Police Perceptions of Inner-City Youths Attitudes toward Law Enforcement

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POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF INNER-CITY YOUTHS ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW ENFORCEMENT

by

Thomas V. Schade, M. A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment
of the
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Thomas V. Schade
SCHADE, Thomas Voorhis
POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF INNER-CITY YOUTHS
ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Western Michigan University, M.A., 1970
Sociology, race question
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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, THEORY
AND LITERATURE

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

The study of police-community relations is increasingly becoming a focus of attention among social scientists. In the past, however, sociologists have not seemed too concerned with the role of the police and their interactional relationship to the community.\(^1\) There appear to be several factors that have precipitated the recent interest in the problem. The first of these is to be found in the urban crises of recent summers. The increasing disposition toward violence among racial and ethnic minorities as a protest against inequalities of opportunity and treatment has involved the police in a new dimension of conflict. Such disturbances have stimulated police at both the state and local levels to re-evaluate their community relations programs. In many instances such programs have been minimal or even non-existent.

\(^1\)"In the twenty-five year period from 1940 to 1965 only six articles remotely concerned with the police were published in the American Journal of Sociology and American Sociological Review."
(Niederhoffer, 1967:4)
A Michigan State University study (cf. Galvin and Radelet, 1967: 60) showed that only 38% of the cities in the U.S. with populations over 100,000 had a community relations unit. In addition, cities with populations of less than 100,000 are even less likely to have such units. Even where such units exist, they generally have not won the confidence of the minority groups. Without this confidence some degree of dissonance can be expected to exist between the minority communities and the police. As Lohman and Misner (1966:176) state in the conclusion of their study at the University of California, "The evaluation of police-community relations is a function of the perception which the police have of the community and which the community has of the police."

Among other factors which have led to the current attention given the police and their performance of duty are the controversy concerning civilian review boards, public apathy in the face of violent crimes and the increasing concern over "safe streets." The volatile nature of some civil rights and political protest demonstrations has confronted the policeman with conflicting official and public expectations of his role performance as a civil servant. In many recent confrontations with rioters and demonstrators the public has been divided as to whether the police should be relatively active or passive in their response to mass law violation. Although similar divisions of public opinion exist with regard to individual
violators and their treatment by police, such divisions have been obscured by the lack of a highly publicized focal point such as the 1968 Democratic national convention. Especially when examining a relatively homogeneous group (such as inner-city youth), the prevalent attitudes of the group toward the police will both reflect past experiences with the police and influence the behavior of police in future encounters. ²

To determine the extent to which the attitudes toward the police role are accurately perceived by the police is the primary intention of this research. More specifically, this research is designed to examine the accuracy of police perceptions of the attitudes of inner-city youth toward police functions and policies. With the assumption that attitudes toward the police role influence a policeman's behavior, the question of accuracy in the perception of these attitudes becomes meaningful.

Relevant Theory

When embarking on a study of the general area involving police-community relations, it becomes clear that several distinct perspectives present themselves. Martin C. Miller (1966), in the introduction to the community relations chapter of his manuscript,
labels and differentiates between two of the perspectives. He states that "The traditional view . . . is that the police problems will be solved only when the police get a responsive public." (Miller, 1966:11) In contrast, the contemporary view is that "The police and public must understand each other's role and work together at solving community problems." (Miller, 1966:11) The traditional view implies a unilateral process; that of better educating the community as to its responsibilities to the police in the performance of police duties. This, then, is assumed to improve the effectiveness of the police through community understanding and cooperation. The contemporary view, however, is bilateral in that both the police and the community are expected to strive for better understanding of each other's role and function in a multifaceted society.

While Miller focuses on the understanding of each other's role, Chester M. Pierce (1962) also provides support for the contemporary, bilateral view by suggesting an alternative psychiatric approach. Pierce states that the solution to problems of friction between the police and the community lies in an increasing awareness on the part of all people that in a police-community dispute the problem is enlarged by an inadequate scrutiny of one's own behavioral motives. Thus, both Miller and Pierce agree that the problem is not simply one of better educating the public. Miller, however, emphasizes

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one's perception of the other's role while Pierce suggests that the examination of individual motivations would be the most fruitful approach to the problem.

A theoretical basis for Miller's interactional approach can be found in the work of W. I. Thomas concerning the definition of the situation. He asserted that "As long as the definitions of situations remain constant and common we may anticipate orderly behavior reactions." (Thomas, 1927:13) He further contended that "When rival definitions arise . . . we may anticipate social disorganization and personal demoralization . . . the mass of delinquency, crime and emotional instability is the result of conflicting definitions." (Thomas, 1927:13)

Both the other-oriented position taken by Miller and the self-oriented position taken by Pierce can be inferred from Thomas' concept of common and rival definitions of the situation. That is, one must be aware of his own definition of the situation (although not necessarily in accordance with Pierce's psychoanalytic assumptions) as well as aware of the others' definitions of the same or similar situations. An assessment of this dual awareness is obviously needed before any conclusion can be reached as to whether definitions are common or rival. Often, since one's precise definition of a given situation is not directly known, overt behavior is perceived to be indicative of that definition.
The concept of conflict (or crisis) situation is implicit in the preceding discussion. If social life is running smoothly and without rival definitions, then conflict situations do not exist since people behave as anticipated by others. Once the behavior of others can no longer be anticipated, a conflict situation exists. When such a situation is perceived, a judgment is made as to its nature (dangerous or harmless) and an appropriate behavior pattern is formulated.

