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YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT:
A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

by
Donald G. Williams

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
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of the
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Crime and disorder have traditionally evoked the complaints and the interests of the members of society. Consequently, sociocultural systems have established systems charged with the responsibility of enforcing the laws and maintaining order. The police are that part of the criminal justice system which is in direct daily contact with crime and disorder and in direct daily contact with the public.

This is a time in America when both crime and civil disobedience are on the rise; similarly, public sensitivity both to crime and to disorder is increasing. Thus, the issue of "law and order" and "crime in the streets" has been, is, and will likely continue to be one of the major issues in American society--in political campaigns, in social legislation, in academia, and in the press. Even though the police are only part of the criminal justice system, the criminal justice system is only part of the government, and the government is only part of the society, there is a tendency to think of crime control and order maintenance exclusively in terms of police work. Thus, the issue of "law and order" is frequently expressed in the cries of "take the handcuffs off our police," of "support your local police," of "police brutality," and of "cops are pigs."

The tendency to think of law enforcement and peace keeping in terms of the police is a result of two factors. First, the police are required to perform most of their role obligations on the streets where all eyes are upon them continually. Second, the police seem to be omnipresent. In 1966, there were some 420,000 police agents

employed by approximately 40,000 separate police agencies (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967b: 8); and these agents were on duty twenty-four hours a day throughout the year. Thus, next to teachers and church leaders, police officers have contact with more children and ghetto residents than any other occupational group.

In the welter of emotion that surrounds the issue of "law and order," facts are at a premium. This study is an attempt to provide an accurate description of the nature of police-community relations. Ideally, this study would focus on both the police and the public, criminal and non-criminal alike, and focus on all interactions of these two groups from their inception to their termination. However, this task is beyond the meager resources of this investigation. Based on the notion that these interactions can best be understood with an understanding of the relations between the police and the community, this inquiry will attempt to analyze the perceptions of the police held by a segment of the public -- junior high school students.

Chapter I will attempt, first, to locate the police as an agent of social control and as an agent of norm enforcement from a sociological perspective; second, to outline the essential characteristics of the modern police operation as it exists in the United States; and finally, to discuss police-community relations within the context of a sociological orientation to modern police operations.

Social Deviation

Throughout the ages, man has been concerned about those members of society who deviate from the cultural expectations. Man has sought both to explain and understand social deviation and to control that deviation.

Explanations of deviance

The explanations of deviant behavior have varied over time. Prior to the eighteenth century, the explanation offered tended to be demonological in nature; that is, the deviant individual was considered to be possessed by "other world powers." During the eighteenth century, Cesare Beccaria founded the classical school which maintained that an individual's behavior was guided by rational judgment and free will and that an individual engaged in deviant behavior because of the anticipation of the pleasure that the activities would bring (for a complete discussion of the early history of the theories of deviant behavior, see Vold, 1958). The classical school of thought was replaced in the early nineteenth century by the positivistic school which sought to locate the causes of deviant behavior in the hereditary, constitutional, and psychological makeup of individuals, or in the physical and social environment of man (for a review of the early history of the positivistic school, see Reckless, 1961). Although greatly modified in the last one and a half centuries, the positivistic tradition reigns supreme today in the explanation of deviant behavior.

It is possible to classify the current positivistic theories into three major groupings based on their theoretical orientations: biological and constitutional theories, in which deviancy is explained through the inherited physical and mental makeup of man; psychological theories, in which deviancy is explained through the formation of a defective character or personality; and sociological theories, in which deviancy is explained through the pressures and pulls of the social milieu. While these classifications are arbitrary and tend to obscure the interdependency of significant variables, they do have utility for analytic purposes (see Reckless, 1961: 233-360 for summary of these three orientations to deviant behavior).

Traditionally, the positivistic tradition has been based on two assumptions: first, deviant behavior is the result of a malfunctioning in the individual and/or the "environment," and second, the deviant is the critical variable in the explanation of deviant behavior. Historically, most of the explanations consider deviant behavior to be a vagrant form of human activity which has somehow broken away from the more orderly currents of social life and which needs to be controlled. The primary issue raised by most theorists has been the explanation of the commission of an offense by an individual. Since it has generally been understood that criminal behavior would occur only if something was wrong with the individual involved or if something was wrong within the situational environment in which the individual was located, explanations for deviant behavior were given in terms of "machinery in poor condition." In other words, deviancy is the result of biological malfunctions, psychological

disorders, or social disorders. Further, most of these explanations focus on the deviant or the circumstances in which the deviant is found as the critical variable.

The validity of these two assumptions has been questioned by the developing perspective of the labeling school within sociology (for a brief presentation of the primary ideas of the labeling school, see Becker, 1964; Rubington and Weinberg, 1968; Schur, 1965).

The theorists of the labeling school suggest that deviant behavior can be defined as conduct which requires the attention of social control agencies. Deviance is not a property inherent in certain forms of behavior but is a property conferred upon these forms by the audiences which directly or indirectly witness them. Howard Becker (1964: 3; for an earlier presentation of a similar thought, see Lemert, 1951: 75; Fuller and Myers, 1941: 320) refers to this phenomenon as the process of labeling:

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infractions constitute deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender." The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label.

The critical variable, then, is the social audience rather than the individual actor since it is the audience which eventually determines whether or not any episode of behavior or any class of episodes is labeled deviant (Erikson, 1962: 311).

This process of labeling, according to the labeling school, also involves a screen of selection (Erikson, 1962: 311-312).

First, the community isolates only a few scattered episodes of behavior and decides that they reflect what a person is really like. After all, even the worst deviant conforms to societal norms most of the time: he wears the "proper" clothing, eats the "proper" food and in a "conventional" manner, speaks the "proper" language, and in a thousand other ways, respects the ordinary conventions of society. Secondly, society does not label all possible acts of nonconformity as deviant but selects only certain individuals and episodes to so label. This screen is not as selective when dealing with extreme forms of deviance such as serious crimes; but in the day-to-day type of screening, the process is sensitive to such things as the individual's social class, his race, his sex, his past record as an offender, the amount of remorse, and so forth.

Society usually provides a sharp rite of transition when one enters the distinctly deviant role. These rites provide a "formal confrontation" between the deviant and representatives of society (as in a criminal trial); they announce some "judgment" about the nature of deviancy (the verdict in a trial, for example); and they perform an act of "social placement" which redefines the individual's position in society (for example, that of prisoner) (Erikson, 1962: 316). Because of this social replacement, members of society can accord the deviant treatment considered to be appropriate for such a deviant. At the same time, the deviant usually accepts this redefinition and readjusts his behavior accordingly. Tannebaum (1938: 472) says:

No more self-defeating device could be discovered than the one society has developed in dealing with the criminal. It proclaims his career in such loud and dramatic forms that

both he and the community accept the judgment as a fixed description. He becomes conscious of himself as a criminal, and the community expects him to live up to his reputation, and will not credit him if he does not live up to it.

Thus, "deviant" refers to a particular position in the social structure with the corresponding role expectations in the cultural structure.¹

An important aspect of the labeling perspective is the relationship of criminal and deviant behavior. Schur (1965: 5) suggests that "the definition of behavior as 'criminal' is an extreme form of stigmatization." Defining behavior as deviant has profound effects on those individuals engaging in it; likewise, the "criminalization of deviance" extends this process one step further. The essential aspect of criminalization is the impact it affords for the individual involved: knowing that one is different or unusual is one thing; knowing that one's behavior is strongly disapproved is another; and knowing that one is a criminal or lawbreaker is another.

The relationship of crime and deviancy should be qualified in the following ways. First, the categories of deviant behavior and of criminal behavior do overlap, but are not coterminous. For example, mental illness is considered to be deviant behavior, yet it is not

¹Becker (1963) and Goffman (1961: 128) have applied the concept of "career" to this process. Emphasis has been placed on the impact on the individual of being caught, labeled, and publicly "processed" as a deviant. And, as Becker (1963: 31) has stated: "Whether a person takes this step (or steps) depends not so much on what he does as on what other people do, on whether or not they enforce the rule he has violated."

criminal behavior, per se. Second, the criminal law recognizes a distinction between crimes mala in se, acts which are morally wrong in themselves, and crimes mala prohibita, acts which are wrong because they are prohibited. This distinction is essential in the consideration of the stigmatization of those individuals labeled as criminal, and in the consideration of the relationship of criminal and deviant behavior (Sykes, 1956: 60). Third, all types of offenses do not represent equally serious violations of the proscribed rules, either in the eyes of the offender or in the eyes of the social groups to which he belongs. Fourth, Americans exhibit a firm faith in the legal machinery and have tended to rely greatly on the penal law to solve their problems (Taft and England, 1969). Indeed Americans have tended to extend the law to penalize even some personal vices, which are not considered criminal in other modern industrial societies (Reckless, 1961: 6).

In short, the labeling perspective suggests that the complete understanding of deviance necessitates the investigation of the interplay of rule makers, rule enforcers, and rule violators. Thus, the understanding of the interrelations of the police, as a particular agent of rule enforcement, with other rule enforcers, with rule makers, with rule violators, and with the public will aid the understanding of criminal behavior.

Social Control

Man's interest in the analysis and understanding of deviant behavior stems from an underlying interest in the control of deviance. This interest in social control stems from the fact that the viability of a particular social system depends upon that system's ability to induce its members to perform actions which fall within the proscribed limits of behavior and not to engage in actions which deviate from those limits. The major questions of inquiry for the analysis and the comparison of normative structures are: (a) what is the content and structure of the rules which comprise the normative structure? (b) what techniques are utilized to induce conformity to those rules? and (c) what agents or agencies are designated to enforce those rules?

The normative structure has two characteristics of importance. One feature is that social norms can be differentiated on the basis of the degree of conformity expected. All norms encourage and discourage certain patterns of behavior, but not all with the same persuasiveness. Thus we can refer to a continuum of expected conformity which can be summarized as ranging from required standards of behavior at the one extreme, through preferred standards of behavior which are generally accepted and expected but not rigidly demanded, to the other extreme of permitted standards of behavior. The other feature of the normative structure is that the norms can be classified into those of custom, generally divided by sociologists into folkways and mores (Sumner, 1906), and into those of law which

are those social norms "sanctioned by the application of physical coercion, in threat or in fact, by a person or group possessing the recognized privilege-right of so doing" (Hoebel, 1958: 651).

Virtually all known societies have had some type of legal structure. However, simple societies had little need of law; consequently, legal institutions were not well developed during the earliest levels of human culture. But as the socio-cultural systems increased in complexity and became more civilized, the need for law increased. The trend has been one of an increasing shift of responsibility for the maintenance of order away from the individual and his kinship group to the agents of the society as a whole. As society expands, so does the complexity and scope of the legal structure (Hoebel, 1958: 467-485; Hoebel, 1954). Schwartz and Miller (1965: 159-169), in tracing the evolution of the legal institution, suggest that the presence of three characteristics of a fully developed legal system is related to the complexity of the society: those societies with the legal characteristic of mediation tend to be larger than those societies which lack mediation, tend to utilize symbolic means of economic exchange, tend to utilize the concepts of private property, and tend to have incorporated the concept of damages; those societies with the legal characteristic of police tend to be those societies which have incorporated mediation, tend to be economically advanced enough to use money, and tend to have a substantial degree of specialization with full-time governmental officials, priests, and teachers; and those societies with the legal characteristic of counsel have not only the characteristics of a policed society, but, in addition,

literacy. In essence, complex legal structures are not only found in those societies with the greatest degree of complexity, but complex societies utilize a legal structure for social control.

Socio-cultural systems have at their disposal a wide variety of available techniques which might be utilized to induce conformity from the members of that system. For analytical purposes, these techniques can be grouped into internal and external forms. Sociological analysis of the internal techniques frequently revolves around the discussion of socialization or the internalization of social norms (see Durkheim, 1956 for a classic presentation of this idea, and Berger, 1963: 66-122 for a modern version). Internal techniques of social control are an integral factor in many current sociological theories of deviant behavior; for example, the "inner containments" of Reckless' containment theory (1961: 335-362) and the "internalized prohibitions" of Cloward and Ohlin's anomie theory (1960: 182) are such techniques. External techniques of social control might be further categorized into formal and informal techniques. The informal techniques include such forms as reciprocity (Malinowski, 1959) and joking relationships (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952); and the formal techniques include such forms as fines, corporal punishments, imprisonment, banishment, and death. As the reliance on the legal system for social control has increased, so has the reliance on formal-external techniques; however, it should be noted that the legal system relies upon quasi-formal techniques (for examples, see LaFave, 1965; Skolnick, 1967; Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966: 143-158) and upon informal techniques (for examples, see Banton,

1964, 127-165; Westley, 1953: 34-41) as well as upon the formal techniques.

A wide variety of social agents exists which might be utilized to enforce the rules of the normative structure. A trend similar to that which is found for the techniques of control and for the type of normative structure is evident for the utilization of social control agents. Among simpler primitive peoples, the responsibility of enforcing the norms rests for the most part with individuals and their kinsmen (Hoebel, 1958: 467-485; Hoebel, 1954); but as societies evolve in complexity, the responsibility for the maintenance of the normative structure increasingly shifts away from the individual and his kinship group to specialized agents of the society as a whole: from non-specialized agents to part-time specialized agents to full-time specialized agents to professional full-time specialized agents (Banton, 1964: 1-11; Silver, 1967: 1-24). In modern societies, the responsibility for the enforcement of the legal codes and the maintenance of order within the social structure rest with the military and the police; thus, Silver (1967: 7) argues that all modern nations are policed societies. Reiss and Bordua (1967: 25-55) advance Silver's premise and assert that those societies stemming from the English tradition rely primarily upon the police for the maintenance of internal social order by substituting the daily efforts of the police for the occasional and over-reactive use of the military.

In summary, we have argued that the analysis and control of deviance would profit from the sociological inquiry of the important

agents of social control or the rule enforcers -- the police in modern societies. However, until recently sociologists have usually neglected the police system:¹ the sociology of social control has tended to focus attention on the "normative or voluntary processes" rather than on the coercive effects of the legal process (Silver, 1967: 7), and the sociology of deviant behavior has tended to focus attention on the deviant or his position rather than the rule enforcers. We will now turn our attention to the police as a particular agent of social control or as a particular rule enforcer.

Police in Modern Society

History and organization

In America today, local uniformed police officers are found in all towns except the tiniest hamlets. For many Americans, public authority is perceived most concretely in the form of these public social control agents. Further most people assume that police enforcement is a universal phenomenon existing throughout the world and throughout the ages, at least if there was any form of civilization (Adams, 1968: 67-68). However, policing as a specialized phase

¹Niederhoffer (1967: 4-5) notes: "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 the American Sociological Review, the two major sociological journals. I am happy to report that this theme was reversed in 1966 and since then the police system has become a popular subject for research."

of the administration of justice is a modern phenomenon developed to cope with the increase in property crimes that accompanied the growth of cities (Silver, 1967: 1-24).

Historically, two disparate traditions for the development of the police have existed in the Western world: the "continental" and the "Anglo-Saxon" (Taft and England, 1969: 318). On the one hand, law enforcement under the continental tradition has developed as an arm of the centralized government. Police agencies have developed along the line of national military establishments: centralized administration, uniform clothing, regular pay, discipline, and training. This resulted in police bodies which were efficient keepers of law and order at an early date, and in career police officers who hold a social status similar to career military personnel. On the other hand, law enforcement under the Anglo-Saxon tradition developed within a social milieu which was hostile to the idea of central control and to the idea of guarding the local peace with militia-like organizations. For an astonishing length of time, English-speaking peoples preferred to put up with crime and disorder rather than take the risk of strengthening those who might oppose them. Law enforcement in England and in the United States has developed within this tradition.

The evolution of law enforcement in England serves as a background for the evolution of law enforcement in America. The first phase of this development can be described as a tithing and shire system (Adams, 1968: 68-69). In the ninth century, King Alfred divided the country into a series of shires or counties. In each shire, a chief judicial and law enforcement officer, a "shire-reeve,"

was appointed by the King; however, the shire-reeve had only broad, general control over the tithing system which made each head of a household responsible for the conduct of his own family and for the conduct of other families in the tithing.¹ The philosophy of this system was to make neighbors responsible for each other's behavior, and to involve everyone in the enforcement of the laws under the general guidance of the shire-reeve. Later the Normans established the position of Comes Stabuli (constables) who were full-time law enforcement officers hired to aid the shire-reeves in carrying out their responsibilities. The law enforcement responsibilities of the shire-reeves and constables were separated from their judicial responsibilities by the introduction of judicial positions.

The law enforcement responsibilities of the shire-reeves and constables were broadened in 1166 by King Henry (Adams, 1968: 70). Prior to this time, the public law enforcement agents were primarily concerned with matters of the crown such as land and tax problems; while private policemen, hired by private citizens, were concerned with crimes against individuals' persons, homes, and businesses. However, in 1166 criminal law enforcement became a public matter. The Magna Carta, signed in 1215 by King John, further extended the protection of individuals by providing "due process of the laws" for individuals and firmly establishing local control of law enforcement.

¹Adams (1968: 69) reports that the tithing consisted of ten families; the tithings were grouped into larger units known as "hundreds"; the hundreds in the shire comprised the major structure of the political structure within the shire.

Civil protection was extended by the Edict of Westminster in 1285 by Edward I (Taft and England, 1969: 319). This statute ordered the city's gates to be closed at nighttime to keep out "undesirables" and provided a night watch for its enforcement. The night watch was a revival of the earlier tithing system and made local groups of property owners responsible for keeping the peace in their districts. Members of the night watch were selected from the ranks of the able-bodied men in the community on a compulsory basis; however, the onerous chore of night patrolling was passed on to hirelings who were ill-equipped to handle the task. This statute also provided for justices of the peace who replaced the shire-reeves and who were charged with the responsibility of overseeing the watch and a constabulary to assist them. In this way, this edict laid down the principle of local rather than centralized control of law enforcement.

Neither the watch and ward system nor the constabulary proved adequate for preserving the peace as the population expanded. As a result of the social conditions which developed under these enforcement systems, Sir Robert Peel proposed the Metropolitan Police Act in 1829 (Tappan, 1960: 274). The enactment of this act created the first professional police force with both day and night duty. The new force was organized along military lines with uniforms, badges, and training; consequently, the police agencies have since been considered paramilitary in nature (Adams, 1968: 72).

The American "system" of law enforcement developed along the same general traditions as did the English system (Adams, 1968: 73-76). The early American colonies borrowed the night watch and

constabulary systems; for example, Peter Stuyvesant established the "Rattle Watch" in 1658 to preserve law and order in New Amsterdam. Around 1800 the colonies organized a day watch to supplement the night watch, but the two separate watches continued to operate independently for many years. It wasn't until about 1844 that a round-the-clock police force was created in New York City (Tappan, 1960: 274). Other cities soon followed the lead of New York, and uniforms were adopted in 1855. Since that time, a multiplicity of policing agencies with over-lapping jurisdictions and responsibilities have developed.

TABLE I: A Profile of Federal, State, and Local Law Enforcement Agencies (Source: The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967b: 7)

	<u>Agencies</u>	<u>Full-Time Personnel</u>	
	<u>Number</u> <u>in 1965</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>in 1965</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>of Total</u> <u>in 1965</u>
Federal	50	23,000	6.2
State	200	40,000	10.8
Local	39,750	308,000	83.0
Total	40,000	371,000	100.0

	<u>Dollars Spent</u>		
	<u>Total in</u> <u>Millions,</u> <u>1965</u>	<u>Per Capita</u> <u>Expenditure,</u> <u>1965</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>of Dollars</u> <u>1965</u>
Federal	220	1.26	8.5
State	315	1.79	12.2
Local	2,051	11.25	79.3
Total	2,586	14.20	100.0

Problems of social control have increased since the early 1800's and the tendency in America has been to proliferate new agencies to meet specific needs rather than to consolidate or improve the efficiency of existing agencies. As a result, the American system of law enforcement is a potpourri of uncoordinated and over-lapping units. In 1965, there were 40,000¹ separate public agencies responsible for law enforcement: 33,000 located in towns and villages; 3,700 located in cities; 3,050 affiliated with counties; 200 attached to states; and 50 with Federal jurisdiction (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967b: 7). The data in Table I suggest that, in terms of the number of agencies, the number of full-time personnel, and amount of expenditures, the responsibility for law enforcement is today extremely decentralized. This decentralization is further accentuated by the restriction of an officer's responsibility for law enforcement to a single jurisdiction, and by limiting the responsibility of federal and state agencies to the investigation and enforcement of only those laws and matters that specifically relate to their specialities.

Reflecting the historical antecedents and the organizational features of the police system in America, law enforcement is primarily focused in the local patrolman. Numerically and jurisdictionally, the local police agents represent the ramparts of law

¹In addition, there is a vast number of private police agencies which have been formed to provide a more concentrated protective and investigative service for private citizens and for private businesses than that provided by the government police. (Adams, 1968: 83)

enforcement. Likewise, the image of the police held by most people is that of the local uniformed patrol officer. Adams (1968: 135) writes: "The patrol division is the police department To most people in the community the policeman in the patrol division is the police department, and all of the other members of the organization are mere names and faces in the dim background."

