Citizen Perceptions of Various Police Behaviors: A Conceptual Framework and Practical Recommendations for Improvement

Elrod
CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF VARIOUS POLICE BEHAVIORS: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

by

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CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF VARIOUS POLICE BEHAVIORS: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

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The ability of the police to better assess their role in the community lies in understanding, or accurately perceiving, the public's attitudes toward various police behaviors. Although numerous studies have examined general attitudes toward the police, few have examined citizen attitudes toward specific police behaviors within a broad socio-historical framework and attempted to make practical recommendations to the police based on such findings. This is the intent of this study.

The findings of this study are based on a random sample of households in Kalamazoo, Michigan, during 1978 and employs both bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques. Generally, it was found that there is considerable variation in citizen perceptions across a range of police behaviors indicating that attitudes toward the police are item specific and reflect group needs and expectations. Furthermore, when specific police behaviors representing various dimensions (radar, illegal acts, discrimination, and sensitivity) were examined these were generally found to be significantly related to overall evaluations of the police.
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CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE STAGE

In recent years police-community relations has received increased interest. Part of the ability of the police to better assess their performance and their role in the community lies in understanding, or at least accurately perceiving, the public's attitudes toward various police behaviors. As the U. S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967, p. 178) states, community attitudes toward the police are "influenced most by the action of individual officers on the street." Indeed, it is community perceptions of the police that are important indicators of the quality of American life in general (U. S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967).

In a 1969 report prepared by the Police Relations Committee of the Greater Kalamazoo Council, the following statement was made:

If we are to maintain a reasonably open and reasonably orderly community, we must elicit increased communication and intelligent cooperation between public officials (including the police), dissenters and the public. First, the community and its elected representatives must define what is expected of our police department and its officers in order to develop a police service much more fully integrated into the life of the community and more sensitive to current community problems (Bayliss, et al, 1969, p.2):
As the preceding statement recognizes, there is a need to develop an informational base upon which decisions can be made affecting the quality of policing as well as citizen satisfaction with the police. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is twofold: first, it examines citizen perceptions of various police behaviors by analyzing data collected from a random sample of respondents in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and second, based upon this analysis, it provides some general recommendations for the improvement of citizen perceptions of certain police behaviors. In doing this, it is felt that a better understanding of this important aspect of police-community relations is possible and improvement, where necessary, can be made.

Before this thesis is developed further, however, it would be helpful to examine the importance of citizen attitudes toward the police and how these attitudes relate to police community relations. Once this is accomplished, the following chapters will focus on: a review of the previous literature on citizen attitudes toward the police (Chapter 2), a conceptual framework within which police-citizen interaction often results in conflict (Chapter 3), a section on the methodology used to analyze the data upon which this paper is based (Chapter 4), the findings (Chapter 5), and a summary and recommendations based upon the findings (Chapter 6).
The Importance of Citizen Attitudes Toward the Police: Implications for Police-Community Relations

Since the student and racial unrest of the 1960's there has been an increasing recognition of the saliency of citizen attitudes toward the police (Albrecht and Green, 1977). According to the U.S. President's Committee on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967), the need to improve police-community relations is crucial to enhancing the ability of the police to deal with crime and has a direct influence on the quality of urban life. As former Attorney General of the United States, Ramsey Clark (1970, p. 151) has stated:

The police relationship with the community served is the most important and difficult law enforcement problem of the 1970's. Effective law enforcement depends not only on the respect and confidence of the public but on a close, direct and continuous communication between the police and every segment of the population. Indeed one is not possible without the other. Strong community ties provide the base for police prevention, deterrence, detection and control.

Similarly, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted it is unlikely that the quality of law enforcement in America can be bettered unless police-community relations are markedly improved (U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). Before going further, though, some discussion of what is meant by the phrase "police-community relations" seems appropriate.
What is meant by police-community relations (PCR) must be understood apart from what is referred to as public relations (PR). As Cohn and Viano (1976, p. 12-13) state:

Public relations programs seek to project positive images of policing and the police in an effort to enlist greater cooperation and possibly assistance from the public in crime fighting efforts. Police-community relations, on the other hand, seeks to bring together law enforcement and the community in an effort to understand mutual problems and concerns. It is a model which has as its basic technique meaningful communication and dialogue. If PCR is to be meaningful and if it is to be realistic, then it must be viewed as the OUTCOME of the interactions of every officer, regardless of duty or assignment with the citizenry. (Italicized in original)

Since community attitudes toward the police are "influenced most by the action of individual officers on the street" (U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, (1967, p. 178), an examination of various perceived police behaviors is a necessary first step to either maintaining good police-community relations or to improving such relations where necessary. However, in order to provide a context within which citizen perceptions of police behaviors are derived, some discussion of the heterogeneous community within which police-citizen interactions takes place is necessary.

**The Police In a Heterogeneous Community**

A common misunderstanding of the urban community of today is to view it as integrated around a consensual
set of values. The individual of today, unlike times past, is not restricted by local control. Mobility has eroded the "natural tendency of a community to exert control over its members, for it is no longer the exclusive reference group that defines acceptable standards of conduct" (McKee, 1976, p. 65).

In mass societies, individuals interact in a wide range of roles "in which they have status, within which they find significant experience and attachment to others, as well as significant rewards" (McKee, 1976, p. 66). In such a society, anonymity increases as individuals increasingly interact with those "who are scattered throughout the metropolitan area and not with individuals who live in the same building or block" (Friday and Hage, 1976, p. 354). In modern urban community the sense of more intimate and personal relationships which may have existed in times past has given way to a society based on large scale impersonal and contractual ties between individuals. The result is social fragmentation where highly specialized social units take over the responsibilities once shared by the community.

To Durkheim, the increasing division of labor in modern societies leads to an organic solidarity based on the interdependence of specialized units. However, while Durkheim saw this shift as having functional consequences for the community (Bell and Newby, 1971), it may have had
negative consequences for various social institutions, particularly the police.

As a result of the increasing specialization of the police role, emphasis was placed on the ability of the police—especially through technological sophistication—to apprehend offenders and maintain order (Center for Research in Criminal Justice, 1977). Indeed, of the two hundred and forty-six minimum hours of training required by the Michigan Law Enforcement Officers Training Council only nineteen of those hours could conceivably be related to areas outside of law enforcement. The great majority of training is in areas such as administration, legality, investigation, general police work such as firearms training, first aid, communications, civil disorders and others (Michigan Law Enforcement Officers Training Council, 1978).

While police specialization is, at least in part, a result of public pressure to decrease crime levels, public expectations of the police role are considerably more diverse. Although the police are expected to prevent crime and apprehend offenders, they are, also, expected to maintain the orderly flow of traffic, to provide emergency medical attention to those in need, to provide directions to those who are lost, and to lend an understanding ear to those with problems. Because the needs of the community are many and the police are available on a twenty-four-hour basis, the nature of police work is necessarily multifaceted.
hour a day basis, they have come to "function as a gigantic surrogate service agency to the community handling all the needs of the people all of the time" (Garmire, 1972, p. 51).

Unfortunately, from both a police and community perspective, the police role, which results from the socialization of individual police recruits, often results in conflict. This conflict can be internal where there is a discrepancy between the officer's perception of the ideal police role "(the assumptions of what policing is all about)", and the actual police role "(the actual duties of policing)" (Friday, 1978, p. 36). Also, conflict may occur where citizen expectations of police activities are contrary to either the officers ideal or actual perceptions of the police role. In reality, though, such conflicts should not be seen as strictly dichotomous. For many officers, both types of conflict may exist, and both may have consequences for police-citizen interaction.

When conflict is internalized - when the officer has differing expectations for his ideal perception of the police role and the actual duties he performs, such conflict may be reflected in police-citizen interactions. This conflict can result in what Niederhoffer (1969, p. 99) refers to as cynicism where "the anomie of the police organization as a whole is reflected in the individual policeman." Since this conflict is internalized, the police officer brings it into interactions with the
citizenry.

Police-citizen interaction becomes even more problematic when internalized conflicts are brought into police-citizen interactions where interpersonal conflicts are evident. In external conflict situations the officer has a different perception of the police role than does a citizen with whom the officer has contact. When such internalized conflicts become interpersonal "hostile confrontations are likely to occur" (Cohn and Viano, 1976, p. 11). Indeed, to the police officer, the ability to recognize potentially volatile situations is of paramount importance since the safety of the police officer is dependent upon such recognition (Skolnick, 1966).

Also, both the police (Parnas, 1971) and citizens may have stereotyped views of one another. The police may view certain individuals as posing a threat to police authority or safety because of dress, hair-style, speech, or racial characteristics. On the other hand, citizens may view the police with equal suspicion because they may associate the police with brutality, corruption, or indifference to their needs. Indeed, how citizens view different actions of the police influences their evaluations of the entire criminal justice system (Lohman and Misner, 1966).

Consequently, from both a theoretical as well as a practical point of view an examination of citizen
perceptions of various police behaviors would seem beneficial. From a theoretical point of view, an understanding of the wider context within which citizen perceptions of police behaviors are derived may provide important "insights" into the dynamics of citizen attitudes toward the police. For instance, the perception that certain groups possess consistently negative attitudes toward the police may be overly simplistic. Citizen attitudes are likely to vary according to the issue involved and reflect group needs. Such insights would hopefully add to the development of a more comprehensive theory of police-community relations by pointing out the dynamic nature of both police and community expectations and needs.

The examination of citizen attitudes toward various police behaviors has practical implications as well. Indeed, if the need to improve citizen perceptions of the police is seen to exist, then the first logical step in devising a strategy to improve such perceptions would be to develop an informational base upon which such a strategy is possible.

As previously stated, the purpose of this endeavor is to examine citizen perceptions of various police behaviors and to make some practical recommendations for the improvement of such perceptions where appropriate. Before this is accomplished, though, some discussion of previous research on police-community relations and citizen attitudes toward
the police - including the wider context within which such attitudes are derived - would be helpful in providing some background upon which the findings of this paper become meaningful. These are the subjects of chapters two and three.
CHAPTER TWO

PREVIOUS STUDIES IN POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

One outgrowth of the police-community relations experience of the 1960's was the initiation, by both the police and various citizens groups, of numerous attitudinal studies designed to determine how the police and citizens perceive one another. Another outgrowth of the problem experienced in police-community relations in the 60's was the recognition that effective policing and positive police-community relations depend heavily upon how both the police and citizens perceive and react to one another.

At least two types of information are available regarding citizen attitudes toward the police - public opinion poll data and other survey research (Thomas and Hyman, 1977). Interestingly, public opinion polls conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion and Louis Harris and Associates display considerable similarity in their findings. In general it has been found that, contrary to both police and some public perceptions, the public is rather favorably disposed toward the police. As a rule, these findings have been true regardless of such factors as ethnicity, residence, age, sex, socioeconomic status, and other factors (Bidderman et al., 1967; Ennis, 1967; Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Smith and Hawkins, 1973; Hindelang et al., 1975; Thomas and Hyman, 1977; Garofalo, 1977;
However, this is not to say that all groups within the population give their total support to the police or that there are not some discrepancies between the findings of various studies. For instance, Biderman et al. (1967), Thomas and Hyman (1977), Garofalo (1977), National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service (1978) and Friday and Sonnad (1978) report that minority persons are generally less favorably disposed towards the police than whites. In addition, a number of the studies indicate that many citizens feel that while the police generally do a good job, improvements in police operations are needed (Biderman et al., 1967; Garofalo, 1977; National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, 1978; and Friday and Sonnad, 1978).

Specifically, citizens feel that there is a need for more policemen in certain areas and that the police should be more prompt - this was especially true for blacks (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Garofalo, 1977; National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service; and Friday and Sonnad, 1978). In a study in Kalamazoo, Michigan, from which the data for this paper is derived, citizens express the need for police to patrol on foot more often, to engage in more follow-up investigations, to treat all groups equally, and to be more courteous.
and concerned (Friday and Sonnad, 1978). Also persons of low socioeconomic status are found to have somewhat less favorable impressions of the police than those of higher socioeconomic status (Thomas and Hyman, 1977 and Friday and Sonnad, 1978). With this in mind, a review of some of the earlier studies in police-community relations would be a necessary first step in providing a framework within which citizen perception of police behavior becomes meaningful.

In one of the earlier studies of criminal victimization and attitudes toward the police, Biderman et al. (1967) collected information from a sample of more than 500 households in Washington, D.C. in 1966. Although approximately 79% of the respondents in this study were black, the findings are similar to more recent ones. Despite the fact that respondents felt that there was a serious crime problem, 85% of those responding agreed that "people who take on the tough job of being a policeman deserve a lot more thanks and respect than they get from the public" (Biderman et al., 1967, p. 135). However, 29% of those questioned felt that at least half the force would need to be removed in order to have a good police force. Also, half of the respondents thought the police gave preferential treatment to wealthy people and felt the police "enjoy pushing people around" (Biderman et al., 1967, p. 136). Generally, white respondents were
found to be the most positive toward the police and women were more favorably disposed than men. Among black men, those whose last official contact with the police was as a reporter of a crime were less positively disposed toward the police than black men in general. Importantly, respondents who reported seeing a policeman engage in illegal or improper behavior tended to be less positively inclined toward the police than those who had not (Biderman et al., 1967).

Ennis (1967), in reporting a national survey of a cross-section of about 14,000 adults, found that those sampled displayed more positive perceptions of police honesty and respectfulness than police performance in law enforcement. Blacks, especially those with higher incomes, were found to be more critical of the police than were whites. This discrepancy between white and black respondents was especially marked over the issue of police respectfulness to citizens. Blacks were more in favor of restricting police powers than were whites even though blacks perceived themselves as living in a more dangerous neighborhood than whites. Contrary to Biderman et al., however, Ennis found that the sex of respondents was not strongly related to their perceptions of the police.

