouwen in de politie en gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen), en bereidheid tot medewerking met de politie?
3. Hoe zijn oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons gerelateerd aan percepties van legitimiteit en aan de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie; verschilt dit tussen slachtoffers van verschillende typen criminaliteit en houden de relaties stand over de tijd?
4. Hoe is de politierespons van invloed op percepties van legitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking onder fictieve slachtoffers?
5. Waarom zijn oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons gerelateerd aan hun bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie?

RESULTATEN

Bevindingen eerder onderzoek (Hoofdstuk 2)

Ter beantwoording van de eerste deelvraag – in welke mate ondersteunt eerder onderzoek de aanname dat positieve oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons een positieve invloed hebben op percepties van de legitimiteit van de politie en vervolgens de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking verhogen – werd een literatuurreview uitgevoerd. Hierin werd op systematische wijze gezocht naar studies die de relaties tussen oordelen over het politieoptreden in een concrete zaak, percepties van politielegitimiteit en bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie hebben onderzocht onder slachtoffers van criminaliteit. Deze zoektocht leverde 15 studies op die (a) de relatie tussen oordelen van slachtoffers over het politieoptreden in hun zaak en de gepercipieerde legitimiteit van de politie (of breder, het strafrechtssysteem), (b) de relatie tussen slachtoffer percepties van legitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie, of (c) de relatie tussen oordelen over het politieoptreden en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking onderzochten.

Ten eerste blijkt dat studies consistent een positieve relatie rapporteren tussen oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons en percepties van legitimiteit van de politie, of breder, het strafrechtssysteem. Ten tweede blijkt dat de bevindingen niet eenduidig zijn voor wat betreft de overige twee relaties (tussen oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking en tussen percepties van legitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking). Ten derde blijkt dat de gevonden studies slechts één van de genoemde relaties onderzochten, waardoor geen sluitend antwoord gegeven kan worden op de

vraag of en in hoeverre oordelen van slachtoffers over het politieoptreden in hun zaak gerelateerd zijn aan percepties van de legitimiteit van de politie en vervolgens aan de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie, zoals in het model van Tyler en collega's.

Validiteit van de centrale concepten in dit proefschrift (Hoofdstuk 3)

Ter beantwoording van de tweede deelvraag – wat is de empirische structuur van de oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons (in termen van procedurele rechtvaardigheid en politie-functioneren), percepties van legitimiteit (in termen van vertrouwen in de politie en gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen), en bereidheid tot medewerking met de politie – werden telefonisch gestructureerde interviews gehouden met 417 slachtoffers van criminaliteit die recent aangifte hadden gedaan bij de politie in de regio Hollands Midden (overgegaan in de Regionale Eenheid Den Haag).

De analyse van de empirische structuur van de centrale concepten in dit proefschrift – oordelen over procedurele rechtvaardigheid, politie-functioneren, politielegitimiteit (in termen van vertrouwen in de politie en verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen) en bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking – maakt duidelijk dat deze structuur niet volledig overeenkomt met de door Tyler en collega's beschreven theorie. Hoewel hun theorie een onderscheid maakt tussen oordelen over procedurele rechtvaardigheid en oordelen over het politie-functioneren, laten de resultaten zien dat de twee concepten empirisch sterk aan elkaar gerelateerd zijn. Dit suggereert dat slachtoffers in de waardering van het politieoptreden geen onderscheid maken tussen de wijze waarop zij bejegend worden en de mate waarin de politie opsporingsactiviteiten ontplooit, maar dat zij het politieoptreden als geheel beoordelen. Het gevolg van deze bevinding is dat in statistische analyses de twee concepten (oordelen over procedurele rechtvaardigheid en het politie-functioneren) als één construct (oordelen over de politierespons) beschouwd dienen te worden.