At this point one can begin to see the state of current police-community relations in many cities. The police are unsure of the definitions held by the inner-city residents and their possible reactions to various police policies and methods of control. At the same time, inner-city residents have difficulty anticipating and interpreting police reactions to everything from loitering to mass rioting. For example, if the Negro in the ghetto fears the possibility of genocide, his behavior will likely reflect this fear even though it may not be grounded in fact or be commonly defined as "real" by the police, his employer, etc. Both verbal and physical brutality by the police are often feared by the ghetto resident. Such fears might increase the likelihood of such a person arming himself in self-defense or joining separatist groups. As W. I. Thomas has said, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." (Thomas and Thomas, 1928:572)

Underlying the question of commonly defined situations is the
degree of accuracy of one's perception and interpretation of other's attitudes toward oneself and its influence on the process by which situations are defined. In 1902 Charles Horton Cooley suggested that man possessed a social self. One of the aspects of this he termed the "looking-glass self" which consists of three parts:

"... the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification." (Cooley, 1902:78)

The second element, that concerning the imagination of judgment, is the most relevant for the purpose of this research. Such an imagined judgment of one's own appearance by another comes very close to describing an attitude toward oneself perceived as being held by another. Cooley implies that this imagined or perceived reflection and judgment (which is real in its consequences) is a key factor in the development of a social self. In other words, one's conception of another's attitudes toward oneself leads to various postures in the presence of the other. Although this gives an indication of the importance of one's conception of others' attitudes toward himself, further delineation is required.

George Herbert Mead (1934) elaborates on this question of the social self and adds to the usefulness of the concepts involved. He introduces the concept of "generalized other" which constitutes the attitudes of others toward common experiences and objects. Mead
states that "It is in the form of the generalized other that the social
process influences the behavior of the individuals involved in it and
carrying it on . . . ." (Mead, 1934:155) Mead goes further, how­
ever, and distinguishes between the "me" (which is the internalized
and organized set of the attitudes of others toward common experi­
ences) and the "I" (one's response to this set of attitudes in a speci­
fic situation). To specifically predict the behavior (both overt and
covert) of the "I" is, at this stage in theory verification, virtually
impossible. This is one of the unique aspects of human behavior
that remains unexplained. However, the behavior of the "I" is
predicated on the "me"; and to that extent the "I's" behavior is a
partial consequence of the attitudes of others toward oneself and
his subjective perception and judgment of them.

Having suggested that a policeman's perception and evaluation
of others' attitudes toward the police role is relevant to the police-
community problem, an examination of the related research and
literature will be discussed in the next section.

Related Literature and Research

In a presentation to the American Sociological Society, Robert
L. Derbyshire (1967) suggested that public attitudes toward the
police, justified or not, need to be clarified. He continued by stat­
ing that, "Police reactions to these attitudes, justified or not, need
to be openly and clearly stated." (Derbyshire, 1967:4) Although suggesting that police reaction to public attitudes is of importance to community relations programs, Derbyshire's research deals only with a modification of the public's attitudes through police lectures and programs in an elementary school setting. This interest in only the public's attitude toward policemen has been the primary concern of most literature relating to police-community interaction. Summarizing this position is a pamphlet published by the Anti-Defamation League in which Sol Littman states that, "... all the research and all the material I have been able to gather from police departments across the country seem to indicate that the approach of the police officer to the citizen is the most crucial item in determining how citizens feel about police." (Littman, 1967:12)

Although public attitudes toward the police must be examined, the accuracy with which these attitudes are perceived by the police, in turn, influences their own attitude toward and approach to the citizen. Several studies have attempted to evaluate police attitudes toward the public. Arthur Niederhoffer (1967), in his study of police cynicism, concludes that at least one-third of the policemen in his sample of 220 would always take a negative view in the evaluation of public attitudes. He further concludes that in response to a question designed to assess the police officer's perception of public cooperation in police matters, seventy-three percent of the
sample did not trust the public to cooperate voluntarily. Unfortunately, the extent to which the perception of public non-cooperation was accurate is not possible to determine since no direct assessment of the public's attitudes toward cooperation was included.

Utilizing participant observation techniques, Jerome Skolnick (1966) has examined police conduct in a medium-sized California city. Although primarily interested in the relationship between the interpretation of law enforcement ethics and the nature of a policeman's work assignment, he has gained insights into police attitudes toward the public. More specifically, he suggests that "A negative attitude toward Negroes was a norm among the police studied..." (Skolnick, 1966:81) He also says that negative sanctions were often brought to bear against those officers who failed to conform to the norm.

In an extensive examination of the Michigan State Police, Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) have utilized role theory in an attempt to better understand the entire spectrum of police activities. In a chapter concerned with the public image of the police as well as the police image of the public, they suggest that a policeman's attitudes toward minority groups is relatively independent of his attitudes toward stricter law enforcement when dealing with minorities. This conclusion was based on the lack of association between an anti-minorities scale score and the response to a question.
involving stricter law enforcement procedures for racial minorities. The inequalities inherent in the selective extent to which laws are enforced when dealing with racial minorities is obvious. The problem of selective enforcement is two-sided in that the police may be either unjustly lax in responding to complaints within the minority community, or unjustly severe when questioning and apprehending members of a minority group. It may be that a threat to the majority (or white) community results in severe police enforcement while intraminority violations result in lax enforcement.

Preiss and Ehrlich also attempt to assess the accuracy of police perceptions of the expectations for their role behavior as held by various audiences. Unfortunately they did not include minority groups or youth among the audiences to be studied. However, a small sample of non-whites (34) was asked to assess the way policemen deal with minority groups. Seventy three and five-tenths percent of the non-white respondents felt that the police were "usually fair" in their treatment of minorities.

The influence of police perceptions of juveniles' attitudes toward the police role on the final disposition of juvenile cases is reported on by Piliavin and Briar (1964). Second only to knowledge about a youth's prior record, his demeanor as perceived by the policeman was an important factor in determining the final disposition of a youth's case. An uncooperative demeanor was most often
associated with arrest while cooperation led to an informal admonition and release. Consequently, the assessment of a youth's attitude (as expressed by his demeanor) seems to affect the behavior of the policeman as he responds to the delinquent youth.