In their book, *Minorities and the Police*, Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) used data from a sample of 806 respondents divided into three groups: whites (336), blacks...
and Spanish-named. Although their sample was not representative of the Denver population as a whole, their findings are similar in some respects to those already discussed. Close to 75% of those sampled felt the job of the police was more important while the police tended to underestimate citizen ratings of police work. Also, ethnicity was found to be associated with ratings of the police. Respondents who were black and those with Spanish names were more likely to regard the police negatively than were whites.

Another study of citizen perceptions of the police was conducted by Smith and Hawkins (1973) in Seattle, Washington. Although the number of minority respondents was low, the sample was, nevertheless, representative of the population as a whole. The only significant background variables that were found to be associated with attitudes toward the police were race and age. As might be expected and as Ennis (1967) had found, race was strongly related to perceptions of police fairness. Younger respondents, also, displayed more unfavorable attitudes toward the police than older respondents. Threat of victimization was found not to influence views about the police although, as Biderman et al. (1967) found, dissatisfaction with the way the police handled a reported victimization was reflected in more negative attitudes toward the police. Another finding similar to the Biderman et al. (1967)
study was that perceptions of police wrong-doing had a
significant influence on attitudes toward the police. When arrests were considered, only the arrest of whites was found to be significantly related to negative perceptions of the police. For blacks, the degree of negative sentiment seemed enough that an arrest did not result in a more negative assessment of the police.

In a more recent report of findings from the National Crime Survey Garofalo (1977) analyzed observations from a stratified probability sample of about 22,000 respondents in each of eight Impact Cities (Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland, and St. Louis). Respondents were interviewed concerning criminal victimization, attitudes toward crime and evaluations of local police. Like other studies, Garofalo observes that the majority of respondents (82%) thought that "their police were doing either a good (44%) or fair (38%) job" (Garofalo, 1977, p. 28). However, 68% of the respondents also indicated a need for police improvement. The majority of indicated improvements, though, were of a management nature - need more police, improve training, etc. - while others could be construed as criticisms of police behaviors, "'be more prompt' (14%), 'be more courteous, concerned' (9%), and 'don't discriminate' (3%)" (Garofalo, 1977, p. 30). Again, race and age were found to be significantly related to perceptions of the police.
with blacks being almost twice as likely as whites to rate the police poorly. Younger respondents, as well as blacks, were found to be critical of the police. Experiences with victimization were not found to be significantly related to how citizens rate their police nor was there a tendency to blame the police for the perceived crime problem.

Also in 1977, Thomas and Hyman employed multivariate techniques to analyze data randomly collected from the telephone directories in four Eastern cities. The vast majority of respondents perceived the police as "effective, equitable in their treatment of citizens, and respectful" (Thomas and Hyman, 1977, p. 316). When questioned about the perceived threat of victimization, respondents tended to not relate this to evaluations of police performance. However, blacks, younger persons, those with low incomes and those who live in the inner-city were more likely to rate the police less favorably.

For the most part, it can be seen that these studies have more or less dealt with the issue of victimization and general attitudes toward the police. While these studies have explored a wide range of sensitive issues in the area of police-community relations, there has been little concentration on specific police behaviors. The few exceptions to this, however, seem worthy of some attention.

In an early study of police practices in San Diego,
California, Lohman and Misner (1966) explored possible violations of due process. Their findings suggest that policemen in San Diego were not alleged to falsify evidence, force confessions, and are rarely accused of making a false arrest. However, they do report that there is considerable resentment over field interrogation, the use of undue force - especially handcuffing all adult prisoners and many older juveniles, and conflicting allegations of under-enforcement and over-enforcement of the law in minority group neighborhoods - even though there was no actual indication that the police actually behaved in this manner (Lohman and Misner, 1966).

Also of interest is a study conducted by Raymond Parnas in 1967 in Chicago in which police responses to domestic disturbances were examined. Importantly, Parnas found that the police are aware of their support role as opposed to their role as a community control agent. However, in carrying out this support role, it was not clear if policemen did this in response to the practical difficulties encountered in making an arrest or because he understood the "values of preserving the private, personal, intimate, or family integrity of the disputants" (Parnas, 1971, p. 225). Policemen were also found to be aware that they are the only social agency available on a twenty-four hour basis and expressed their dislike of handling social work tasks as opposed to "law enforcement" tasks.
In 1968, Campbell and Schuman reported data collected from more than 5,000 blacks and whites in fifteen major American cities as part of their "supplemental studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders." Recognizing the "importance of the police in the complicated social problems of the cities" (Campbell and Schuman, 1968, p. 42), they devoted a considerable portion of their questionnaire to police behaviors which they felt were likely to result in complaints by citizens. Since comparisons are only made between blacks and whites, and by age, other possible influencing variables are not considered. As one might expect, considerable differences in perceptions of blacks and whites were found to exist. Blacks were far more likely than whites to feel that they did not receive prompt service from the police, that the police used insulting language, that the police frisk or search people without good reason, and that the police rough up people when they are making an arrest. Also younger persons of both races tended to feel that the police exhibited these behaviors more often than older respondents.

In a 1970 study Hudson examined complaints filed against the police by citizens in an attempt to explore strained or disruptive interaction between police and citizens. In doing this, he studied citizen complaints
filed with the Philadelphia Police Advisory Board and coded data for some 999 complaints against the police. His analysis focused on the circumstances under which police-citizen interaction was initiated, the citizen's social status, the social context of the incident, and certain combinations of these conditions seen as likely to result in strained interactions between police and citizens. Although his findings are not conclusive, some interesting results were obtained. In most interactions a consensus is reached among the participants which allows them to assert claims about their identities that are honored by others. However, because the role of the police officer emphasizes his authority, certain problems may result. A second dimension is the situational context of the interaction. Since most police-citizen encounters take place in public places or at the subject's residence, both police officers and citizens take these situations into consideration in asserting their identity claims in this interaction. In all instances of police-citizen contact, the police officer feels he must keep control of a particular situation and is under pressure to maintain his authority. Consequently, "the policeman's authority is seen as the crux of police-citizen encounters" (Hudson, 1970, p. 193).

Reporting on a general survey of attitudes toward crime and the police in Toronto, Canada, Courtis (1970)
explored citizen attitudes toward various police practices as well as more general attitudes toward the police. Generally, attitudes were found to be rather favorable. Two-thirds of the Toronto sample felt the police were well trained with only some 6 per cent feeling that they were badly trained. Courtis states, though, that those who felt the police were badly trained expressed that opinion because they felt the police were "insufficiently sensitive to individual differences and lacking in flexibility of response" (Courtis, 1970, p. 119). Nearly half the respondents described the Toronto police as possessing favorable qualities like "conscientiousness, politeness and intelligence. Over a quarter saw him as average, unambitious, and stolid, and 10 per cent saw him as characterized by extremes - as either good or bad, altruistic or authoritarian. Personal qualities such as forebearance, tact, tolerance, patience, and intelligence, all associated with the ability to exercise discretion were thought to be characteristic of the above average policeman (the 'good cop') while the below average policeman (the 'bad cop') was thought to be characterized principally by officiousness, gruffness, and over-aggressiveness" (Courtis, 1970, p. 119). In responding to what they felt to be abuses of police power, the Toronto respondents mentioned "'failing to treat people equally,' 'tricking suspects into giving information' and
'questioning suspects for excessive periods' with younger respondents being more critical of the police than older ones'" (Courtis, 1970, p. 120). When asked about the state of police-community relations, though, respondents expressed only moderately favorable opinions. "Forty-seven per cent on the sample rated [the police] as 'fair' and 33 per cent rated them as 'good.' In contrast only 2 per cent thought they were 'excellent' and only 12 per cent that they were 'poor'" (Courtis, 1970, p. 121-122). Reasons for poor police-community relations were generally that the police displayed aggressive behavior and that the police received unfavorable publicity on television and in the press.

In their 1971 article, "Citizen Interviews, Organizational Feedback, and Police-Community Relations Decisions," Bordua and Tifft employed a descriptive-comparative analysis of police-citizen encounters. Citizens who had actually been observed in police-citizen encounters (aggressive patrol encounters and regular patrol encounters) were interviewed. Despite the fact that the sample was extremely small, their findings are noteworthy. Of those citizens who had been stopped and searched by the police, blacks tended to view the situation more as a form of harassment, whereas whites were more likely to see a legitimate reason for such police behavior. Sixty-seven per cent of the blacks who were searched felt that if they
had been white they would have been treated differently. However, neither whites nor blacks like this procedure. Contrary to this, respondents who were not searched, as well as whites were more favorably disposed toward the police - believing that the police were well liked in their neighborhood. Also, by analyzing citizens' perceptions of "crime calls" and "disturbance calls," slightly more negative reactions were found to result from disturbance calls.

Generally, Bordua and Tifft (1971) state that the manner in which officers interact with citizens is extremely important. For instance, when officers made a thorough initial investigation of a crime scene and acted concerned for the person involved, 42.5% of the respondents were satisfied with the officers handling of the incident and 22.5% were very angry. On the other hand, when an investigation was not attempted and no concern was shown for the victim, none of those interviewed were satisfied with the performance of the police and 93.3% were very angry as a result.

In an article entitled "Police Misconduct: Positive Alternatives," Fred M. Broadway (1974) reports a summary of complaints lodged against the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department between January 1, 1972 through December 31, 1972. Although his paper is primarily devoted to examining complaint investigation, a summary
of various complaints against the police is provided. As
Broadway (1974, p. 210) notes, these complaints may be
seen as comprising "illegal and/or improper behaviors."
Categorizing complaints of police misconduct in terms of
the most numerous complaints would result in the following
list: "Unnecessary or Excessive use of Force, 114; Abuse
of Authority, 40; Discourtesy or Abusive and/or Insult-
ing Language, 35; Operation Procedures and other, 32;
Missing Property, 22; Officers Conduct, 18; Police Harass-
ment, 16; and Others, 34. What Broadway concludes is that
police misconduct of one form or another is the basis of
the problem of citizen complaints against the police.

In looking at the perceptions of black Americans
toward the police Crosby and Snyder (1970) provide some
interesting findings. Their results indicate that some
31% of those surveyed who had been the victim of a crime
indicated that the police response had been less than
they expected. Also, younger respondents, males, and
those with a college education were more critical of the
police response than other groups. Of those respondents
who reported having a direct experience with the police,
41% stated that the police response was unsatisfactory.
This was especially true of blacks engaged in a
professional or technical profession (53%) as compared
to other occupations (39%).

Another study designed to measure victim's evaluations
of police performance was carried out by Poister and McDavid (1978). These authors draw upon data collected in a survey of victimized households in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1975. In this study, overall satisfaction with the police "was found to be directly dependent on the type of crime and the perceived response time." (Poister and McDavid, 1978, p. 147). Respondents who had been the victims of the most serious types of crimes (personal crimes) expressed the most positive views of the police. When socioeconomic variables were examined, only income was found to be statistically related to satisfaction with the police. Interestingly, lower income respondents were the most favorable and race was not significantly related to police performance. What appeared to be the most important variables related to satisfaction with the police were situational and performance variables. Satisfaction with the initial investigation, estimated response time, and satisfaction with response time were found to be important predictors of overall satisfaction with the police. The authors state that this seems to be "an indication that the overall satisfaction of a victim or a member of a victimized household is in part influenced by his or her perception of the effort put forth by the police at the early stages (Poister and McDavid, 1978, p. 147). Finally, follow-up investigations and arrests coupled with the way in which follow-up
investigations are conducted were found to be important. Overall satisfaction was more closely related to the way in which the followup was conducted than to respondent's satisfaction with response time or the initial investigation (Poister and McDavid, 1978).

While there exists a growing body of literature in the police-community relations field, this literature, for the most part, deals with general attitudes toward the police in contexts other than how specific police behaviors and situations are related to this issue. As indicated by the literature, it is those contacts between the police and the citizen as reflected in citizen attitudes toward police behaviors that are crucial for the development of positive police-community relations. Therefore, based upon those studies it is necessary to develop a conceptual framework within which this basic dimension of police-community relations can be explored. This is the subject of Chapter 3.
CHAPTER THREE

Police-Citizen Conflict: A Conceptual Framework

As with any social phenomenon, citizen attitudes toward the police are not derived in isolation, but should be seen within a wider social context. It is this wider context which plays an important part in understanding the development of the police role in modern society as well as citizen expectations and attitudes toward that role.

Since the purpose of this chapter is to provide the social context within which citizen attitudes toward various police behaviors become meaningful, some discussion should be made concerning the historical development of the police role in the United States and how this role is enacted in modern urban American society. In constructing this context, attention will be devoted to the organizational structure of modern society and its effects on the police role. In short, it will be argued that it is this social development which had led to the present specialized police role stressing law enforcement while simultaneously insuring conflicting relations between the police and the citizenry.

The Historical Development of the Police Role in America

Although it may seem incomprehensible to the modern American, the police have not always been a part of the
urban scene. In fact, it was not until 1845 in New York that the first bureaucratically organized police force was established in the United States. While the police, as one generally thinks of the term, represent a relatively recent development, its roots are much older and are found in the English system of policing which was brought to America during colonization. Consequently, in order to place the development of American policing in socio-historical perspective, some mention of English policing is needed.

The Police in England

Unlike other European countries, England did not create formal police forces until the 19th century. Partly, this seems due to the fear of oppression such organizations were perceived to be capable of and partly because the cost of developing a "force specifically for peace-keeping duties was believed to be too high for the royal purse." (McDowell, 1975, p. 5)

Prior to the advent of a formal police organization in England in the 1800's, private citizens were entrusted with the job of law enforcement under a system that was initiated by Alfred the Great (870-901). During this period, England was made up of small, isolated villages administered by village chiefs. Travel between these villages was extremely limited, and outside of the villages bands of outlaws posed a threat to travelers.
To ensure safety, Alfred established the "mutual pledge" system, whereby citizens' associations became responsible for maintaining law and order. When a crime was committed it became the citizen's duty to organize his neighbors and pursue the offender. Indeed, failure to apprehend an offender resulted in a fine by the Crown (McDowell, 1975).