De relaties tussen de centrale concepten in dit proefschrift voor slachtoffers van verschillende typen delicten en over de tijd (Hoofdstuk 4)

Ter beantwoording van de derde deelvraag – hoe zijn oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons gerelateerd aan percepties van legitimiteit en aan de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie; verschilt dit tussen slachtoffers van verschillende typen criminaliteit en houden de relaties stand over de tijd – werden de analyses in twee delen uitgevoerd. Ten eerste werd onderzocht of de verbanden tussen de kernconcepten verschilden tussen slachtoffers van woninginbraak en slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven en vervolgens werd onderzocht of de relaties stand hielden.

Voor het eerste deel werden dezelfde data gebruikt als voor de beantwoording van de tweede deelvraag, namelijk de data die vergaard zijn

door het houden van gestructureerde interviews met slachtoffers van criminaliteit. De resultaten laten zien dat voor beide typen slachtoffers geldt dat oordelen over de politierespons positief gerelateerd zijn aan het vertrouwen in de politie en de gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen en dat percepties van vertrouwen in de politie geen verband houdt met de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking, maar er zijn ook verschillen. Zo blijkt dat oordelen over het politieoptreden direct gerelateerd zijn aan de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking voor slachtoffers van woninginbraak, maar niet voor slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven. Daarnaast laten de resultaten zien dat oordelen over de politierespons indirect, namelijk via de gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen, gerelateerd zijn aan de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking voor slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven.

Voor het tweede deel – of de gevonden relaties over de tijd stand hielden – werden data gebruikt van 201 slachtoffers (van de 417) die bereid waren om aan een tweede interview deel te nemen. Hierbij was het om statistische redenen niet mogelijk een onderscheid te maken naar type delict. Ten eerste laten de resultaten zien dat oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons positief verband houden met de gepercipieerde legitimiteit van de politie (in termen van vertrouwen in de politie en verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen) over de tijd. Ten tweede blijkt dat positieve oordelen over de politierespons niet direct, maar indirect verband houden met de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking over de tijd. Dit verband verloopt via de gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen. Ten derde laten de resultaten zien dat het vertrouwen in de politie mogelijk het oordeel over het politieoptreden kleurt: Het vertrouwen in de politie houdt positief verband met oordelen over de politie op een later moment. Dit impliceert dat oordelen over de politie en de mate van vertrouwen in de politie elkaar over de tijd versterken. Slachtoffers die het politieoptreden aanvankelijk positiever beoordelen zijn meer geneigd om vertrouwen in de politie te uiten over de tijd dan slachtoffers die het politieoptreden aanvankelijk minder positief beoordeelden. Andersom geldt ook dat slachtoffers die aanvankelijk meer vertrouwen in de politie hebben, meer geneigd zijn om het politieoptreden over de tijd positiver te beoordelen dan slachtoffers die aanvankelijk minder vertrouwen in de politie hebben.

De invloed van het politieoptreden op de legitimiteit van de politie en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking (Hoofdstuk 5)

Ter beantwoording van de vierde deelvraag – hoe is de politierespons van invloed op percepties van legitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking onder fictieve slachtoffers – werd een vignette-experiment uitgevoerd waarin een hypothetische situatie werd voorgelegd aan 414 studenten van de Universiteit Leiden. Het opzetten van een experiment in de werkelijkheid zou namelijk ethische problemen opleveren. Deelnemers lazen een scenario over een geweldsmisdrijf waarbij hen gevraagd werd

zich in te leven in het fictieve slachtoffer. Vervolgens beantwoordden zij vragen over de legitimiteit van de politie en hun eigen bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking. In het scenario werd het politieoptreden op positieve wijze en op negatieve wijze gemanipuleerd. In het positieve scenario behandelde de politie het slachtoffer op een procedureel rechtvaardige wijze en voerde adequate opsporingsactiviteiten uit. In het negatieve scenario behandelde de politie het slachtoffer op een procedureel onrechtvaardige wijze en voerde zij geen opsporingsactiviteiten uit. Daarnaast werd een controleconditie toegevoegd waarbij het scenario stopte nadat het slachtofferschap had plaatsgevonden en het slachtoffer naar huis ging om de politie te bellen. In deze conditie had het slachtoffer geen contact met de politie.