Functions of the police

The historical antecedents of the American police forces have produced particular responsibilities for the police agencies and created characteristic elements in the circumstances in which those functions are to be performed. First, as noted previously, state and federal police agencies have been created and designed to enact relatively narrowly-prescribed tasks, while the local forces have been delegated the bulk of the responsibility. Furthermore, uniformed patrolmen are assigned the lion's share of these responsibilities. Second, the tasks given to these police agencies have come to include a wide array of responsibilities including law enforcement, maintenance of order, and various service functions such as first aid, rescuing cats, helping ladies, and directing traffic. Wilson (1968: 5) suggests that "it is only a matter of historical accident and community convenience" that all of these services are provided by the police; in fact, many of these tasks, especially the services intended to please the individual client and no one else, could be priced and sold on the market, at least in principle.

From a legal point of view, the police have essentially one major function to which all other assigned tasks must be subordinated. Tappan (1960: 280: it should be noted that Tappan is a sociologist who has training in jurisprudence and who has a legal orientation to criminology) outlines this function as that "of enforcing the criminal law by detecting violations and, in so far as is possible by just methods, by discovering those who reasonably appear to be guilty so that their innocence or guilt may be determined by judicial agencies." The essential issue from this point of view is the conformity or lack of conformity with the legal statutes: on the one hand, the concern with individuals is whether those individuals are legally culpable as defined by written rules; and on the other hand, the concern with the police agents is whether those agents efficiently enforce the written rules within the framework established by those rules without police discretion. Thus the fundamental task of the criminal law is twofold: it should provide clear and adequate protection from criminals and crime for individuals and for society while, at the same time, it should provide standards for police work that are reasonable and just. From this perspective, the effectiveness of the police has been judged mainly by the number of arrests made and convictions obtained (Reckless, 1961: 429).

From a sociological point of view, the emphasis upon this one aspect of police functioning has led to an underestimation of the range and complexity of the total police role. By nature, the judiciary has extensive control over only those aspects of police activity that are directly related to the legal prosecution of offenders

(Bittner, 1967b: 700). The judiciary has neither the authority nor the resources to supervise those activities of the police which do not result in legal action. In this domain of practice, police departments are generally free to determine what need be done and how. Thus, there are two relatively independent domains of police activity: responsibility for maintaining order and responsibility for enforcing the law.¹

The patrol officer performs all of the primary and basic functions required of the police departments. Adams (1968: 137) summarizes the patrolman's duties as including the following:

1. Patrol and observation.
2. Prevention and repression of unlawful activities.
3. Attendance at public gatherings to assure order.
4. Public safety services.
5. Inspections on patrol.
6. Answering calls for service and assistance.
7. Reporting disruption of utilities.
8. Providing information services.
9. Identification and arrest of violators.
10. Developing contacts with residents and businessmen.
11. Providing crime prevention advice to merchants and businessmen.
12. Recruitment and development of informants.
13. Protection of crime scenes.
14. Collection and preservation of evidence.
15. Public and community relations.
16. Investigations of crimes and accidents.
17. Preparing reports.
18. Testifying in court.

¹This distinction is similar to the one made by other authors. Wilson (1968: 16) distinguishes between order maintenance and law enforcement; Banton (1964: 6-7) between "law officers" and "peace officers"; and Bittner (1967b: 700) between law enforcement and keeping the peace. At a higher level of generality, Wenninger and Clark (1967: 161-172) note that the police have both a value maintenance and a goal attainment function.

Thus in contrast to the departmental specialists (detectives, vice squads, etc.) who tend to be primarily "law officers", the patrol officer may be either a "law officer" or a "peace officer" depending upon the situation.

However, the patrolman is primarily a peace officer rather than a law officer in that the problem of order¹ is more central to his role than the problem of strict law enforcement (Wilson, 1968: 17-19; Banton, 1964: 127). Bittner (1967b: 701-704) suggests that there are at least five distinct categories of police activities which could be categorized as peace-keeping. 1) The police provide certain services for the executive branch of the government such as the supervision of certain licensed services and premises and the regulation of traffic. 2) Patrolmen are often engaged in situations where they utilize their own discretion; that is, police often do not arrest persons who have committed minor offenses even though an arrest is technically possible (for examples, see LaFare, 1965; Skolnick, 1966). Further, the police tend to use different criteria of law enforcement for different segments of the society (for example, see Clark, 1959: 240-251). The police are often asked to intervene in matters that contain no criminal and often no legal aspects, such as family quarrels (Cummings

¹Wilson (1968: 16) notes: "By 'order' is meant the absence of disorder, and by disorder is meant behavior that either disturbs or threatens to disturb the public peace or that involves face-to-face conflict among two or more persons. Disorder, in short, involves a dispute over what is 'right' or 'seemly' conduct or over who is to blame for conduct that is agreed to be wrong or unseemly."

et al., 1965: 276-286). 4) The police are often required to monitor certain "mass phenomena of either a regular or a spontaneous nature", such as supervision of order at public gatherings or the control of mob violence. 5) The police also provide certain special functions for persons who are viewed as less than fully accountable for their actions, such as the young or mentally ill (Bittner, 1967a: 278-292).

The premise that patrolmen are basically concerned with order maintenance rather than law enforcement can be supported in two ways. First, the patrolman encounters far more cases of order maintenance than opportunities for law enforcement; likewise, he spends more time concerned with order maintenance than with law enforcement. For example, Wilson, according to Table II, found that only about ten percent of the total calls received by the Syracuse Police Department were concerned with law enforcement specifically. (Isaacs' ((1967: 88-106)) study of the Los Angeles Police Department in August and September, 1966 reports that only 37 percent of the total radio calls dealt with the law enforcement function of the police: 41 percent of the non-emergency calls, 24 percent of the non-emergency but urgent calls, and 25 percent of the emergency calls.) Similar findings have been reported by Banton (1964: 50-85), and Cummings (1965: 276-286). However, even these figures overestimate the police's involvement in law enforcement as many of these calls will not involve matters of law enforcement -- the prowler will exist only in a woman's imagination, the open window will signify an owner's oversight rather than a thief's entry, or the "suspicious" car will be occupied by a respectable citizen. Further, the majority

TABLE II: Citizen Complaints Radioed to Patrol Vehicles, Syracuse Police Department, June 3-9, 1966 -- Based on a One-Fifth Sample of a Week's Calls. (Source: Wilson, 1968: 18. These data do not include internal calls, those originating with another police officer, or purely administrative calls.)

<u>Calls</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Information gathering	69	22.1
Book and check	2	
Get a report	67	
Service	117	37.5
Accidents, illnesses, ambulance calls	42	
Animals	8	
Assist a person	1	
Drunk person	8	
Escort vehicle	3	
Fire, power line or tree down	26	
Lost or found person or property	23	
Property damage	6	
Order maintenance	94	30.1
Gang disturbance	50	
Family trouble	23	
Assault, fight	9	
Investigation	8	
Neighbor trouble	4	
Law enforcement	32	10.3
Burglary in progress	9	
Check a car	5	
Open door, window	8	
Prowler	6	
Make an arrest	4	
Total	312	100.0

of law enforcement cases do not involve any of the seven serious offenses that make up the FBI "Crime Index" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1967: 116-117). The vast majority of arrests and of citizen-police contacts that involve an offense but do not lead to an arrest

are for such matters as drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and the like.¹ The police often handle these cases as peace-keeping tasks rather than strict law enforcement; that is, the police exercise discretion as to whether to intervene and, if they do, just how to intervene (by an arrest? by a warning? or by an interrogation?). Thus the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967a: 91) concluded:

A great majority of the situations in which policemen intervene are not, or are not interpreted by the police to be, criminal situations in the sense that they call for arrest A common kind of situation is the matrimonial dispute, which police experts estimate consumes as much time as any other single kind of situation.

But even more important than the calculation of how the patrolman spends his time is the consideration of how he responds to situations; that is, his perceptions of his role expectations. Banton (1964: 127-165), LaFave (1965: 104-137 and 179-239), Wilson (1968: 16-56), and Preiss and Ehrlich (1966: 143-158) suggest that "keeping the peace" is that which characterizes the culture of police work as an occupational role. Police actions are governed by both popular morality and the letter of the law; often morality and the law coincide, but when they do not, the police usually prefer to

¹ President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967: 20) notes that of the ten most common nontraffic offenses, eight are misdemeanors or infractions, which together account for two-thirds of all arrests made in the United States -- drunkenness, disorderly conduct, larceny, driving under the influence of alcohol, simple assault, vagrancy, gambling, and other violations of the liquor laws.

work within the popular morality rather than the strict interpretation of the law. Even when the patrolman is involved in a "criminal" case, he prefers to persuade rather than prosecute, to use the moral authority invested in his office as well as the legal power. This preference for police discretion is reflected in the responses given to the question, "Do you think state policemen should strictly enforce speed limits as posted?": 74% of the policemen answered "No", and only 26% answered "Yes" (Preiss and Ehrlick, 1966: 148).

We have argued that the police system in America, as a result of its particular historical heritage, has developed into a "non-system" of local autonomous agencies, and has established the local uniformed patrol officers as its main agents. Further, we have argued that these patrolmen have a peace-keeping role rather than a law enforcement role. In addition, one might argue that the police, as presently organized, are not the right body to attempt to completely enforce the laws if complete enforcement were desired.¹ Many features of the police system militate against such enforcement: the police are to an appreciable extent subject to local control and to local taxation for

¹LaFave (1965: 104-137 and 179-239) holds that there are three chief objections to the view that the police should exercise no discretion in law enforcement. First, it has not yet been proved feasible to draft a criminal code which unambiguously encompasses all conduct intended to be made criminal; equally, it seems impossible for the reform of the law to be able to keep pace with changing conditions and opinions. Second, those charged with enforcing the law do not have the resources to enforce all the laws effectively. Third, individual circumstances vary in such a way that justice cannot be achieved merely by the enforcement of rules.

financial support, both of which necessitate the police not being at odds with the local community; the police, in many situations, are heavily dependent upon the public for support and for information concerning crimes and criminals and, consequently, are likely to trade "pardons" in return for better public relations and more "effective" police work; and the policemen, as individuals, participate in the same society as the people whose conduct they are supervising and, consequently, hold many of the same values and attitudes.

Police and the Public

From a sociological point of view, the ramifications of the patrolman's role can be understood only through the analysis of his interrelationships with other members of the society both criminal and non-criminal. Momboise's (Momboise, 1967: 97) terminology will be employed in this paper: police-community relations will refer to the relationship existing between members of the police force and the community as a whole, and public relations will refer to the positive cultivations of opinions favorable or at least not antagonistic to the group seeking the particular relationships. Police-community relations include press-police relations, minority-police relations, youth-police relations, etc. The nature of this relationship can be described as favorable, indifferent, or unfavorable, depending upon the attitudes and demeanors both of the members of the police force and of the members of the social system as a whole.

There are several persistent themes which may be drawn from a review of the voluminous current literature on the condition of

police-community relations (for an extensive bibliography on police-community relations, see Miller, 1966; Becker and Felkenes, 1968). First, most of the authors assume that a positive attitude toward the law and law enforcement is essential to the continued existence of an organized socio-cultural system. Second, much of this literature presupposes that the public holds adverse attitudes toward the police forces and that this animosity is heightened within certain sub-populations such as juveniles, minority groups, and criminals. Third, many writers suggest that this antagonism toward the police is increasing both in intensity and pervasiveness. Fourth, there is an apparent need for a more accurate and detailed examination of the quality and quantity of these attitudes. We shall now turn our attention to an examination of each of these themes.

Police-community relations

Two events early in the twentieth century, Prohibition and the Depression, laid the ground work for the development of the modern municipal police force (Wilson, 1969: 130-134). These two events focused the public attention in America on the escapades of bank robbers and other desperadoes such as John Dillinger or Baby Face Nelson and on the public acts of the underworld dealing with illicit alcohol traffic such as Al Capone. This focus, coupled with the bureaucratization of detectives, led to the beginning of the popular confusion as to what police do. Thus the detective became the hero of police stories and movies; and he, rather than the patrolman, became known as the "real" police officer doing "real" police work.

In addition, Prohibition caused the police to initiate prosecutions on their own authority rather than on citizen complaint. So a new standard by which the police could be judged was created: the ideal cop was the "G-Man" and the ideal police behavior was the "good pinch" and effective crime prevention and law enforcement.

Utilizing this perspective, the law enforcement function of the police is difficult, if not impossible, without public support. Indeed, Momboise (1967: 90-91) argues that a law enforcement agency cannot function effectively with an antagonistic public, that the police cannot depend simply on the use or the threat of force, and that the police must rely upon public support. The Task Force on the Police (1967b: 144-149) summarizes the effects of unfavorable police-community relations on the police operations: a) Public hostility affects the morale of police departments and makes officers less enthusiastic about doing their jobs. In this regard, Niederhoffer (1967: 9) writes:

Unfortunately, in contrast to their English counterparts, the police in America have never been acclaimed as models for middle-class scions, and they are acutely aware of this. The police feel that they deserve respect from the public. But the upper class looks down on them; the middle class seems to ignore them, as if they were part of the urban scenery; the lower class fears them. Even the courts often appear to be against them, making it more and more difficult to obtain convictions of criminals. With bitterness, therefore, the police tend to think of themselves as a minority group in the society.

When a group feels that it is being threatened, or treated unfairly, it falls back on its code of values. Cynicism is an ideological plank deeply entrenched in the ethos of the police world, and it serves equally well for attack or defense. For many reasons the police are particularly vulnerable to cynicism.

b) A dissatisfied public will not enthusiastically support the police on such matters as police salaries, sufficient number of officers, and adequate equipment and buildings. c) Poor police-community relations adversely affect the ability of the police to prevent and apprehend criminals. It is an extremely difficult task to have violations reported even when victimized, to find witnesses willing to testify, or to receive any type of assistance in apprehending a law-breaker in an unfriendly environment (Black, 1968: 18-20). d) Poor community relations can increase the danger of police work. On the one hand, a hostile situation, as Skolnick (1967: 68) points out, may induce a police officer to use unnecessary force or verbal abuse (also see Westly, 1953: 34-41). On the other hand, a hostile situation may increase the potential danger for the police officers (Klein, 1968: x). Thus, a hostile situation leads to excessive force which in turn leads to increased police-public tensions which further jeopardizes the security of the policeman, the safety of the public, and the stability of the community (see Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 109-192; and Lieberman and Silverman, 1965: 887-898). e) Unfavorable public attitudes will affect the quality of members of the police force. On the one hand, it may lead some current officers to seek employment outside the force in a more prestigious and less dangerous occupation; and, on the other hand, it may interfere with the recruiting of new officers (Parker, 1964: 273-279).

While the effective performance of the law enforcement function is difficult without public support, the effective performance of the peace-keeping function is impossible. In most cases of law

enforcement, the police officer need not exercise substantial discretion over the matter at hand,¹ need not witness the felonious act in order to initiate legal proceedings, and can ultimately, if need be, utilize his legal authority to control the law enforcement situation. However, in most cases of order maintenance, the police officer must exercise, by necessity, substantial discretion over matters of the greatest importance (public and private morality), honor and dishonor, life and death) in situations that involve conflict and apprehension. To effectively control these situations, the police officer must have the support of the public. In the first place, many of the relevant statutes dealing with these situations are necessarily ambiguous (Wilson, 1968: 20-29). Examples of laws that are not only vague, but necessarily so, are those statutes dealing with "disorderly conduct" or "disturbing the peace" because what constitutes order is a matter of opinion and convention, not a state of nature, and because of the impossibility of specifying, except in extreme cases, what degree of disorder is intolerable. Thus, the police officer must rely upon public morality and public support rather than legal authority and legal support. Further, the victim must cooperate with the police for particular types of disorders if the law is to be involved at all (for example, when an officer has not seen a fight, usually the case

¹Most criminal laws define acts (murder, rape, speeding, possessing narcotics) which are held to be illegal; people may disagree as to whether the act should be illegal, as they are with respect to narcotics for example, but there is little disagreement as to what the behavior in question consists of.

as most people stop fighting as soon as the police arrive, he must often obtain a sworn complaint from the victim (for examples, see LaFave, 1965: 231-243). In addition, the police are regularly called upon to dissolve volatile situations for which there are no legal directives (President's Commission on Law, 1967b: 121). Often the police are unable to utilize arrest or other legal procedures to resolve these situations, and must resort to the public support of the police role and handle the situation in a quasi-legal fashion; that is, a patrolman is only able to handle a situation which has no legal precedent by relying on the public trust in the police (Banton, 1964: 130-140). Furthermore, the risk of danger in the order maintenance phase of police work, according to Wilson (1968: 20), has a relatively greater influence on the officer's behavior than does the danger involved in law enforcement, even though statistically there is less danger involved in the former.¹ This disproportionate influence stems from the unexpected nature of peace keeping which makes the officer apprehensive and suspicious. In a hostile environment, both officers and citizens may be caught in an ascending spiral of antagonism.

¹ Wilson (1968: 20) contends that "chasing a speeding motorist, the officer is running risks of his own choosing. Chasing a fleeing robber, he anticipates violence--weapons are drawn, gunfire is expected, and the issues are clear. But when he walks into a room where a fight is under way or stops to question a 'suspicious' person, the possibility of danger makes the patrolman suspicious and apprehensive."

From a sociological perspective, the analysis of police-community relations is vital. The sociological study of the police as a study in occupational sociology requires an understanding of the nature of the policeman's job and the pressures that bear upon him. An example of this perspective is the work of Banton (1964) who suggests that his study is not to answer the question whether police-community relations are good or bad, but to convey some understanding of what constitutes these relationships and how these relations affect the culture of the police occupation. The sociological study of the police as a study of an organizational or bureaucratic problem necessitates, ideally, the examination of police-public contacts from the perspective of all participants and from start to finish (for example, see Wilson, 1968: 1-10). Similarly, the sociological study of the police from other theoretical orientations is benefited by the analysis of police-community relations: as a study in role theory (for example, see Preiss and Ehrlick, 1966: 1-5 and 160-183); as a study in the administration of justice (for example, see Skolnick, 1967); as a study in minority relations (for example, see Kephart, 1957); as a study in collective behavior (for example, see Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 34-57); and so forth.

Current literature-hypotheses

Incorporated within much of the current literature on police-community relations are various statements which are presented as factual, but which are, in the opinion of this author, mere conjectures. Although these statements are presented as accurate

descriptions of reality, rarely are they based on any systematic investigations of the situation but usually rest entirely on the "hunches" of the writer. Thus, these statements are best described as hypotheses -- labeled herein literature-hypotheses.

One common literature-hypothesis is that the American public tend to have critical and hostile attitudes toward the police (for example, see Clark and Wenninger, 1964: 482; Cray, 1967: 197; Deutsch, 1955: 1-25; Gourley, 1953: vii-ix; Momboise, 1967: 58; Mylonas and Reckless, 1963: 479; Niederhoffer, 1967: 9; Wilson, 1968: 20). For example, Black (1968: 36-41) argues that Americans are resistant to authority and to interference with personal freedom; while this is true in many nations, it is especially true in America where every man assumes that he is as good as any other and can do as he pleases and that the laws are created only for the other person. Thus, most Americans resent "the man in the blue uniform" who might call them on their own individual delinquencies and issue a summons with inevitable inconveniences and consequences. Black (1968: 37) illustrates this hostility:

Most. . . are aware of the inconvenience and danger due to illegal parking; yet the individual makes an exception for himself . . . In New York, when the police began to clear the streets for traffic by towing away cars which were illegally parked, it was the white middle-class citizens who stood in the street and hooted and shouted at the police, "Haven't you cops anything better to do?" "Is this the way you spend our tax money?" "Why don't you catch the muggers and stop crime in the streets?"

For all position occupants, there are those who are for the occupants and who believe that the occupants are always right and can do no wrong; and there are those who are against the occupants and who

believe that the occupants are always wrong and can do no right (Becker, 1964:5 makes a similar distinction between conventional and unconventional sentimentality). However, many authors suggest that the police, more than most people, are criticized when they do the right things as well as the wrong things. They argue that the hostility toward the police is so intense that a patrolman is thought to be neglecting his duty if he leaves people alone, and that he is guilty of abuse of authority and excessive use of force if he enforces the law. This tendency has best been summarized in the title of Klein's book, The Police: Damned if They Do -- Damned if They Don't.

A second common literature-hypothesis is that certain categories of persons hold more adverse attitudes toward the police agents than do members of the general public. Thus, it is frequently hypothesized that racial and ethnic minorities have less respect for the police (for example, see Black, 1968: 36; Momboise, 1967: 58) than do dominant groups. Many authors suggest that the police employ a double standard in dealing with ethnic groups (for example, see Cray, 1967: 116-127). As crime and disorder are more prevalent among minority groups, the police tend to react to situations in one of two ways: first, the police are more likely to overlook minor situations and, second, they are more likely to vigorously control serious situations concerning members of minority groups than similar situations involving members of the dominant groups. This open hostility or a more subtle discourtesy on the part of the police results in an increased distrust and hostility within the minority group. Niederhoffer suggests that this tendency is best stated in the words of James Baldwin ("Fifth

Avenue, Uptown" p. 352 in Eric Josephson and Mary Josephson, Editors, Man Alone. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1963 cited in Niederhoffer, 1967: 179):

Similarly the only way to police a ghetto is to be oppressive. None of Commissioner Kennedy's policemen, even with the best will in the world, have any way of understanding the lives led by the people they swagger about in two's and three's controlling. Their very presence is an insult, and it would be, even if they spent their entire day feeding gumdrops to children. They represent the force of the white world; ... Rare indeed, is the Harlem citizen, from the most circum-spect church member to the most shiftless adolescent, who does not have a long tale to tell of police incompetence, injustice, or brutality....