The literature and research discussed above indicates a general lack of knowledge about the perception and evaluation by the police of the attitudes of inner-city youth regarding the police role. Although recent research has begun to focus more on the police role as it affects the community, the interpretation by police of this relationship to the community remains relatively untapped.

Hypotheses

Generated from the theoretical propositions and related literature previously discussed, the following hypotheses will be tested.

General Hypothesis: Police officers will tend to perceive the attitudes of inner-city youth toward police functions and policies as being more negative than the youths' attitudes, in fact, are.

Subordinate Hypotheses:

A. The police will tend to perceive inner-city youth as believing that the Negro feels unfairly treated by the police to an extent greater than that shown by the attitudes
of inner-city youth.

B. The police will tend to perceive inner-city youth as believing that the police are inefficient to an extent less than that shown by the attitudes of inner-city youth.

C. The police will tend to perceive inner-city youth as believing that the police are unimportant to an extent greater than that shown by the attitudes of inner-city youth.

D. The police will tend to perceive inner-city youth as believing that policemen are dishonest to an extent greater than that shown by the attitudes of inner-city youth.

E. The police will tend to perceive inner-city youth as indicating less cooperation with the police than that shown by the attitudes of inner-city youths themselves.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

During the summer of 1967 a series of disturbances in the cities of Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids focused the attention of citizens on certain problems within the inner city. One of these problems was the relationship between the youth of the inner city and the police. Prior to the disturbances in both cities, the researcher had planned to survey the police department in Grand Rapids to determine the perceptions police have of the attitudes of inner-city youth toward the police role. Data on the attitudes of junior high school students in Grand Rapids toward the police role had been previously collected during the Spring of 1967 (Bouma, 1967). Analysis of these data indicated that the racial factor was most consistently associated with antagonism toward the police. Specifically, black respondents as a group were more consistently antagonistic toward the police than were the white respondents, even when controlling for sex, age, and place of residence.

It appears to be a fair assumption (and was supported by informal conversation with the police officers) that the inner city is generally considered to be composed of black residents. Therefore, the connotation of the term "inner-city youth" to the police officer could best be operationalized by the researcher as black
youth. Obviously, not all of the black respondents to the junior high questionnaire were inner-city residents. However, the problem of identifying inner-city youth whether black or white, through either the location of the school attended or place of residence was virtually impossible due to the ill-defined boundaries of the inner city. For these reasons, all the black respondents to the junior high school attitude survey were combined to use as the indicator of the attitudes of inner-city youth toward the police role.\(^1\) Of the eleven schools in Grand Rapids that 7th, 8th and/or 9th grade students attended, six were chosen to be representative of the entire junior high school population in the city.

Black respondents included in the stratified random sample drawn from each of the six schools (stratified so as to represent all ability groupings) were distributed as indicated by Table 1.

These 362 black junior high school students constitute the standard against which the accuracy of police perceptions of the attitudes of inner-city youth toward the police role will be evaluated.

---

\(^1\)Since it was hypothesized that the police would tend to negatively misperceive the attitudes of inner-city youth, the more antagonistic attitudes of black youths would provide the most rigorous test of the research hypotheses. The inclusion of the attitudes of white youths (from whatever part of the city) would only tend to increase the likelihood of accepting the null hypothesis that police officers will tend to perceive the attitudes of inner-city youth toward police functions and policies as being no more negative than the youths' attitudes, in fact, are.
TABLE 1

Black, Junior High School Respondents as Distributed by School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total N 362

At about the time the researcher had planned to gather information from the Grand Rapids Police Department, the previously mentioned disturbances broke out in the city. They lasted for several days, and forced postponement of the project for several months. Following this delay, a 41-item questionnaire, together with relevant background information, was administered to the officers in Grand Rapids during September. In October the Kalamazoo Police Department was also surveyed since the city had experienced similar racial problems during the summer. Prior to this the questionnaire was pre-tested on officers in Muskegon, Michigan. In each department a single week day was chosen at the convenience of the department, and all of the officers report-
ing for duty at each of the three shifts completed questionnaires. During roll call prior to each shift, the officer in charge introduced the researchers who handed out questionnaires and gave a general explanation of the survey to the officers. This explanation was designed to reduce apprehension on the part of the officers through the guarantee of anonymity. The policemen were also told that their commanding officers would not have access to the questionnaires. The purpose of the survey was explained to them as an attempt to discover the officers' reaction to several problems in the community. The reaction of the officers was mixed. Some showed signs of distrust and irritation at the researchers' presence. Most, however, reacted to the survey as to any other aspect of their shift briefings. This can probably be attributed to the formal sanctioning of our survey by the department through its introduction by the commanding officer. Although a more informal setting for administration of the questionnaire (such as the officers' homes) might have elicited less inhibited responses, both the legitimization of the survey through its administration at police headquarters, and the convenience of group rather than individual administration of the questionnaires seemed most important. Table 2 indicates the number of officers responding in each department according to rank.
### TABLE 2

Frequency of Officers Responding to Police-Community Questionnaire by Rank and Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Grand Rapids</th>
<th>Kalamazoo</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trainee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrolman</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. R.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>135</strong></td>
<td><strong>119</strong></td>
<td><strong>254</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 3 the officers responding to the questionnaire in each department are indicated according to the type of duty held.

Although the procedures used to obtain the data from police officers did not conform exactly to the sampling procedures required for the technically correct use of inductive statistics, a test of significance will be used within the "context of discovery" (Phillips, 1966:269). The representativeness of the sample,
TABLE 3

Frequency of Officers Responding to Police-Community Questionnaire by Type of Duty and Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grand Rapids</th>
<th>Kalamazoo</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrol</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigation</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk Work</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. R.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

however, seems adequate for the use of chi-square analysis as a benchmark since there appears to have been no systematic bias operating to influence the choice of a single day's shift of officers.