With the development of mercantile capitalism during the Middle Ages, a shift toward more formalized controls supervised by the church and the feudal lords became evident. It was, also during this period that the first official police forces appeared in English towns. These were called the "watch and ward," and were created during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). These forces were "responsible for protecting against fire, guarding the gates, and arresting those who committed offenses between sunset and daybreak" (McDowell, 1975, p. 6).

Although the more formal positions of constable, shire-reeve (sheriff), and justice of the peace gradually evolved by the 14th century, policing remained a citizen duty until the 1800's. By the 1800's, however, the social changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution rendered the long-used mutual pledge system ineffective (McDowell, 1975).

Traditional British policing had been organized around the needs of a rural society where informal methods
of control were more effective. However, with the Industrial Revolution came a series of land enclosures which forced thousands of English families off their land and into the growing factory towns. This disruption of the traditional rural living pattern led to a sharp rise in urban populations, particularly in London, and a call for new methods of maintaining order.

By the 18th century, riots and civil disorder led to calls by both the government and citizens alike for reform (Nagel, 1975). As a result, two acts, the Riot Act of 1715 and the Act of 1735, were passed which attempted to "rekindle the concept of collective responsibility for the apprehension of criminals" (Kalmanoff, 1976, p. 32). It was also during this period that the London government established nine police offices to deal with crime, although there was "little apparent effort to coordinate their independent law enforcement activities" (McDowell, 1975, p. 8). These attempts at law enforcement, however, met with relatively little success. As McDowell (1975, p. 8) notes:

Many of the experiments in law enforcement before 1820 failed "because no scheme could reconcile the freedom of action of individuals with the security of person and property" (Royal Commission on the Police, 1962, p. 12). In 1822, Sir Robert Peel, England's new Home Secretary, contended that, while better policing could not eliminate crime, the poor quality of police contributed to social disorder. Seven years later he introduced and guided through Parliament an "Act for Improving the Police In and Near the
Metropolis." This led to the first organized British metropolitan police force. Structured along the lines of a military unit, the force of 1000 was the first to wear a definite uniform.

Although effective, the London force was not without its problems. Because salaries were low, it was difficult to find recruits. Also, some members of Parliament felt that such a force would be oppressive. Despite such objections, though, by 1839 police forces were created in English counties as well (McDowell, 1975). Importantly, it is the development of policing in England which served as a model for America.

The Police in America

Since the majority of settlers in America before 1800 were English, it was only natural that they would bring them a policing system they were familiar with. As in England, colonists in America felt that "community members had a basic responsibility to help in the maintenance of order" (Kalmanoff, 1976, p. 35) and shared a basic suspicion for a strong centralized police. As Derning (1973, p. 24) states, "not wishing to align themselves with government entities that were even remotely repressive, early citizens gave law enforcement little support and police-public cooperation developed very slowly." In fact, it was well into the 20th century before the police became responsible for the apprehension
of thieves, robbers, and murderers in many U.S. cities, (Rubin; 1972) although other forms of police existed in the south to deal with blacks and date back at least to 1712 (Center, for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977).

After the Revolutionary War, the federal system of government established in the United States assured a locally controlled and decentralized police system. While such a system was practical for the time, such a system posed great potential for political abuse (Kalmanoff, 1976).

As in England, the rapid urbanization of American cities and the breakdown of more informal controls in the 19th century led to demands for more effective law enforcement. However, in the United States the problems of transition brought about by the migration from rural to urban areas "were aggravated by the extremely heterogeneous nature of American Society and by the constant influx of new immigrants from Europe and other areas" (Kalmanoff, 1976, p. 36). One result of such pressure was the establishment of a better organized and more efficient system of policing, particularly in the sense that it promoted prevention as well as apprehension of offenders.

As a result of the widespread social dislocations of the early 1800's and subsequent citizen demands for better law enforcement, the first bureaucratically organized and partially trained police force in the United States
was formed. This force was established in New York in 1845. Soon after, forces were established in Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Newark, Baltimore and Detroit as well as numerous smaller cities. What set these forces apart from previous ones was their size, armament, regular salaries and para-military organization (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977).

The period after 1880 brought with it another sharp rise in the urban population of the United States (Bedford and Colbourn, 1972, p. 278) and in the first half of the 20th century the call for police reform was heard again. What differentiated the reform of this period, however, was that it was initiated from above. Usually referred to as the Progressive Movement, it was led by business and professional people and was "aimed at stabilizing the existing political and economic system, rather than changing it to something basically different" (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 32).

According to the Progressives, traditional police forces were not only unable to stop crime, but were aggravating the existing crime problem. Also, they believed that "efficient social control meant that crime had to be prevented from happening, rather than combatted after it had already occurred" (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 34). More specifically, Progressive police reform contained the following elements:
(1) Centralization—They initiated schemes to centralize and coordinate "police decision-making and activities. These ranged from demands for metropolitan policing in large urban areas, to the creation of state-wide police coordinating agencies...to some kind of national police clearing-house."

(2) Professionalism—Here the theme was to attract policemen who were skilled, educated and highly sophisticated and to weed out the less competent.

(3) Technology—The Progressives hoped "to replace the traditional police reliance on fear and brute force with an increased use of technology. The 19th century reality of the police force as a scattered group of poorly-equipped individual policemen was to be replaced by the idea of the police force as a tightly organized unit, backed by the most advanced technical equipment..."

(4) Specialized "Preventive" Functions—This "mainly involved two related things: (a) linking up the police with other 'social service' institutions, like the schools, the welfare system, and special 'clinical' facilities for criminals; (b) developing more effective ways of increasing police contact with potentially 'troublesome' groups—such as children, foreigners, and the unemployed—with the most attention being devoted to children."

(5) Stripping away useless or alienating functions—"The Progressives believed that many of the problems of the police were the result of their engaging in functions that had nothing to do with their primary task of maintaining order" (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 35-39).

Although modifications have been made by various departments, the preceding elements remain the base upon which modern policing is operationalized. Still...
apparent today, the two main results of this development were "(1) the development of a conception of police 'professionalism' that served to insulate the police from any significant local community influence, and (2) the promotion of new technologies and new strategies to enable the police to exercise a higher level of surveillance and control....Along with this, they laid the groundwork for an ideology, still with us, stressing that a strong and pervasive police system was an inevitable and desirable feature of modern life" (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 41).

As noted earlier, there has been a long legacy of distrust of a strong police force by Americans. Important, however, is that while this distrust resulted in local control of the police it also provided the basis for close police ties to the more powerful interests of the community. This can be easily seen by examining the police role in the labor movement before World War II. As Richardson (1976, p. 280) notes:

In grappling with dilemmas posed by the community polarization, the police tended to follow the lines of power and influence. In general, departments had no use for strikes and strikers, but the key variable in their performance seems to have been the community's attitude toward a particular dispute. If the authorities favored the workers or were at least neutral, the police remained neutral. If on the other hand, political leaders and newspapers viewed the strikers as unAmerican radicals or a threat to a town's prosperity by making industry reluctant to locate there,
then the police acted as agents of employers in their strikebreaking activities. The New York police clubbed many immigrant workers in the garment industry who tried to set up picket lines. The department long perceived anarchists, socialists, and communists to be the fomenters of labor discord and responded accordingly.

Although police involvement in labor disputes declined after World War II, their increasing involvement in other social problems did not. With the steady influx of southern blacks into northern cities during and after the war, the police were called on to play an increasing role as a provider of services. As a result, by the 1950's, community relations movements began to flourish in many American cities, and by the late 1950's some larger departments were encouraging officers to take courses in psychology and human relations (Clark, 1979). Unfortunately these early police-community relations efforts were little more than public relations efforts, lacking any real constructive guidelines (Clark, 1969).

By the 1960's another major crisis in police-community relations ensued. Spawned by the racial and student unrest of the mid and late 60's, the police often found themselves in an adversary relationship with large segments of blacks and youth. As Clark (1979, p. 212) notes, "Television coverage, books, articles, newspaper stories, speeches, and street demonstrations often put the police in a very bad light. They were portrayed as lawless, tyrannical, brutal, corrupt and even being
conivrs and accomplices in murders and bombings."

It was also during the 1960's that the police began to rely heavily on "adapting already tried and tested management and military techniques to problems of domestic 'order'". (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 76). As a result, the radio car replaced the "beat cop," and police-community relations were relegated to specialized units. In effect, the emphasis on technological sophistication which had begun with the progressives had reached a peak by the late 60's and early 70's. By stressing technology, the police began to view policing problems as "mainly technical, a failure of technology and organization, rather than of basic direction and purpose." (Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 76.). Consequently, the police have de-emphasized effective communication with the community in favor of a reliance on technology to solve the problems of policing - a problem viewed by the police as one involving their law enforcement role.

In summary, it can be seen that the evolution of policing has been shaped by social change. As rural patterns of living gave way to more urban modes of life, informal social controls became less effective as methods of maintaining social order. As a result, more formalized methods of social control developed as seen in the creation of a police organization along para-military lines.
However, the development of a highly centralized police system both in England and the United States has been historically regarded with suspicion. Particularly within the United States, police-public cooperation was slow to develop and often hostility between the police and the public has been a periodic occurrence. Moreover, the impact of Progressive reform has acted to exacerbate this conflict. By emphasizing "professionalism," law enforcement (as opposed to service) and technology to solve law enforcement problems, the police have severely affected their ability to communicate with the community. The result has been to increase the probability of unfavorable perceptions of the police by the community and a resulting tendency by the police to reinforce their crime-fighting function.

While the development of a narrow conception of the police role as one of crime-fighting is an important element in understanding the social context of police-citizen conflict, the development of the general conception of the police role as well as the occupational characteristics of that role are equally important. These two topics provide the next subjects of discussion.

The Dynamics of the Modern Police Role

As Lindesmith et al. (1975, p. 399) point out, offices, statuses and roles can be seen as existing apart
from specific individuals who might be occupying them at a particular time. Although the acting out of various roles usually consists of "a wide variety of acts within a permitted range of variation," an individual's conception of his/her role has an important impact on behavior in that it determines which behaviors will be emitted. How, then, does an individual come to conceive of a particular role?

Friday and Sonnad (1978, p. 1) state that it "is the individual's attitude which ultimately predisposes individuals to react in certain ways." These attitudes are "shaped by personal experience, the experiences of others and through impressions, general or specific, generated through the media." Therefore, in order to develop the context within which citizen perceptions of the police are formed, it will first be necessary to examine the general police role as portrayed in the media and by the police themselves. Once this is accomplished, a discussion of the dynamics of the occupational role of the policeman which operate to reinforce that role will be undertaken. In doing this, it will be argued that there are inherent characteristics in the police role which operate to reinforce the general conception of police work as law enforcement and it is this emphasis on the law enforcement role that creates problems for police-community relations.

Public Perceptions of the Police Role: The Importance of the Media and the Police

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An important factor in understanding how citizen knowledge and expectations of the police role are formed is the media. As the U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) points out, citizen perceptions of the police are at least partially influenced by the news and entertainment media. Unfortunately, however, the image of the police portrayed in the media is not always an accurate one.

While the police represent a frequent source of news, it is only the more sensational and bizarre activities of the police which receive thorough coverage (McDowell, 1975). Based on this sensationalized reporting by the news media, the citizenry is likely to perceive the police as that "body of men continually engaged in the exciting, dangerous, and competitive enterprise of apprehending and prosecuting criminals" (U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 13). Such activities, however, make up only a small percentage of the time the policeman spends on the job (Webster, 1973). Consequently, the view of the police role depicted in the news media is not one which is completely false, but one which is distorted through its emphasis on sensationalism.

Another factor influencing the information the news media has of the police, is the way in which the media has portrayed various police activities. While the news
media has often depicted the police as displaying both patience and valor, there are many other instances in which they have been portrayed as corrupt and brutal (Clark, 1979). Reacting to what they perceive as the liberal bias of the news media, the police have often been reluctant to provide reporters with more than minimal amounts of information.

Aside from their suspicious of the media, the organization of the police has also done much to hamper public knowledge of the police role. "As a traditionally quasi-military agency, the police in most cities have been prone to performing their operations in relative secrecy. This has been done to assure the security of officers, informats, victims and others" (McDowell, 1975, p. 265).

As McDowell (1975, p. 265) notes:

The controlled release of information to the media may also directly serve the interests of the police department and can have an effect on the image the police represents to the public....Perhaps an additional factor in the regulation of information released by the police is that although they collect very large amounts of data, many police departments find themselves in the position of not really knowing what they have or what to do with it. The non-release of information may thus serve the function of permitting the police department to look better organized than in reality it is.

While policing activities represent an important source of news, the police have also been a traditional
subject of the entertainment media. The number of police movies, television dramatizations, police-comedies, detective magazines and books all attest to the popularity and the success of police activities as a source of entertainment. However, by providing the public with what it believes the public wants, the entertainment media is "able to control content and to provide special effects" which have a "strong appearance of reality in many cases" (McDowell, 1975, p. 258). As McDowell (1975, p. 263) points out:

Television cops look like real cops, and so do their cars. Indeed some TV police are exact duplicates of those found in actual cities.... However, since the average viewer has only a limited experience with the police, he is not really in a position to question what the TV police are doing. If they look right and if what they do seems plausible enough, it must reflect reality--or so the faulty logic goes.

Indeed, the situation often depicted in the entertainment media is one of middle-class policemen who largely deal with offenders who are from the middle or upper-class. (McDowell, 1975). Since the police in urban areas more often function in a service related capacity such media portrayals are hardly accurate (Webster, 1973).