It is hard, on the other hand, to blame the policeman, blank, good-natured, thoughtless, and insuperably innocent, for being such a perfect representative of the people he serves. He, too, believes in good intentions and is astounded and offended when they are not taken for the deed. He has never, himself, done anything for which to be hated -- which of us has? -- and yet he is facing, daily and nightly, people who would gladly see him dead, and he knows it. There is no way for him not to know it: there are few things under Heaven more unnerving than the silent, accumulating contempt and hatred of a people.

The supposed black antagonism toward the police has been given much publicity (for example, see Randolph, 1969: 2); however, similar disrespect, although not as intense, has been asserted for the Mexican-Americans (for example, see Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 113), American Indians (for example, see Gourley, 1953: 75), and the Puerto Ricans (for example, see Samuels, 1964: 28-36).

A third literature-hypothesis common in discussions on police-community relations is that there is a differential distribution of favorable attitudes toward the police by social class. Most authors suggest that the lower class has more hostile attitudes toward the

police than do higher classes (for example, see Cray, 1967: 11; Clark and Wenniger, 1964: 483; Derbyshire, 1968: 184; Fink, 1968: 624; President's Commission on Law, 1967b: 150; and Samuels, 1964: 36).

A New Orleans policeman put it this way (Cray, 1967: 125):

When a policeman is dealing with lower-class whites or Negroes--they're both the same--he will treat them like lower-class people. This is not discrimination; the lower-class demands a different type of behavior. For example, he will talk to them the way they speak. They don't understand any other language. The talk is rough, I admit, but the policeman must be tough to protect himself.

These authors suggest that the policeman is a product of middle-class society and values. When he works in a lower socio-economic area, he discovers that the area is populated by people alien to him and that the language and customs are strange and aggravating to him. Furthermore, the lower socio-economic class is over-represented in criminal statistics. Thus, as with ethnic and racial minorities, the police frequently employ a double standard of behavior in dealing with members of various social statuses. Most of the victims of police malpractice and misunderstanding are poor in both financial and educational backgrounds. Based in an environment where both the people of the community and the police find themselves misunderstood, mistreated, and much maligned, mutual antagonisms develop on both sides.

Another persistent literature-hypothesis in the current literature is the lack of respect for authority in general and for the police in particular which exists among modern youth (for example, see Adams, 1968: viii; Bain, 1949: 417; Clark and Wenniger, 1964: 482; Kahn, 195b: 12; Murphy, 1965: 108; Portune, 1967; Wyden, 1964: 56). This

hypothesis is typified in a recent newspaper article by Tom Tiede (1967: 105-106):

PEORIA, ILL. (NEA) - Last summer a Peoria grade school teacher was familiarizing a class of tots with the duties of various city agencies. The instructor held up pictures of several employees and asked the children what each man did.

The kids said the fireman "put out fires." The engineer "built roads." The animal welfare man "caught stray dogs." The sanitation worker "picked up the garbage."

And what about the police officer?

"He's dumb," one child said.

"He hurts you," another commented.

"He shoots you," added a third.

The answers may surprise some readers but they by no means surprise policemen in this nation. In fact, law officers expect such comments. They know full well that a good part of the public, adult as well as infant, dislikes all "dumb cops."

"I've been on the force five years," says Patrolman Billy Pollard, "and in that time I've seen the same look in a lot of faces. It's not a very nice look sometimes."

These authors explain this hostility among the youth in two ways: on the one hand, they suggest that this attitude is a result of the influence of parental antagonism toward the police; and on the other hand, they suggest that this attitude is a result of parental utilization of the police as an ultimate threat. According to Bain (1949: 417), the greatest failure of the police has been, and still is their relation to children and young people.

Although not as popular, there are other current literature-hypotheses. Some authors suggest that there is an increased degree of tension between the undereducated, typically conservative, working class policemen and the educated, typically upper middle-class liberals (for example, see Cromley, 1969; Alex, 1969: xvii; and

Walker, 1968). This literature-hypothesis is reflected in the title of Lipset's article, "Why Cops Hate Liberals -- and Vice Versa." Other authors suggest that the antagonism toward the police is intensified among those groups who have had negative contact with the police especially among criminals and delinquents (for example, see Adams, 1968: 171-183; Chapman, 1956: 170; Gourley, 1953: 58; Johnson and Stanley, 1955: 712; Maher and Stein, 1968: 189; Mylonas and Reckless, 1963: 479; Swanson, 1958: 323). Further, these authors suggest that an individual's attitude toward the police may influence the individual's law-abiding behavior. Another literature-hypothesis concerns the influence of residence in the South compared to residence in other sections of the country: Southerners hold fewer favorable images of the police, especially Negro Southerners (Alex, 1969: xvii; Commission on Civil Rights, 1965; Wilson, 1968: 279).

Finally, many authors hypothesize in the current literature that negative attitudes toward the police are increasing both in intensity and in pervasiveness. In this regard, Murphy (1965: 105) writes:

Unfortunately, the true image of law enforcement-- particularly as it applies to police in our nation-- is being unfairly distorted and smeared today as never before in our history. At a time when the need for justice under law was never more apparent or necessary, those who enforce and administer the law find themselves the targets of ridicule and contempt.

This decrease in respect for the police in recent years is asserted to be especially noticeable in two groups--teen-agers and minorities (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 45; Neiderhoffer, 1967: 178). Further-

more, these authors suggest that the increased antagonism toward the police is evident in the increased hostility toward the police: for example, Klein (1968: x) reports that the number of assaults on policemen increased in New York City from 137 in 1950, to 444 in 1960, and to 2,803 in 1967.

Lack of data concerning literature-hypotheses

A general review of the literature dealing with police-community relations results in two general conclusions: 1) there is a widespread concern about the nature of the public's image of the police agents; and 2) there is a scarcity of factual knowledge concerning the topic (Adams, 1968: viii; Clark and Wenninger, 1964; 482). A report prepared for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration (Lohman and Misner, 1966: ix) puts it:

When compared with the need, it is fair to say that no field of knowledge has yet accumulated an adequate fund of information about the operation of police departments. Compared with other aspects of local and state government, police agencies represent an almost unknown territory. Neither political science nor sociology -- two of the disciplines which should be most directly concerned with the police -- have systematized a body of knowledge to explain and describe police systems. With few exceptions, both of these disciplines have ignored the police. The field of criminology. . . has only recently expressed its interest in the police field.

Gourley (1953: 3) suggests that most authors would agree that the American police have a serious public relations problem. Yet, few have offered any factual information about the nature of the attitudes of people concerning the police. Much of the current literature rests on the use of legends and cliches. It is to this need that this research is addressed.

CHAPTER II: DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

Development of Hypotheses

In Chapter I, the following argument was presented: Due to the historical development of American society, the police have become important agents of social control and rule enforcement. Reflecting the historical antecedents of the police system, the main police agents today are the local patrolmen organized into a "system" of local autonomous units with two primary responsibilities: keeping the peace, and enforcing the law. However, the local patrolman is primarily a peace officer in that his involvement with the peace-keeping tasks occupies much of his time and establishes the parameters of his role expectations. Further, it was argued that the effective performance of the peace-keeping function is impossible without public support. However, little is known about the nature of the existing police-community relations, as relatively few inquiries have been conducted on this issue. This void is especially noticeable in sociology, as sociologists have tended to neglect the police system both in theory and in research.

Empirical inquiries on police-community relations

As was indicated in the previous chapter, the voluminous literature dealing with police-community relations enumerates various literature-hypotheses concerning this topic, but usually offers little empirical support. However, some systematic inquiries do exist. In approximately chronological order, a summary of these studies follows.

Two early empirical studies of public attitudes toward the law and the police laid the groundwork for many of the later systematic investigations. The first study was included in the Rundquist-Sletto studies of the Personality in the Depression (1936: 211-213). These authors concluded that an unfavorable attitude toward the law was associated with generally poor adjustment of the respondents to their social situation. They found that such feelings as low morale, inferiority, and poor attitudes toward the family and the economic organization, and such conditions as unemployment, a broken home, and recent migration to the city were generally associated. The other study was done by Parrott (1938: 739-756) in 1937. His aim was to determine what citizens think about police behavior. He concluded that public attitudes vary according to the "level of police agency" (city police, county sheriff, state police, etc.), and according to the particular police activities and traits under consideration.

Four studies which built on the work of these two earlier studies were completed in the 1950's. One of the earlier investigations was Gourley's (1953; data summarized in Gourley, 1954: 135-143).study of citizens' attitudes toward the police, conducted in Los Angeles. Gourley's conclusions were based on data obtained from a questionnaire survey of a quota sample of approximately 3,100 adults. Gourley concluded that, in general, most citizens in Los Angeles held members of the police department in high regard. In addition, he concluded that police-community relations, whether good or bad, are a direct result of the number and nature of police-public contacts. He found that people over age 55 held the most positive attitudes toward the police,

and those between 18 and 44 years of age were the least favorably inclined. He discovered that men expressed more favorable attitudes than did women; that Negroes held more unfavorable images of the police than did Mexican-Americans, and Mexican-Americans more unfavorable than whites. He found that respondents with the least schooling tended to look most favorably upon the police, and college graduates tended to look least favorably. Unskilled laborers were the more favorably inclined than skilled laborers while the professional groups revealed the lowest vote of confidence in the police. According to Gourley, the most important findings were that occupation was one of the most significant factors affecting attitudes toward the police and that public attitudes toward the police were primarily the result of personal contacts between individual citizens and individual policemen.¹

During the same time period, Chapman (1956: 170-175 in data summarized in Chapman, 1953) surveyed 133 white delinquent boys in 1952-1953 at Dayton, Ohio. He also surveyed 133 white non-delinquent boys matched with the delinquent boys for age, number of years completed in

¹In this regard, Gourley (1954: 140-141) suggested that the police received relatively low ratings by female school teachers and housewives, both of whom had relatively little contact with the police. On the other hand, skilled laborers employed in the transportation industry (streetcar operators, bus drivers, truck drivers, and taxicab operators) rated the police relatively high. As the latter group was in daily contact with the police and was in a much better position than others to observe the conduct of the police, these findings emphasized that the more contacts people have with the police, the better the police image is.

school, intelligence score, occupation of father, and residence. He concluded that the attitudes of the delinquent boys were generally more hostile toward the police than the comparable group of non-delinquent boys. Further, he found that the degree of hostility was greater toward the police than toward any other agency in the criminal justice system (Juvenile Court, probation, and detention) which, he suggested, indicated that the methods of treatment employed by the police are less acceptable to delinquent boys than were those of other agencies.

In 1957, a study focusing on the images of the police held by non-delinquent youths was conducted in one of the cities utilized in the current project. Feddema (1957) surveyed a sample of 125 students, both Negro and white, in grades seven and eight in Grand Rapids. The author concluded that white students had a consistently higher opinion of police integrity than did Negro students. Although the differences were not as great, he also concluded that whites were more likely to cooperate with the police than were Negro students. His data suggested that length of residence in the city did not influence the image of the police held by the respondents.

As a supplement to their study of the Central State Police in 1957, Preiss and Ehrlick (1966: 122-142, 211-226) surveyed 275 adults to ascertain the public's image of the police. The data for this inquiry apply primarily to the Central State Police. In general, the data indicated an overwhelmingly favorable public appraisal of all police agencies, but especially of the Central State Police. When

they attempted to dissect the public image through the use of standardized control variables, they found the following: there was a direct relationship between age and relative favorableness of police imagery; females manifested a more favorable image of the police than males; education and occupation were unrelated to the generalized image of the state police; respondents with no police contact reported more favorable images than respondents with police contact; those with contact on a personal level were more favorable than those with negative contact on an official level; and non-whites were significantly more likely to view the police in a relatively negative manner.

Interest in the systematic analysis of police-community relations waned during the latter part of the decade of the 1950's; however, this interest was rekindled in the early 1960's. One of the first studies during this time was one done by Mylonas and Reckless (1963: 479-484). Utilizing a sample of 300 property offenders admitted to the Ohio Penitentiary in 1961-1962, these researchers employed a 30-item "law scale" to analyze prisoners' attitudes toward law in general. Items 11 through 17 measured their attitudes toward judges, courts, and juries. Items 18 through 20 measured attitudes toward lawyers and prosecutors and items 21 through 30 measured attitudes toward the police. Thus, their results are not entirely applicable to attitudes toward the police; yet, they do provide a general perspective. Mylonas and Reckless found that significant differences on mean scale scores appeared only in subgroups based on race, marital status, and criminal involvement (criminal record combined

with time spent in correctional institutions): the Negro offenders' attitudes were less favorable than those of the white offender; the single offenders had less favorable attitudes than the married, separated, or divorced offenders; first offenders had more favorable attitudes than recidivists; and the longer the correctional experience, the less favorable the attitude.

In a companion study (Cleaver et al., 1968: 29-40), two findings of substantive interest emerged from a comparison of the mean scale scores on the Mylonas and Reckless "law scale" for several different categories of respondents: penitentiary inmates (both male and female, and Negro and white), reformatory inmates, probationers, labor union members, PTA mothers, penitentiary guards, police officers, and members of the Mormon Church. First, contrary to predicted results, the incarcerated females reported considerably less favorable attitudes than any sample of males, including male offenders. Second, in all groups except the police officers, attitudes toward the police were considerably less favorable than attitudes toward the court or toward the law.

In a similar fashion, Clark and Wenninger (1964: 482-489) surveyed 1154 public school students to ascertain their attitudes toward the legal institution. As with Mylonas and Reckless' "law scale," Clark and Wenninger's scale was designed to measure attitudes toward the legal institution in general, and not attitudes toward the police in particular. Their data suggest that the respondent's socioeconomic class per se was not closely related to their attitudes toward the legal institution; that there was a slight difference

between rural and urban residents; and that the greater the involvement in illegal conduct, the more negative the attitude toward the legal institution was.

TABLE III: Changes by Grade in Perception of Most Important Aspect of Policeman's Job (Source: Hess and Torney, 1967: 55)

<u>Grade level</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Make people obey the law</u>	<u>Help people who are in trouble</u>	<u>Catch people who break the law</u>
4	1526	38.3%	23.0%	38.7%
5	1787	42.4	29.6	28.0
6	1731	42.8	32.5	24.7
7	1709	44.5	34.0	21.5
8	1680	41.6	39.6	18.8
Teachers	382	50.3	38.5	11.3

In their study of the development of political attitudes in children, Hess and Torney (1967: 50-59) were interested in children's perceptions of the police as a governmental agent. Although the major portion of their inquiry concerned attitudes toward non-police agents, two findings of this study are relevant for our purposes. First, children's respect for the power of the policeman was moderately high and relatively stable from grades 2 through 8. Second, children held dual role expectations for the policeman: on the one hand, children expected the policeman to enforce the laws; and, on the other hand, they expected him to help people who need help or who are in trouble. As indicated in Table III, the relative importance of these tasks varied according to grade level: 77% of the children in

second grade suggested that the most important aspect of the policeman's job was law enforcement, but the proportion in the eighth grade who felt that law enforcement was the most important had dropped to 60%; at the same time, the relative importance of helping people had steadily increased.

TABLE IV: Attitudes Toward the Police in Selected Negro Communities -- Reply to: "In (Name of City or Town) How Would You Say That the Police Treat Negroes?" (Source: Marx, 1967: 36)

<u>Response</u>	<u>National Metropolitan Sample</u>	<u>New York</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Atlanta</u>	<u>Birmingham</u>
Very well	15%	9%	11%	13%	5%
Fairly well	44	47	53	40	26
Fairly Badly	13	16	11	21	18
Very Badly	13	18	12	18	42
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

During October, 1964, Marx (1967: 33-38), in conjunction with the National Opinion Research Center, conducted interviews with Negro adults to ascertain the climate of opinion as it existed in Negro communities. The communities were deliberately chosen to represent various sections of the country. Although the respondents' attitudes toward the police were not the primary focus of this inquiry, Marx briefly probed this area. This study did not attempt to reveal attitudes toward general police performance, but only images of police treatment of Negroes. As indicated in Table IV, only a small minority in each area reported that they felt that the police treat Negroes

"very well." Moreover, the percentage who claimed that the police treat Negroes "very badly" was generally slightly higher than the percentage who claimed "very well." When the "very badly" and "fairly badly" categories are combined, hostility toward the police is evident for all the samples ranging from two out of ten in Chicago, to six out of ten in Birmingham, who felt that the police treat Negroes badly. However, when these combined figures are compared to the combined categories of "very well" and "fairly well," there is a sizeable reservoir of satisfaction with the police in most Negro communities.

In 1965, Portune (1966; 1967) developed a twenty-item scale to measure attitudes toward the police (ATP-Scale) for use with junior high students. He used this scale to measure the attitudes toward the police of 1000 students in four Cincinnati public junior high schools. In general, he concluded that Negroes had less favorable attitudes than whites, males less favorable than females, and respondents who do not attend church regularly less favorable than regular church attenders. Further, his findings suggested that both age and grade in school (7-8-9) are inversely correlated with students' ATP-Scale score: the younger students reported more favorable attitudes than did the older students, and the students in the lower grades reported more favorable attitudes than the students in the higher grades. Further, he concluded that conclusive evidence of a significant effect by socio-economic level was lacking, although there was a tendency for the lower socio-economic groups to have less favorable attitudes than do the higher socio-economic groups.

Attempting to assess the "policeman Bill" program conducted by the Los Angeles City Police Department in the Los Angeles Public Schools, Derbyshire (1968: 183-190; for a complete description of the "policeman Bill" program, see pp. 183-185) had 90 third graders draw their images of the policeman's work both before and after the presentation of the program. A panel of judges evaluated the pictures to ascertain the students' perceptions of the policeman at work both prior to and after the program. These evaluations were also used to evaluate any resultant change in students' attitudes. The data suggested that the Mexican-American children displayed the most antagonism to the police, followed by the Negro students, and, finally, the whites. Further, the children from the minority groups tended to present the policeman's tasks in negative terms, while the white children were more occupied with neutral or positive tasks. Derbyshire also concluded that children of lower-class backgrounds exhibited more antipathy than did the youngsters with middle-class backgrounds. In addition, he found that student interaction with the police, even of the relatively short and minor type utilized in the "Policeman Bill" program, improved the images of the police held by the students.

Under the direction of Reckless (Toro-Calder et al., 1968: 536-541), a comparative study of the attitudes toward the legal system within comparable samples in Ohio, Ontario, Quebec, Rome, Athens, West Pakistan, and South Korea was completed in 1966. Samples of adult male prisoners, laborers, prison guards, and police were utilized for each area. The surveys were based on a questionnaire which contained, among other things, 89 items dealing with attitudes toward

criminal law, the court system, and law enforcement officials. The mean scores on the summated "law items" from the Puerto Rican survey revealed that the Puerto Rican inmates of a maximum security institution displayed more unfavorable attitudes toward the law, than the Puerto Rican laborers. The sample of Puerto Rican prison guards reported more favorable attitudes than the laborers, and the police in Puerto Rico reported still more favorable attitudes.¹ Although there were important differences in the level of the average "law items" scores between the comparable samples in various countries, the rank order of the mean scores for the various occupational samples within each country was identical in all cases.

Impressed with the findings of the earlier studies, Casey (1966) reported the results of a study of citizens' attitudes toward the police and law enforcement in St. Louis in 1966. His data were obtained from a questionnaire survey of 877 adults in a random stratified sample of the police districts in St. Louis. He concluded that income, occupation, and educational attainment were directly related to the citizens' scores on the attitude toward the police scale (the higher the score, the more favorable attitude it reflects). Further, he found that whites had more favorable attitudes than did Negroes

¹When the list of 89 items was reduced to the 24 items discriminating the most between prisoners and laborers, the major concentration of attitude gradients dwelt on the police. Thus, the authors concluded that the police act as a magnet for unfavorable attitudes of the prisoners, but not for (the, presumably, noncriminal) laborers (see Toro-Calder et al., 1968: 539).

and that there was a trend for the mean scale scores to increase as the "social class" scale was ascended although he found no significant interaction between race and "social class" as variables. He also found that individuals showed more favorable opinions as the age level increased. Sex and length of residency in the city were not statistically significant at the .05 level; however, differences were apparent and were in the predicted direction: females slightly more favorable than males, and those respondents with longer periods of residence in the city slightly more favorable than those who had had shorter periods of residence.