The construction of the questionnaire administered to police officers was undertaken with the intent of assessing a wide variety of police officers' attitudes regarding their role in the community. There appeared to be no standardized questions available for this purpose. The first twelve items (see Appendix A, pp. 45-46) were designed to be directly comparable with similar items found in the questionnaire administered to the junior high school students.
in Grand Rapids (see Appendix B, pp. 50-54). These twelve items were the only ones utilized from the junior high school questionnaire since the remaining items did not seem to be useful as a basis for comparison with police officers' perceptions of the attitudes of inner-city youth.

The remaining items of the police officers' questionnaire (see Appendix A, items 13-41, pp. 46-49) come under the general heading of the inner city community and the police. More specifically, questions were asked regarding the officers' views of the racial disturbances several months earlier, their attitudes toward blacks in general, and their reactions to specific events affecting police procedures such as recent supreme court decisions. In addition, items 29, 30 and 31 (see Appendix A, p. 48) attempted to assess the preference of officers for the use of force in riot situations involving blacks. These questions were deliberately worded so as to imply that blacks were deserving of both punishment and second class citizenship. The questions were purposely biased in order that the positive responses would be almost unquestionably indicative of an officer's reliance upon the use of force in such situations.

---

1To maintain comparability, the responses of only the Grand Rapids officers will be compared with the responses of Grand Rapids youth. The data from both Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo Police Departments will be utilized in assessing the secondary hypotheses and related questions.
The extension of this question to include an officer's perception of both fellow officers' and other friends' reactions to the same situation is intended to explore the extent of agreement with both professional and non-professional acquaintances.

The major instrument designed to evaluate the preceding hypotheses is, therefore, the "Police-Community Questionnaire." Items from this as well as from the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire have been chosen for analysis as they relate to the hypotheses and areas for exploration identified in Chapter I.
CHAPTER III
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The general hypothesis as stated in Chapter I indicates that the attitudes of inner-city youth toward the police role will tend to be negatively misperceived by the police. That is, the police officer is hypothesized to be inaccurate in his perception of the attitudes of these youth. Furthermore, this inaccuracy is hypothesized to consistently indicate a less favorable attitude toward the police role than that actually indicated by the youths themselves.

This general hypothesis is delineated further for testing purposes. Item number four on the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire asks the youth if they feel that police are always picking on Negroes. Corresponding to this is item number one on the "Police-Community" questionnaire which asks the police if they think inner-city youth feel that the police are always picking on Negroes. Table 4 presents the summary of the responses to these questions.

Although a "not sure" category was included as a possible

---

1See Appendix B, p. 50.
2See Appendix A, p. 45.
### TABLE 4

**ATTITUDES REGARDING POLICE FAIRNESS**

For Inner-City Youth--"Do you feel that police are always picking on Negroes?

For Police --"Do you think inner-city youth feel that the police are always picking on Negroes?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 362</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 48.92 \quad P < .001 \]

Response for the item on both questionnaires, the "not sure" category has been excluded from chi-square analysis. The category is theoretically important in that it provides for a respondent's expression of uncertainty regarding a particular item. This, in turn, allows one to be more confident in the interpretation of the more definite yes/no categories. Without a residual "not sure" category as an option for respondents, those who were ambivalent toward an item would be forced into a misleading response, or would omit the item completely. When the assumption can be made that all yes/no responses are indicative of a relatively firm attitude, then their interpretation can be that much more meaningful. To
provide for such an interpretation of these data, the test of statistical significance can be reserved for the more definitive yes/no categories of responses.

More than one-third of the inner-city youth indicated that they felt that the police were constantly harassing Negroes. Considering the fact that all of these respondents (the youth) are black, this one-third figure seems rather low. Even so, the responses from the police indicate that more than three-fourths of them believed that the blacks felt picked on by the police. When analyzing only the definitive yes/no responses, the difference between the frequency of youth and police responses is statistically significant at the .001 level. Although it is difficult to directly compare summarized responses of this type, Table 4 does support Subordinate Hypothesis I-A in that the police do tend to perceive inner-city youth as believing that the Negro feels unfairly treated by the police to an extent greater than that shown by the attitudes of the inner-city youth themselves.

Subordinate Hypothesis I-B also deals with the negative misperceptions of the police. The extent of their belief that the inner-city youth feel policemen are inefficient is hypothesized to be greater than that indicated by the youth. Table 5 presents the summarized responses to item six on the "Police-Community"
TABLE 5

ATTITUDES REGARDING POLICE EFFICIENCY

For Inner-City Youth--"Do you think criminals usually get caught?"
For Police --"Do you feel that inner-city youth think that criminals usually get caught?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 362</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 91.80 \quad p < .001 \]

In response to the question indicated, two-thirds of the youth showed they felt criminals usually got caught by the police. Only about one-quarter of the police respondents felt that the youth would respond in this manner, however. This misperception by the police is again negative in direction as it indicates a less positive evaluation of the youths' attitudes than would be warranted by the responses of the youth as presented in Table 5. Consequently, Subordinate Hypothesis I-B is supported by the data in Table 5. The relationship shown to exist between the police and youth responses is...
Part of the police role as defined by various audiences is the extent to which policemen are important in the community. Subordinate Hypothesis I-C states that the police will tend to perceive the inner-city youth as believing that the police are unimportant to an extent greater than that shown by the youth themselves. Table 6 presents the summary of responses to items twelve of the "Police-Community" questionnaire (see Appendix A) and thirty of the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire (see Appendix B).

**TABLE 6**

**ATTITUDES REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF POLICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 362</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\chi^2 = 68.83 \quad P < .001
\]

The fact that only four percent of the inner-city youth think

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that people would be better off without the police is somewhat surprising given the often publicized attacks on police which come from black residents of the ghetto. It could be suggested that although critical of police efficiency, honesty, and fairness, the ghetto resident is well aware of the chaos which would result from the total absence of law enforcement in their community. One-fourth of the officers, however, did feel that the ghetto youth desired the removal of police from the community. Once again, the police respondents have tended to negatively misperceive the attitudes of the ghetto youth. The relationship between the frequency of responses is shown to be statistically significant at the .001 level. Subordinate Hypothesis I-C is supported by the data in Table 6.