In summary, then, it has been suggested that the sensationalized nature of media portrayals of the police has created a distorted image of their role. This in turn has resulted in considerable police suspicion of the media. Also, it has been suggested that the nature of
the police organization itself—due to legal contracts, the protection of officers and others and the controlled release of information—has operated to obscure citizen knowledge of police roles. Since how the public perceives and reacts to the police is in part derived through their knowledge of the police role, the preceding factors are of considerable importance in understanding the context within which citizen perceptions of that role are formed.

While much of what the citizen knows about and expects of the police is derived from media and police accounts of the police role, some of the knowledge and expectations the police and the citizenry have of one another come from face-to-face interaction. A common situation of this type is through traffic enforcement.

For most citizens, traffic enforcement is probably the most conspicuous activity of the police (McDowell, 1975) since traffic officers "are generally required to issue summons on a regular basis" (Kalmanoff, 1976, p. 51). Moreover, citizen reactions to such encounters are often resentful and even hostile. In part, this is because such contacts are often the only ones citizens have with the police, and partly because municipal administrations have often used traffic enforcement as a means of revenue collection (Skolnick, 1966). In fact, the police often point out their traffic enforcement role as a source of considerable conflict with the citizenry (Wilson, 1964).
Since this task is one of law enforcement, citizen expectations, especially when a fine is involved, are not likely to be congenial.

The traffic enforcement situation is viewed as being particularly important because it represents a direct contact situation involving law enforcement where both the police and the public add to their knowledge of the other's role. Although most Americans are not victimized by crimes, with the increasing emphasis on law enforcement and crime prevention begun during the Progressive Movement, many Americans have had some law enforcement related contact with the police. This is especially the case for those residing in the city and those of the lower-class, particularly blacks. Consequently, the emphasis the police place on their law enforcement role, as well as the effects this emphasis has on police-citizen conflict, is an important element of the context within which police community relations are derived. In developing this point some mention should be made of the factors which operate to define the occupational role of the police and its effects on police-community relations. This is the goal of the following discussion.

The Characteristics of the Police Role: Its Effects on Police-Community Relations

Because the modern police department is supposed to deal with a wide range of problems, the role of the police
is extremely complex. The individual police officer is expected to deal directly with violations of law as well as the personal problems of citizens. In addition to these functions the police are called on to preserve peace and maintain a sense of good order. (McDowell, 1975).

Although the duties of the police are prescribed by legislative mandate, the actual duties that the police perform are far more numerous (Bent and Rossum, 1976). Consequently, there is often conflict between those duties seen as legitimate to the police role, as formally defined and understood through socialization into that role, and those duties the police actually perform.

Despite the fact that there is considerable evidence to support the contention that the police officer's primary role is one of peace-keeping or community service (Webster, 1973), the police have often conveyed to the public "that law enforcement per se is the highest goal of American policemen" (Misner, 1968, p. 488). Even the police car itself and the physical appearance of the policeman—uniform, night-stick, handcuffs, weapon, etc.—accentuates the law enforcement role. Hence, as Parnas (1971) notes, the police tend to view themselves as law enforcers, not social workers. "This is because the apprehension of the felon is the most prestigious and rewarding task in the minds of the police and the public" (Bent and Rossum, 1976).
However, as McNamara (1967) notes, much of the conflict facing the police results from citizen demands that the police perform other than law enforcement roles. What, then, are the factors involved in police socialization that stress the law enforcement role and result in conflict between the police and the citizenry?

One way to examine the emphasis placed on law enforcement, as opposed to the service function of the police would be to examine police training requirements. For instance, of the two hundred and forty-six hours required by the Michigan Law Enforcement Officers Training Council only nineteen of those hours could even conceivably be related to the area of service, human relations, or interpersonal communication skills. The remaining training hours are in such areas as firearms training, first aid, communications, civil disorders and others (Michigan Law Enforcement Officers Training Council, 1978). While this is not meant to imply that police work does not contain inherent dangers, it does indicate that the training received by the police reinforces the idea of police work as crime-fighting with relatively little emphasis on the more common aspects of the job. Aside from the heavy stress on law enforcement during police training, there are other factors that influence the policeman's perception of his role as well.

According to Niederhoffer (1967), the desire for
professionalism among the police has led to the belief that the problems of policing lie not in the system itself but within the individual. In response to this demand for professionalism, police departments have added more stringent requirements for admission to police academies. The effect, though, is that those selected for police training often turn out to be the average, rather than the exceptional (Niederhoffer, 1967).

Also, police selection procedures have often excluded minorities and women so that the number of white male officers is disproportional to their numbers in the population (Kerner Commission, 1968). Since minority persons often prefer minority police because these officers are more sensitive to their needs (Johnson, 1970), police recruitment acts to inhibit the development of close ties between the police and the minority community.

The emphasis the police place on professionalism has other implications as well. As Lindesmith (1975) makes clear, to effectively interact with other persons, even in a hostile situation, it is imperative to put oneself in the place of the other. However, "too efficient role-taking, putting oneself in the place of one's victim might prevent a policeman from making an arrest, a soldier from bayonetting an enemy, or a surgeon from operating on a patient.... Professional training is designed to inhibit role-taking ability so that the role can be properly
played" (Coutu, 1951, p. 182). Indeed, this is precisely the effect that police training has. As Niederhoffer (1967, p. 45) notes:

At the Academy [the police recruit] masters, and simultaneously succumbs to, the web of protocol and ceremony that characterizes any quasi-military hierarchy. This formality serves as a blueprint for interaction and performs the vital task of binding the various ranks into a functioning unit, while at the same time maintaining the distinction among hierarchial levels.

The neophyte officer who emerges from this highly selective recruitment and training process is one who, because of his ability to conform and accept the rigid protocol of the police milieu, is extremely vulnerable to the acceptance of the police role as practiced by his fellow officers. This is true because of the inherent characteristics of the police role which operate to insure police solidarity and reinforce the idea of police work as law enforcement.

Regardless, though, of how thorough police training is, once he is on the job the "new recruit is subject to the powerful impact of peer-group pressure and the informal socialization patterns of the police subculture. From this point of view, the officer is far more vulnerable to the control of co-workers and first-line supervision, and training may lose its impact." It is through such informal socialization that the police officer learns to "stereotype criminals, to fear certain situations, and to cope with the endless attempts of supervisors to ensure officer
productivity" (Kalmaaoff, 1976, p. 158). It is in this milieu that the role of the police officer as law enforcer is further reinforced.

The Police Officer As Law Enforcer

One of the "important variables to the role concept of real 'police work' is that the variable of 'danger' must be present to some degree" (Johnson, 1972, p. 107). Indeed, it is the policeman's conception of danger that does much to characterize his behavior and subsequently, citizen perceptions of his behavior.

According to Skolnick (1966), because of his awareness of the potential violence in his occupation, the policeman uses a perceptual means to categorize certain individuals as symbolic assailants—individuals who possess certain mannerisms, dress, or language that the policeman associates with the potential for violence. While this element of danger serves to isolate the police from potentially dangerous groups, it also serves to isolate him from the more respectable members of the citizenry from which his friends would normally be drawn. (Skolnick, 1966). This tends to increase the sense of police solidarity and the influence of the police milieu on the individual policeman. It is this isolation, predicated on the inherent danger of the police role, that acts to reinforce the policeman's conception of his role as law enforcer.
As previously stated, police professionalism results in an emphasis on conformity and a particular protocol for dealing with citizens. As Hudson (1970) notes, this protocol consists of a reliance on authority and control which the policeman utilizes to handle situations. In fact, "many officers feel that the one sure way to avoid trouble with a suspect is to demonstrate their ability to handle the situation" and this often leads to physical abuse (Conot, 1967, p. 121).

As MacIver (1942, p. 296) points out, "situations must be recognized and understood so that the appropriate action may be taken. However, situations are defined on the basis of one's experience, habits, intellectual grasp and emotional engrossment." For the police, the appropriate behavior is defined in terms of his perception of his role as potentially dangerous (Johnson, 1972). This is likely to be particularly true when the policeman is in contact with persons who possess characteristics he is unfamiliar with or represent to him the symbolic assailant.

According to Campbell et al. (1976, p. 399):

Police in the United States are for the most part white, upwardly mobile lower middle-class, conservative in ideology and resistant to change. In most areas of the country, even where segregation has been legally eliminated for long periods, they are likely to have grown up without any significant contact with lower socioeconomic class lifestyles--and certainly with little or no experience of the realities of ghetto life. They tend to share the attitudes, biases and prejudices of the larger community, among which is likely to be a fear and distrust of negroes and other minority groups.
Since such attitudes are reinforced through the police milieu and the inherent danger of the police role, police contact with minorities is likely to be characterized by conflict.

While the policeman's preoccupation with law enforcement tasks creates conflicts between himself and minorities, conflict may result in other situations as well. Because the police role is generally perceived to be one of law enforcement, the police officer may experience conflict when called upon to perform service related roles. In such a situation the police officer has different perceptions of the ideal police role, what he is socialized to believe policing is all about (the law enforcement role) and the actual duties he performs, which as Webster (1973) notes, are primarily of a service nature.

Since the police are likely to receive a considerable number of calls for service from minority or lower-class communities, the internalized conflict the police officer experiences (between his ideal conception of the police role and the duties he actually performs) represents potential conflict between himself and the community. When the demeanor of the officer in such instances is characterized by his law enforcement orientation or by prejudice, it may be viewed by the caller as a sign of disrespect (See Cross and Renner, 1974, p. 233).
In contrast to the role of the police in minority areas Cross and Renner (1974, p. 230) have the following to say:

The role of the policeman in the white middle and upper class community frequently comes close to what the community desires. The police are seen as protecting life and property, not as oppressing the population. Thus, the interaction of a policeman with middle and upper class white citizens often is based on a mutually acceptable role relationship. Although it is true that the policeman's role and his subsequent actions may not be fully understood by the white citizen, whites are less likely to lack the skills necessary for the interaction because both share similar language patterns and basic reference groups. Consequently the experience of threat is seldom a disrupting factor.

Since the white middle and upper class does not rely heavily on the police as a social service agency, the law enforcement function of the police is the one generally expected by those citizens. Also, since an individual usually adheres strongly to the values of the class to which he aspires, and since the police occupation is seen as a step up the social ladder for many (Niederhoffer, 1967), interaction between the police and the white middle and upper classes is likely to be congenial.

For the policeman, these differences and expectations between blacks and those of the lower class and between whites of the middle and upper class concerning the law enforcement role of the police is most likely to result from the potential threat the former group represents to
police values and safety. Blacks and those of the lower class are perceived as hostile to the police mission while middle and upper class whites are perceived as supportive.

The preceding discussion should not be taken to imply that the law enforcement role of the police is not a valid and necessary role in many instances. Indeed, there are many instances when this role is necessary to both citizen and police safety. However, it has been argued that a strict definition of the police role as one of law enforcement increases the probability of police-citizen conflict and acts as a detriment to positive police-community relations.

Chapter Summary/Propositions and Hypotheses

In developing this chapter an attempt was made to provide a conceptual framework within which police-citizen conflict and citizen perceptions of the police become meaningful. In doing this it was argued that there are a number of factors which are important in understanding the policeman's perception of his role as well as citizen perceptions of that role. More specifically, it was suggested that the historical development of the police function within a heterogenous society like the United States, public knowledge of the police depicted in the media and by the police themselves; along with the police training and the unique
characteristics of the police role, function to increase the probability of conflicting relations between the police and certain segments of the population.

From a socio-historical perspective, it can be seen that the development of the police into a highly bureaucratized para-military unit resulted from the demands placed on the police organization by a rapidly growing and diverse public. Particularly since the Progressive Era, the police have come to emphasize their law enforcement role through a reliance on professionalism and technological sophistication, while ignoring the need to communicate with diverse groups within the population. Indeed, it is this emphasis on law enforcement and its relation to the dominant interests of the community which has led to periodic hostility between the police and certain segments of the population. Such hostility between the police and elements of the citizenry was quite evident during the labor movement in the earlier part of this century as well as during the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements of the 60's and early 70's.

While an examination of the historical development of the police role provides the necessary background for understanding the nature of the police role, the purpose of this endeavor is to focus more clearly on the contemporary police role. Specifically, the intent here.
is to examine those factors likely to contribute to either positive or negative perceptions of the police.

Having some influence on how citizens view the police is their knowledge and expectations of the police. It was argued that in many instances the media provides the citizenry with much of their knowledge of police work. This is especially true for those who lack other sources of information - i.e., personal contacts or acquaintances who pass on such knowledge. However, media portrayals of the police as well as police distrust of the media, legal constraints, and the need for the police to protect themselves and others has often operated to obscure public knowledge of the police role. The result is that both those entering police work as well as many others feel that the primary responsibility of the police is law enforcement. Indeed, in the larger study from which this paper is divided, 34% of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement "police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area" (Friday and Sonnad, 1978, p. 244). Consequently, it is expected that those persons who perceive the police as performing multiple roles will differ significantly in their evaluations of the police from persons who feel the police should confine their activities to law enforcement tasks. Furthermore, it is expected that persons who feel the police should engage in
non-crime related activities will perceive the police negatively if they feel the police are primarily crime oriented. This should be true if their expectations of the police are not being met. Therefore, the following hypothesis is stated:

**Hypothesis 1:** The more strongly citizens agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area the less positive will be their evaluations of the police.

While impressions generated by the media are important elements in shaping one's attitudes toward the police, more direct experiences are of even greater importance. Indeed, it is in face-to-face situations where both the police and the public add to their knowledge of the others role. A common situation of this type is traffic enforcement, which represents the most conspicuous activity of the police (McDowell, 1975). Also, there is some evidence that police-citizen interaction in such situations often results in hostility toward the police (Skolnick, 1966; Wilson, 1964). This hostility is likely to result when citizens fail to see traffic enforcement as a legitimate law enforcement task (as in radar traps) but, rather as Skolnick (1966) states, as a means of revenue collection. Therefore, the following proposition is stated:
Proposition 1: Citizen perceptions of police use of radar are likely to be negative; especially among those who state their feelings are based on personal experience.