Another localized study was Bayley and Mendelsohn's (1969) attempt to explore the texture of police-community relations in Denver in 1966. In order to get a balanced perspective, these researchers attempted to analyze the perspectives, attitudes, and emotions both of the public and of the police. To do this, they conducted a series of surveys with samples drawn from both groups. Their findings, summarized here, are based on data obtained from the survey of the general public and based on a modified area probability sample to include whites, Negroes, and Spanish-named respondents. These authors concluded that the most important factor influencing people's views of the police was ethnicity with Negroes and Spanish-named persons displaying less favorable attitudes than the rest of the community. Further, the judgments that respondents made about the police were not affected by the age, sex, and social class position of the respondent (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 113). The minority members revealed less favorable opinions of the police in general; but, in particular,

the respondents from the minority groups believed, especially, that the rich citizens receive the best treatment from the police and the minorities the worst, and that minority neighborhoods receive less adequate police service than the city as a whole. However, the Denver study concluded that, while criticism of police treatment is more extensive among minority members than among whites, there is an appreciable amount of charitable attitudes toward the police among minority groups.

In order to more adequately assess crime, law enforcement, and criminal justice, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967a: 311-312), established by President Johnson in July 1965, requested that a series of surveys be conducted on police-community relations. One such study was that conducted in 1966 by the Bureau of Social Science Research, Incorporated (BSSR) (Biderman et al., 1967) of a sample of 511 adults drawn from three precincts in Washington, D.C. by a nonclustered sampling plan. To facilitate analysis of the data, a combined index of pro-police attitudes was constructed.¹ Regression analysis indicated that sex and race of the respondents were the factors most influential in determining the individual's pro-police score: whites had higher

¹This index of respect for police did not include any items of the interview that had strong racial or civil rights overtones, since this pro-police measure was found to be quite separate from the civil rights issue. For a complete listing of the items included on the pro-police index, see Biderman et al. (1967: 137).

pro-police scores than Negroes, and females scored higher than males. Within each racial category, higher education was related to a higher degree of pro-police sentiment. Similarly, high income tended to be associated with high pro-police scores for white respondents; however, this relationship did not hold for Negro respondents. Further, an index of the respondent's concern for his personal safety and his belief that crime is increasing ("crime anxiety" score) were negatively correlated with high pro-police scores; actual experience as a victim of crime had little influence on pro-police sentiment, except that Negro male crime-victims did report less respect for the police than did non-victims; and Negroes, but not whites, who had had personal contact with the police had higher pro-police scores than those who had had no such contact. In addition, many persons of both races reported that they believed that police gave differential treatment to various groups: Negroes receive worse treatment than whites, and the wealthy receive preferential treatment over others. But the single most outstanding finding of this study was that the police are generally held in high regard by all groups of respondents, including the Negro men.

A second study sponsored by the President's Commission was one undertaken by the School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley (Lohman and Misner, 1966). Utilizing participant-observations and the panel technique as research methods, Lohman and Misner assessed the climate of police-community relations in San Diego and Philadelphia in 1966. From the public's perspective, the climate in these two cities is described in essentially identical

terms. In general, these researchers suggested that there are "publics" which expressed hostility toward the police, and "publics" which showed approval of and support for the police. This divergence was generally based upon race rather than geography, economics, or social class position: the majority of the white community tended generally to feel the situation was "good" with a few minor exceptions while the minority Negro and Mexican-American communities, regardless of social class position, tended generally to feel that the situation was "poor." Further, it was suggested that both white and Negro youth expressed negative attitudes toward the police, although members of the latter group were more pronounced in their opinion. However, the point was made that even the most extreme critic of the police was not interested in doing away with the police agencies, that most recognized the utility of the police function, and the critic usually wanted only to revamp police functions and procedures.

During the summer of 1966, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) interviewed 3,780 adults selected through a national full multi-stage probability sample in all parts of the continental United States to ascertain the respondents' attitudes toward the police, law enforcement, and individual security. The results of this first attempt to analyze police-community relations with a national sample are enlightening. First, this survey revealed that respondents had, in general, a quite favorable image of the police, and that they had more positive attitudes toward police honesty and respectfulness to citizens than toward police effectiveness in law enforcement. Second, the data suggested that the assessment of the police varied by

important social characteristics: Negroes are more critical than whites, especially in terms of police showing respect to citizens; sex differences are relatively minor; for whites, the higher the respondent's income, the more favorable his view of the police; and Negroes in the highest income group are more critical than other Negroes with reference to police showing respect, but Negroes in the \$6,000 to \$9,999 income category showed the strongest antipathy to the police with reference to police effectiveness.

Summary of empirical findings

The last section reviewed the empirical investigations of the public attitudes toward the police in chronological order. In general, the reported data and conclusions from these studies are in agreement; however, there are certain noteworthy exceptions. In addition, these findings support certain literature-hypotheses generally accepted and question other literature-hypotheses. Thus, a summary of the reported influence of certain key variables on the public image of the police and of the relationship of these findings to accepted literature-hypotheses is in order.

Contrary to the common literature-hypothesis that the American public tend to have critical and hostile attitudes toward the police, most of the studies report that, in general, the public hold the police in high regard. One major exception is Clark and Wenninger (1964) who suggest that American youth are for the most part hostile to the police. This finding was tempered by Portune (1966) who suggested that, while adolescents' images of the police should be

characterized as more favorable than unfavorable, these attitudes are more non-negative than positive, and by Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) who suggested that, although the perceptions of the police held by the public were favorable over-all, the degree of pro-police sentiment varied by level of police agencies. Furthermore, Lohman and Misner (1966) suggested that even the most severe critics of the police wanted to restructure the police rather than to discard them.

Agreeing with the common literature-hypothesis that members of racial minorities hold less favorable images of the police than whites, all studies which have analyzed the influence of the racial factor on pro-police perceptions agree that an individual's race is the most influential variable. All studies report that nonwhites have more hostile attitudes toward the police than do whites; this is especially true with regard to police integrity and police courteousness. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) and Gourley (1953) report that Negroes have slightly less favorable attitudes than do Mexican-Americans; however, Derbyshire (1968) reports the opposite finding. But the differences in police perceptions of the two groups in all three studies are relatively minor.

Reflecting the common literature-hypothesis that there is a differential distribution of pro-police perceptions by social class, another variable frequently analyzed is socio-economic status, or some related measure. However, a discrepancy exists in the reported influence of social class position. Some researchers, namely Clark and Wenninger (1964) and Portune (1966) failed to find conclusive evidence of any significant effect of socio-economic level on

attitudes toward the police; other researchers, Casey (1966), Derbyshire (1968), and Rundquist (1936), for example, suggest that those in the lower class hold poorer images of the police than those in the middle and upper classes. However, most indicate that race is a more influential factor than is social class ranking. Similar discrepancies are evident for the usual measure of socio-economic status: education, occupation, and income. Preiss and Ehrlick (1966) found no significant relationship between occupational status and image of the police, Gourley (1953) indicated that occupational level had an inverse effect on the pro-police attitudes, and Casey (1966) reported a direct relationship. With reference to education, Preiss and Ehrlik (1966) found no influence, Gourley (1953) an indirect influence, and Biderman et al. (1967) and Casey (1966) a direct influence. Income was reported by Casey (1966) to have a direct relationship with pro-police perceptions. However, when income was controlled by race in the BSSR (Biderman et al., 1967) and the NORC (Ennis, 1967) surveys, an interesting pattern developed: for whites, income was directly related to pro-police images; but for the non-whites, those with the highest income had the less favorable perceptions. As was true for a general measure of socio-economic status, the related measures of education, income, and occupation were not as influential as race.

The influence of the two factors, sex and age, is oftentimes noted. Most studies report that the sex of the respondents is not a highly influential variable on pro-police perceptions. In addition, these studies report that the slight difference which does exist is that females have a somewhat more favorable image than males.

However, two studies make conclusions which are exceptions to these general statements: the BSSR survey (Biderman et al., 1967) reports that sex, next to race, is the most influential factor in determining pro-police sentiments and that females hold substantially more favorable images than males; and Gourley (1953) reports that the males in his sample hold slightly more favorable images than females. With respect to age, there are major disagreements in the reported influence. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) report no significant relationship between age and pro-police images; Casey (1966) and Preiss and Ehrlick (1966) report a direct relationship between the two; Gourley (1953) reports that those over 55 years of age have the most favorable image, and those between 18 and 44 the least favorable; and Lohman and Misner (1966) report that adolescents are the most hostile to the police. With reference only to junior high school students, Portune (1966) reports that respondents in grade 7 had more favorable perceptions than those in grade 9; while Hess and Torney (1967) failed to find any evidence of a change in attitudes between grades 2 and 8.

Another factor frequently analyzed in these studies is interaction with police. The literature hypothesizes that involvement with the police will influence the nature of police images. Gourley (1953) concluded that police interaction is the most important factor in determining the public image of the police with the nature of the contact influencing the nature of the image. Derbyshire (1968) supports this contention. However, the BSSR (Biderman et al., 1967) survey found that while this relationship held for Negroes, it did not

for whites. Furthermore, Portune (1967) and Preiss and Ehrlick (1966) concluded that individuals with no police contact have the most favorable images; further Preiss and Ehrlick (1966) found that they could rank order respondents by degree of police contact; no contact had the highest degree of pro-police sentiment, personal contact was next, followed by excessive negative interaction, and some negative contact had the lowest degree. Assuming that delinquents and criminals have had more negative interactions with the police than others, Chapman (1956), Mylonas and Reckless (1963), Clark and Wenninger (1964) and Toro-Calder et al. (1968) conclude that these individuals have more hostile attitudes than others. This hostility is increased through recidivism and long correctional experience.

Research-hypotheses

Certain literature-hypotheses have not yet been placed to empirical scrutiny. To date, the empirical literature has concentrated primarily on individual or family background attributes as explanatory factors and has tended to neglect the influence of the socio-cultural environment in which the individuals spend their lives on perceptions of the police. Further, the relative influence of peers as compared to parents on police perceptions has not been examined.

A common literature-hypothesis on police-community relations is that racial minorities have less respect for the police than do dominant groups (see Chapter I, Pp. 35-36). This literature-hypothesis, especially the Negro-white differential, has been supported in empirical investigations (see Chapter II, P. 57). Theoretically, this

differential has been explained by asserting the existence of certain dimensions. First, Negroes are members of a sub-cultural group whose style of life is different than that of the middle class patrolman. Second, crime and disorder are more prevalent in Negro communities than in middle class communities. Third, due to these two factors, the police employ a double standard of behavior when dealing with the public depending upon the racial identification of the individuals involved -- the police are more likely to overlook minor situations in Negro communities; and, at the same time, they are more likely to vigorously control serious situations concerning Negroes than similar situations concerning members of the dominant group. This display of more open hostility and subtle discourteousness to Negroes than to whites results in increased distrust and hostility among Negroes toward the police.

If this theoretical position is valid, then one would expect that the presence of such a double standard would be more noticeable in communities with a higher concentration of Negroes than in communities with a lower concentration and that this increased perceptibility would result in increased distrust and hostility in communities with the higher concentration of Negroes. Thus, it is hypothesized in this research that the degree of pro-police sentiment displayed by Negroes will vary directly by the proportion of Negroes residing in the community. As one measure of the concentration of Negroes in a neighborhood is the proportion of Negroes in the public schools -- especially true for elementary and junior high schools which usually reflect neighborhood residential patterns -- e.g., the research-hypothesis can

be rephrased in terms amenable to this research:

Research-Hypothesis I -- Negro respondents enrolled in schools with a high proportion of Negro students will display less pro-police sentiment than will Negro respondents enrolled in schools with a low proportion of Negro students.

Another common literature-hypothesis is that Negroes residing in the South have less favorable images of the police than Negroes living in other sections of the country. Marx offers some empirical evidence to support this hypothesis (see Chapter II, P. 48). The rationale for this hypothesis is that the South is qualitatively different than other regions of the country. For example, criminologists compare the crime rate in the "south" with the crime rate in other geographic areas (see Reckless, 1961: 70-71). The Uniform Crime Reports (FBI, Published Annually) lists the number of offenses known to the police by geographic divisions of the United States. Most notable of all regional variation in crime patterns in the United States is the rate of assault and homicide in the Southern States. These states are the areas of greatest risk for these crimes in the country. Reckless (1961) offers a socio-cultural explanation for these high homicide rates in the Southern states by asserting that the Southern States represent: "A cultural region in which the risks of killing and assaulting others are high, but the risk for turning upon oneself are low, whereas in other sections of the United States the converse is true." In a similar fashion, experts in race relations suggest that the South is a "culture region" different from the rest of the nation. For example, Vander Zanden's (1963) discussion

of racial segregation in America distinguishes between the patterns affecting the Negro within the South and the patterns affecting the Negro within the North. In addition, most writers characterize the North as having a more favorable atmosphere for the Negro than does the South; this is especially true for the treatment of the Negro by agents of the system of justice, including the police (see Vander Zanden, 1963; Rose, 64; Lewis, 1964).

Utilizing the idea that the Negro in the South is in a different socio-cultural system than Negroes in the North, one can speculate about the Negro who immigrates to the North from the South. As the North has less de jure practices of segregation than does the South, the immigrating Negro, one could argue, would perceive the racial situation in the North as more favorable than that in the South. As the Negro who has lived in the North does not make this relative comparison, the Northern Negro is more likely to view the racial situation in the North less favorably than the immigrating Negro (see Merton's concept of Relative Deprivation in Merton, 1957: 225-280). This differential in perception would also hold true for the administration of justice; that is, the immigrating Negroes are more likely to view their interactions with the police and courts more favorably than Northern-reared Negroes. Thus, Negroes moving from the South to the North would express more favorable images of the police than would Northern-reared Negroes.

Research-Hypothesis II -- Negroes who have immigrated to the North from the South will display more pro-police sentiment than will Negroes native to the North.

Another literature-hypothesis frequently found on police-community relations is that the youth hold unfavorable perceptions of the police (see Chapter I, Pp. 37-38). Some authors suggest that these sentiments are the result of the youth being influenced by the antagonism expressed by their parents; on the other hand, other authors suggest that these sentiments are the result of mutual peer influence.

A similar controversy exists in the social science literature concerning the relative influence of peers and parents on adolescent attitudes and behavior. On the one hand, many social scientists assert that the opinions of the peer group are of the utmost importance for the adolescents (for example, see Horrocks, 1951: 86-128; Stone and Church, 1957: 281-294; Bossard and Ball, 1966: 365-422; Josselyn, 1952; Coleman, 1961; and Remmers and Radler, 1957). Many research findings suggest that the peer group dominates the adolescent's thinking and his behavior. Many social scientists argue that adolescents are essentially conservative where their own age mates are concerned; that is, adolescents conform both to the opinions and to the appearances of other adolescents regardless of their departure from adult standards of conduct, dress, or acceptance of values. It is argued (see Josselyn, 1952: 39) that the motto of the peer group (adolescent) reads: "One just doesn't do that." For example, if miniskirts, and bleached straight hair are generally worn by adolescent girls, then the girl who wishes to escape the opprobrium of being "different" must wear these styles of fashion; or if long hair is the latest fad for teenage boys, then this haircut must be adopted

by any adolescent boy who wishes to be completely accepted by his peers. If by some chance the adolescent is prevented by the parents from following the ways of his agemates, the adolescent is faced with a most embarrassing situation against which she or he is sure to struggle more or less overtly. To an adolescent, the fact that "the other kids are doing it" is the most cogent and overpowering reason for doing a thing, and parents will alienate their sons and daughters by refusing to agree. In short, these theorists argue that the adolescent peer group has iron control of its members.

An opposing viewpoint is that while intra-adolescent pressures are strong, adolescents are not oriented solely to one another (for example, see Coleman, 1961: 1-57; Remmers and Radler, 1957: 178-237). Coleman (1961: 5) reported that in response to the question, "Which one of these things would be the hardest for you to take: your parents' disapproval, your teachers' disapproval, or breaking with your friends?", about 53% of the high school students answered "parents' disapproval" while 43% replied "breaking with their friends." Another study which tends to support this basic position was conducted by Remmers and Radler (1957) who attempted to determine the social orientation of the American adolescent. An analysis of their results suggests that the typical adolescent is responsive to the feelings and opinions of his peers on such questions as what to wear to a party, what club to join, how to act with the gang, and personal grooming. On the other hand, he is sensitive to the feelings and opinions of his parents and other adults about his political feelings, about how to spend his money, and about his personal problems or

troubles. In other words, adolescents are responsive to the pressures of the peer group with regard to some aspects of behavior; but in other areas of behavior, they are more responsive to adult standards.

In as much as pro-police sentiments seem to be most closely related to those questions on which the adolescents were more responsive to the pressures of parents than to the pressures of peers, it is hypothesized that:

Research-Hypothesis III -- Student's attitudes toward the police are more similar to their perception of parental attitudes than to their perception of peer attitudes.

Methodology

The data for this study are based on an attitudinal survey conducted in various public school systems in Michigan. These data were collected as part of a project, directed by Donald Bouma (1969; Bouma and Vogel, 1968: 39-40) to ascertain the nature and development of attitudes of youth toward the police and law enforcement and to ascertain the nature of the perceptions police have of these attitudes.

The first phase of the project involved a study of the attitudes toward the police of junior high school pupils in the Muskegon Heights and Grand Rapids School Systems in May, 1967. This phase was sponsored and partially financed by the Michigan Crime Commission. Preliminary results are reported in Youth Attitudes Toward the Police: A Study of Two Michigan Cities (Bouma et al., 1967). The research associate for this phase was the current author.

The Grand Rapids Police Department was studied in the second phase of the project during the fall of 1967. The purpose of this phase was to determine the perceptions police have of the attitudes of inner-city residents toward the police, the attitudes of police toward the inner-city residents and toward Negroes in general, and the reactions of the police to racial riots, including their beliefs about causes and amelioration. The project was partially financed by the Dyer-Ives Foundation of Grand Rapids. A monograph, Police, Riots, and the Inner City: A Study of the Grand Rapids Police Department (Bouma and Schade, 1967a), reports the preliminary findings. Thomas Schade served as research assistant for this phase.

During the third phase, the Kalamazoo Police Department was studied in October, 1967. Areas probed were the same as those probed in the second phase using the Grand Rapids Police Department. This phase was sponsored and financed by the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Problems of Law Enforcement.¹ Police and Urban Enforcement: A Study of the Kalamazoo Police Department (Bouma and Schade, 1967b) reports the preliminary findings of this phase. The research assistant for this phase was Thomas Schade.

The fourth phase of the project involved a study of the attitudes toward the police of junior high school pupils in the Kalamazoo Public Schools in the fall of 1967. The preliminary findings of this survey

¹ A committee established by then-Mayor Raymond Hightower to study the nature of police-community relations in Kalamazoo.

are reported in Youth Attitudes Toward the Police: A Study of Youth in Kalamazoo Public Schools (Bouma and Williams, 1968). The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Problems of Law Enforcement and the Kalamazoo Public Schools sponsored and financed this phase. The current author served as research associate.

During the three-month period of December, 1967 to March, 1968, the attitudes toward the police of the junior high school pupils in the nonpublic schools in Kalamazoo were surveyed, during the fifth phase. The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Problems of Law Enforcement sponsored and financed this phase. The purpose of this phase was to compare the police images held by public and nonpublic (parochial) students, and the results are reported in The Differential Impact of Protestant, Catholic, and Public Schooling Upon the Attitudes Toward Police of Kalamazoo Junior High Students (Dingman, 1969). Research assistant for this phase was James Dingman.

The sixth phase is a longitudinal study of police images held by students in the Reeths-Puffer and Bridgeport School Systems to determine the influence of a Michigan State Police youth-officer project on these images. The initial survey was conducted in November, 1968, and the followup survey is scheduled for January, 1970. The Michigan State Police is sponsoring and financing this phase. Preliminary results for the initial survey are reported in Student Attitudes Toward the Police and Law Enforcement (Bouma and Williams, 1969a; Bouma and Williams, 1969b; Bouma and Williams, 1969c).

This analysis will utilize data collected in the first, fourth, and sixth phases of this project. This will allow for comparisons of attitudes between school systems, grades, and periods of time.

Sampling

Due to extraneous factors, the sampling procedures varied in the various school systems.