The fourth subordinate hypothesis, I-D, suggests that this negative direction which the police misperceptions have followed would continue with regard to the assessment of police honesty. Table 7 presents the summarized responses to items two of the "Police-Community" questionnaire (see Appendix A) and nine of the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire (see Appendix B).

Ten percent of the youth believe that most officers would accept a pay-off or graft. Five percent of the officers believed that such an attitude typified the feelings of inner-city youth. Seventy-eight percent of the youth did not believe that most policemen could be
# TABLE 7

**ATTITUDES REGARDING POLICE HONESTY**

For Inner-City Youth--"Do you feel that most policemen would let you buy your way out of trouble?"

For Police --"Do inner-city youth feel that most policemen would let them buy their way out of trouble?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 362</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 2.58 \quad P < .15$

bought off. Ninety percent of the officers were correct in their assessment of the modal response of the youth to this question.

The interpretation of these data is not easily made. Since both the youth and police responses are quite similar in the percentage distribution of the yes/no categories, the extent of misperception by the police appears to be minimal. However, the difference between the frequencies of responses is statistically significant at the .15 level. When the minimal misperception is further analyzed, it becomes apparent that its direction is positive rather than negative as hypothesized.
The tendency for policemen to see themselves as honest seems reasonable. Apparently they correctly believe that this image is successfully presented to the ghetto youth since only five percent of the officers characterize youth as believing the police are dishonest. It is recognized, however, that the single item utilized reflects only a single dimension of honesty. These data would then indicate that Subordinate Hypothesis I-D is not supported and that, in fact, the direction of misperception is the opposite of that which is hypothesized.

Subordinate Hypothesis I-E states that the indication of inner-city youth of cooperation with the police will be negatively misperceived by the police officers. Three items used on both the youth and the police questionnaires can be compared in order to test this hypothesis.

Table 8 presents the summarized responses to items nine of the "Police-Community" questionnaire (see Appendix A) and nineteen of the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire (see Appendix B).

Almost one-quarter of the youth indicated that they would call the police if they saw a friend steal a car. Nearly half of the respondents said they would not call the police, while twenty-nine percent were undecided. The police officers, however, were asked to estimate the percentage of youth indicating cooperation with police,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-75%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-49%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 presents the summarized responses to items ten on the "Police-Community" questionnaire (see Appendix A) and eighteen of the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire (see Appendix B).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth:</th>
<th>45%</th>
<th>31%</th>
<th>23%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police:</th>
<th>2%</th>
<th>15%</th>
<th>16%</th>
<th>28%</th>
<th>39%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 75%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-75%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-49%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-24%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indicating Cooperation

The responses of the inner-city youth to this question are rather evenly divided. Almost half of the respondents indicated that they would cooperate with the police if they saw someone break into a store. A total of sixty-seven percent of the police officers chose either the 10-24% or the under 10% categories which both reflect a negative misperception of the modal response of the inner-city youth. When compared with the responses to the question of a friend stealing a car (Table 8), the forty-five percent of the youth indicating cooperation when they see someone breaking into a store shows an almost one hundred percent increase in cooperation. In contrast, almost exactly the same percentage of policemen contin-
ued to negatively misperceive the attitudes of the youth. Although the direction of police responses follows that of the inner-city youth (i.e. perceiving more cooperation from youth when someone other than a friend is involved), the proposition of negative misperception remains the same.

Table 10 presents the summarized responses to items eight on the "Police-Community" questionnaire (see Appendix A) and twenty-one of the "Attitudes Toward the Police" questionnaire (see Appendix B).

**TABLE 10**

**ATTITUDES TOWARD COOPERATION: SOMEONE COMMITTING MURDER**

For Inner-City Youth—"Would you tell the police if you saw someone commit a murder?"

For Police —"What percentage of inner-city youth would tell the police if he saw someone commit a murder?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Youth: 65%</th>
<th>16%</th>
<th>18%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police:</th>
<th>22%</th>
<th>22%</th>
<th>24%</th>
<th>19%</th>
<th>12%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 75%</td>
<td>50-75%</td>
<td>25-49%</td>
<td>10-24%</td>
<td>Under 10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indicating Cooperation

When confronted with the situation of cooperating with police in the event of witnessing someone commit a murder, sixty-five
percent of the youth responded positively. A slightly higher percentage of the youth were unsure of their reaction than there were indicating no cooperation. As before, the pattern of police responses is similar to that of the youth. The combined responses of the officers choosing the lower three categories (0-49%) totals fifty-five percent. Slightly more of the officers have therefore correctly perceived (or positively misperceived) the modal response of the inner-city youth to the question of cooperation after witnessing a murder. A decrease in negative misperception is accompanied by an increase in positive misperception.

When comparing the responses of the inner-city youth to each of the described incidents, a consistent pattern is observed.

The extent of inner-city youths' willingness to cooperate with police is shown in Table II to steadily increase as 1) the lawbreaker shifts from friend to non-friend and 2) the seriousness of the crime increases. As would be expected, the percentage of youth indicating no willingness to cooperate with the police showed a steady, corresponding decrease. To complete the pattern the percentage of youth unsure of their willingness to cooperate similarly decreased. Therefore, in addition to perceiving themselves as becoming more cooperative with police, the youth also became more sure of their definitive positions as the described incidents shift from a friend's car theft to murder.
TABLE 11
COMBINED ATTITUDES TOWARD COOPERATION WITH POLICE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response of Inner-City Youth</th>
<th>Described Incidents</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friend Stealing Car</td>
<td>Someone Breaking Into Store</td>
<td>Someone Committing Murder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicating Cooperation</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicating No Cooperation</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure of Cooperation</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although difficult to directly compare, Table 12 summarizes the responses of police to the same three incidents. For each incident described the perception police have of the extent of cooperation by inner-city youth is trichotomized into those who negatively misperceived, positively misperceived and accurately perceived the extent of cooperation.