Uit de resultaten blijkt ten eerste dat de politierespons causaal verband houdt met de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking van fictieve slachtoffers. Ten tweede blijkt dat niet alleen de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking, maar ook vertrouwen in de politie en verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen ('legitimiteit') significant hoger was onder fictieve slachtoffers in de positieve politieresponsconditie dan in de negatieve politieresponsconditie en de controle conditie. Het verschil tussen de positieve politieresponsconditie en de controleconditie op het punt van vertrouwen in de politie en bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking verdween echter nadat gecorrigeerd werd voor het uitvoeren van meerdere analyses (Bonferroni-correctie). Ten derde blijkt dat de scores op alle drie de uitkomstmaten significant lager waren onder fictieve slachtoffers in de negatieve conditie dan in de positieve politierespons conditie en de controle conditie. Het lijkt er dus op dat vooral een negatieve politierespons schadelijke gevolgen kan hebben voor de waargenomen legitimiteit van de politieorganisatie en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking onder slachtoffers. Ten vierde blijkt dat het verband tussen het politieoptreden en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking ten minste voor een deel verklaard kan worden door de invloed van de politierespons op het vertrouwen in de politie.

Wat slachtoffers waarderen in het politiecontact en waarom zij medewerking verlenen (Hoofdstuk 6)

Ter beantwoording van de vijfde deelvraag – waarom zijn oordelen van slachtoffers over de politierespons gerelateerd aan hun bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking aan de politie – werden 32 slachtoffers van criminaliteit die recent aangifte hadden gedaan bij de politie in de regio Hollands Midden (in 2012 overgegaan in de Regionale Eenheid Den Haag) persoonlijk geïnterviewd. Dit gebeurde op een semigestructureerde wijze. De resultaten laten ten eerste zien dat zowel slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven als slachtoffers van woninginbraak veel waarde hechten aan procedureel rechtvaardige bejegening door de politie. Belangrijk daarbij was de mogelijkheid om hun verhaal te vertellen, dat de politie beschikbaar was voor vervolcontact en dat zij op de hoogte werden gehouden

over de ontwikkelingen in hun zaak. Ten tweede vonden slachtoffers die aangaven (zeer) geëmotioneerd te zijn (geweest) door het delict en/of de dader het belangrijk dat de politie zich duidelijk uitsprak tegen de dader en het misdrijf. Slachtoffers voelden zich hierdoor gesteund en gesterkt. Ten derde hadden slachtoffers van woninginbraken er over het algemeen vrede mee als de dader niet gepakt zou worden. Zij gaven aan te begrijpen dat de politie – na een eerste sporenonderzoek – niet alle mogelijke opsporingsactiviteiten zou inzetten en de zaak zou sluiten. Deze slachtoffers hechtten vooral belang aan een snelle opname van de aangifte, zodat ze, met een proces-verbaal, in aanmerking konden komen voor financiële vergoeding bij verzekeringsmaatschappijen. Ten vierde blijkt dat slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven het juist belangrijk vinden dat de politie de dader zou opsporen om hem/haar vervolgens duidelijk te maken dat crimineel gedrag niet getolereerd wordt. Wanneer slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven het gevoel hadden dat de politie faalde in deze taak, voelden zij zich in de steek gelaten door de politie. Dat gevoel had niet alleen negatieve gevolgen voor de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking, maar kon zelfs leiden tot een neiging naar eigenrichting. Dit was vooral het geval onder slachtoffers van geweldsmisdrijven die de dader (bij naam) kenden.