The respondents from the Muskegon Heights Public Schools were drawn by a disproportionate multi-stage stratified sampling model (Ackoff, 1953: 124; Stephan and McCarthy, 1958: 30-57). As the school system employed a track system of three levels (high ability, average ability, and low ability) with student placement based on academic ability, the student population was first stratified by grade level and academic track. Classrooms were then selected from appropriate strata. As most students have not reached age sixteen before the tenth grade, it was decided to utilize only students in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. As all students in the ninth grade were required to take a civics course and were assigned to sections appropriate to their track placement, one civics class from each academic level was drawn at random. As seventh and eighth grade students were assigned to "class units" which were appropriate to their track placement and which were constant throughout the school day, "class units" were selected at random from each academic level in both grades. This sampling plan resulted in the selection of the following classes: ninth grade - 1 high ability, 1 average ability, and 1 low ability; eighth grade - 1 high ability, 1 average ability, and 2

low ability; and seventh grade - 2 high ability, 1 average ability, and 1 low ability. The questionnaire was then administered to all students present in these classrooms at the time of administration.¹

The selection of students for the Grand Rapids' sample necessitated the selection of both particular schools and individual students. As in Muskegon Heights, the decision was made to utilize students in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Consultation with Dr. Donald Bouma, Professor of Sociology at Western Michigan University, and the administrative staff of the Grand Rapids Public Schools resulted in the decision to utilize six of the eleven junior high schools in the system. These six schools were purposely selected to include both those schools which service the inner-city and those schools which service the urban fringe, and they included the following schools: Central High School, Union High School, South High School, Burton Junior High School, Northeast Junior High School, and Ridgeview Junior High School. Class scheduling was similar in the junior-senior high schools, and was similar in the junior high schools. In the junior-senior high schools, all ninth graders were assigned to English sections according to academic ability (honors, regular, and basic levels); and all seventh and eighth grade students were assigned to sections of English-social studies. Thus, the second stage

¹No attempt was made to identify or to survey missing students since the elimination of any possible systematic bias due to school absenteeism would not warrant the required expenditure of time and money nor the possible loss of anonymity.

of sampling consisted of randomly selecting classrooms from the English-social studies sections in the seventh and eighth grades and of randomly selecting classrooms from each academic level of ninth grade English. This sampling plan resulted in the selection of the following classes for the ninth grade: Central - 1 basic English, 2 regular English, and 2 honor English; Union - 2 basic English, 2 regular English, and 1 honor English; and South - 3 basic English, and 1 regular English. In the junior high schools, students in all three grades are assigned to sections of English; and these English sections in the ninth grade are stratified by academic ability. In Burton Junior High School, classrooms were randomly selected from the English sections in the seventh and eighth grades and from the English sections on each academic level in the ninth grade. 1 honors English, 2 regular English, and 2 basic English classes were drawn from the ninth grade at Burton. For the other two junior high schools, classrooms were randomly selected from the English sections in the seventh grade and from the English sections from each academic level in the ninth grade. This procedure resulted in the following distribution of classes in the ninth grade: Northeast - 1 honors English, 2 regular English, and 1 basic English; and Ridgeview - 3 regular English, and 1 honors English. The questionnaire was then administered to all students present in the selected classrooms at the time of administration.

The respondents in the fourth phase were all the students in the seventh and ninth grades at the time of administration in four of the five junior high schools in the public school system in

Kalamazoo. All seventh grade students present the first hour on November 11, 1967, and all ninth grade students present the second hour on that date were surveyed at Milwood Junior High School. All seventh and ninth grade students present during "home-room" on November 9, 1967 were surveyed at Hillside Junior High School. All seventh and ninth grade students present during regularly scheduled social studies classes were surveyed at South Junior High School on November 14, 1967, and at Northeastern Junior High School on November 15. Students attending Oakwood Junior High School were omitted from the survey as the student body at Oakwood is similar to the student body at Milwood.

During Phase VI, comparable samples were drawn from the Reeths-Puffer School District and from the Bridgeport Community Schools. In both cases, a modified combination of cluster and stratified sampling was employed.

In the Bridgeport Schools, the first step was to choose the particular school buildings for inclusion. The final choices included the one high school, the one junior high school, and three elementary schools (Hess, Banner, and Bridgeport) drawn at random from the seven elementary schools in the system. The second step was to identify the particular classes within each grade for inclusion in the final sample. As Hess and Banner had only a single third and a single fifth grade room each, these four rooms were included in the final sample of classrooms. In addition, one third and one fifth grade room were selected at random from the three possible rooms each at Bridgeport Elementary for inclusion. As all seventh and eighth grade students were required to take a class in history,

three seventh grade and three eighth grade classrooms were drawn at random from the appropriate classrooms. In the high school, the common class for all students on a particular grade level varied: all ninth graders were enrolled in occupational survey, tenth graders in English, eleventh graders in English, and twelfth graders in government. The final classroom sample included four ninth, four tenth, and four eleventh grade classrooms drawn randomly from the appropriate strata. As the twelfth grade government classes were also stratified into three levels by academic ability, one twelfth grade classroom from each level was included. The questionnaire was then administered to all students present in the selected classrooms at the time of administration.

The sample in the Reeths-Puffer System was drawn in the following manner. In the high School, all students are required to enroll in a section of English; and these English sections are stratified according to academic ability into three levels: practical, regular, and accelerated. English classrooms were then selected from each academic level on each grade level. Also included in the sample of classrooms were three classrooms drawn at random from the ninth grade civics classes, three from the eighth grade math classes, and three from the seventh grade science classes. One third grade class and one fifth grade class from each of four of the seven elementary schools (Twin Lake, Reeths-Puffer, Laketon Central, and McMillan) were selected at random for inclusion in the sample of classrooms. The four elementary schools were chosen with the aid of Mr. Rudy Cooper of the Reeths-Puffer School administrative staff, and were

selected to represent the various elementary schools located in the school district. The questionnaire was then administered to all students in the selected classrooms at the time of administration.

Characteristics of samples

Table V reports a summary of the distribution of respondents in the selected school systems by race, sex, and grade. Two features of this distribution are important for the comparative analysis of these data. First, the grade levels included from the various schools' systems are not identical: grades 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 are included in the Bridgeport and Reeths-Puffer systems; 7, 8, and 9 in the Muskegon Heights and most of the Grand Rapids system; while 7 and 9 in the Kalamazoo system and in Grand Rapids Ridgeview and in Grand Rapids Northeastern. Thus, only the respondents in the seventh and ninth grades will be included in inter-school comparisons. Second, the major distribution of Negroes is limited to six schools: Grand Rapids Central, Grand Rapids Burton, Kalamazoo Northeast, Grand Rapids South, Muskegon Heights, Kalamazoo South, and Kalamazoo Hillside. These schools include 94 per cent of the Negro respondents.

Table VI gives a summary of the characteristics of the respondents in each school. Particular similarities between the schools should be noted. The proportion of males and females is similar in all schools; this proportion ranges from a 50-50 distribution in Banner Elementary to a 43-57 male-female distribution in Reeths-Puffer Junior High School. The distribution of respondents by age varies according to the grade level of the particular schools, but

TABLE V: Characteristics of Samples: Distribution of respondents in school systems by race, sex, and grade.

<u>School</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Phase I:</u>							
Muskegon Heights	7	15	16	30	28	--	--
N = 239	8	18	11	30	26	--	--
	9	4	7	24	29	--	1
Grand Rapids Central	7	42	44	12	18	3	3
N = 280	8	21	21	12	15	3	2
	9	26	30	14	9	2	3
Grand Rapids Union	7	59	46	--	--	1	1
N = 310	8	54	48	--	--	1	2
	9	43	48	--	2	1	3
Grand Rapids South	7	4	--	38	47	--	3
N = 276	8	4	7	29	44	1	--
	9	10	6	37	38	5	2
Grand Rapids Burton	7	59	46	5	4	1	2
N = 330	8	42	41	3	13	6	1

TABLE V. . . Continued

<u>School</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	9	54	47	3	3	--	--
Grand Rapids Northeastern	7	53	45	1	2	1	4
N = 209	9	53	38	2	1	2	7
Grand Rapids Ridgeview	7	57	49	--	1	--	2
N = 194	9	37	44	2	2	--	-
TOTAL GRAND RAPIDS							
N = 1599							
<u>Phase IV:</u>							
Kalamazoo Milwood	7	99	114	--	2	2	1
N = 438	9	112	100	4	2	--	2
Kalamazoo South	7	93	106	35	41	10	3
N = 573	9	103	112	26	34	4	6
Kalamazoo Northeastern	7	85	85	4	15	2	-
N = 340	9	78	62	2	7	--	-
Kalamazoo Hillside	7	124	92	30	25	3	6

TABLE V. . . Continued

<u>School</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
N = 565	9	123	119	18	19	4	2
TOTAL KALAMAZOO							
N = 1916							
<u>Phase VI:</u>							
Bridgeport	3	49	47	--	1	3	1
	5	38	42	1	--	1	1
N = 873	7	54	52	2	1	4	-
	8	49	40	--	1	--	-
	9	65	56	--	1	3	1
	10	57	76	--	--	1	3
	11	62	80	--	--	--	1
	12	43	33	1	1	--	2
Reeths Puffer	3	43	33	--	1	--	-
	5	35	42	1	2	--	1
N = 544	7	42	50	3	2	1	2

TABLE V. . . Continued

<u>School</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	8	42	41	2	2	--	-
	9	30	59	--	5	1	1
	10	12	17	1	--	--	1
	11	19	25	1	1	--	-
	12	21	5	--	--	--	-

TABLE VI: Characteristics of Sample by Schools

*Note: percentages may not total 100%, as no responses were omitted.

**Grades 7-8-9 constitute Jr. High regardless of spatial arrangement of grades in school system.

<u>Characteristic</u>		<u>School</u> <u>Grand Rapids</u>			
		<u>Muskegon</u> <u>Heights</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Union</u>	<u>South</u>
Sample Size		N = 239	N = 281	N = 310	N = 275
Sex: Male		50.6	48.4	51.6	46.5
Female		49.4	51.6	48.4	53.5
Race: White		29.7	65.5	96.1	11.3
Negro		69.9	28.5	.6	85.0
Other		----	3.2	1.9	2.9
Occupation:					
Large Business/Prof.		2.5	7.5	9.4	4.0
White Collar/Small Bus.		7.5	22.8	19.0	6.9
Skilled		14.6	19.2	27.7	20.0
Semi-skilled		47.3	30.2	30.3	30.5
Unskilled		7.5	8.2	5.2	16.7
Farm Owner		----	----	----	----
Farm Laborer		----	----	----	----
Retired		----	.4	.3	----
Unemployed		3.8	4.6	3.2	8.0
No Response		16.7	7.1	5.2	13.9
Region: Same City		59.5	56.9	70.0	56.0
South		7.5	4.3	2.6	10.9
Border		2.9	3.2	2.6	5.5
North or West		14.2	22.1	15.8	14.2
Michigan		9.2	9.6	4.5	9.8
Other		2.1	1.1	2.3	.4
Length of Residence:					
Less than six years		16.3	16.4	10.6	16.4
Six - ten years		8.4	9.3	9.0	11.6
More than ten years		73.6	69.0	77.4	66.5
Age: 11		.4	----	----	----
12		12.6	13.9	7.7	7.3
13		31.0	29.2	31.3	25.2
14		28.9	28.8	31.9	27.0
15		22.6	18.9	25.5	26.6
16		2.9	4.6	3.5	12.8
17		.4	1.1	----	.4

TABLE VI: Continued

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>School</u>			<u>Kalamazoo</u>	
	<u>Grand Rapids</u>				
	<u>Burton</u>	<u>North- east</u>	<u>Ridge- view</u>	<u>Milwood</u>	<u>South</u>
Sample Size	N = 331	N = 209	N = 194	N = 438	N = 573
Sex: Male	52.3	53.6	49.5	49.5	47.2
Female	47.7	46.4	50.5	50.5	52.8
Race: White	87.3	90.4	96.4	97.0	72.2
Negro	9.4	2.9	2.6	1.8	23.7
Other	2.7	1.0	----	.6	2.6
Occupation:					
Large Business/Prof.	5.4	16.7	25.8	14.8	20.9
White Collar/Small Bus.	16.3	33.0	55.2	22.8	26.8
Skilled	26.0	20.1	8.2	21.4	12.9
Semi-skilled	38.1	20.6	7.7	28.5	17.2
Unskilled	6.0	1.0	2.1	2.7	9.9
Farm Owner	----	----	----	----	.1
Farm Laborer	----	----	----	----	.1
Retired	----	.5	----	.8	.5
Unemployed	3.9	3.3	----	.6	1.7
No Response	4.2	4.8	1.5	8.4	9.4
Region: Same City	57.7	64.4	62.4	54.3	49.3
South	3.9	3.3	1.0	3.1	5.7
Border	2.7	.5	----	2.5	3.4
North or West	23.6	15.8	19.6	21.0	24.9
Michigan	7.9	10.5	12.4	10.5	12.7
Other	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.3	.8
Length of Residence:					
Less than six years	16.3	12.9	14.9	18.0	21.1
Six - ten years	14.8	9.6	10.3	31.2	18.8
More than ten years	65.9	72.7	70.6	67.8	56.8
Age: 11	.6	----	----	1.5	1.7
12	9.1	15.8	19.6	38.8	42.8
13	24.8	31.6	34.0	9.5	12.9
14	32.0	18.7	16.5	39.9	37.5
15	26.3	26.3	26.3	8.9	9.2
16	5.1	5.7	2.6	.6	1.5
17	.9	----	----	----	----

TABLE VI: Continued

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Kalamazoo</u>		<u>School</u>	
	<u>Hill-</u> <u>side</u>	<u>North-</u> <u>east</u>	<u>High</u> <u>School</u>	<u>**Junior</u> <u>High</u>
Sample Size	N=565	N=340	N=361	N=328
Sex: Male	53.5	50.3	45.7	53.7
Female	46.5	49.7	54.3	46.3
Race: White	81.0	91.2	97.5	96.0
Negro	16.2	8.2	.6	1.5
Other	1.7	.3	1.1	1.5
Occupation:				
Large Business/Prof.	22.6	12.9	7.8	5.2
White Collar/Small Bus.	28.8	22.6	23.8	21.0
Skilled	16.6	21.5	27.1	19.2
Semi-skilled	16.4	31.5	29.9	40.2
Unskilled	5.6	7.1	4.2	4.9
Farm Owner	----	----	1.9	.3
Farm Laborer	----	----	----	----
Retired	.1	----	1.4	.6
Unemployed	.7	.6	.8	.3
No Response	8.8	3.8	3.0	8.2
Region: Same City	57.6	60.3	60.1	46.0
South	3.0	4.1	1.9	.6
Border	2.4	1.5	1.1	.9
North or West	18.9	20.9	28.5	39.3
Michigan	14.1	9.4	5.0	5.5
Other	1.2	1.5	1.7	.3
Length of Residence:				
Less than six years	16.9	13.8	15.5	28.7
Six - ten years	13.9	16.8	10.2	16.2
More than ten years	66.7	67.9	73.4	53.7
Age: 11	.5	1.5	----	1.5
12	36.1	40.9	----	27.7
13	14.1	12.6	.3	27.4
14	39.4	34.1	1.4	35.1
15	8.3	10.0	32.4	7.0
16	1.0	.6	39.1	----
17	----	----	24.9	.3
18			2.0	----

TABLE VI: Continued

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>School</u> <u>**Bridgeport</u>			
	<u>Bridge-</u> <u>port El.</u>	<u>Hess</u>	<u>Banner</u>	<u>High</u> <u>School</u>
Sample Size	N=69	N=59	N=56	N=103
Sex: Male	49.3	50.8	50.0	52.4
Female	49.3	49.2	50.0	47.6
Race: White	100.0	94.9	91.1	97.1
Negro	----	3.4	----	2.9
Other	----	----	7.1	----
Occupation:				
Large Business/Prof.	8.7	3.4	7.1	9.7
White Collar/Small Bus.	13.0	13.6	10.7	14.6
Skilled	20.3	16.9	5.4	42.7
Semi-skilled	43.5	59.3	35.7	22.3
Unskilled	7.2	1.7	5.4	3.9
Farm Owner	----	1.7	1.8	----
Farm Laborer	----	----	----	----
Retired	----	----	----	1.0
Unemployed	----	1.7	3.6	----
No Response	7.2	1.7	30.4	4.9
Region: Same City	39.1	66.1	53.6	65.0
South	2.9	----	----	----
Border States	----	----	1.8	1.9
North or West	37.7	1.7	21.4	21.4
Michigan	5.8	----	3.6	5.8
Other Country	----	1.7	----	----
Length of Residence:				
Less than six years	44.9	27.1	32.1	10.7
Six - ten years	46.4	62.7	58.9	7.8
More than ten years	4.3	10.2	1.8	78.6
Age: 7	1.6	1.7	5.4	----
8	43.5	50.8	41.1	----
9	4.3	11.9	7.1	----
10	42.0	20.3	39.3	----
11	8.7	13.6	7.1	----
12	----	1.7	----	----
13	----	----	----	----
14	----	----	----	1.0
15	----	----	----	21.4
16	----	----	----	43.7
17	----	----	----	25.2
18	----	----	----	5.8

TABLE VI: Continued

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>School</u> <u>**Reeths-Puffer</u>			
	<u>Junior</u> <u>High</u>	<u>Laketon</u> <u>Central</u>	<u>Twin</u> <u>Lake</u>	<u>McMillan</u>
Sample Size	N=283	N=49	N=49	N=50
Sex: Male	42.8	46.9	57.1	46.0
Female	56.9	53.1	42.9	54.0
Race: White	93.3	95.9	95.9	100.0
Negro	4.9	4.1	2.0	----
Other	1.1	----	2.0	----
Occupation:				
Large Business/Prof.	10.6	14.3	----	8.0
White Collar/Small Bus.	18.0	22.4	18.4	2.0
Skilled	18.0	10.2	14.3	14.0
Semi-skilled	37.8	49.0	46.9	60.0
Unskilled	4.2	----	2.0	----
Farm Owner	.7	----	----	----
Farm Laborer	----	----	----	----
Retired	1.4	----	----	----
Unemployed	1.1	----	4.1	2.0
No Response	8.1	4.1	14.3	14.0
Region: Same City	66.4	61.2	61.2	62.0
South	.7	----	----	----
Border	2.1	----	----	2.0
North or West	21.2	12.2	12.2	8.0
Michigan	3.2	----	----	2.0
Other	.4	2.0	----	----
Length of Residence:				
Less than six years	11.0	26.5	24.5	20.0
Six - ten years	10.6	53.1	53.1	70.0
More than ten years	76.0	12.2	14.3	6.0
Age: 7	----	----	----	----
8	----	32.7	30.6	40.0
9	----	16.3	18.4	8.0
10	----	36.7	30.6	40.0
11	.4	14.3	18.4	12.0
12	27.2	----	2.0	----
13	31.4	----	----	----
14	32.2	----	----	----
15	8.1	----	----	----
16	----	----	----	----
17	----	----	----	----
18	----	----	----	----

not between similar schools. Thus, schools with respondents from the third and the fifth grades have a similar age distribution; schools with respondents from the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades have similar distributions; schools with respondents from the seventh and ninth grades have similar age distributions; and schools with respondents from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades have similar distributions. A third similarity is displayed in the proportion of respondents who resided in the same city for their entire lifetime with most schools reporting about 60 per cent; however, Grand Rapids Union and Reeths-Puffer Junior High School have slightly higher proportions. Lower proportions are reported from Kalamazoo South (50%), Bridgeport Junior High (45%), and Bridgeport Elementary (40%). It should be noted that the three schools with the lower proportions report relatively high rates of immigration from other cities in Michigan, in the North, or in the West.

There also exists appreciable differences in the schools which should be noted. One major difference is the proportion of Negroes found in the various schools. Two schools, Muskegon Heights and Grand Rapids South, can be characterized as predominately black schools with 70 and 85 per cent Negroes respectively. Grand Rapids Central, Kalamazoo South, and Kalamazoo Hillside are predominately white schools but do have a sizeable Negro population with 29, 24, and 16 per cent respectively. Eight schools can be described as primarily white schools with a trace of Negro students: Grand Rapids Burton, Northeastern, and Ridgeview; Kalamazoo Northeast; Bridgeport Banner; and Reeths-Puffer High School, Junior High,

and Laketon Central. The other eight schools are essentially totally white schools with less than 3 per cent blacks.

Table VI shows a variance in the ranking of parental occupations in the various schools. This variance is best expressed in terms of the degree of concentration in the white collar and professional rankings. At the one extreme, only 10 per cent of the students have fathers who placed in these occupational ranks in Muskegon Heights, McMillan, and Grand Rapids South. At the other extreme, Grand Rapids Ridgeview has about 80 per cent of the parents in these ranks. Three schools (Kalamazoo South, Hillside, and Grand Rapids Northeastern) are characterized as having about 50 per cent of the student's parents in these categories, and three schools (Kalamazoo Northeast, Milwood, and Laketon Central) with about 35 per cent. The other eleven schools report between 17 per cent and 31 per cent. A similar distribution, but in reverse, is evident for the combined categories of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Ridgeview, Hillside, and Grand Rapids Northeastern rank the lowest (less than 25 per cent) in the proportion of parents employed in these occupations; and McMillan, Muskegon Heights, and Grand Rapids South rank high (more than 47 per cent).

Research instrument

The data for this project are based upon a questionnaire anonymously filled out by the respondents. An initial draft of this instrument was formulated by Dr. Donald Bouma, Project Director, and the current author in the spring of 1967. At that time, the instrument

underwent a pre-testing, using a sample of elementary and junior high students in various school systems in Western Michigan. These students ranged from the second to the ninth grades, and included both Negro and white students from a wide array of socio-economic backgrounds. The instrument was then modified to eliminate problem areas. After the completion of the first phase of the total project, the instrument was extended to more adequately tap respondents' perceptions of the attitudes of friends and parents toward the police. Copies of both instruments are included in the appendix.