The extent of negative misperception by police is shown to remain quite high in all three described incidents. The direction of the responses, however, is toward less negative misperception as one moves from car theft to murder.

The accuracy of police perceptions seems to remain fairly con-
TABLE 12
COMBINED PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE REGARDING COOPERATION OF INNER-CITY YOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police Perception of Youths' Cooperation</th>
<th>Stealing Car</th>
<th>Breaking Into Store</th>
<th>Committing Murder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative Misperception</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accurate Perception</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Misperception</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

stant. For each described incident approximately twenty percent of the officers were accurate in their perception of the extent of cooperation by inner-city youth. Accuracy did not appear to be affected by either the friend/non-friend or severity factors. Positive misperception by police did increase in proportion to the decrease in negative misperception.

Subordinate Hypothesis I-E appears to be supported by the data in that the police officers have perceived inner-city youth as indicating less cooperation with the police than that shown by the attitudes of inner-city youth themselves.
CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was designed to test the hypothesis that police officers will tend to negatively misperceive the attitudes of inner-city youth toward law enforcement. The police department of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and the black junior high school students in the same city were surveyed in order to assess the direction and extent of police misperception. On all dimensions but one, the police officers tended to believe that the inner-city youths had much more negative attitudes toward the role of police in the community than was, in fact, shown by the youths' responses.

The general hypothesis on which this study is based has been supported. The police officers surveyed do tend to perceive the attitudes of inner-city youth toward police functions and policies as being more negative than the youths' attitudes, in fact, are. Specifically, the subordinate hypotheses (those directly tested) can be summarized as follows:

1. The police perceive inner-city youth as believing that the Negro feels unfairly treated by the police to an extent greater than that shown by the attitudes of inner-city youth.

2. The police perceive inner-city youth as believing that the
police are inefficient to an extent less than that shown by
the attitudes of inner-city youth.

3. The police perceive inner-city youth as believing that the
police are unimportant to an extent greater than that shown
by the attitudes of inner-city youth.

4. The police do not perceive inner-city youth as believing
that policemen are dishonest to an extent greater than that
shown by the attitudes of inner-city youth.

5. The police perceive inner-city youth as indicating less
cooperation with the police than that shown by the attitudes
of inner-city youths themselves.

Since all but Subordinate Hypothesis I-D have been supported by
the data, it can be concluded that the police officers from Grand
Rapids who responded to the Police-Community Questionnaire tend
to negatively misperceive the attitudes toward law enforcement of
inner-city youth. Although the youths' attitudes did indicate a wide-
spread lack of willingness to respect or coopera with the police,
the officers tended to greatly exaggerate these uncooperative atti-
tudes as indicated by their negative misperceptions of the youths' attitudes.

The only exception to this tendency is revealed by the lack of
support for Subordinate Hypothesis I-D (conclusion number four
above). The policeman's belief in his own honesty apparently has a
more pervasive effect on his attitudes than does the tendency to overestimate the negative attitudes of inner-city youth. This exception might be explained by the ego-threat confronting the policeman if he allows himself to believe that the community regards him as dishonest. In addition, although the direction of misperception was positive, the accuracy of the policeman's perception of the attitudes of inner-city youth was greater than in any other situation.

The implications for action that can be drawn from this study would include the focusing of attention in police training on the empirically-assessed attitudes of the community rather than the traditional impressions gained through limited personal contact and squad-room conjecture. If a negative evaluation of those with whom one is in daily contact negatively affects one's behavior toward that audience, then negative misperceptions of the community's attitudes toward law enforcement could hamper positive police-community relations.

Although the data analyzed above deal specifically with Grand Rapids police officers and their perception of attitudes held by inner-city youth in that city, some interesting comparisons can be made regarding both the Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids officers' attitudes toward several community problems. For example, future research might profitably further explore the influence of mass media on police work as perceived by the officers themselves.
TABLE 13

INFLUENCE OF MASS MEDIA ON POLICE CONTROL OF DISTURBANCES

Do you feel the way the disturbances/riots were reported by radio, TV, and newspapers made the job of the police more difficult? (See Appendix A, Item 38.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids Officers</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo Officers</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kalamazoo officers appear to have felt much more hampered by the mass media in the exercise of their duties during these summer disturbances than did the Grand Rapids officers. A content analysis of the newspaper coverage in both cities (also radio and TV if available) might help explain why these differences exist.

Perhaps related to the problem of mass media coverage of the disturbances is the officers' perception of post-disturbance attitude change by both the inner-city residents and the officers themselves. A greater percentage of Kalamazoo officers seem to feel that the disturbances had a negative effect on the community's attitudes toward the police.

Although the differences between departments are not pro-
TABLE 14
ATTITUDE CHANGE OF INNER-CITY RESIDENTS FOLLOWING DISTURBANCES

Have the attitudes of inner-city residents toward the police changed since the disturbances/riots? (See Appendix A, Item 40.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>More Antagonistic</th>
<th>No Change</th>
<th>More Favorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids Officers</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo Officers</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nounced, more of the Kalamazoo officers do see community attitudes toward the police becoming more antagonistic than do the Grand Rapids officers. Similarly, fewer Kalamazoo officers see community attitudes becoming more favorable than do Grand Rapids officers. This pattern seems to be repeated with regard to the change in police attitudes toward the community.

The Kalamazoo officers report both a greater increase in antagonism toward the community and less of an increase in favorable attitude change than do the Grand Rapids officers. Although the majority of officers in both cities believe that no change took place in the attitudes of either residents or police, Kalamazoo officers do see the disturbances as having a slightly more negative effect on
TABLE 15
ATTITUDE CHANGE OF POLICE FOLLOWING DISTURBANCES

Have the attitudes of the police toward inner-city residents changed since the disturbances/riots? (See Appendix A, Item 41.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>More Antagonistic</th>
<th>No Change</th>
<th>More Favorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids Officers</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo Officers</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

both the community's attitudes toward them and their attitudes toward the community. This finding is of even more interest since the consensus of observers was that the Grand Rapids "riots" were much more severe than the Kalamazoo "disturbances."