CONCLUSIES

Ten eerste maakt dit proefschrift duidelijk dat slachtoffers van criminaliteit niet alleen geïnteresseerd zijn in een rechtvaardige bejegening, maar ook in de opsporingsactiviteiten die de politie uitvoert om hun zaak op te lossen. Zij vinden beide belangrijk; Door een rechtvaardige bejegening krijgen zij het gevoel zelf belangrijk te zijn en door opsporingsactiviteiten krijgen zij het gevoel dat hun zaak serieus genomen wordt. Ten tweede kan met de diverse onderzoeksmethoden die in dit proefschrift zijn gebruikt, geen sluitend antwoord gegeven worden op de vraag hoe het politietoetreden van invloed kan zijn op de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking (direct of via vertrouwen in de politie en/of gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen). Het antwoord op deze vraag lijkt af te hangen van het type delict en of mensen daadwerkelijk slachtoffer geworden zijn van criminaliteit. Ten derde wordt wel duidelijk dat de beoordeling van het politietoetreden gevolgen heeft voor percepties van legitimiteit van de politieorganisatie en voor de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking in geval van toekomstig slachtofferschap. Vooral negatieve oordelen over het politietoetreden, met name in termen van uitgevoerde opsporingsactiviteiten, kunnen desastreuze gevolgen hebben voor de waargenomen politielegitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking. Om de onwenselijke situatie tegen te gaan dat slachtoffers in mindere mate aangifte doen in geval van herhaald slachtofferschap, is het dus van essentieel belang dat de politie zoveel mogelijk negatieve oordelen over het politietoetreden voorkomt.

AANBEVELINGEN VOOR DE POLITIEPRAKTIJK

De bevindingen van dit proefschrift lijken het belang van richtlijnen voor agenten over de omgang met slachtoffers van criminaliteit te onderschrijven. Hoewel in de laatste jaren veel initiatieven zijn genomen om de positie van het slachtoffer in het strafproces te versterken, gaan veel van die initiatieven over de laatste fase van het strafproces. Een bekend voorbeeld daarvan is het spreekrecht waar slachtoffers van ernstige misdrijven recht op hebben. In veel zaken zal een delict echter niet tot een rechtszaak komen. In veel zaken zal de politie niet alleen de eerste, maar vaak ook de enige partij van het strafrechtssysteem zijn waarmee slachtoffers in aanraking komen. Volgens nationale en internationale wetgeving dient de politie slachtoffers op een correcte wijze te bejegenen, hen te informeren over de te volgen procedure en hen op de hoogte te houden van ontwikkelingen in hun zaak. In dit proefschrift wordt dat onderstreept en de resultaten bieden mogelijk ook meer informatie over hoe de politie slachtoffers op een respectvolle wijze kunnen bejegenen.

Ten eerste maakt dit proefschrift duidelijk dat het voor slachtoffers belangrijk is dat zij op een rechtvaardige wijze bejegend worden door agenten en dat agenten opsporingsactiviteiten inzetten (en daarover communiceren naar slachtoffers). Dit is niet alleen ethisch juist en passend bij de missie van de organisatie, maar heeft mogelijk ook positieve gevolgen voor de waargenomen legitimiteit van de politie, de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking in geval van toekomstig slachtofferschap en het voorkomen van eigenrichting. Om negatieve oordelen over de politierespons te voorkomen laat deze studie zien dat het belangrijk is dat de politie (1) het slachtoffer de gelegenheid geeft om zijn of haar verhaal te vertellen, (2) neutraal optreedt met betrekking tot de rol van het slachtoffer in het delict (schuld) en beslissingen baseert op feiten, (3) slachtoffers op een respectvolle wijze behandelt, beleefd is en laat weten oog te hebben voor de behoeften en zorgen van slachtoffers, (4) duidelijk maakt dat agenten oprecht gemotiveerd zijn om tot de beste oplossing te komen door aan te geven dat criminaliteit niet getolereerd wordt en de wens uitspreekt om de dader te pakken (5) slachtoffers (indien gewenst) op de hoogte houdt van de ontwikkelingen in de zaak en (6) duidelijk maakt welke opsporingsactiviteiten ondernomen zullen worden of, als zulke activiteiten niet ingezet zullen worden, waarom dat het geval is. Hoe deze elementen politiemensen het beste aangeleerd kan worden, zal moeten blijken uit (toekomstige) interventiestudies, maar veel van deze elementen worden al erkend in nationale en internationale richtlijnen en opleidingen van politiemensen. Dit proefschrift onderstreept het belang daarvan en benadrukt daarbij dat het uitvoeren van opsporingsactiviteiten en daarover communiceren naar het slachtoffer belangrijk is voor slachtoffers, omdat het hen het gevoel geeft dat zij en hun zaak serieus worden genomen. Het verdient daarbij aanbeveling om een vast aanspreekpunt beschikbaar te maken voor het slachtoffer die op de hoogte is van de zaak.