The instrument was constructed to ascertain the respondent's attitudes toward the police (both general and specific images), the respondent's willingness to cooperate with the police, and the respondent's perceptions of the police images held by his friends and parents. The items pertaining to the student's perceptions of the police were adapted from the following sources and modified to fit the particular needs of this study: Feddema's study of Grand Rapids junior high school students in 1957, Chapman's study of delinquent and non-delinquent youth in Ohio in 1953, Walker's study of Negro and white youth in 1963, and Portune's study of junior high school students in Cincinnati in 1965. In addition to these items, the following personal data were obtained: respondent's sex, grade in school, age, race, length of residence in the city, prior place of residence, church participation, involvement with the police, and occupation of parents.

A series of precautions were taken to standardize the administration of the instrument. First, the questionnaire was read aloud to alleviate the problem of poor readers.¹ Second, the schedule was read verbatim and all explanatory remarks were standardized among the administrators. Third, the schedule was administered by graduate students from the Sociology Department at Western Michigan University. To assess the influence of the race of the administrators and the influence of the unfamiliarity of the administrators to the students, two Negroes administered the questionnaire to a small sample of classes including both white and Negro students, and the regular classroom teacher administered the questionnaire to another sample. The public address system was used with another sample (a graduate student read the schedule over the public address system, gave all introductory remarks, and explained particular items; while the regular classroom teacher supervised the individual classrooms). The analysis of these data indicated that neither the race of the administrator nor the unfamiliarity of the administrator had an influence on the results of the study.

Perception of police scales

To facilitate the analysis, "perceptions of police" scales were constructed. These scales were developed through the principle of

¹This procedure was omitted only in high school classes where reading ability was no handicap and where the procedure would have been deflating to the students' self-esteem.

arranging the matrix of intercorrelations for the entire set of items to maximize the magnitudes of the correlation coefficients on the main diagonal (Borgatta, 1958: 516-528). The particular scale items were chosen by selecting those items which cluster together. This simplex procedure resulted in the formulation of two identifiable scales: Scale PPR (Perception of Police Reputation) and Scale PPP (Perception of Police Prejudice).¹

Scale PPR reflects the respondent's attitudes toward police behavior as related to the general performance of the police role, and is composed of the following items:

1. Do you think that policemen are pretty nice guys?
Yes = 2. Not Sure = 1. No = 0.
2. Do you think that the police think they are "big shots" because they wear a badge?
No = 2. Not Sure = 1. Yes = 0.
11. Do you think that the police are always picking on the guy who has been in trouble before?
No = 2. Not Sure = 1. Yes = 0.
12. Do you think that the police are mean?
No = 2. Not Sure = 1. Yes = 0.
15. Do you think that the police can steal and get away with it?
No = 2. Not Sure = 1. Yes = 0.

¹These labels were coined by James Dingman (1969).

24. Do you think that the police accuse you of things you didn't even do?

No = 2. Not Sure = 1. Yes = 0.

Scale PPP reflects the respondent's attitudes toward police treatment of differential categories of persons, and is composed of the following items:

4. Do you feel that police are always picking on Negroes?

No = 2. Not Sure = 1. Yes = 0.

6. Do you feel that policemen treat rich boys the same as poor boys?

Yes = 2. Not Sure = 1. No = 0.

13. Do you feel that policemen treat all people alike?

Yes = 2. Not Sure = 1. No = 0.

17. Do you think that police treat Negro and white people alike?

Yes = 2. Not Sure = 1. No = 0.

25. Do you think police treat members of all churches alike?

Yes = 2. Not Sure = 1. No = 0.

26. Do you think police treat all nationalities alike?

Yes = 2. Not Sure = 1. No = 0.

On both scales, the total scale score is the equivalent of the summated ratings of the individual items (Shaw and Wright, 1967: 24). The direction of scoring for the individual items is based on the judgment of a panel of ten judges, and assigns 2 points for favorable reactions, 1 point for uncertain answers, and 0 points for unfavorable reactions. The range for each scale is from 0 (unfavorable) to 12 (favorable).

The reliability of the scale was evaluated through the use of the "split-half" method by utilizing the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula.¹ It has been recommended that this technique be employed only with scales which are longer than 16 to 20 items (Goode and Hatt, 1952: 236). As the utilization of this method with shorter scales is a conservative measurement of the reliability, the decision was made to accept coefficients of .75 or better as adequate. Using the entire Kalamazoo sample, reliability coefficients were computed for all possible combinations of split-half groups. The results are reported in Table VII. For Scale PPP, only one coefficient was below .75, and the range of the values for the coefficients was from .74 to .82; and for Scale PPR, no coefficients were less than .75, and the range was from .75 to .79. Thus, the reliability coefficients for both scales are sufficient to indicate satisfactory reliability. Further, the range of the reliability coefficients is small enough to indicate that approximately identical results would be obtained regardless of the groupings involved.

In addition to content validity, the scales display construct validity (Shaw and Wright, 1967: 18-19) by discriminating between two known groups. All studies which have analyzed the pro-police images of various racial groups indicate that American Negroes hold

¹Formula for Spearman-Brown prophecy coefficient is:

$$r_{kk} = \frac{2r_{nn}}{1 + r_{nn}} \quad (\text{see Guilford, 1954}).$$

TABLE VII: Correlation Coefficients for Reliability Analysis

<u>Split-Halves of Scales</u>		<u>Correlation Coefficients</u>
<u>Items in First</u>	<u>Items in Second</u>	
<u>Half</u>	<u>Half</u>	
Scale PPP:		
4, 6, 13	17, 24, 25	.77
4, 6, 17	13, 24, 25	.77
4, 6, 24	13, 17, 25	.76
4, 6, 25	13, 17, 24	.80
4, 13, 17	6, 24, 25	.74
4, 13, 24	6, 17, 25	.80
4, 13, 25	6, 17, 24	.82
4, 17, 24	6, 13, 25	.79
4, 17, 25	6, 13, 24	.78
4, 24, 25	6, 13, 17	.75
Scale PPR:		
1, 10, 11	14, 15, 23	.79
1, 10, 14	11, 15, 23	.75
1, 10, 15	11, 14, 23	.78
1, 10, 23	11, 14, 15	.79
1, 11, 14	10, 15, 23	.78
1, 11, 15	10, 14, 23	.79
1, 11, 23	10, 14, 15	.78
1, 14, 15	10, 11, 23	.75
1, 14, 23	10, 11, 15	.78
1, 15, 23	10, 11, 14	.79

less favorable images than do American whites. Likewise, Negroes in the Kalamazoo Public Schools (Bouma and Williams, 1968: 5) show less favorable attitudes toward the police than do whites on both scales: for Scale PPR, the median scale score for Negroes is 7, for whites 3; and for Scale PPP, the median scale score for Negroes is 8, for whites 4.

Operational specification of key variables

The variables of grade in school, age, sex, and race were based on the self-reporting of the respondents. Grade in school referred to that grade enrolled in at the time of administration; age referred to the age at the respondent's last birthday; sex referred to the respondent's perception of his own gender; and race referred to the self-labeling of one's race.

Information on church participation was based on the respondent's response to the question, "Do you usually go to church or Sunday School?" An affirmative response indicates only the general extent of religious training to which the respondent is exposed, and is not indicative of religiosity or strength of convictions or beliefs.

In order not to jeopardize the needed cooperation of the officials in the various schools systems, the question of interaction with the police was approached indirectly. Although such information might prove to be fruitful, it was decided that data about arrests and convictions should not be included in this survey. A less sensitive but more palatable question was ultimately included: "Have the police ever asked you any questions because you did something wrong?" An affirmative answer indicates only that the respondent has been exposed to the police on an official level, and does not reveal the degree of the seriousness of the incident nor the atmosphere of the interaction.

The region variable was based on the respondent's identification of the last city and state in which he had lived prior to moving to

the current city of residence. Respondents were categorized into one of the following groupings:

0. Lived entire life in same city.
1. Lived in the South (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Virginia).
2. Lived in Border States (Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, D.C., or West Virginia).
3. Lived in Michigan in city other than city of current residence.
4. Lived in the North or the West (all states except those listed in the South, Border States, and Michigan).
5. Lived in another country.

The placement of states into the classes of South or Border States is based on similar classifications found in Uniform Crime Reports (F.B.I., 1967), in Vander Zanden's American Minority Relations (1960), and in Lewis' Portrait of a Decade (1964).

Ranking of parental occupational status was based on the respondents' written description of their parents' occupation. To maximize the anonymity of the respondents, students were specifically instructed to list the type of work in which their parents were engaged, rather than the place of business. These occupational descriptions were ranked on the basis of Center's (1949: 49) ranking of occupational status. The following categories were utilized:

0. Large business, professional: bankers, manufacturers, large department store owners and managers; physicians, dentists, professors, teachers, ministers, engineers.

1. Small business, white collar: clerks and kindred workers, salesmen, agents, technicians; small retail dealers, contractors, proprietors of repair shops.
2. Skilled manual workers and foremen: carpenters, machinists, plumbers, masons, printers, barbers, cooks.
3. Semi-skilled manual workers: truck drivers, machine operators, service station attendants, waiters, countermen.
4. Unskilled manual workers: garage laborers, sweepers, porters, janitors, street cleaners, construction laborers.
5. Farm owners and managers: any person who owns or manages a farm, a ranch, or grove.
6. Farm laborers: all nonowning, nonrenting farm workers.
7. Retired.
8. Unemployed.

CHAPTER III: ANALYSIS OF DATA

Chapter II outlined the hypothesized influence of particular variables on adolescent perceptions of the police of interest to this research. The present chapter will focus on the analysis of the empirical data related to these hypothesized relationships. The first section of this chapter will examine the influence of residence in a neighborhood with a high proportion of Negroes on attitudes toward the police, the second section will examine the influence of emigration from the South to the North, and the third section will examine the relative influence of parents as compared to the influence of peers.

Racial Concentration and Attitudes Toward the Police

In an earlier analysis of these data (Bouma and Williams, 1968: 5; Bouma, 1969: 55), race was found to be the most significant single factor associated with differences in attitudes toward the police with Negro students expressing less favorable attitudes toward the police than white students. For the Kalamazoo sample, the median score for Scale PPP (Perception of Police Prejudice) for Negroes was four, for whites eight. The median score for Scale PPR (Perception of Police Reputation) for Negroes was five, for whites nine. On both scales, high scores denote favorable images of the police.

As a result of this racial differential, those schools with a higher percentage of Negro students have significantly lower pro-

police attitudes than those schools with lower proportions of Negroes. The current problem is to focus on the respondents who are located in such socio-cultural environments in order to assess the impact of racial concentration on attitudes held by students toward the police.

Research-Hypothesis I asserts that Negro respondents enrolled in schools with a relatively high proportion of Negro students will exhibit fewer pro-police sentiments than will those Negro respondents who are enrolled in schools with a low proportion of Negro students. This research-hypothesis implies that white students will not display a similar tendency. If Research-Hypothesis I is valid, one would expect that the median scores on Scale PPP and Scale PPR will vary inversely with the proportion of Negro students in the schools for Negro respondents, but will not vary for white respondents.

Attitudes toward the police and racial concentration in junior high schools

Chapter II (p. 84) summarizes the proportion of Negroes found in the various junior high schools. Two schools, Muskegon Heights and Grand Rapids South, can be characterized as predominately black schools with 70 and 85 per cent Negroes respectively. Grand Rapids Central, Kalamazoo South, and Kalamazoo Hillside are predominately white schools but do have a sizeable Negro population with 29, 24, and 16 per cent respectively. Three schools can be described as primarily white schools with a few Negro students: Grand Rapids Burton, Kalamazoo Northeast, and Reeths-Puffer. The other five schools are essentially totally white schools with less than three per cent Negro students.

A comparison of median scale scores by junior high school enrollment and race is made in Table VIII. The data in this table indicate that 1) over-all, Negroes have fewer favorable images of the police than do whites; 2) whites in all schools display similar degrees of pro-police sentiments; 3) generally Negroes in schools with the greater proportion of Negroes have lower median scores than Negroes in schools with lower proportions of Negroes; and 4) Negroes in Kalamazoo schools have significantly lower median scores than corresponding Negroes in the other cities.

TABLE VIII: Adolescent Attitudes Toward the Police by Race: Comparison of Median Scale Scores of Junior High Schools (Grades 7 and 9)

<u>School</u>	<u>Scale PPP</u>		<u>Scale PPR</u>	
	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>
Muskegon Heights	5	8	7	9
Grand Rapids:				
South	6	10*	6	8*
Central	6	9	7	9
Burton	6*	10	8*	9
Northeastern	9.5**	9	9**	9
Ridgeview	11**	9	9**	9
Union	10**	10	8**	9
Kalamazoo:				
South	4	8	5	9
Hillside	4	8	4	9
Northeast	4*	7	7*	9
Milwood	6**	8	6**	9
Bridgeport	5.5**	10	9**	10
Reeths-Puffer	4**	9	6**	10
TOTALS	5	9	6	9

* n = 25 or less

** n = 10 or less

The fourth column of this table gives a comparison of median scale scores for white respondents in the various schools on Scale PPR. Almost all schools report the same median score, with the exception of Grand Rapids South which is slightly lower than the other schools, and Bridgeport and Reeths-Puffer which are slightly higher. It happens that Grand Rapids South has a relatively large proportion of Negroes, and Bridgeport and Reeths-Puffer have relatively small proportions of Negro students; however, no significant pattern is evident between schools with high Negro concentration and schools with low Negro concentration.

A comparison of the median scores on Scale PPP for white respondents in the various junior high schools is presented in the second column of Table VIII. Table IX shows the percent of respondents in each school who fall below the group median for all whites (the group median is nine). Two general observations on these data are in order. First, although the per cents do vary between schools, students attending junior high schools with relatively high Negro ratios do not differ consistently from those respondents attending junior highs with relatively low Negro concentrations. Second, the major difference exhibited between percentage figures is between students attending schools in Muskegon Heights and Kalamazoo and students attending schools in Grand Rapids, Bridgeport, and Reeths-Puffer. Muskegon Heights and Kalamazoo schools have between 55 and 66 per cent of the white students falling below the group median, while the other schools have between 42 and 48 per cent doing so.

TABLE IX: White Respondent's Attitudes Toward the Police by School:
Per Cent of White Respondents Who Fall Below the Median Score on
Scale PPP for All Whites

<u>School</u>	<u>Per Cent Below Group Median (9)</u>
Muskegon Heights	60%
Grand Rapids	
South	42%
Central	48%
Burton	45%
Northeastern	46%
Ridgeview	48%
Union	43%
Kalamazoo:	
South	56%
Hillside	63%
Northeast	66%
Milwood	55%
Bridgeport	47%
Reeths-Puffer	47%

($\chi^2 = 65.76$; d.f. = 12; $p < .001$)

The data for Negro respondents on Scale PPP are summarized in column one of Table VIII and in Table X. Looking at the data as a whole, no persistent relationship is evident between median scores and racial composition of the schools. However, it is evident that the Negro students in the Kalamazoo system have less favorable attitudes toward the police than the Negro students in the other systems. Thus, when city of residence is controlled for, a recognizable pattern develops. In each city with more than one junior high school, those Negro students enrolled in schools with relatively high Negro enrollments (Muskegon Heights, Grand Rapids South, Grand Rapids Central,

Kalamazoo South, and Kalamazoo Hillside) have fewer pro-police sentiments than those Negro students enrolled in schools with relatively low Negro enrollments.

**TABLE X: Negro Respondents' Attitudes Toward the Police by School:
Per Cent of Negro Respondents Who Fall Below the Median Score on
Scale PPP for All Negroes**

<u>School</u>	<u>Per Cent Below Group Median (5)</u>
Muskegon Heights	44%
Grand Rapids:	
South	48%
Central	45%
Burton	33%
Northeastern	33%
Ridgeview	00%
Union	00%
Kalamazoo:	
South	64%
Hillside	65%
Northeast	68%
Milwood	50%
Bridgeport	50%
Reeths-Puffer	56%

($\chi^2 = 31.55$; d.f. = 12; $p < .01$)

A similar pattern, although not so clear, is reported for Negro respondents on Scale PPR. First, an over-all relationship between median scores and racial composition of the schools is not evident. Second, Negro students in the Kalamazoo system hold more unfavorable images of police reputation than the Negro students in the other systems. Third, in each city, schools with a high proportion of Negro

students tend to have a larger percentage of Negro students below the group median than those schools with a low proportion of Negro students. A comparison of the median scores on Scale PPR for Negro respondents in the various schools is reported in the third column of Table VIII and in Table XI.

TABLE XI: Negro Respondents' Attitudes Toward the Police by School: Per Cent of Negro Respondents Who Fall Below the Median Score on Scale PPR for All Negroes

<u>School</u>	<u>Per Cent Below Group Median (6)</u>
Muskegon Heights	38%
Grand Rapids:	
South	48%
Central	37%
Burton	40%
Northeastern	17%
Ridgeview	20%
Union	50%
Kalamazoo:	
South	62%
Hillside	59%
Northeast	44%
Milwood	50%
Bridgeport	33%
Reeths-Puffer	60%
$(\chi^2 = 24.27; d.f. = 12; p < .02)$	

In short, the data reported for the comparison of the median scale scores for the junior high schools suggest: 1) that the whites in all schools held similar perceptions of police reputation; 2) that whites in the schools in Kalamazoo and Muskegon Heights have slightly

less favorable assessments of police prejudice than those in the other systems but that no discernible difference is evident for whites between schools of varying racial composition within the same schools system; 3) that Negroes in the Kalamazoo schools hold less favorable attitudes toward police prejudice than those in the other systems and that Negroes in schools with a high content of Negro students have more unfavorable attitudes than those in the other schools; and 4) that Negro students in Kalamazoo express fewer pro-police sentiments on Scale PPR than those in other schools and that pro-police sentiment varies inversely with the percentage of Negroes enrolled in that school. Thus, these findings provide partial support for Research-Hypothesis I.

Attitudes toward the police and racial concentration in elementary schools

At the time of this survey, the elementary schools in the Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo public school systems¹ were, for the most part, neighborhood schools. Except for special schools which served students throughout the district, i.e. schools for the handicapped, the elementary schools drew their students from the immediate geographic

¹The data for this section are based on the Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo samples. Bridgeport and Reeths-Puffer were omitted due to a lack of Negro students, while Muskegon Heights was omitted due to the inability to locate adequate racial data on the elementary schools in the system.

area. The junior high schools served a wider area as they combined the students from various elementary schools for their student populations. Thus, the student bodies of the elementary schools are better approximations of certain neighborhood characteristics than are the student bodies of the junior high schools -- in this case, racial distribution.

Table XII reports the per cent of Negro students enrolled in the various elementary schools attended by respondents during the sixth grade. The elementary schools are essentially Negro or essentially white with only two schools, Woodward and Roosevelt in the Kalamazoo system, between these two extremes. As the racial distribution of the schools is not continuous, the grouping of schools is not continuous but represents meaningful categories. Those schools in Category A can be characterized as essentially Negro schools with 85 per cent or more Negro students. The three schools in Category B are also predominately Negro with about 75 per cent Negro populations. Category C is composed of the two schools where about half of the students are white and the other half Negro. Category D contains those schools which are essentially white but which have a sizeable Negro population (10 to 20 per cent). The schools in Category E are predominately white with a few Negro students. Those schools which have been located in Category F are essentially totally white schools with less than 5 per cent Negro students. Categories A, B, and C are combined in Group I -- schools with high Negro enrollment; and categories D, E, and F are combined to make Group II -- schools with low Negro enrollment.

TABLE XII: Percentage of Negro Students in Elementary Schools*

KalamazooGrand Rapids

Group I: High Negro Enrollment

Category A: 85 to 100%

95% Lincoln
86% Northglade

98% Sheldon
97% Morris
92% Campau
92% Henry
90% Vanderberg
89% Jefferson
85% Madison

Category B: 70 to 80%

76% Alexander
75% Franklin
74% Sigsbee

Category C: 40 to 50%

48% Woodward
40% Roosevelt

Group II: Low Negro Enrollment

Category D: 11 to 20%

17% Edison

17% Oakdale
16% Mulick Park
15% Huff
15% Michigan Oak
12% Wellerwood
11% Ottawa Elementary

Category E: 5 to 10%

8% McKinley
7% West Main

9% Aberdeen
7% Crestview
7% Hall
6% Dickinson
5% Congress

Category F: Less than 5% Negro

All remaining schools.

All remaining schools.

*Data obtained from student census of minority ethnic groups requested by the Michigan Department of Education from all schools in Michigan.

This census was conducted in Spring, 1967.

TABLE XIII: Pro-police Sentiments of Negro and White Students: Comparison of Median Scale Scores by City and Negro Concentration of Schools

<u>Racial Concentration of Elementary School</u>	<u>Grand Rapids</u>		<u>Kalamazoo</u>	
	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>
Scale PPP:				
High Proportion of Negroes	6.5	8.5	4	8
Low Proportion of Negroes	6.5	10	4	9
Scale PPR:				
High Proportion of Negroes	6	8	5	9
Low Proportion of Negroes	8	9	5	9

(Differences between medians controlling for race and city are not statistically significant except for whites in Grand Rapids on Scale PPP: $\chi^2 = 4.44$; d.f. = 1; $p < .05$.)