Perhaps the nature of coverage by the mass media in both cities could also be examined with regard to the differing perceptions of residual antagonism by Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids officers.

A third area in which a comparison of responses in both departments is of interest concerns the officers' belief that in future riot situations Negroes must be taught a lesson and controlled by force.

This idea is then expanded to include the officers' perception of
other officers' attitudes and those of non-police friends to the same question.

**TABLE 16**

**POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE USE OF FORCE TO CONTROL NEGROES IN FUTURE RIOTS**

To control future riots effectively, Negroes must be taught a lesson and kept in their place by force. (See Appendix A, Items 29, 30 and 31.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grand Rapids Officers</th>
<th>Kalamazoo Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes  No  Not Sure</td>
<td>Yes  No  Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yourself</td>
<td>15%  72%  13%</td>
<td>27%  61%  12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellow Officers</td>
<td>17%  56%  27%</td>
<td>31%  45%  24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Friends</td>
<td>50%  32%  19%</td>
<td>64%  22%  14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both departments it is apparent that as an officer is asked to assess the attitudes of others to the question of riot control, agreement with the use of force is seen as more strongly suggested by non-police friends than by fellow officers. The possibility of role conflict stemming from the discrepancy in expectations held by non-police friends, fellow officers and one's own beliefs becomes apparent. This in itself suggests the necessity for further empirical study. An additional interpretation of the data, however, again points to the difference in responses of the Kalamazoo and Grand...
Rapids officers. Pertaining to themselves, their fellow officers, and their non-police friends, the Kalamazoo officers indicate greater agreement with the statement advocating the use of force in both teaching the Negro a lesson and keeping him in his place.

As in the two previous comparisons of Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids officers, the Kalamazoo officers appear to hold more negative or pessimistic attitudes toward the inner-city community and the problems of law enforcement within the inner city. It would seem that an analysis of the efforts at community relations training within each department would be an appropriate starting point from which to attempt an explanation of these differences.

The data permit many additional questions to be raised and propositions analyzed. For example, what factors lead to an officer's confidence in the behavior and attitudes of inner-city youth? Do prejudice, rank, length of service, education or other factors effect this perception? How is an officer's concern for social problems in the community related to other attitudes? What effect does a belief in a communist conspiracy have on prejudice or concern for community problems?

In addition, the differential contact with inner-city youths experienced by police officers may lead the police to characterize all youths on the basis of experience with only those "in trouble." The overt behavior of youths that tends to be remembered by the police
may be differentially perceived and retained according to the seriousness of norm and rule violations. Such an occurrence might partially explain the negative misperceptions suggested by the police responses. Also, a comparable evaluation of the accuracy of police perceptions of white, suburban youths' attitudes toward the police role would be of value.

Obviously, the possibilities for additional research in this area are numerous and require further empirical investigations by the social scientist.
APPENDIX A

POLICE-COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE (DHB-W; Rev. 9-67)

Directions: Please answer each question and respond to each statement by placing a check mark on the line provided next to the word which best reflects your attitude or feeling.

Part I. The attitudes of inner-city or "ghetto" youth toward police.

1. Do you think inner-city youth feel that the police are always picking on Negroes?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____

2. Do inner-city youth feel that most policemen would let them buy their way out of trouble?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____

3. Are the inner-city youth less likely to cooperate with the police than the youth in outlying areas?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____

4. Do the inner-city youth think that the police are unfair in their treatment of different races, nationalities, and religious groups?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____

5. Are the inner-city youth who have participated in the Youth Commonwealth programs more likely to have favorable attitudes toward the police and law enforcement?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____

6. Do you feel that inner-city youth think that criminals usually get caught?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____

7. Are girls in the inner-city more likely to have favorable attitudes toward the police than boys?
   Yes_____ No_____ Not Sure_____
8. What percentage of inner-city youth would tell the police if he saw someone commit a murder?
   Over 75% ____ 50-75% ____ 25-50% ____ 10-25% ____
   Under 10%____
9. What percentage of inner-city youth would call the police if he saw a friend stealing a car?
   Over 75% ____ 50-75% ____ 25-50% ____ 10-25% ____
   Under 10%____
10. What percentage would call the police if he saw someone break into a store?
    Over 75% ____ 50-75% ____ 25-50% ____ 10-25% ____
    Under 10%____
11. Do those inner-city youths who attend church regularly have more favorable attitudes toward the police than those who do not?
    Yes_____ No_______ Not Sure______
12. Do inner-city youth think people would be better off without the police?
    Yes_____ No_______ Not Sure______

Part II. The inner-city community and the police

13. Do you believe the inner-city residents generally support police demands for better pay and increased benefits?
    Yes_____ No_______ Not Sure______
14. How important is it to recruit more Negro policemen?
    Very Important____ Important____ Don't Know____
    Not Important____ Undesirable____
15. Have the recent Supreme Court decisions regarding police procedure made your job in the inner-city more difficult?
    Yes______ No_______ Not Sure______
16. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
    Yes_____ No_______ Not Sure______
17. Do you feel that charges of police brutality by inner-city residents of Grand Rapids are, in some cases, true?
    Yes_____ No_______ Not Sure______
18. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

19. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

20. Do you think inner-city residents are generally less cooperative with police efforts than residents of other areas?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

21. Even if Negroes had the same living conditions as white people, most Negroes would have lower morals than whites.
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

22. Negroes should be allowed to live in any section of the city they choose.
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

23. Have the attitudes of the inner-city residents toward the police become more negative during the past ten years?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

24. One generally has to be tougher when dealing with Negroes since they are more likely to be trouble makers.
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