Ten tweede blijkt uit deze studie dat verschillende slachtoffers verschillende verwachtingen kunnen hebben ten aanzien van het politieoptreden. Waar vrijwel alle slachtoffers een respectvolle bejegening (i.e. procedureel rechtvaardige bejegening) verwachten, zijn de verwachtingen met betrekking tot het uitvoeren van opsporingsactiviteiten meer verdeeld. Hoewel vervolgonderzoek aan te bevelen is, zou de politie er waarschijnlijk goed aan doen om de verwachtingen van slachtoffers ten aanzien van het opsporingsonderzoek in een vroeg stadium te bespreken. Onrealistische verwachtingen kunnen op dat moment bijgesteld worden door uit te leggen waarom bepaalde opsporingsmiddelen niet ingezet kunnen worden, wat eventueel wel mogelijk is en of/welke stappen ondernomen zullen worden in de zaak.

Ten derde blijkt uit dit proefschrift dat slachtoffers die zelf aangeven zich diep geraakt voelen door de dader en/of het misdrijf het politieoptreden op een andere wijze beoordelen dan slachtoffers waarbij dat minder het geval is. Hoewel dit proefschrift niet heeft onderzocht of de politie onderscheid maakt tussen deze twee typen slachtoffers in de bejegening, verdient het aanbeveling om deze groep te identificeren en hen met extra zorg te bejegenen. Zo zou benadrukt kunnen worden dat het slachtoffer zelf geen schuld heeft aan wat hem of haar is overkomen en dat criminaliteit niet getolereerd wordt. Sommige van deze slachtoffers vinden het fijn als politieagenten een duidelijk standpunt innemen tegen de dader, waardoor zij zich gesteund en gesterkt voelen. Dat is op zichzelf aan te prijzen, maar de politie zou, juist als eerste aanspreekpunt binnen de strafrechtsketen, op een open wijze en zonder vooringenomenheid moeten luisteren naar zowel het vermeende slachtoffer als de vermeende dader om de waarheid te achterhalen. Wanneer de politie in een vroeg stadium van het opsporingsonderzoek een duidelijk standpunt inneemt tegen de dader (of diegene daar nu wel of niet bij is) zou mogelijk ten koste kunnen gaan van die onpartijdigheid. Het verdient dan ook aanbeveling om vooral criminaliteit af te keuren en niet zozeer de vermeende dader. Slachtoffers die zelf aangeven hevig geëmotioneerd te zijn, lijken daarnaast ook hogere verwachtingen te hebben ten aanzien van het uitvoeren van opsporingsactiviteiten en daar meer waarde aan te hechten dan slachtoffers die dit niet aangaven. Juist bij dit type slachtoffers lijkt het dus van belang te zijn om de verwachtingen te bespreken en indien nodig te temperen.