Also, it seems logical to expect that such negative perceptions will influence citizens evaluations of the overall performance of the police. Consequently, the following hypothesis is made:

Hypothesis 2: The more often citizens perceive the police as using radar to trap speeders the less positive will be their overall evaluations of the police.

As stated earlier in this Chapter, the emphasis placed on law enforcement and their close ties to the dominant interests of the community have often brought the police into conflict with large segments of the population—especially blacks. Moreover, the unique characteristics of the police developed through training and on the job socialization into the police role which stresses conformity, authority, situation control and necessitates the categorization of individuals as symbolic assailants, are likely to result in conflict with certain citizens. Also, since the police are generally unfamiliar with minority life-styles and are likely to share the attitudes, biases, and prejudices of the larger community (Campbell,
1969), the perception of the "symbolic assailant" is likely to be more salient in police-minority interactions. One such law enforcement activity where the "symbolic assailant" is the frisk and search. However, while this practice may be viewed as necessary by the police, blacks may view such behavior as unnecessary or even illegal, therefore, the following proposition can be stated:

Proposition 2: When asked if the "police frisk or search people without good reason," it is expected that blacks will express considerably more negative impressions of the police than do whites. (see Lohman and Misner, 1966; Biderman et al., 1967; Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Bordua and Tifft, 1971; Smith and Hawkins, 1973).

Furthermore, it is expected that citizen perceptions of this police behavior, (unjustified frisks or searches) will result in negative perceptions of overall police performance and this will be true regardless of race (see Lohman and Misner, 1966; Biderman et al., 1967; Bordua and Tifft, 1971). Therefore, the following hypothesis is made:

Hypothesis 3: The more frequently citizens perceive the police frisking or searching
people without good reason, the less positive will be their overall evaluations of the police.

Also, due to media coverage and police emphasis on the law enforcement role citizens are likely to perceive the police as operating in a discriminatory manner (Biderman et al., 1967; Courtis, 1970; Smith and Hawkins, 1973). This should be particularly true for blacks (Bordua and Tifft, 1971). Consequently, the following proposition is stated:

Proposition 3: It is expected that citizens will perceive the police as frequently treating whites and blacks differently and this should be especially true for blacks.

Furthermore, such perceptions should be reflected in less positive evaluations of overall police performance.

Therefore:

Hypothesis 4: The more frequently citizens perceive the police treating whites differently than blacks, the less positive their perceptions of the police.

While the policeman's preoccupation with law enforcement tasks creates conflicts between himself and minority
group members, conflict may result in other situations as well. Since the police are likely to receive a considerable number of calls from minority or lower-class communities, the discrepancy between the officer's ideal conception of the police role and the duties he actually performs represents potential conflict between himself and the community. Consequently, minority persons, or those in lower-income categories, are likely to express rather negative perceptions of police sensitivity to their rights or needs.* Therefore:

Proposition 4: When asked if the "police respect citizens rights," it is expected that blacks and those in low income categories will express more negative perceptions of the police than other groups.

Also, it might be expected that a lack of sensitivity to people's needs should result in a negative evaluation of the police. Consequently:

Hypothesis 5: The more often citizens perceive the police as failing to respect citizen rights, the less positive will be their evaluations of the police.

*Two items used in this analysis, item 3 and 9 (See Appendix A) cluster around the same dimension. This dimension seems to be one of sensitivity to citizens and is discussed further in Chapter Four.
In conclusion, the purpose of this chapter has been to provide a broad conceptual framework within which an examination of various police behaviors becomes meaningful. Also, a number of propositions and hypothesis linking this conceptual framework to the data utilized in this paper have been made. However, before the results are discussed, some discussion of the methodology employed in this endeavor would be fruitful, this is provided in Chapter Four.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Survey Research Design and Methodology

The data employed in this study are from a larger research project conducted by Paul C. Friday, and Subhash Sonnad, in conjunction with the Center for Sociological Research at Western Michigan University. The author of this report served as the field director of this larger study.

The purpose of the larger study was to determine citizen knowledge, expectations, and attitudes toward the police in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and contained a wide range of questions dealing with both specific and general areas of police and community concerns. Because a number of questions were designed to determine citizen perceptions of various police behaviors, it was felt that a careful analysis of these questions would provide some insight into instances of police-citizen interaction and serve as a basis for recommendations and improve this aspect of police-community relations.

Because the scope of this particular undertaking was broad and of an exploratory nature, a survey research design was selected. By using "a questionnaire drop-off and pick-up procedure" the researchers hoped to avoid the disadvantages of interviews, which are time consuming and costly, and mailed questionnaires, which often have low
returns. (Friday and Sonnad, 1978:13) In retrospect this appeared to be a sound strategy.

After an extensive review of the police-community relations literature, a questionnaire was developed. Aside from dealing with the general areas of police effectiveness, community problems, and citizen safety, in which the police were particularly interested, a number of questions were included to allow for some comparison with studies done in other locations. Also, there was a concerted effort to make the questionnaire as short (time-wise) as possible and yet gain a wide variety of information.

In terms of police behavior, eighteen items were included which dealt with various types of police behavior which might be conceived of as problematic from a police-community relations perspective. Since previous studies indicate that certain groups, notably minorities, are likely to express strong opinions of police behavior which may be considered improper or illegal, respondents were asked their opinions of the following: 1) "Police use unfair methods to get information," 2) "Police plant things on people," 3) "Police take bribes," 4) "Police are disrespectful and use bad or insulting language," and others.

It was also felt that citizen perceptions of the fairness and equity of police activities would be an important
dimension of study. Consequently, respondents were asked such things as: 1) "Police treat white people differently than blacks") 2) "Police respect citizen's rights."

As indicated in Chapter 3, the social context in which police-citizen encounters takes place is crucial. In order to examine this respondents were asked if the 1) "Police are interested and concerned about your problems when they come to your home 2) "Police ignore you and your problems when you go to the police station."

To gauge the frequency of citizen perceptions of various police behaviors they were asked if they felt these behaviors happen. 1) "Never," 2) "Hardly Ever," 3) "Not Sure," 4) "Fairly Often," or 5) "Quite Often."

Lastly, because respondents perceptions of how they derive their opinions of the police seemed an important consideration, they were asked if their opinions were based on: 1) "Personal Experience" 2) "Experience of someone I know." (A complete listing of these questions is provided in Table 5.2, p. 79).

To gain some idea of the usefulness of the questionnaire a pilot test was made. A concerted effort was made to simulate the actual conditions of the study. The pilot test data were collected and analysed which resulted in slight revisions of the questionnaire.

The final sampling frame consisted of a simple random sample of residential units within the city. The City
Planning Division provided the researchers with a total listing of the residential and housing units. However, because this listing included all motel and hotel units, these were deleted. It was felt that the number of residents who might reside in such accommodations was small and they may not reflect the city population since some of the residents were from out of town. The remaining residential units were then numbered. If a particular sample unit happened to be in an apartment or trailer complex, the layout of the complex and numbering system were determined by visits to the site. In instances where units did not exist or where uninhabited, a random substitution was made for that unit. In cases where more than two unrelated adults resided in the same unit, one was randomly selected to respond to the questionnaire. Only one adult from each household was requested to respond.

The sample consisted of 777 households selected randomly from the city as a whole. From this sample a total of 522 questionnaires were returned. Because the police were interested in those areas of the city where positive or negative attitudes toward the police were predominant, a census tract breakdown was used in much of the reporting. The average response rate from all census tracts was 67%. The refusal rate was very low with the exception of three tracts and in only one of these did the response rate fall below 51%.
(see Table 4.1) Very few outright refusals were encountered.
| Serial No. | Census Tract No. | No. of household units by 1970 Census | No. of households in corrected sampling frame 1978 | Proportion of household units to total no. | Sample Size | Proportion of sample to total sample by census tract | Returns | Mail Ins | Average Rate of Completion | Responses Rate of completed returns | Census Tract No. 7 (State Hospital) is omitted from the study. | **A total of 522 returns were received; 4 were eliminated from the study; 1 because of incomplete responses; 1 because it was too late to include it.** | Rounding errors are ignored in calculation of total percentages. | **Table taken from Friday and Sonnad, 1978.** |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------|----------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1         | 1               | 1,200                               | 1,110                                         | .0402                                  | 37          | .0477                                         | 19       | 2        | .5115                           | .1925                             | .1925                                 | 522                                                                               | .6667                                                                               | 518                                                                                | Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission. |
In order to check the adequacy of the sample a chi-square test of significance was performed. Since the researchers were concerned not only with the randomness of the sample as it relates to the city as a whole, but with how well the assumption of randomness held for each census tract within the city, the Chi-square statistic was used to determine how well the number of households selected for the sample compared to the number expected if the sample was random. The resulting chi-square value was 16.59 with 19 degrees of freedom which is not significant. In other words, no significant difference between the number of households drawn for the sample and the number we would expect if the sample were random was found. The assumption of a random sample was not contradicted (Friday and Sonnad, 1978).

Of the 522 questionnaires which were returned, four could not be used. Three of the four were incomplete and one was received too late to be included in the analysis. "Based on the 518 usable returns, any proportion or probability estimated (from this sample) has an estimated sampling error of less than 4.4% with a 95% degree of confidence. That is, with the sample size used, any reported proportion should be within 4.4% of its true value with a 95% degree of confidence" (Friday and Sonnad, 1978:16).

Questionnaire Reliability and Validity.
To check the reliability and validity of the questionnaire two methods were utilized. These were: "1) Questions which were worded positively and negatively were intermixed in the questionnaire. Thus if any person tended to respond to all questions the same way, such errors could be detected (except in cases of neutral responses to questions)." (Friday and Sonnad, 1978:17). By examining the correlation matrix (on page 86) it can be seen that the respondents as a whole did not systematically rate the police on the same numerical scale for all items. "2) The second method was to insert an innocuous question to check for the validity of the responses" (Friday and Sonnad, 1978:17). Although this particular device was not utilized in the section of the questionnaire from which this paper is derived, an examination of the questionnaires as a whole does not reveal any problems with validity.

The Survey: Questionnaire Administration

The Administration of the questionnaire was greatly aided by approximately twenty members of the U.S. Army Reserve (the 415th Civil Affairs Unit) based in Kalamazoo. Among the reservists were blacks, whites, males and females. Also, because the reservists were from a civil affairs unit and were accustomed to dealing with the public, it was felt that they could be very helpful in the survey administration. Since
there was some reason to believe that wearing a military uniform might not be conducive to assuring a high return rate, the reservists wore civilian clothes and drove civilian vehicles. The reservists accomplished their portion of the study on two separate weekends four weeks apart. However, the bulk of the questionnaire drop-off and collection procedure was accomplished by student volunteers and other members of the research team.

To aid the reservists and the student volunteers in this important task — especially as relates to any anticipated problems that may be encountered in delivering and picking up the questionnaires — training sessions of approximately one hour were held. In terms of logistics, no major problems were encountered, although it was at times difficult to catch respondents at home so that questionnaires could be picked up or delivered. The perseverance of the research team generally overcame this obstacle. However, as regards the time frame for the data collection and the possible implications for the results, a blizzard did occur in the middle of the data collection which resulted in this task being accomplished three weeks behind schedule. Fortunately an examination of both pre-blizzard and post-blizzard questionnaires found that no significant differences in attitudes seemed to exist because of the snow. (Friday and Sonnad, 1978).
To inform respondents of the intent and the importance of the study, introductory letters were mailed to respondents before the actual site visits were made. However, since the researchers could not be assured that all of these introductory letters would be received, it was arranged to have public announcements made by local radio stations. Also, an interview with a representative of the City Manager's Office concerning the study was reported in the City's major newspaper. In order to inform minority groups of the nature and intent of the study, selected leaders of the two largest minority groups - blacks and hispanics - were contacted. These individuals agreed to help in whatever ways they could. The dissemination of information about the study was seen as important for three primary reasons: (1) it was felt that knowledge of the study would increase participation in the study, (2) this knowledge could be used to elicit input from various community groups and individuals concerning police-community issues that were of importance to these people, and (3) such knowledge may serve as a potential base for more effective communication between the police, local government and the citizenry.

Those involved in the administration of the questionnaires contacted members of the sample households and requested that an adult member fill in the
questionnaire and place it in an attached envelope. A cover letter was included which explained the study and contained a telephone number which respondents could call to have any questions answered concerning the study. Also, the surveyors were encouraged to answer any questions that were brought up. In a few cases where respondents were blind or could not read, the surveyors read the questionnaire and marked down how the respondent answered. In all instances respondents were assured that their responses were confidential and anonymous and this policy was strictly adhered to. However, strict adherence to this policy did lead to one problem. "In order to maintain complete anonymity of participants, even the census tracts of the respondents were not identified in the questionnaire but only on the envelopes. This resulted in the collection of 40 questionnaires (hand delivered or mailed in) with no census tract markings." (Friday and Sonnad, 1978:19). Fortunately, the number of such returns was small and presented no major problems for the analysis. When a questionnaire was delivered by a member of the survey team a time for pick-up was scheduled so that the surveyor could return at a time which was convenient for the respondent.

Data Processing and Analysis

As the questionnaires were collected the data was coded on sense mark sheets and placed on computer file.
Also, coding checks were undertaken to assure reliability of the data. "In the initial stages, every questionnaire coded was double checked. Systematic error patterns of coders were corrected. An additional check was conducted after the data were placed on file by checking minimum and maximum values of responses. Discrepancies were again rectified" (Friday and Sonnad, 1978:18).