Table XIII reports the comparison of pro-police sentiments of Negro and white respondents grouped by proportion of Negro students in the elementary school attended in the sixth grade. Two patterns are evident for the median values for Scale PPP. First, Negroes have less favorable images of the police than do corresponding whites. This differential is the greatest in Kalamazoo where whites have a median score of eight in schools with a high proportion of Negroes and nine in schools with a low proportion of Negroes and Negroes have a median score of four in both classifications as compared to Grand Rapids where Negroes have median scores of 6.5 in both classifications of schools and whites 8.5 in schools with a high proportion of Negroes and ten in schools with a low proportion of Negroes. Second, for all categories of respondents, students in Grand Rapids

report more favorable images of the police than corresponding students in Kalamazoo. Further, white students in the two cities report more similar perceptions of the police than do Negro students: for whites, the median scores are 8.5 for Grand Rapids respondents in schools with a high proportion of Negroes compared to eight for respondents in Kalamazoo and ten for Grand Rapids respondents in schools with a low proportion of Negro students compared with nine for Kalamazoo respondents; but for Negroes, the median scores are 6.5 for all students in Grand Rapids compared to four for all students in Kalamazoo.

However, the hypothesized relationship is not evident for Scale PPP. Controlling for city of residence, the median score for Negroes enrolled in schools with a high proportion of Negroes is the same as the median score for Negroes enrolled in schools with a low proportion of Negroes. On the other hand, whites enrolled in schools with a low proportion of Negro students express slightly more pro-police sentiment concerning police prejudice than those whites enrolled in schools with a high proportion of Negro students.

For the perceptions of police reputation, similar patterns are found. First, Negroes have more negative feelings toward the police than corresponding whites with a greater difference between Negroes and whites in Kalamazoo than in Grand Rapids. Second, Negroes in Kalamazoo exhibit less pro-police sentiments than corresponding Negroes in Grand Rapids; but, a similar trend is not evident for white students. Further, Negro students enrolled in schools with a low proportion of Negroes have relatively high pro-police perceptions when compared with other Negro respondents and when compared with

white respondents. Third, the hypothesized relationship that Negroes in schools with low proportions of Negroes would express more pro-police attitudes than Negroes in schools with high proportions of Negroes is not evident in the median scores for Kalamazoo. However, for Grand Rapids, both the Negro and the white respondents who attended an elementary school with a high Negro concentration have lower median scores than similar students from schools with low Negro concentrations.

Table XIV further extends the comparison of attitudes toward the police by students in schools with differing concentrations of Negro students. This table reports the comparison of expressed feelings by race, city of residence, and racial concentration of elementary schools attended in the sixth grade. In general, these data support the conclusions reported for the comparison of median scores. First, Negroes report less pro-police sentiment than do corresponding whites. Second, Negroes in Kalamazoo hold less favorable attitudes toward the police than do Negroes in Grand Rapids; however, a similar differential is not evident for whites. Third, there are no significant differences between students who attended elementary schools with a high proportion of Negroes and those who attended elementary schools with a low proportion of Negroes when race and city of residence is held constant. The three significant discrepancies from this pattern (Negro respondents in Grand Rapids on the questions dealing with the meanness of the police, with the probability of criminals usually getting caught, and with police picking on Negroes) all reflect Negroes from schools with a low proportion of Negroes as

TABLE XIV: Comparison of Expressed Feelings About the Police by Race, City of Residence, and Racial Concentration of Elementary Schools Attended in the Sixth Grade

<u>Question:</u>		<u>Kalamazoo</u>				<u>Grand Rapids</u>			
		<u>Negro</u>		<u>White</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>White</u>	
		<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>
		<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Feelings about the way the police operate:									
Do you think that the police are mean?	Yes	33%	32%	10%	15%	8%	22%	9%	17%
	Not Sure	31	28	17	23	27	27	19	17
	No	36	40	73	62	63	48	72	66
can steal and get away with it?	Yes	38	25	9	9	25	23	7	6
	Not Sure	8	18	9	11	13	17	10	17
	No	54	55	82	80	59	59	80	74
are pretty nice guys?	Yes	51	42	76	73	68	56	74	63
	Not Sure	23	27	15	18	24	28	18	20
	No	26	32	9	9	8	5	7	17
think they are "big shots" because they	Yes	54	57	21	22	36	42	21	26
	Not Sure	13	13	13	13	13	15	15	26
	No	33	30	66	65	51	41	63	46
Do you think that criminals usually get caught?	Yes	69	67	81	77	84	64	77	77
	Not Sure	15	16	10	9	11	20	11	2
	No	15	16	9	14	3	16	10	5

TABLE XIV. . . Continued

Question:		Kalamazoo				Grand Rapids			
		Negro		White		Negro		White	
		Low Ratio	High Ratio	Low Ratio	High Ratio	Low Ratio	High Ratio	Low Ratio	High Ratio
Feelings about the way the police treat racial groups:									
Do you think that the police are always picking on Negroes?	Yes	41%	32%	10%	10%	27%	35%	8%	6%
	Not Sure	10	16	11	10	14	25	13	20
	No	46	52	79	80	57	38	79	74
treat Negro and white people alike?	Yes	18	15	44	48	33	27	55	57
	Not Sure	8	17	19	15	17	22	20	20
	No	74	68	38	37	49	50	24	20

having more favorable views of the police than Negroes in schools with a high proportion of Negroes.

In summary, the data for elementary school origin of the respondents suggest that race is the most influential variable on pro-police sentiments. Further, they suggest that pro-police sentiment varies somewhat with city of residence. In addition, they do not indicate that students who had attended sixth grade in schools with a low percentage of Negroes have different images of the police than those students who had attended sixth grade in schools with a high percentage of Negroes. Thus, these data do not support Research-Hypothesis I. However, most of the deviation from the general pattern are in the predicted direction.

Migration From the South and Youth Attitudes Toward the Police

The second hypothesis is that Negroes migrating from the South to the North would express more favorable attitudes toward the police than would Northern-reared Negroes. Further, it was suggested that this relationship would not be evident for corresponding whites. This section summarizes the data pertaining to this research-hypothesis.

Table XV reports the median scale scores by race and region. On both scales, Negroes hold less favorable images of the police than do corresponding whites. On Scale PPR, whites in all region categories have the same median score, and Negroes in all region categories have identical median scores. On Scale PPP, whites migrating from the South or from the North have slightly more favorable perceptions than

TABLE XV: Students' Attitudes Toward the Police by Race and Region:
Comparison of Median Scale Scores¹

<u>Region</u>	<u>Scale PPP</u>		<u>Scale PPR</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
South	9	6	9	6
Border	8	6	9	6
Total South and Border	8	6	9	6
North	9	5	9	6
Native	8	5	9	6
Total North and Native	8.5	5	9	6

TABLE XVI: Negro Students' Attitudes Toward the Police by Region
Controlling for Length of Residence: Comparison of Median Scale
Scores²

<u>Years of Residence</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Border</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>Native</u>
Scale PPP:				
3 or less	6	6*	5	--
4 to 6	5*	6*	6	--
Total 6 or less	6	6	5	--
7 to 9	6*	8*	6	--
10 or more	4	2.5*	5	5
Total 7 or more	5.5	6	5	5
Scale PPR:				
3 or less	6	6*	6	--
4 to 6	6*	6*	6	--
Total 6 or less	6	6	6	--
7 to 9	6.5*	8*	8	--
10 or more	6	5.5*	6	6
Total 7 or more	6	8	6	6

*Medians based on less than 10 cases.

¹Data in this table are based on respondents in the following schools: Muskegon Heights; Grand Rapids South, Central, Union, and Burton; and Kalamazoo South, Hillside, Milwood, and Northeast. These schools include approximately 90% of the respondents from the South and Border States.

²Data in this table are based on the sample described for Table XV.

do whites native to the current city of residence and those migrating from the Border States; however, when the respondents from the South and the Border States are collapsed into one category and the respondents from the North and Natives are placed in another category, these differences disappear. But for Negroes on Scale PPP, the median scores for respondents migrating from the South are higher than the median scores for Northern-reared respondents. Thus, the data in Table XV would suggest that Negroes migrating to the North hold slightly more favorable perceptions of police prejudice than Negroes native to the North; however, this relationship does not hold for perceptions of police reputation.

The rationale presented in Chapter II argues further that the influence of migrating from the South on Negroes will diminish with extended residence in the North. Table XVI summarizes the median scale scores for Negroes by residence controlling for length of residence. The data suggest that those respondents who migrated from the South but who have lived most of their lives in the North (i.e. ten or more years) have lower pro-police scores on Scale PPP than recent migrants (i.e. three or less years). When the length of residence is dichotomized into six or less years and seven or more years, the differential in median scores disappears. Except for respondents who migrated from the North seven to nine years ago and those who migrated from Border States seven or more years ago who have more favorable perceptions than others, no significant differences are apparent for the median scores on Scale PPR. Thus, the data in Table XVI indicate that the length of residence in the

TABLE XVII: Dichotomized Variables Used in Binary Analysis

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Description</u>
City of Residence	0 Grand Rapids, Muskegon Heights 1 Kalamazoo
Age	0 14 or more years of age 1 13 or less years of age
Race	0 Negro 1 White
Region	0 Migrated from North, or Native 1 Migrated from South or Border States
Length of Residence	0 7 years or more 1 6 years or less
Police Interaction	0 High interaction 1 Low interaction
Church Attendance	0 Low attendance 1 High attendance
Father's Occupation	0 Low status: Blue collar 1 High status: White collar and Professional
Sex	0 Male 1 Female

North has no influence on the degree of pro-police sentiments.

Due to an insufficient number of cases in certain cells, Tables XV and XVI cannot adequately be expanded to control for other important variables. Thus another technique must be employed to accomplish this task. The procedure known as Binary (Dummy) variable analysis (see Borgatta, 1965; Watts, 1963) is a technique which can be used to control for a series of variables when the sample is only moderately high. However, one must dichotomize the independent variable in order to utilize this procedure. Table XVII shows the result of this dichotomization.

TABLE XVIII: The Influence of City of Residence, Age, Race, Region, Length of Residence, Police Interaction, Church Attendance, Father's Occupation, and Sex on Perceptions of the Police: Results of Regression Analysis of Key Variables¹

	<u>Regression 1</u> <u>Scale PPP</u>	<u>Regression 2</u> <u>Scale PPR</u>
a: Regression Constant	4.66	4.26
B ₁ : City of Residence	-.76	-.44
B ₂ : Age	.53	.81
B ₃ : Race	2.57	2.36
B ₄ : Region	-.14	.13
B ₅ : Length of Residence	.01	-.26
B ₆ : Police Interaction	.61	.82
B ₇ : Church Attendance	.45	.80
B ₈ : Father's Occupation	.24	.55
B ₉ : Sex	.09	.32
Multiple R	.36	.41

Table XVIII reports the results of the regression analysis of the nine binary variable as related to perceptions of the police. Focusing on the magnitude of the Beta weights of Regression One (Perceptions of Police Prejudice), the relative influence of the nine variables can

¹Data in this table are based on a sub-sample which includes all respondents from the South or Border States and a random selection of respondents from the North or Natives included in the sample described for Table XV.

be ordered as follows: race has the greatest influence, followed by city of residence and police interaction with considerably less influence, followed by age and church attendance, followed by father's occupation, region, and sex, and finally length of residence which exhibits only slight influence. Focusing on the signs of the Beta weights, the following relationships are evident: whites have more favorable perceptions of police prejudice than do Negroes, respondents residing in Muskegon Heights or Grand Rapids have more favorable perceptions than do respondents living in Kalamazoo, respondents with no involvement with the police have more favorable images than those with police interaction, younger respondents more favorable than older respondents, respondents with regular church attendance more favorable than those with low attendance, respondents whose fathers have high status occupations more favorable than respondents whose fathers have low status occupations, respondents from the North more favorable than those from the South, and females more favorable than males.

Looking at the results of Regression Two (Scale PPR), race exerts the greatest influence on the attitudes toward the police. Police interaction, age, and church attendance show the next greatest influence, followed by father's occupation and city of residence, followed by sex and length of residence, and finally region. Table XVIII, Regression Two, suggests that whites have more favorable perceptions of police reputation than Negroes, respondents without police involvement more favorable than those with, respondents with church attendance more favorable than those without, younger respondents more

favorable than older respondents, those with fathers of high status occupations more favorable than those with fathers of low occupational status, those from Grand Rapids and Muskegon Heights more favorable than those from Kalamazoo, females more favorable than males, those who have lived an extended period of time in the current city of residence more favorable than more recent migrants, and respondents from the South higher than respondents from the North.

One major difficulty with the data in Table XVIII is that the interaction of the variables is not reported. The hypothesis states that Negroes migrating from the South would differ from Northern-reared Negroes, but whites migrating from the South would not differ from Northern-reared whites. Thus, the analysis should be concerned with the influence of the interaction of race and region and not merely the influence of each separately. The analysis is extended in Tables XIX and XX.

The results of the regression analysis of city of residence, age, region, length of residence, police interaction, church attendance, father's occupation, and sex on perceptions of the police for Negro respondents is presented in Table XIX. Over-all, the results of Regression One, Table XIX, are similar to the results of Regression One, Table XVIII. Concentrating on the magnitude of the Beta weights, they can be ordered as follows: city of residence has the greatest influence, followed by father's occupation, followed by age, and finally followed by region of residence, sex, police interaction, length of residence, and church attendance. This ordering

TABLE XVIX: The Influence of City of Residence, Age, Region, Length of Residence, Police Interaction, Church Attendance, Father's Occupation, and Sex on Perceptions of Police: Results of Regression Analysis of These Variables for Negro Students¹

	<u>Regression 1</u> <u>Scale PPP</u>	<u>Regression 2</u> <u>Scale PPR</u>
a: Regression Constant	5.16	5.18
B ₁ : City of Residence	-1.62	-1.23
B ₂ : Age	.88	1.29
B ₃ : Region	-.39	.43
B ₄ : Length of Residence	.21	-.41
B ₅ : Police Interaction	.23	-.00
B ₆ : Church Attendance	.18	.29
B ₇ : Father's Occupation	1.32	1.02
B ₈ : Sex	.29	.32
Multiple Correlation		

suggests that city of residence, father's occupation, region of residence, and length of residence are more influential on perceptions of the police held by the Negro respondents than on perceptions of the police held by the total sample; on the other hand, police interaction and church attendance are less influential. No differences are observed in the signs of the Beta weights for the two regression

¹Data in this table based on the Negro respondents in the sample described for Table XVIII.

analyses. We can conclude from these data that migration from the South has an influence on the perception of police prejudice held by Negro adolescents with those migrating from the South holding less pro-police sentiment, and that similar migration has little influence on white youths.

The comparison of the regression analysis for Scale PPR in Tables XVIII and XIX reveals certain similarities and important differences. First, whereas the variable of race was the most influential for the total sample overshadowing the influence of all other variables, no one single variable occupied a similar position for the Negro respondents. Second, the magnitude of the Beta weights suggest that, for the entire sample, race exerted the most influence on perceptions of police reputation, followed next by church attendance, age, and police interaction; however, for the Negro sample, father's occupation, city of residence, and age were the most influential, while police interaction and church attendance were the least influential, with sex, length of residence, and region in between. Third, the signs of the Beta weights were similar in both analyses. Fourth, the correlation coefficient for the multiple regression fell from .41 for the entire sample to .26 for the Negro respondents. These data suggest that whites migrating from the South have approximately the same pro-police sentiments as do white natives; on the other hand, Negro respondents migrating from the South have somewhat more pro-police sentiment than Negroes native to the North but those who have recently migrated have more negative opinions than those with longer residence.

TABLE XX: The Influence of Race, Region of Residence, Father's Occupation, and the Interaction of These Three Variables on Perceptions of the Police: Results of Regression Analysis of These Three Variables and the Interaction of These Three Variables as Related to Perceptions of the Police.

	<u>Regression 1</u> <u>Scale PPP</u>	<u>Regression 2</u> <u>Scale PPR</u>
a: Regression Constant	7.62	8.02
B ₁ : Race*	-2.10	-2.33
B ₂ : Region	.73	.07
B ₃ : Father's Occupation	.33	.56
B ₄ : Race X Region	-1.22	.19
B ₅ : Race X Father's Occupation	1.03	.99
B ₆ : Region X Father's Occupation	-1.50	-.34
B ₇ : Race X Region X Father's Occupation	1.60	-.76
Multiple Correlation	.34	.34

*Race for this analysis is coded 1 for Negroes, 0 for whites.

Table XX reports the regression analysis for race, region, father's occupation, and the interaction of these terms on perceptions of the police held by junior high youth. The results of Table XX are similar to the results of Table XIX. Regression One indicates that the four interaction terms are more influential than either region or father's occupation, but that they are less influential than race. Regression Two indicates that race is by far the most influential variable, and that those variables concerned with region have little influence.

It is possible to utilize the regression values in Table XX to project cross tabulations for the mean attitudinal values. The projected means are calculated by adding the appropriate Beta weights to the value of alpha (the y intercept). (See Watts, 1963). The projected means for the two regression analyses in Table XX are shown in Table XXI.

TABLE XXI: Attitudes Toward the Police by Race, Region of Residence, and Father's Occupation: Comparison of Projected Mean Values of Scale Scores as Computed From Regression Data

Scale PPP

	<u>Negro</u>		<u>White</u>	
	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>
High Status Occupation	6.9	6.5	8.0	7.2
Low Status Occupation	5.5	5.0	7.6	8.4

Scale PPR

	<u>Negro</u>		<u>White</u>	
	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>
High Status Occupation	7.2	6.4	8.6	8.3
Low Status Occupation	5.7	6.0	8.0	8.1

The data reported for Scale PPP suggest the following general conclusions: 1) White respondents who had migrated from the South and who have fathers with low status occupations hold the most favorable perceptions of police prejudice, while Negroes with the same characteristics hold the least favorable perceptions. 2) Negroes

hold more unfavorable images of the police than corresponding whites. This is especially evident for Negroes who have fathers with low status occupations compared to whites who have fathers with low status occupations. 3) Respondents who have fathers with low status occupations show less pro-police sentiment than those with fathers of high status occupations. This pattern is especially noticeable for Negroes. One exception is the Southern whites with fathers of low status occupations. They hold more favorable views of the police than those with high status fathers. 4) Respondents from the North have slightly more favorable attitudes toward the police than those migrating to the North, except for low status whites.

The data reported for Scale PPR suggest the following general conclusions: 1) Northern white respondents with fathers of high status occupations display the most favorable perceptions of police reputation; although there is little difference between the means for whites in all four categories. 2) Northern Negroes with fathers of low status occupations report the least favorable perceptions. 3) Negroes hold less favorable images of the police than whites, especially among those with fathers of low status occupations. 4) Respondents with fathers of low status occupations have less pro-police sentiment than respondents with fathers of high status occupations. 5) Northern Negroes with fathers of high status occupations have slightly more favorable perceptions of the police than similar Negroes from the South.

In summary, the data do not support Hypothesis II. For whites, migration from the South does not have an influence on images of the

police. Negroes who have migrated to the North report similar responses on Scale PPR when compared with Negroes native to the North. On Scale PPP, migration from the South has a slight influence on the responses for Negroes; but Negroes migrating from the South have slightly less favorable attitudes than Northern-reared Negroes. However, the differences between the two groups are minor. Thus, we can conclude that migration from the South seems not to have a noticeable influence on either Negro or white respondents.

This general conclusion is further supported by comparing the regression coefficient for the regression analysis of all the variables except for region and length of residence in current city with the regression coefficient for the regression analysis of all variables including region. For Scale PPP, the regression coefficient for the regression coefficient for the regression analysis of race, sex, age, police interaction, church attendance, city of residence, and father's occupation is .36. When the regression analysis also includes region and length of residence, the coefficient remains at .36. The same is true for Scale PPR, except that the coefficient is .41.

Further evidence for the contention that region exerts little influence on the expressed feelings toward the police is presented in Table XXII. This table compares the answers to individual questions by race and region. Whites report more favorable assessments of the police as to the way the police operate in general, and to the way the police treat racial minorities; further, white respondents report more willingness to cooperate with the police. However, when race is controlled, no appreciable differences are evident for respondents from the different regional categories.