Ten vierde blijkt uit dit proefschrift dat slachtoffers waardevolle informatie kunnen geven over wat zij belangrijk vinden in hun contact met de politie. Naast meer algemene onderzoeken naar slachtoffertevredenheid, zou concretere informatie verkregen kunnen worden via een zogeheten Legal System Victim Impact Statement, waarbij slachtoffers het politieoptreden op inhoudelijke wijze kunnen beoordelen door aan te geven wat goed ging en wat minder goed ging. Zulke gedetailleerde informatie over een specifieke zaak zou gebruikt kunnen worden om nog specifiekere te achterhalen wat slachtoffers waarderen in hun contact met de politie. Deze formulieren kunnen ook de basis vormen voor het ontwikkelen van casus

die gebruikt kunnen worden in trainingen aan politiemensen die contact hebben met slachtoffers. Daarnaast zouden deze formulieren aanleiding kunnen geven voor agenten om uitleg te geven of excuses aan te bieden aan het slachtoffer voor aspecten die minder positief zijn beoordeeld. Dit zou kunnen helpen om de kwaliteit van het contact tussen de politie en slachtoffers te verbeteren (vooral wanneer het contact minder positief is beoordeeld) en eigenrichting te voorkomen. Uit dit proefschrift blijkt dat het van belang is om slachtoffers te vragen naar aspecten met betrekking tot de bejegening en opsporingsactiviteiten.

Ten vijfde wordt het belang van de beoordeling van het politieoptreden door slachtoffers in dit proefschrift benadrukt. Een positieve beoordeling zou bijdragen aan het doel van de politie om Nederland veiliger te maken, doordat slachtoffers meer geneigd zijn om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie dan bij een negatieve beoordeling en de politie heeft die medewerking nodig om zaken op te lossen en daders op te sporen. Om die reden verdient het de aanbeveling om niet alleen doelstellingen te formuleren in bijvoorbeeld termen van het aantal verrichte onderzoeken, afgedane zaken en het terugdringen van criminaliteit, maar ook om doelstellingen te formuleren met betrekking tot de beoordeling van de politierespons door van slachtoffers die aangifte hebben gedaan van hun slachtofferschap. Aandacht voor slachtoffers is immers niet alleen behulpzaam voor slachtoffers en de samenleving als geheel, maar ook voor de politie als instituut.

SUGGESTIES VOOR VERVOLGONDERZOEK

Uit dit proefschrift vloeien een aantal suggesties voort voor toekomstig onderzoek. Een aantal van deze suggesties richt zich op de meetwijze van de kernconcepten in dit proefschrift – de politierespons, politielegitimiteit, en medewerking – en op de generaliseerbaarheid van de bevindingen van dit proefschrift. Daarnaast roepen een aantal bevindingen uit dit proefschrift nieuwe vragen op waar toekomstig onderzoek aandacht aan kan besteden.

Meetwijze van de politierespons

In dit proefschrift stonden (voornamelijk) de subjectieve oordelen van het politieoptreden door slachtoffers van criminaliteit centraal. Hiervoor is gekozen vanuit de suggestie uit eerder onderzoek dat negatieve ervaringen met de politie bij aangifte van een eerder slachtofferschap ervoor zou zorgen dat slachtoffers afzien van medewerking aan de politie in het geval dat zij nog eens slachtoffer worden. Het gevolg daarvan is dat we nog maar weinig weten over het daadwerkelijke optreden van de politie. Meer objectieve informatie over het handelen van de politie zou verkregen kunnen worden door bijvoorbeeld te vragen hoe lang de politie het plaats delict heeft onderzocht en of gezocht is naar vingerafdrukken (in geval van

woninginbraak). Om het daadwerkelijke optreden in kaart te brengen, zou het contact tussen slachtoffers en de politie geobserveerd kunnen worden, eventueel via beeldopname. Door deze bevindingen te combineren met subjectieve beoordelingen, kunnen meer concrete aanbevelingen worden gedaan voor het handelen van de politie.