The selection of statistical techniques by which to analyze the data employed in this paper revolve around two major considerations. It was felt that these techniques should: 1) provide the necessary understanding of the complexities of the data and 2) be easily presented and understood by the reader. Therefore, the analysis is based on five types of statistical analysis. There are: 1) frequencies (with percentages), 2) bivariate contingency tables - with occasional controls made for other variables, 3) Kendal Tau correlations, 4) cluster analysis and 5) AID (Automatic Interaction Detection). However, since the original study from which this paper is derived was based on a large number of frequencies (with percentages) and contingency tables, these kinds of statistical analysis will be presented here only where appropriate. In all instances, though, the findings presented in this paper were cross checked with those provided in the original report to assure accuracy of the results.
Lastly, the ultimate result of the statistical analysis presented here is designed to provide a clearer understanding of citizen perceptions of various police behaviors. Furthermore, this understanding will be guided by the propositions and the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3. It is felt that only by providing this broader context within which police-citizen interaction takes place can police-community interaction be understood and recommendations be made to improve this crucial aspect of police-community relations. The remainder of this study is devoted to an elaboration of the findings, conclusions drawn from these findings and recommendations designed to improve police-community relations in Kalamazoo.
CHAPTER FIVE

SURVEY FINDINGS

As previously stated, citizen perceptions of the police do not exist in isolation but should be seen within a wider social context. This is to say that both expectations and perceptions of police behaviors are influenced by numerous social factors which collectively operate to shape how citizens view the police. This wider context, as presented in this paper, consists of the following elements: 1) the heterogeneous nature of American society which demands that the police play a number of roles; 2) the socio-historical development of the police role which has resulted in a narrow emphasis on law enforcement, 3) the generalized conception of the police role portrayed by the police and the media which operates to obscure public knowledge of the police and reinforces the idea of policing as law enforcement and 4) the characteristics of the occupational role of the police which further reinforce the policeman's emphasis on law enforcement and often leads to police-citizen conflict, especially with minorities.

By examining citizen perceptions of a range of police behaviors in light of the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Three and the resulting propositions and hypothesis, it should be possible to better understand the dynamics of police-citizen interaction and make recommendations for improvements where necessary, this is the purpose of this
chapter and chapter 6.

**General Findings and the Analytical Strategy**

Generally, many of the findings of this study mirror those of previous endeavors. For instance, a little more than half of the respondents rated the police as doing a good or a very good job (52.7%) with some 38.6 percent stating the police are average and only 8.6 percent rating the police as poor or very poor (Friday and Sonnad, 1978: 239). However, while perceptions of the police are generally favorable, Kalamazoo residents, as did those in studies conducted by Biderman et al. (1967) and Garofalo (1977), felt that improvements were needed. In the case of the Kalamazoo sample on which this study is based, only 39% of the respondents felt that no improvements were necessary (Friday and Sonnad, 1978).

When asked what kind of job the Kalamazoo police do, an AID analysis reveals that respondents who had never had a police contact or had a police contact within the last one to six months and who made between $5000 and $14,999 per year were more likely to rate the police poorly than other groups. Interestingly, having a police contact within the past month or more than six months ago seemed to result in rather positive perceptions of the police. This was particularly true of those earning $10,000 a year or more. (See Table 5.1).
Table 5.1

What Kind of Job do you feel the Kalamazoo Police are doing?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>( \bar{y} )</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>2.29 within past mon. + more than 6 mon. ago</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2.74 Never + within last 1 to 6 mon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>$9,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.53 $5,000+</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3.03 $5,000+</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.21 Housewives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2.81 Retired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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When specific police behaviors are examined, again, respondents tended to rate the police positively. However, the percentage of positive perceptions of the police does vary considerably over the range of behaviors included in this analysis. This variation can easily be seen by examining Table 5.2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Practice Description</th>
<th>(1) Never (%)</th>
<th>(2) Hardly Ever Happens (%)</th>
<th>(3) Not Sure or Don't Know (%)</th>
<th>(4) Happens Fairly Often (%)</th>
<th>(5) Happens Quite Often (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Police ignore you and your problems when you call them</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Police take too long to respond to calls</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Police are interested and concerned about your problems when they come to your home</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Police are disrespectful and use bad or insulting language</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Police frisk or search people without good reason</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Police ignore you and your problems when you go to the police station</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Police use radar to trap speeders</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Police use unfair methods to get information</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Police respect citizen's rights</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Police plant things on people</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Police tell lies in court</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Police steal things at the scene of crimes</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Police take bribes</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Police treat rich people differently than poor people</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Police treat white people differently than blacks</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Police beat-up people they don't like</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Police draw their guns too often</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Police drive too fast when responding to calls</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On only six items out of the eighteen included in this analysis were high percentages of negative perceptions of the police found. These items are concerned with police response time, concern with citizen problems, use of radar traps, police discrimination, and police driving behavior. On half of these items—those concerned with the use of radar and police discrimination, items 7, 14, and 15—the percentages of negative responses were high indicating that problems in these areas exist.

Also, on ten items—items 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17—the percentages of responses in the not sure or don't know category were greater than either the percentages of positive or negative responses. Although such responses are not easy to analyze they at least hint at the possibility that citizens have little confidence in the police regarding these matters. However, in only two instances out of ten did respondents who expressed a definite opinion rate the police negatively—these were items 14 and 15 which concern the frequency of police discrimination.

In chapter three it was hypothesized that the more strongly citizens agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area the less positive will be their evaluations of the police. In developing this hypothesis, it was agreed that citizen knowledge and expectations of the
police are influenced by a number of factors such as
the socio-historical development of the police role, the
heterogeneous nature of American society, media portrayals
of the police, police training, and the unique character-
istics of the police role. Furthermore, the interrelation
of these factors has operated to obscure public
knowledge of the police role while simultaneously re-
inforcing the police conception of their role as
primarily one of law enforcement (as opposed to service)
oriented tasks. However, within a heterogeneous society
like the United States, the police are expected to play
a number of roles and this has often led to conflicting
relations between the police and certain segments of the
population - particularly minorities. Consequently,
it is expected that those persons who perceive the police
as performing multiple roles will differ significantly
in their evaluations of the police from persons who
feel the police should confine their activities to law
enforcement tasks. It is expected that persons who
feel the police should engage in non-crime related
activities will perceive the police negatively if they
feel the police are primarily crime oriented. This
should be true if their expectations of the police are
not being met.

In order to test the preceding hypothesis, a
cross-tab between the question "police should have a
responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area" and citizen evaluations of the police was made. Table 5.3 shows the results of this cross-tabulation.
### Table 5.3

Rating of the Police by Respondent's belief that the Police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>14 (21.08%)</td>
<td>31 (16.49%)</td>
<td>9 (13.24%)</td>
<td>18 (14.17%)</td>
<td>5 (13.89%)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>22 (28.13%)</td>
<td>81 (34.57%)</td>
<td>20 (45.59%)</td>
<td>45 (44.09%)</td>
<td>16 (27.78%)</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>6 (34.38%)</td>
<td>9 (43.09%)</td>
<td>7 (29.41%)</td>
<td>4 (35.43%)</td>
<td>5 (44.44%)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>4 (9.38%)</td>
<td>2 (4.79%)</td>
<td>1 (10.29%)</td>
<td>4 (3.15%)</td>
<td>0 (13.89%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Poor</td>
<td>2 (6.25%)</td>
<td>1 (1.06%)</td>
<td>1 (1.47%)</td>
<td>0 (3.15%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 26.629, p < .05, Degrees of freedom = 16

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As Table 5.3 indicates, 50 percent of those respondents who agree that the police should have a responsibility in the non-criminal area rate the police as good or very good, while approximately 6 percent state the police do a poor or very poor job. Among respondents who disagree with this statement, approximately 58 percent state the police do a good or very good job with slightly over 6 percent stating the police do a poor or very poor job. However, among respondents who either strongly agree or strongly disagree with this statement, opinions are more disparate. For instance, among respondents who strongly agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area, 50 percent rate the police as good or very good with approximately 16 percent stating the police do a poor or very poor job. Of those respondents who strongly disagree with this statement, approximately 42 percent rate the police as good or very good with approximately 14 percent stating the police do a poor or very poor job.

Consequently, Table 5.3 suggests that there is some support for the hypothesis that the more strongly citizens agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area the less positive will be their evaluations of the police. However, respondents who strongly disagreed with this statement expressed almost as high percentage of negative responses.
Therefore, respondents who expressed the most negative ratings of the police tend to fall into two groups - those who strongly agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal and whose expectations in this area are not met, and those who feel the police should confine their activities to law enforcement.

While the preceding analysis helps to provide a general view of citizen perceptions of various police behaviors, it provides little insight into the practical and conceptual aims of this paper. However, by examining the data in relation to the propositions and hypotheses developed in Chapter Three, it should be possible to empirically test those propositions and, hence, expand the conceptual framework presented earlier. Furthermore, specific recommendations to the police based on citizen perceptions of various police behaviors will then be possible.

Since it was felt that many of the police behavior items contained in Table 5.2 may be seen as comprising a number of similar measurements on the same dimension, a Kendal Tau Correlation Matrix was used to measure these similarities. The results seen in Table 5.4 confirm this belief.
Table 5.4
Ken Tau Correlation Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Call</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Intel</th>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>Fris</th>
<th>Stat</th>
<th>Trap</th>
<th>Math</th>
<th>Rit</th>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Lies</th>
<th>Stel</th>
<th>Brib</th>
<th>Rich</th>
<th>Wh</th>
<th>Beat</th>
<th>Gun</th>
<th>Driv</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Call</td>
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<td>.18</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Consequently, some method was needed to help explore the possible underlying similarities in this matrix and a Cluster Analysis was deemed appropriate for this task because of its data reduction capability and its applicability with ordinal level data (Anderberg, 1973). It should be noted though that the number of clusters derived via the Cluster Analysis method is arbitrary with the possibilities ranging from each item as a cluster in itself to all items comprising one cluster. (See Appendix A). Therefore, it is up to the researcher to reach a clustering solution through intuitive reasoning based on the possible solutions generated by the clustering program—in this case an agglomerative single linkage clustering method (Dubien, 1977). This solution produced four clusters having some intuitive meaning. Although arbitrarily named, these clusters may be seen as representing the following dimensions of police behavior: 1) Radar traps, 2) illegal acts, 3) discrimination, and 4) sensitivity.

Taking advantage of the data reduction potential of the cluster analysis, selected items from each of the four clusters were chosen for further analysis— one item each from Clusters, 1, 2, 3 and 4. These particular items were chosen because it was felt they were indicative of the categories represented by these Clusters. These items are:
In brief, the strategy for the analysis consists of two stages. The first stage involves a reduction of the number of variables contained in the analysis so that the data is more easily managed (this was accomplished by the Cluster Analysis). The second stage involves examining the remaining propositions and hypotheses stated in Chapter three. Specifically the second stage of the analysis is designed to: 1) determine the characteristics of respondents who have either positive or negative perceptions of various police behaviors and 2) to determine how citizen perceptions of various police behaviors influence evaluations of overall police performance.

Specific Findings: The Importance of Citizen Perceptions of Police Behavior

In order to examine the demographic characteristics of those persons either favorably or unfavorably disposed toward the police, an AID (Automatic Interaction Detection) program was employed. "AID is a stepwise Cluster Analysis program which examines the interactions of a set of
predictor variables and one dependent variable by successive applications of one-way analysis of variance" (Sprau, 1969:1). The following variables were put into each AID analysis: length of residence, police contact, sex, race, income, if their feelings were based on personal experience, the experience of someone they knew or both, level of education, and if the respondent was a student, housewife or retired. Unfortunately, because of an oversight by the researchers, age was left off a number of questionnaires. As a result, the number of respondents indicating their age was small and this variable was dropped from the analysis. Fortunately, though, some indication of the significance of age may be gleaned by examining respondents who were students, housewives or retired.

Radar

In examining Cluster 1, Radar Traps, respondents felt that the police use radar to trap speeders quite often. As noted in Table 5.2, approximately 83 percent of the respondents felt that the police engage in this practice fairly often or quite often while only 5.3 percent of the respondents stated that the police rarely or never trap speeders. As Table 5.5 indicates respondents who stated that their perceptions of police use of radar were based either on personal experience or the
experiences of others and who had lived in Kalamazoo
ten years or less were more likely to state the police
engage in this practice quite often. See Table 5.5.
Table 5.5
Police Use Radar To Trap Speeders

Group 1

Experience

N=237
Y=4.24

Group 2

Experience

N=66
Y=3.86
non-response

Group 3

Experience

N=171
Y=4.38
Personal exp. + experience of others + both

Group 5

Length of Resid.

N=108
Y=4.24
11 yrs.

Group 4

Length of Resid.

N=63
Y=4.62
10 yrs.

Group 6

Income

N=47
Y=4.00
≤$9,999
+
$15,000-19,999

Group 7

Income

N=61
Y=4.43
≥$10,000-14,999
+
≥$20,000

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Knowing that citizens perceive the police as frequently employing radar to trap speeders, however, does not in itself imply a negative attitude toward the police. Actually, citizens may feel that the use of radar traps is a legitimate police activity. However, by examining how citizens perceptions of police radar traps influences overall evaluations of the police role, it is possible to glean a better understanding of how the public views this police practice. Consequently, in Chapter Three it was hypothesized that the more often citizens perceive the police as using radar to trap speeders the less positive will be their overall evaluations of the police.