25. Negroes and whites should not be roommates in a college dormitory.
   Agree____  Disagree____  Not Sure_____

26. Do you feel Grand Rapids police were adequately trained to handle the recent summer riot situation?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

27. In your estimation, were the law enforcement officers of the other agencies involved adequately trained?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

28. Do you think that more day to day informal contact with the inner-city residents (such as might be gained by "walking a beat") would make your job of riot control easier?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______
29. Do you feel that to control future riots effectively the Negroes must be taught a lesson and kept in their place by force?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

30. Do your fellow officers feel that to control future riots effectively the Negroes must be taught a lesson and kept in their place by force?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

31. Do your other friends feel that to control future riots effectively the Negroes must be taught a lesson and kept in their place by force?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

32. As a result of your contacts with inner-city residents, would you say they generally supported the rioters and their activities?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

33. Do you feel the Grand Rapids riots were partially the result of outside agitators?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

34. Do you feel the Grand Rapids riots were partially the result of a Communist movement?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

35. Do you feel that wretched conditions of discrimination in the inner-city were an important cause of the riots?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

36. Do you feel the city now should vigorously work for improving conditions in the inner-city?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

37. Do you feel there was more antagonism toward other law enforcement agencies than toward Grand Rapids police during the riot?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

38. Do you feel the way the riots were reported by radio, TV and newspapers made the job of the police more difficult?
Yes _____ No _____ Not Sure _____

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39. Do you feel such organizations as the Sheldon Complex were helpful during the riots?
   Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

40. Have the attitudes of inner-city residents toward the police changed since the riots?
   More antagonistic ____  No change ____  More favorable ____

41. Have the attitudes of the police toward inner-city residents changed since the riots?
   More antagonistic ____  No change ____  More favorable ____

Part III. General Background Information

1. Male ____  Female ____

2. Married ____  Single ____

3. Age ____

4. Race: White ____  Negro ____  Other ____

5. Education: Some school ____  Completed high school ____
   some college ____  completed college ____

6. Would you say your background is: rural ____  suburban ____
   urban ____

7. Number of years in police work ____

8. Number of years with Grand Rapids Police Department ____

9. Present rank __________________________

10. Brief description of current duties:
    Supervision ____  Patrol ____  Detective ____
    Desk Work ____
APPENDIX B

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POLICE
(Bouma - Williams; 10-67 Rev.)

Western Michigan University is interested in how people feel about
the police. Your thoughts about the police are very important.
You do not have to put your name on your paper and there are no
right or wrong answers. Just put down the answer you think is
best.

1. Do you think that policemen are pretty nice guys?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

2. Do you think that the city would be better off if there were
   more policemen?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

3. Do you think that the police try not to arrest innocent people?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

4. Do you feel that police are always picking on Negroes?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

5. Do you think that police don’t even give you a chance to explain?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

6. Do you feel that policemen treat rich boys the same as poor
   boys?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

7. Would you like to be a policeman when you grow up?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

8. Do you think that the police have it in for, or pick on, young
   people?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

9. Do you feel that most policemen would let you buy your way out
   of trouble?
   Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______

10. Do you think that the police think they are "big shots" because
    they wear a badge?
    Yes ______  No ______  Not Sure ______
11. Do you think that police are always picking on the guy who has been in trouble before?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

12. Do you think that being a policeman is a good job for an intelligent guy?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

13. Do you feel that policemen treat all people alike?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

14. Do you think that the police are mean?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

15. Do you think that the police can steal and get away with it?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

16. If you needed help, would you go to the policemen?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

17. Do you think that the police treat Negro and white people alike?  Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

18. Would you call the police if you saw someone break into a store?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

19. Would you call the police if you saw a friend stealing a car?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

20. Would you tell the clerk if you saw a friend take some small items from a store without paying for them?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

21. Would you tell the police if you saw someone commit a murder?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

22. Do you think criminals usually get caught?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

23. Do you think the police accuse you of things you didn't even do?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________

24. Do you think police treat members of all churches alike?
   Yes ________ No ________ Not Sure ________
25. Do you think police treat all nationalities alike?
   Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

26. Do you think the police get criticized too often?
   Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

27. Do you think the police are strict in one district and not in another?
   Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

28. Do you think people would be better off without the police?
   Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

29. Do you think teachers and principals treat all pupils alike?
   Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

30. Do you think that the teachers and principals treat Negro and white students alike?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

31. Do you feel that teachers and principals treat rich students the same as poor students?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

32. Do you think that teachers and principals are pretty nice guys?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

33. Do you think that being a teacher is a good job for an intelligent guy?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

34. Do your friends think that the police treat Negro and white people alike?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

35. Do your friends feel that policemen treat rich boys and poor boys alike?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

36. Do your friends think that policemen are pretty nice guys?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

37. Do your friends think people would be better off without the police?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

38. Would your friends call the police if they saw someone break into a store?
    Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

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39. Would your friends call the police if they saw a friend steal a car?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

40. Would your friends tell the clerk if they saw a friend take some small items from a store without paying for them?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

41. Would your friends tell the police if they saw someone commit a murder?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

42. Do your parents think people would be better off without the police?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

43. Do your parents feel that the police treat Negro and white people alike?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

44. Do your parents think that the police treat rich people and poor people alike?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

45. Do your parents think that the police are pretty nice guys?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

46. If they needed help, would your parents call the police?  Yes _____  No _____  Not Sure _____

SOME THINGS ABOUT MYSELF

47. Boy _____;  Girl _____

48. Age _____

49. Grade _____

50. White _____  Negro _____  Other _____

51. What school did you attend in the 6th Grade?  ________________

52. How long have you lived in this city?  Years _____

53. Where did you live before you moved here?  
   City __________________ State __________________
54. Have the police ever asked you any questions because you did something wrong?
   Yes _____   No _____   Not Sure _____

55. Do you usually go to church or Sunday School?
   Yes _____   No _____

56. Occupation of parent or guardian ___________________________
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