Meetwijze van politielegitimiteit

In dit proefschrift werd legitimiteit gemeten door te vragen naar percepties van vertrouwen in de politie en de in het algemeen gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen. Hiervoor is gekozen, omdat de vragenlijsten die hiervoor gebruikt waren (a) in het originele onderzoek van Tyler wat de basis vormde voor dit proefschrift gebruikt werden, (b) in eerder Nederlandstalig onderzoek werden gebruikt. Bovendien lijkt de gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen een goede indicator te zijn voor de intrinsieke motivatie om te handelen volgens de normen en waarden in de samenleving. Desondanks kunnen toekomstige studies aansluiten bij de recente ontwikkelingen in de wetenschap door niet alleen vertrouwen in de politie en de in het algemeen gevoelde verplichting om de wet te gehoorzamen te meten, maar ook de gevoelde verplichting om orders van politiemensen (in een concreet geval) te volgen en morele verbondenheid met de politie en/of de wet. Mogelijk geeft dat nog meer informatie over de motieven van slachtoffers om medewerking te verlenen aan de politie.

Meetwijze van medewerking

In dit proefschrift werd de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking gemeten. Hoewel eerder onderzoek een verband laat zien tussen de bereidheid tot handelen en daadwerkelijk handelen, verdient het aanbeveling om in toekomstige studies daadwerkelijke medewerking in kaart te brengen. Dan kan het gaan om daadwerkelijk gedrag in geval van toekomstig slachtofferschap, maar ook om daadwerkelijke medewerking in een zaak. Zo zou in kaart kunnen worden gebracht of het slachtoffer informatie heeft gegeven dat de politie zou kunnen helpen om de dader te identificeren en op te sporen.

Generaliseerbaarheid van bevindingen

Voor wat betreft de generaliseerbaarheid van de bevindingen, zouden toekomstige studies kunnen proberen om meer deelnemers te werven met een niet-Nederlandse achtergrond zodat de steekproef meer representatief wordt voor de nationale slachtofferpopulatie. Dit zou gedaan kunnen worden door de mogelijkheid aan te bieden om slachtoffers in het Engels of in hun moedertaal te interviewen. Daarnaast verdient het aanbeveling om het onderzoek te repliceren in andere landen. Ook kunnen toekomstige prospectieve studies onderzoeken of de relaties die in dit

proefschrift gevonden zijn, langer dan één maand standhouden en kunnen toekomstige onderzoeken zich (naast slachtoffers van woninginbraak of geweldsmisdrijven) richten op slachtoffers van andere typen delicten, zoals zedendelicten. Ten slotte zou toekomstig onderzoek kunnen exploreren of procedurele rechtvaardigheid en (communicatie over) opsporingsactiviteiten causaal verband houden met waargenomen politielegitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking bij slachtoffers van criminaliteit door het uitvoeren van een veldexperiment waarbij politiemensen hier expliciet op getraind worden, naar het voorbeeld van de *The Greater Manchester Police procedural justice training experiment* (zie Wheller et al, 2013).

Verwachtingen en geëmotioneerde slachtoffers

Hoewel de bevindingen in dit proefschrift (Hoofdstuk 6) aanwijzingen geven dat slachtoffers verschillende verwachtingen kunnen hebben ten aanzien van de opsporingsactiviteiten naar mate zij meer geëmotioneerd reageren op wat hen is overkomen en als zij een geweldsslachtoffer zijn geworden door een voor hun (bij naam) bekende dader, verdient het aanbeveling om via kwantitatieve onderzoeksmethoden te toetsen of deze bevindingen niet op toeval berusten. Meer specifiek kan worden nagegaan of slachtoffers die veel leed ervaren en/of de dader (bij naam) kennen hogere verwachtingen hebben dan slachtoffers die minder leed ervaren en/of de dader niet (bij naam) kennen en hoe het wel of niet inlossen van die verwachtingen zich verhoudt tot beoordelingen over het politieoptreden, percepties van politielegitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking.