Although a cross-tabulation between the question "police use radar to trap speeders" and citizen evaluations of the police is not significant (p. .40), the above hypothesis does some support. As expected, respondents who indicate that the police use radar to trap speeders quite often expressed the most negative perceptions of overall police performance with 12 percent rating the police as poor or very poor. However, approximately 50 percent of these respondents rate the police as good or very good. On the other hand, of those who feel the police never use radar to trap speeders, only 6.3 percent rate the police as poor or very poor with approximately 69 percent rating police performance as good to very good. This can be seen in Table 5.6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Ever Happens</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Fairly Often</th>
<th>Quite Often</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(31.25%)</td>
<td>(22.22%)</td>
<td>(22.64%)</td>
<td>(11.76%)</td>
<td>(15.02%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>173</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37.50%)</td>
<td>(33.88%)</td>
<td>(37.74%)</td>
<td>(41.18%)</td>
<td>(34.76%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(25.00%)</td>
<td>(33.33%)</td>
<td>(35.85%)</td>
<td>(41.83%)</td>
<td>(38.20%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.25%)</td>
<td>(11.11%)</td>
<td>(1.89%)</td>
<td>(4.58%)</td>
<td>(8.59%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Poor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1.89%)</td>
<td>(0.65%)</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 16.797  P < .40  Degrees of Freedom = 16

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Illegal Acts

When asked if the police frisk or search people without good reason, respondents generally indicate that the police do this infrequently if at all (43.3%) and only 11 percent indicate that the police do this fairly often or quite often. Another 45.5 percent of the respondents indicate that they were "not sure" if this happens in Kalamazoo. When the AID analysis is examined, respondents who are black tend to express "not sure" or felt the police do this more frequently than other respondents. Those expressing the most positive attitudes toward the police in this regard were whites whose feelings were based on personal experiences. Expressing somewhat less positive views were whites whose feelings were based on the experience of others and whose income is $10,000 to $14,999 or $25,000 or more. See Table 5.7.
Table 5.7
Police Frisk or Search People Without Good Reason

Group 1
Race
N=212
Y=2.43
white

Group 2
Race
N=31
Y=3.23
black

Group 3
Experience
N=51
Y=2.09
Personal exp.

Group 4
Experience
N=161
Y=2.53
Experience of others

Group 5
Income
N=88
Y=2.34
$59,999
+$15,000–24,999

Group 6
Income
N=73
Y=2.78
$10,000–14,999
+$25,000

Group 7

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In Chapter Three it was stated that blacks would express considerably more negative attitudes than whites when asked if the "police frisk or search people without good reason." This should be true since the police are often tied closely to the dominant interests within the community. Furthermore, the unique characteristics of the police role developed through training and on the job socialization which stresses conformity, authority, situation control and necessitates the categorization of many individuals (particularly blacks) as symbolic assailants, is likely to lead to police behaviors which are viewed with resentment by many blacks. One such police activity is the frisk or search, and as Table 5.7 indicates blacks do, indeed, view this police activity negatively.

Also, it was hypothesized in Chapter Three that the more frequently citizens perceive the police frisking or searching people without good reason, the less positive will be their overall evaluations of the police. As Table 5.8 indicates, this hypothesis is supported by the data. Among respondents who state that the police never frisk or search people without good reason 64 percent rate police performance as good to very good and only 6 percent rate the police as poor. However, among those who state that the police engage in this practice
quite often approximately 14 percent rate the police as good to very good with approximately 52 percent rating the police as doing a poor or very poor job.
Table 5.8
Rating of the Police by Frequency the Police Frisk or Search People Without Good Reason

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Hardly Ever Happens</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Happens Fairly Often</th>
<th>Happens Quite Often</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(27.08%)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(14.42%)</td>
<td>(13.15%)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14.42%)</td>
<td>(13.15%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(3.13%)</td>
<td>(4.76%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37.00%)</td>
<td>(43.27%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(21.88%)</td>
<td>(9.52%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(30.00%)</td>
<td>(36.54%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(59.38%)</td>
<td>(33.33%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.00%)</td>
<td>(4.81%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(15.63%)</td>
<td>(23.81%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Poor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9.96%)</td>
<td>(.94%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(28.57%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 126.536  P < .001  Degrees of Freedom = 16

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The third cluster to be examined is a discrimination cluster and is typified by the question "police treat white people differently than blacks." In response to this question approximately 36 percent of the Kalamazoo sample indicated that this happens fairly often to quite often with almost 19 percent stating that this happens hardly ever or never. Also, 45.4 percent of the respondents stated that they were "not sure" if the police do this (see Table 5.2). Interestingly, the AID analysis of this item indicated only one important predictor variable. This was whether or not the respondent's opinions were based on personal experience, the experiences of acquaintances or both. Persons who did not indicate how they formed their perceptions of the frequency of police discrimination were somewhat more positively disposed toward the police in this regard than those who did. See Table 5.9.

What is striking about this discrimination item is that there is a prevailing attitude within the community as a whole that the Kalamazoo police either treat whites differently than blacks with some regularity or are not sure if the police engage in this practice. This is true irrespective of the demographic characteristics of the respondents - notably race.
Table 5.9

Police Treat Whites Differently Than Blacks

- **Group 1**
  - $N=242$
  - $Y=3.33$

- **Group 2**
  - $N=127$
  - $Y=2.98$
  - Non-response

- **Group 3**
  - $N=115$
  - $Y=3.72$
  - Personal exp.
  - Experience of others
  - Both

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In Chapter Three it was stated that black citizens should express the opinions that the police often discriminate against them. This proposition is supported by studies done by Biderman et al., 1967; Courtis, 1970; Smith and Hawkins, 1973, and Bordua and Tifft, 1971. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that the more frequently citizens perceive the police treating whites differently than blacks, the less positive will be their perceptions of the police. Surprisingly, in this study, as indicated above, citizens in general feel the police treat whites differently than blacks. Therefore, it might be expected that such perceptions would lead citizens, regardless of race, to view the police negatively if they feel the police often operate in a discriminatory manner.

As expected, the more frequently citizens feel the police treat whites differently than blacks, the less positive are their overall evaluations of police performance. For instance, among respondents who state that the police never discriminate approximately 69 percent rate the police as good to very good and only 2.56 percent rate the police as very poor. However, among those who indicate that the police discriminate quite often, approximately 30 percent rate the police as good or very good with approximately 30 percent rating the police as poor or very poor. This can be seen in Table 5.10.
Table 5.10

Rating of the Police by Frequency the Police Treat White People Differently Than Blacks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Hardly Happens</th>
<th>Ever Happens</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Happens Fairly Often</th>
<th>Happens Quite Often</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35.90%)</td>
<td>(16.00%)</td>
<td>(16.43%)</td>
<td>(10.53%)</td>
<td>(9.46%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33.33%)</td>
<td>(48.00%)</td>
<td>(42.72%)</td>
<td>(32.63%)</td>
<td>(20.27%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28.21%)</td>
<td>(34.00%)</td>
<td>(36.62%)</td>
<td>(49.47%)</td>
<td>(40.54%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.76%)</td>
<td>(5.26%)</td>
<td>(3.62%)</td>
<td>(5.26%)</td>
<td>(22.97%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Poor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.56%)</td>
<td>(2.00%)</td>
<td>(0.47%)</td>
<td>(2.11%)</td>
<td>(6.76%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>471</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 78.376  P < .001  Degrees of Freedom = 16

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Sensitivity

The fourth cluster identified through the Cluster Analysis is called sensitivity. Representing this cluster is the question "police respect citizen's rights." When questioned about the frequency with which the police respect citizen's rights, the majority of respondents indicated that the police do this fairly often or quite often (55.2%) indicating a favorable perception of the police. Somewhat smaller percentages, 33 percent and 11.6 percent respectively, stated that they were "not sure" of the frequency of this police practice and that the police do this rarely if ever (see Table 5.2).

When the AID analysis is examined, income, personal experience, the experiences of others, police contact and the quality of being a student, housewife, or retired were all found to be important in distinguishing between those expressing positive and negative perceptions of police sensitivity. Respondents earning $5,000 or more whose feelings are based on personal experience and/or the experience of acquaintances and who were either students or housewives expressed the most positive perceptions of the police. Expressing negative opinions of the police in this regard were those earning less than $5,000. See Table 5.11.
Table 5.11
Police Respect Citizens Rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Group 5</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Group 6</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Group 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=238</td>
<td>( \bar{y} = 3.54 )</td>
<td>N=39</td>
<td>( \bar{y} = 2.74 )</td>
<td>( \leq $5,000 )</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>N=199</td>
<td>( \bar{y} = 3.70 )</td>
<td>( \geq $5,000 )</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Group 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=87</td>
<td>( \bar{y} = 3.46 )</td>
<td>Non-response</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>N=30</td>
<td>( \bar{y} = 3.20 )</td>
<td>Never or within last 6 months.</td>
<td>Group 8</td>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>N=57</td>
<td>More than 6 months ago</td>
<td>Group 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Chapter three it was stated that blacks and those persons in low income categories should express the most negative perceptions of police sensitivity or respect for citizen rights. This should be the case because the police often function as a twenty-four hour social service agency in low income areas, although many police seem to resent such a role. It was argued that the discrepancy between the officers' actual versus ideal conception of the police role represents potential conflict between himself and the community. Consequently, it was expected that minority persons or those in lower income categories would express rather negative perceptions of police sensitivity to their rights or needs.

While income did prove to be an important predictor in the preceding AID analysis of this question, race did not. Importantly, persons earning less than $5,000 regardless of race tend to have the most negative perceptions of police respect for citizen's rights. Therefore, hypothesis 5 in Chapter three, the more often citizens perceive the police as failing to respect citizen rights, the less positive will be their evaluations of the police, should be supported.

In order to examine this hypothesis, respondents perceptions of the frequency with which the police respect citizen's rights was cross-tabulated with citizens ratings of overall police performance. When
this was done, it was found that the hypothesis is supported. For instance, among respondents who state that the police never respect citizen rights 50 percent rate overall police performance as good to very good with 23.07 percent rating the police as poor or very poor. However, among respondents who indicate that the police respect citizens rights quite often responses are considerably more positive. Among these respondents, 66.39 percent rate the police as good or very good and only 5.74 percent indicate that the police do a poor or very poor job. This can be seen in Table 5.12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Hardly Ever Happens</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Happens Fairly Often</th>
<th>Happens Quite Often</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very Good</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7-69%)</td>
<td>(6.90%)</td>
<td>(9.21%)</td>
<td>(14.60%)</td>
<td>(27.05%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Good</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(41.21%)</td>
<td>(31.03%)</td>
<td>(36.84%)</td>
<td>(38.69%)</td>
<td>(39.34%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(26.92%)</td>
<td>(41.38%)</td>
<td>(43.42%)</td>
<td>(43.07%)</td>
<td>(27.87%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15.38%)</td>
<td>(10.34%)</td>
<td>(8.55%)</td>
<td>(3.65%)</td>
<td>(3.28%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very Poor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 47.119  \( P < .001 \)  Degrees of Freedom = 16
The purpose of this chapter has been threefold. First, an attempt was made to briefly mention some of the general findings of this study which mirror those of other studies. Second, a discussion of the analytical strategy was made in order to clarify the methodological issues upon which the data analysis is based. Third, specific findings regarding citizen perceptions of various police behaviors were presented. With this accomplished, the next chapter will attempt to summarize and draw conclusions based on the findings presented in this chapter, as well as the conceptual framework presented in Chapter Three. Lastly, as stated in the beginning of this paper, some rather specific recommendations based upon these conclusions will be presented.
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this paper has been to better understand the dynamics of an important aspect of police-community relations - how citizens view various police behaviors. In developing this understanding a careful review of the police-community relations literature, the development of a conceptual framework within which police-community relations can be understood as well as a presentation of the findings of this study have been attempted. However, it is felt that for this paper to be of more than just passing interest to a rather small group of social scientists, some attempt should be made to summarize the findings and finally to provide some general recommendations for improvements in police-community relations. It is hoped that in doing this practical as well as more conceptual or theoretical ends will be served. This is the hoped for results of this final chapter.

SUMMARY

The importance of good police-community relations cannot be understated. It has long been recognized that good police-community relations are necessary before both public and police expectations for quality police work can be met. It is the nature of police-citizen relations
which does much to determine the quality of life for many Americans. However, it has long been recognized that problems in police-community relations do exist in many areas and consequently attempts have been initiated to examine both the basis of these problems and to improve these relationships where necessary. Such attempts, though, as is often the case, have been made difficult because of the complex nature of the problems faced by both police and citizens alike.

As stated earlier in this paper police-citizen interaction, as any other social phenomenon, takes place within a wider social milieu and cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon in and of itself. As both the literature review and the conceptual framework presented in Chapters Two and Three indicate, there are numerous factors which may be seen as contributing to problematic relations between some citizens and the police. Furthermore, it has been suggested that such problematic relations are not totally the result of idiosyncracies of various citizens or the police, but rather result from a complex combination of factors involving the socio-historical development of the police role as well as the dynamics of the modern police role carried out within a heterogeneous community having differing expectations and needs. Also, it was argued that there are inherent
characteristics of the modern police role which operate to reinforce the general conception of police work as law enforcement—notably, public perceptions of the police generated by the media and the police, as well as socialization into the police role. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the combination of these factors insures that a certain degree of conflict will exist between certain segments of the population and the police. However, it should be understood that an organization expected to carry out the myriad of functions with which the modern police organization is entrusted can only fall short of such expectations. Ultimately the result is problematic relations between various segments of the population and the police. This, though, is not to imply that improvements in police-community relations are not possible. There is room for improvement and such improvement is necessary before community satisfaction with the police as well as more effective policing can be achieved. Actually, it seems hard to imagine one without the other.

Methodology

The strategy employed in this paper has been to identify how citizens in Kalamazoo, Michigan perceive a range of police behaviors. Since such perceptions of the police provide an important indication of the quality
of police-community relations, an assessment of these perceptions would be an important first step in improving such relations where necessary.

To accomplish this task a community survey was conducted. A questionnaire drop off and pick-up procedure was selected because it was believed to be less costly and time consuming than interviews and yet provide a more adequate return rate than mailed questionnaires (Friday and Sonnad, 1978). The sampling frame itself consisted of a listing of the residential units within the city of Kalamazoo and was provided by the City Planning Commission. The completed sampling frame consisted of 27,611 residential units from which a simple random sample of 777 households was drawn. Of these 777 households responses were received from 521 persons providing an average return rate of 67%. The refusal rate was rather low and the primary reason for non-responses was the inability to contact respondents (Friday and Sonnad, 1978).

The analysis of the data employed in this paper was based upon five types of statistical techniques. These were 1) frequencies (with percentages), 2) bivariate contingency tables with occasional controls made for other variables, 3) Kendal Tau Correlations, 4) cluster analysis and 5) AID (Automatic Interaction Detection). These techniques were used because it was felt they would
provide the necessary understanding of the complexities of the data and be easily presented and understood by the reader.

Findings and Recommendations

The general findings presented in this paper tend to support, at least to some extent, the findings of previous studies. Similar to other studies, respondents in Kalamazoo tended to rate the police favorably (52.7%) with only 8.6% rating the police unfavorably. Thirty-eight percent rated the police as doing an average job. However, as has also been found in other studies, few respondents felt that no improvements in the police are necessary — in this case only 3%.

When the demographic characteristics of respondents who rated the police either favorably or unfavorably were examined, respondents who had never had a police contact and those who had such a contact between one and six months in the past and who earned between $5,000 and $14,999 expressed the least favorable views of the police. Importantly, having a police contact within the past month or more than six months ago resulted in favorable ratings of the police. This was particularly true of those earning $10,000 per year or more.

When a range of specific police behaviors were examined, respondents tended to rate the police positively.
However, there is considerable variation across the various behaviors considered in this study. For instance, on six items dealing with police response time, concern with citizen problems, use of radar traps, police discrimination and police driving behavior, the percentages of negative responses was greater than the percentages of positive responses indicating that problems in these areas may exist. Also, in ten instances the percentages of "not sure" responses was greater than either the percentages of positive or negative responses. In such cases it is extremely hard to determine whether or not such responses are indicative of positive or negative perceptions of the police. Of course, it may simply imply that respondents are indeed "not sure." At any rate, such responses indicate that respondents do not wish to express strongly positive or negative perceptions of the police on these particular items.

The preceding suggests that citizen perceptions of various police behaviors are item specific. Consequently, the belief that certain groups display consistently negative or positive perceptions of the police may be overly simplistic. The data here indicates that citizen perceptions vary according to the issue and probably reflect the needs and expectations of various groups.

In Chapter Three it was hypothesized that the more
strongly citizens agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area the less positive will be their evaluations of the police. This hypothesis resulted from an examination of the literature which indicates that certain segments of the population, notably those in lower income categories, use the police for a wide range of social services. Indeed, as Friday and Sonnad (1978) found in the larger study from which this paper is derived, those earning less than $5,000 per year strongly agreed that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area, while those in other income categories felt much less strongly about such police activities. Consequently, it was expected that if the police perceive their primary function as one of law enforcement, the failure to meet the needs of certain segments of the population would result in negative evaluations of the police.

As expected, those who strongly agreed that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area expressed the most negative evaluations of the police (15.63%) and tends to support the preceding hypothesis. However, those who strongly disagreed with police activities in the non-criminal area expressed almost as high a percentage of negative evaluations of the police (13.89%).
In short, citizens seem to be somewhat divided on the belief that the police should perform services or activities that are not directly crime related. On the one hand, citizens who strongly agree that the police should have a responsibility for services and activities in the non-criminal area will tend to rate the police negatively if their expectations for non-crime related activities are not met. On the other hand, citizens who strongly disagree with this statement will express negative evaluations of the police to the extent that the police engage in activities other than law enforcement. Consequently, the following recommendations are made.

1. The police should be cognizant of differing community expectations and needs and act accordingly.

   While the preceding suggests that there are rather disparate expectations for police services within the community, it should be recognized that for many the police are the only known and available service agency. Consequently, the police should be aware of and use alternative services when they exist. When available alternatives do not exist, the police should recognize community needs and expectations and function to meet these needs where possible.

2. The use of police service officers in low income areas should be increased in order to provide coordination among social service agencies where necessary and to provide primary services where appropriate.
It should be recognized that for many persons in low income areas, the police are the only known available social service agency. Furthermore, since a considerable amount of police work is actually service oriented, it is suggested that the police, particularly police service officers, be utilized in these areas as either primary providers of services where appropriate or as resource persons who can make referrals to other agencies.

Because a large number of items were included in this analysis, it is quite possible that many of these items may represent a similar dimension. In order to explore this possibility a Kendal Tau Correlation Matrix was generated which supported this belief. Once this was done, the matrix was cluster analyzed. This resulted in four rather distinct clusters having some intuitive meaning. Although arbitrarily named, these clusters may be seen as representing the following dimensions of police behaviors: 1) radar traps, 2) illegal acts, 3) discrimination, and 4) sensitivity.

Taking advantage of the data reduction capability of the cluster analysis selected items were then chosen for further analysis. These items were:

Cluster 1  Item 7  Police use radar to trap speeders
Cluster 2  Item 5  Police frisk or search people without good reason
Cluster 3  Item 15  Police treat white people differently than blacks
Cluster 4 Item 3 Police respect citizens rights

The next step was to explore the demographic characteristics of those respondents who are either favorably or unfavorably disposed toward the police. To accomplish this an AID (Automatic Interaction Detection) program was employed.

In examining Cluster 1, Radar Traps, it was found that the majority of respondents feel the police engage in this practice fairly often or quite often (83%) and much smaller numbers (5.3%) state that the police rarely if ever engage in this practice. Perceptions that the police frequently engage in this practice were particularly marked for those who stated that their feelings were based on personal experience and/or the experiences of others. However, while respondents indicated that the police frequently use radar to trap speeders, it is difficult to ascertain if such responses were negative ones. Indeed, it is possible that citizens may view such activities as appropriate. In order to examine this point more closely, respondents perceptions of police use of radar were cross-tabulated with their overall evaluations of police performance.

Although the relationship was not significant (p. .40), respondents who stated that the police use radar to trap speeders quite frequently were less likely to rate the police favorably. Consequently, there is some support for
the proposition that citizen perceptions of police use of radar are likely to be negative; especially among those who base their feelings on personal experience. Furthermore, tenuous support for the hypothesis that the more often citizens perceive the police as using radar to trap speeders the less positive will be their overall evaluations of the police was indicated. Based on these findings, then, the following recommendation is made:

3. A reassessment of the use of radar to trap speeders should be undertaken and the reasons for its use communicated to the public.

While the data suggests that respondents generally regard the use of radar as a legitimate police activity, or one that does not result in negative evaluations of overall police performance for a large number of respondents, its use does tend to receive strong reactions from a small group of respondents. This finding supports, to some extent, that of Skolnick (1966), that traffic enforcement often results in conflicting relations between the public and the police. At least this seems to be the case for those having lived in Kalamazoo less than ten years and whose feelings are based on personal experience and/or the experiences of others. With this in mind, the police might benefit from an analysis of the various conditions in which radar is employed. For instance, its use in a crowded residential community versus its use on a hill
where the speed limit seems unusually low may result in a rather different citizen reaction. Furthermore, it is believed that citizen knowledge of the reasons for radar use may mitigate to some extent negative reactions to its use.

In examining the illegal acts cluster, respondents generally indicated that they were "not sure" if the police frisk or search people without good reason or that they "hardly ever" engage in such practices. Considerably smaller numbers of respondents indicated that the police engage in such practices with some regularity. Importantly, though, blacks hold rather negative perceptions of the frequency of this police activity. Indeed, the quality of being black in itself was sufficient to account for rather negative perceptions of this police practice. On the other hand, whites tended to view the police rather favorably in this regard, especially when they indicated that their perceptions were based on personal experience. This finding supports proposition 2 in Chapter Three which states that blacks should express considerably more negative impressions of this police activity than do whites. Also, it supports the finding of Bordua and Tifft (1971) which indicates that blacks are more likely to view field interrogations as harassment while whites are more likely to view them as legitimate.
Also, it was hypothesized in Chapter Three that the more frequently citizens perceive the police as frisking or searching people without good reason, the less positive will be their evaluations of the police. As expected, this hypothesis was supported with approximately 52 percent of those respondents who indicated that the police do this quite often rating the police as poor or very poor. Therefore, the following recommendation is made:

4. It is recommended that the police take action to improve citizen perception of and reactions to field interrogations, especially frisks and searches. Also, particular attention should be given to blacks in this regard since as a group they express the most negative perceptions of this police practice.

This recommendation seriously questions the use of frisks and searches as a routine police practice since such actions lead to negative perceptions of the police—especially in the case of blacks. Rather, the police should engage in this practice only when it is necessary. Furthermore, it is suggested that when searches are necessary, the police should explain the reasons for their actions. However, it is unlikely that any degree of interpersonal human relations skills can be effective in reducing hostile police-citizen encounters if such practices are routine.

An examination of the discrimination cluster revealed that respondents tended to feel that the police treat
whites differently than blacks with some frequency. Approximately 36% of the respondents indicated that this happens fairly often to quite often and approximately 19% indicated that this happens never or hardly ever. Forty-five percent stated that they were "not sure" if the police do this. Interestingly, persons who stated that their feelings were based on personal experience, the experience of others or both tended to view the police rather unfavorably in this regard while those who did not indicate how their opinions were formed rated the police more favorably. What is striking is that there is a general feeling in Kalamazoo that the police do engage in discriminatory behavior. This is somewhat different than was expected. It had been proposed in Chapter Three that blacks would perceive the police as operating in a discriminatory manner. The finding that whites feel this way is rather striking.

Of course it is possible that citizens expect the police to treat whites differently than blacks since each group may have different expectations and needs. Of interest here is whether or not such perceptions are in any way related to positive or negative evaluations of the police. To examine this point it was hypothesized in Chapter Three that the more frequently citizens perceive the police as treating whites differently than blacks, the less positive will be their evaluations of the police.
As expected, the preceding hypothesis was supported. Approximately 30 percent of those who felt the police treat whites differently than blacks rated them as poor or very poor. This is in contrast to only 2.56 percent of those who stated that the police never discriminate. Therefore:

5. It is recommended that the police take serious steps to improve their image regarding the equitable treatment of all citizens.

What is at stake in this instance is a fundamental principle of the American criminal justice system - equal treatment for all citizens. Certainly, such a finding is rather serious and should be taken as such. Implied, here, is a definite need for the police to determine the basis for such opinions and to act accordingly. On the individual level it is suggested that the police be aware that their treatment of citizens is closely scrutinized by the community and they should attempt to react equally to all citizens.

On the last dimension explored, sensitivity, respondents generally felt the police respect citizens rights. In this case 55.2% of the respondents indicated that the police frequently respect citizen rights while 11.6% felt that they do this infrequently if at all. Thirty-three percent stated that they were "not sure" of the frequency the police respect citizen rights.
Importantly, respondents earning $5,000 per year or more tended to rate the police favorably in this regard and this was particularly true of those stating their feelings were based on personal experience, and/or the experience of others. Respondents expressing rather negative views of police respect for citizen rights were those who earned less than $5,000 per year. This finding is somewhat different than stated in proposition 4 in Chapter Three. As expected, low income persons (at least those in the lowest income category) expressed negative views of the police in this regard. Unlike what was expected, however, race did not turn out to be an important predictor variable.

Furthermore, in Chapter Three it was hypothesized that the more often the police fail to respect citizen rights the less positive will be their evaluations of the police. As hypothesized, this was found to be true. Of those respondents who stated that the police never respect citizen rights 23.07 percent rated the police as poor or very poor, while only 5.74 percent of those who indicated the police do this quite often rated the police negatively. Therefore:

6. It is recommended that the police pay strict attention to the expectations and needs of low income citizens.

This finding recognizes that low income citizens may have rather different needs for a variety of police
services than other segments of the population. Consequently, it is felt that the police should at all times, regardless of a person's residence, appearance, etc., act in an efficacious manner. Also, it is suggested that where other service agencies may prove more suitable, these should be used or recommended by the police.

In analyzing the data presented in this paper, it is important to note that no group expressed consistently positive or negative perceptions of the police. In other words respondents perceptions of various police behaviors tended to reflect the concern of various groups with specific issues. Therefore, the belief that blacks are more negatively disposed toward the police than whites can be misleading unless more specific concerns can be identified. For instance, when respondents were asked if the "police treat whites differently than blacks" or if the "police respect citizens rights" race was not found to be an important predictor variable. As previously stated, in the former case both blacks and whites perceive the police as acting in a discriminatory manner.

Also, it should be stated that it is very hard to determine what the basis for such perceptions are. That is, in many instances not only the actions of the police but the actions of other elements of the criminal justice system, or other elements of government may function to influence citizen perceptions of one
particular representative of formal authority - in this instance the police. One thing, however, is clear and that is how respondents indicated they feel about the range of police behaviors examined in this paper. As a result, there are two final recommendations which may be helpful. These are:

7. It is recommended that the police avail themselves of every opportunity to communicate effectively with all segments of the community in an effort to fully appreciate the needs and concerns of the residents of Kalamazoo.

It is believed that only by frequently assessing the quality of police-community relations in Kalamazoo can citizen satisfaction with the police be enhanced where necessary and policing become more effective.

8. It is recommended that considerable attention be given to police training in areas involving interpersonal communication skills.

The data analyzed in this paper suggest that the quality of police-community relations could be improved through better interpersonal communication with all segments of the community. This is particularly the case in considering low income respondents perceptions of police sensitivity but would seem to be equally important in other situations as well.

Lastly, it should be remembered that the purpose of this paper has not been to criticize the police - it should be remembered that respondents generally rate the police
quite favorably on overall job performance. Rather the intent has been to examine some of the dynamics of police-community relations within a broad conceptual framework by focusing on citizen perceptions of various police behaviors. Also, an attempt was made to make practical recommendations to the police based upon the data analyzed in this study. The strategy employed in this paper was to provide research findings having both theoretical and practical utility. The hoped for result is the further improvement of police-community relations - an end which not only affects the ability of the police to perform effectively but affects the quality of life for all.
Appendix A

Cluster Analysis Dendogram

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