Elementen van procedurele rechtvaardigheid

De bevindingen in dit proefschrift (Hoofdstuk 6) geven aanwijzingen dat mogelijk niet alle elementen van procedurele rechtvaardigheid – ‘voice’, neutraliteit, respect en vertrouwenswaardigheid – wel op gelijke wijze worden gewaardeerd door slachtoffers. Zo lijken sommige slachtoffers het te waarderen als politiemensen een duidelijk standpunt innemen tegen de dader, omdat zij zich daardoor gesteund en gesterkt voelen. Dat impliceert dat slachtoffers het mogelijk waarderen wanneer de politie ‘partijdig’ is, als het maar in het voordeel van het slachtoffer is. Of dat inderdaad het geval is, zou kunnen worden getoetst in toekomstig onderzoek.

Procedure versus uitkomst

De bevindingen in dit proefschrift geven aanwijzingen dat de uitkomst van het politieonderzoek, in de zin van het opsporen van een verdachte, niet voor alle slachtoffers even belangrijk is. Zo lijken vooral slachtoffers die aangeven zich erg geraakt te voelen door wat hen is overkomen en slacht-

offers van geweldsmisdrijven (die de dader kennen) het over het algemeen belangrijker te vinden dat de dader wordt opgepakt dan slachtoffers die aangaven zich niet zo geraakt te voelen en slachtoffers van woninginbraken. Eerder onderzoek naar het relatieve belang van procedure-gerelateerde factoren en uitkomst-gerelateerde factoren laat geen eenduidige resultaten zien. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat de uitkomst van de zaak vooral belangrijk is in specifieke omstandigheden. Nader onderzoek zou gedaan kunnen worden naar de omstandigheden waaronder de uitkomst van de zaak wel of geen rol speelt in de waardering van de politie, percepties van politielegitimiteit en de bereidheid tot het verlenen van medewerking.

Interventiestudies

Ten slotte is het nog onduidelijk wat de beste wijze is om politiemensen aan te leren hoe zij slachtoffers op een correcte en respectvolle wijze te woord kunnen staan, hoe zij blijf kunnen geven van hun onpartijdigheid en motivatie om de dader te pakken, en hoe zij slachtoffers kunnen informeren over de ontwikkelingen in hun zaak en uitleg kunnen geven over het al dan niet uitvoeren van opsporingsactiviteiten. Politiemensen kunnen hierin op verschillende manieren getraind worden, bijvoorbeeld met behulp van schriftelijke informatie, groepsdiscussies, rolspelen, een online trainingsmodule waarin casus worden voorgelegd of een combinatie hiervan. Nader onderzoek met behulp van interventiestudies zou meer informatie kunnen geven over welke methode het beste werkt.

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Nathalie

Curriculum Vitae

Nathalie-Sharon Nandita Koster was born on February 27, 1989 in Goa, India. She started studying Criminology at Leiden University in 2007, obtained her Bachelor's degree in 2011, and her Master's degree in 2012. She graduated in two specializations (Forensic Criminology and Security Policy and Law Enforcement) and fulfilled two internships, one at Leiden University and one at the Dutch Violent Offences Compensation Fund (DVOC). Upon graduation, she worked as a researcher at the DVOC and as a consultant for a Safety home for the municipality of Hoorn. In 2012 she returned to Leiden University to work as a junior researcher on a project for 'Police & Science'. This project focused on the effect of adequate policing on the emotional wellbeing of victims and their willingness to cooperate in criminal proceedings and formed the basis of her doctoral research, which she started in 2012. This research was funded by a Research Talent grant of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). In her doctoral research, she examined to what extent, how, and why crime victims' evaluations of the police response relate to perceived police legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police in case of future victimization, using multiple methods. During her doctoral research, she was a visiting scholar at London School of Economics (LSE) and Oxford University in the United Kingdom. She currently works as an Assistant Professor at the Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology at Leiden University, Leiden Law School. She was awarded a Niels Stensen Fellowship to conduct a multi-method study on ethnic minority immigrants' willingness to cooperate with the police. She will conduct this research at University College London, starting September 2018.

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