TABLE XXII: Comparisons of Expressed Feelings About the Police by Race and Region

<u>Question</u>		<u>South</u>	<u>Border</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>North</u>	<u>Native</u>
Feelings about the way the police operate:		%	%	%	%
Do you think that the police:					
are mean?	Yes	21	33	23	24
	No	56	42	44	46
can steal and get away with it?	Yes	27	31	34	22
	No	53	53	47	60
are pretty nice guys?	Yes	51	63	54	51
	No	17	26	16	20
think they are "big shots" because	Yes	43	54	46	45
they wear a badge?	No	36	37	39	38
Feelings about the way the police treat racial groups:					
Do you think that the police:					
are always picking on Negroes?	Yes	38	43	37	63
	No	41	46	42	36
treat Negro and white people alike?	Yes	30	23	27	20
	No	54	57	55	56
Willingness to cooperate with the police:					
Would you tell the police if you saw:					
a friend take some small items from	Yes	18	26	21	21
a store without paying?	No	48	43	50	49
a friend stealing a car?	Yes	27	23	24	28
	No	48	46	41	41
saw someone break into a store?	Yes	51	49	48	47
	No	31	34	24	28
Someone commit a murder?	Yes	61	71	59	65
	No	18	17	17	17
Do you think that criminals usually get	Yes	73	77	70	65
caught?	No	12	11	9	17

TABLE XXII: . . . Continued

<u>Question</u>		<u>South</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>Native</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Feelings about the way the police operate:					
Do you think that the police:					
are mean?	Yes	9	12	11	11
	No	73	65	73	70
can steal and get away with it?	Yes	10	8	8	8
	No	78	85	82	81
are pretty nice guys?	Yes	78	79	74	74
	No	8	6	10	8
think they are "big shots" because	Yes	21	21	21	22
they wear a badge?	No	66	56	66	63
Feelings about the way the police treat racial groups:					
Do you think that the police:					
are always picking on Negroes?	Yes	10	4	11	8
	No	78	81	77	80
treat Negro and white people alike?	Yes	45	46	51	49
	No	34	35	30	33
Willingness to cooperate with the police:					
Would you tell the police if you saw:					
a friend take some small items from	Yes	31	39	36	32
a store without paying?	No	37	29	32	31
a friend stealing a car?	Yes	45	52	51	46
	No	19	10	19	18
saw someone break into a store?	Yes	87	83	82	82
	No	3	8	8	6
Someone commit a murder?	Yes	82	96	90	89
	No	8	4	3	3
Do you think that criminals usually get	Yes	87	81	80	79
caught?	No	9	8	10	10

Comparison of Parental and Peer Influence
on Youth Attitudes Toward the Police

Research-Hypothesis III asserts that the attitudes toward the police expressed by school students will more closely resemble the students' perception of the attitudes held by their parents than their perception of the attitudes held by other students. This section will summarize the data from this research related to this research-hypothesis.

Table XXIII compares the students' response to a general question on the need of the police -- "Do _____ think people would be better off without the police?" -- with the students' perception of the response likely to be given by their friends and by their parents. In general, a vast majority of students reported that both they and their parents would answer "no"; on the other hand, a smaller percentage of the students reported that their friends would answer "no." In all cases, students answer that their parents' response would be more pro-police than would their friends' response, and that their own response would compare more closely to their parents' response than to that given by friends. The essential difference between students' perception of parents and of friends is the percentage of students who answer not sure: a majority of students responded with either "yes" or "no" for both friends and parents, but more students were unsure of their friends' response than were unsure of their parents' response.

TABLE XXIII: Comparison of Students' Assessment of the Need For the Police, Their Perception of Parental Assessment, and Their Perception of Friends' Assessment By Race, City of Residence, and Grade: Percentual Response to "Do _____ think people would be better off without the police?"

City	Grade	Self			Friends			Parents		
		Yes	Not Sure	No	Yes	Not Sure	No	Yes	Not Sure	No
Muskegon Heights										
Negro	7	2%	5%	91%	9%	31%	55%	2%	12%	81%
	8	2	16	80	20	29	50	2	5	93
	9	0	7	93	9	35	56	2	11	87
White	7	3	3	90	23	23	52	0	3	94
	8	7	3	90	14	31	55	0	7	93
	9	0	36	64	18	36	36	0	18	82
Grand Rapids										
Negro	7	5	4	91	14	43	42	1	11	88
	8	4	6	90	10	39	49	2	6	91
	9	3	7	90	12	34	53	2	6	90
White	7	3	4	92	11	30	58	2	5	92
	8	1	3	96	12	28	60	1	3	95
	9	1	4	94	13	20	66	1	3	95
Kalamazoo										
Negro	7	10	9	82	17	27	55	6	12	80
	9	12	9	79	17	24	59	3	3	93
White	7	4	3	93	8	18	73	4	13	83
	9	3	3	93	9	18	73	3	3	94
Bridgeport										
White	7	2	3	96	11	6	83	5	1	93
	8	6	3	91	16	8	76	4	0	93
	9	4	3	86	11	10	70	3	3	95
Reeths-Puffer										
White	7	5	5	90	8	17	75	4	8	88
	8	6	4	91	15	12	74	2	2	95
	9	2	5	93	5	18	77	4	3	93

Although these patterns were evident for both racial groups and for all school systems, two additional findings should be noted. First, Negro respondents show slightly less favorable attitudes toward the police on both their responses and their perceptions of parental response; further, Negroes perceive their friends to be much more negative than whites perceive their friends to be. Second, the respondents from Kalamazoo, Bridgeport, and Reeths-Puffer reported less doubt about friends' responses and reported more favorable attitudes for their friends than those respondents in Muskegon Heights and Grand Rapids.

The question, "Do _____ think that the police are pretty nice guys?" received responses similar to the responses for the prior question. A comparison of the students' response with their perception of the response of their friends and of their parents is reported in Table XXIV. The primary finding is that the students' image of the police closely resembled the students' perception of their parents' image; while the students perceived their friends as holding a less favorable image than either the students or their parents. The Negro respondents displayed a pattern similar to that pattern displayed by the white students; however, the Negroes reported less favorable attitudes than did the whites. While 30 to 34 per cent of the Negro students answered the question "no," only four to twelve per cent of the whites did so. Likewise, Negroes perceived a lower degree of pro-police sentiment for both parents and friends than did the whites. The white students in all three school systems gave similar responses to the question: about 80

TABLE XXIV: Comparison of Students' Own Attitudes With Their Perception of Friends' and of Parents' Attitudes Toward the Police By Race, School System, and Grade.

		Kalamazoo						Bridgeport			Reeths-Puffer		
		Negro			White			White			White		
		Not			Not			Not			Not		
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>
Do (you), (your friends), or (your parents) think that:													
police treat Negroes and whites alike?													
Grade 7	Self	21%	14%	65%	47%	19%	34%	58%	11%	31%	62%	16%	22%
	Friends	12	20	66	25	36	38	38	17	45	43	29	28
	Parents	21	22	57	43	23	33	46	12	43	57	21	22
Grade 9	Self	11	17	71	43	17	40	57	10	32	55	19	26
	Friends	6	16	77	21	36	43	33	26	33	36	21	43
	Parents	19	28	52	37	21	42	50	15	36	49	23	28
police treat rich and poor alike?													
Grade 7	Self	49	16	34	70	13	18	71	8	20	61	16	23
	Friends	32	40	28	46	32	21	57	14	29	53	27	20
	Parents	34	30	34	63	21	15	66	18	16	61	21	18
Grade 9	Self	35	24	38	60	15	25	57	11	30	61	20	19
	Friends	14	43	43	42	33	24	45	22	24	43	23	34
	Parents	23	45	31	54	27	19	60	13	27	63	22	15

TABLE XXIV . . . Continued

		Kalamazoo						Bridgeport			Reeths-Puffer		
		Negro			White			White			White		
		Not			Not			Not			Not		
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Sure</u>	<u>No</u>
Do (you), (your friends), or (your parents) think that:													
police are pretty nice guys?													
Grade 7	Self	52	12	34	80	14	5	88	7	4	80	15	5
	Friends	23	30	46	48	30	22	52	15	33	47	32	21
	Parents	47	27	24	79	16	6	78	14	8	75	19	6
Grade 9	Self	30	36	30	70	18	12	79	11	10	82	12	6
	Friends	12	25	63	39	30	31	47	32	21	38	30	32
	Parents	38	41	21	70	21	8	75	19	6	77	18	5

per cent of these students answered the question "yes," about 75 per cent reported that their parents would answer "yes," and about 40 to 50 per cent reported that their friends would say "yes." Conversely, the students suggested that their friends were more likely to have an unfavorable image of the police than they or their parents were. No significant differences are evident between cities or between grades.

Table XXIV also includes the comparison of respondents, respondents' perceptions of friends, and respondents' perceptions of parents with reference to two other questions. One question deals with police treatment of Negroes as compared to whites, and the other treats police treatment of persons with differing income levels. These two questions are more specific in nature than the prior two questions.

In contrast to the responses for the more general questions, the responses for the question on racial treatment by the police indicates that the students perceive their friends to have less favorable images of the police than they or their parents, but that the students perceive the magnitude of this difference to be less than for the more general questions. In general, the Negro students gave fewer pro-police reactions than did the white students. Whereas 65 to 71 per cent of the Negroes reported that they thought the police did not treat the races equally, only 20 to 45 per cent of the white students did so. Further, fewer Negro respondents thought that their parents would perceive differential treatment on the part of the police than thought that either they themselves or their friends would perceive such treatment. On the other hand, the white students reported that their friends were more likely to evaluate the police less favorably

than either the respondents or their parents. More of these students attributed a negative reaction and fewer a positive reaction to their friends than either to themselves or to their parents.

The students' reaction to the question on police treatment of persons from differing income levels resembles the reaction to the question on police treatment of racial members; however, the reactions were more pro-police. Over-all, the students reported that their parents' response would be more pro-police than their friends'. Further, the students' own reaction compares more closely with their perception of their parents' reaction than to their perception of their friends' response. This basic pattern is evident for both racial groups; however, Negro respondents reported less favorable perceptions for themselves, their friends, and their parents, and these respondents reported more doubt about the response which would be given by both friends and parents.

Table XXV further compares the response given by students and the perceived response of friends. The data in this table are based on four questions dealing with the students' willingness to report a witnessed offense to the authorities. In general, students saw themselves as more cooperative than their friends. In addition, they expressed more willingness to cooperate when the offender was unknown and the offense involved a major crime than when the offender was a friend and the offense a less serious crime. These patterns are evident for the respondents in both grades, in both races, and in all three school systems; however, there are certain important differences. First, Negroes exhibit less willingness to cooperate than whites: a

TABLE XXV: Comparison of Students' Willingness to Cooperate With the Police With Their Perceptions of Friends' Willingness By Race, School System, and Grade

		Kalamazoo						Bridgeport			Reeths-Puffer		
		Negro			White			White			White		
		Not			Not			Not			Not		
		Yes	Sure	No	Yes	Sure	No	Yes	Sure	No	Yes	Sure	No
Would (you) (your friends)													
tell the police if (you)													
(they) saw:													
someone commit a murder?													
Grade 7	Self	54%	16%	29%	80%	7%	3%	96%	4%	0%	90%	7%	3%
	Friend	49	28	21	81	15	4	92	5	3	80	17	3
Grade 9	Self	47	31	21	88	8	4	83	6	3	93	6	1
	Friend	40	45	15	76	20	5	80	15	5	83	15	2
someone break into a store?													
Grade 7	Self	41	27	32	85	9	6	93	5	2	89	7	4
	Friend	30	41	28	65	28	8	68	27	5	63	28	8
Grade 9	Self	38	22	38	79	13	8	84	10	6	82	11	7
	Friend	11	56	33	51	35	13	54	36	9	49	44	7
a friend steal a car?													
Grade 7	Self	30	30	40	59	29	11	65	26	10	73	24	3
	Friend	21	46	32	45	41	14	50	33	18	56	28	16
Grade 9	Self	9	28	63	38	36	25	46	26	19	40	37	22
	Friend	5	44	51	27	46	26	41	37	22	27	57	16
a friend shoplift?													
Grade 7	Self	24	33	42	48	32	20	59	22	19	58	24	18
	Friend	17	41	41	31	41	27	35	33	32	38	31	31
Grade 9	Self	8	18	74	20	37	42	31	25	36	18	47	35
	Friend	5	32	63	12	44	44	25	37	38	9	48	44

smaller proportion reported that they would tell the police if they saw an offense, and a larger proportion reported that they would not report the offense. Second, there are no major differences between the white students in the various school systems, but the respondents from Kalamazoo reported slightly less willingness to cooperate than those from the other two systems. Third, students in the ninth grade expressed less willingness to cooperate than students in the seventh grade. This tendency is especially evident for those offenses involving friends and those which are not major crimes.

In summary, the data from this research supports Research-Hypothesis III. The attitudes toward the police expressed by the respondents are similar to the respondents' perception of their parents' attitudes. Both respondents' and perceived parental images are more pro-police than are the perceived images held by friends. This relationship is evident when subjects are controlled by race, grade in school, and city of residence. However, the degree of dissimilarity between respondents' and perceived parents' response and perceived friends' response lessens as the degree of specificity of the question increases. Further, the degree of pro-police sentiment decreases as the specificity of the question increases.

Table XXVI expands the comparison of students' response with the students' perception of friends' response and of parents' response to include students from grades three, five, and seven through twelve. These data will indicate whether the degree of parental and peer influence varies by age. These data are based on respondents from Bridgeport and Reeths-Puffer as data from the elementary schools and

TABLE XXVI: Comparison of Students' Images of the Police With Their Perception of Friends' Images and Their Perception of Parents' Images By Grade, and School System*

Do _____ think that;	Grade	Bridgeport						Reeths-Puffer					
		Self		Friend		Parent		Self		Friend		Parent	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
people would be better off without the police?	3	5%	93%	6%	91%	6%	85%	3%	94%	4%	92%	3%	95%
	5	3	93	8	78	7	83	3	96	6	83	5	93
	7	2	96	11	83	5	93	5	90	8	75	4	88
	8	6	91	16	76	4	93	6	91	12	74	2	95
	9	4	86	11	70	3	95	2	93	5	77	4	93
	10	1	94	3	77	4	89	0	83	7	62	0	93
	11	0	97	6	90	1	99	0	98	2	87	4	96
	12	3	83	10	74	1	95	0	96	4	92	4	96
police are pretty nice guys?													
	3	96	0	83	6	91	3	99	0	92	1	95	3
	5	94	0	67	12	79	11	91	1	67	10	85	1
	7	88	4	52	33	78	8	80	5	47	21	75	6
	8	82	7	46	31	83	7	70	14	39	35	79	6
	9	79	10	47	22	89	4	82	6	38	32	77	5
	10	79	11	46	23	77	3	76	3	31	38	76	3
	11	87	5	54	25	85	6	65	7	41	22	76	2

Do _____ think that:	Grade	Bridgeport				Reeths-Puffer								
		Self		Friend		Parent		Self		Friend		Parent		
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
police treat rich and poor alike?	3	45	28	49	24	49	23	61	21	61	22	62	20	
	5	79	13	62	23	63	17	70	15	57	23	74	10	
	7	71	20	57	29	66	16	61	23	53	20	61	18	
	8	62	24	48	29	66	19	56	28	40	28	52	26	
	9	57	30	45	24	60	27	61	19	43	34	63	15	
	10	55	28	38	30	46	25	55	31	35	41	52	28	
	11	58	21	44	32	53	26	41	33	28	33	33	39	
	12	41	46	23	44	41	43	44	44	36	28	52	24	
	police treat Negroes and whites alike?	3	53	20	47	24	47	20	53	26	44	34	49	30
		5	67	21	45	26	51	29	56	16	51	28	49	22
		7	58	31	38	45	46	43	62	22	43	28	57	22
		8	62	21	36	38	60	28	43	45	29	44	45	45
9		57	32	33	26	50	36	55	26	36	43	49	28	
10		44	35	23	38	47	34	41	41	31	38	38	35	
11		52	29	30	42	50	37	44	39	30	37	35	50	
12		40	50	18	54	45	38	28	48	12	60	44	44	

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the high schools were obtained only in these two systems.

The first set of data reports the comparison of responses to a general question concerned with the necessity of the police. In general, the students' own responses closely matched their perception of parental response in most grades. The percentage of students who gave negative answer is high (91 to 98 per cent) and relatively consistent except for the ninth and twelfth grades in Bridgeport and the tenth grade in Reeths-Puffer where the percentage of students so answering was lower than in the other grades. A similar trend is evident for the students' perception of parental response: the percentage of students who perceive a negative response by parents is high and relatively consistent over grade level except that the students in the third and fifth grades in Reeths-Puffer estimated fewer of their parents would answer, "no." The students' perception of the response likely to be given by friends indicates that respondents sense that their friends would give more unfavorable responses than the students would give. The students in the junior high grades in Reeths-Puffer perceive slightly less favorable responses by friends than the students in higher grades and in lower grades, this tendency is also reflected in the answers by the Bridgeport respondents but does have the marked clarity.

The second set of data is based on the students response to "Do _____ think that the police are pretty nice guys?" These data reflect the same general patterns as are evident for the first question. There are, however, two important differences: first, the percentage of responses indicating favorable images of the police generally

decline in both school systems as grade level rises except for the twelfth grade in the Reeths-Puffer and the eleventh grade in Bridgeport; and second, the percentage of not sure responses indicates that the students have a significant degree of doubt about the police image in this area, and they are especially doubtful about the sentiments of their friends.

The third set of data reports the responses to "Do _____ think that the police treat rich people and poor people alike?" Similar to the responses to the prior two questions, answers to this question indicate that students perceive their parents as more likely than friends to give responses similar to their own; however, the discrepancy between the responses students give as their own and the responses they give as representing the viewpoint of their friends is less than for the former questions. As for the first question, students from the higher grade levels are more likely to give less favorable evaluations of the police than are students from the lower class levels.

The last set of data reflects the responses given to "Do _____ feel that the police treat Negro and white people alike?" As with the other questions, respondents' evaluations are most similar to their perceptions of parents' evaluations. Further, students in the junior high schools (grades seven, eight, and nine) have, perceive their friends to have, and perceive their parents to have more favorable images of the police than students in the high schools (grades ten, eleven, and twelve).

One measure of the similarity between the respondents' own evaluation and their perception of the response likely to be given by parents and friends is the degree of correspondence on pro-police responses. Using the percentage of students who responded favorably as the base, Table XXVII compares the percentage difference between the students' perception of friends' response and the base with the percentage difference between the students' perception of parents' response and the base. A negative differential indicates that more students would respond favorably than would perceive a favorable response from parents or friends as the case may be; on the other hand, a positive differential indicates that fewer students would respond favorably than would perceive a favorable response from parents or friends. The magnitude of the differential indicates the degree of dissimilarity between respondents' own evaluation and their perception of friends' or parents' evaluation: the greater the magnitude, the greater the dissimilarity.

Two general conclusions can be drawn from the data in Table XXVII. First, the signs of the differences indicate that students perceive both parents and friends as responding less favorably than they themselves would respond in most cases. But, while only the third graders thought that their friends would respond either as favorably or more favorably than they themselves would respond, students in one-fourth to one-half of the grade levels thought that more of their parents would respond as favorably or more favorably than they themselves would respond. Second, the magnitudes of the differences indicate that the students' perception of parental response is closer to their own response than are the students' perceptions of the response of friends.

TABLE XXVII: Comparison of Percentage Difference Between Respondents' Own Evaluations of the Police and Their Perception of Friends' Evaluations With the Percentage Difference Between Respondents' Own Evaluations and Their Perception of Parents' Evaluations: Favorable Responses

Question	School	Grade							
		<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
Do _____ think people would be better off without the police?									
Bridgeport	Friends	-2%	-15%	-13%	-15%	-16%	-17%	- 7%	- 9%
	Parents	-8	-10	- 3	+ 2	+ 9	- 5	+ 2	+12
Reeths-Puffer	Friends	-2	-13	-15	-17	-16	-21	-11	- 4
	Parents	+1	- 3	- 2	+ 4	0	+10	- 2	0
Do _____ think that the police are pretty nice guys?									
Bridgeport	Friends	-13	-27	-35	-36	-32	-33	-30	-37
	Parents	-2	-15	-10	+ 1	+10	- 2	- 2	+17
Reeths-Puffer	Friends	-7	-24	-33	-31	-44	-45	-24	-44
	Parents	-4	- 6	- 5	+ 9	- 5	0	+11	0
Do _____ think that the police treat rich people and poor people alike?									
Bridgeport	Friends	+4	-17	-14	-12	-12	-17	-14	-18
	Parents	+4	-16	- 5	+ 4	+ 3	- 9	- 5	0
Reeths-Puffer	Friends	0	-13	- 8	-16	-18	-20	-13	- 8
	Parents	+1	+ 4	0	- 4	+ 2	+ 3	- 8	+ 8
Do _____ feel that the police treat Negro and white people alike?									
Bridgeport	Friends	-6	-22	-20	-26	-24	-21	-22	-22
	Parents	-6	-16	-12	- 2	- 7	+ 3	- 2	+ 5
Reeths-Puffer	Friends	-9	- 5	-19	-14	-19	-10	-14	-16
	Parents	-4	- 7	- 5	+ 2	- 6	- 3	- 9	+16

Most of the percentage differentials for parents are less than ten per cent; on the other hand, most of the percentage differentials for friends are greater than ten per cent with many ranging as high as twenty, thirty, to forty per cent. Further, this pattern is consistent for all grade levels on all four questions.

In summary, the data from this research support Research-Hypothesis III. The attitudes toward the police held by students closely resemble the students' perceptions of the attitudes held by their parents. Further, these attitudes deviate widely from the students' perceptions of the attitudes held by their friends. This pattern is evident for images of police reputation, for images of police prejudice, and for willingness to co-operate with the police. Further, this pattern is evident for both Negroes and whites, for students in all schools, and for students in all grades. Thus, parents seem to be more influential in determining the feelings toward the police held by adolescents than are peers. This conclusion will be discussed further in a later section.

CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Summary

To aid in the preservation of order and in the enforcement of rules, modern societies have developed systems whose primary function and responsibility is the enforcement of laws and the maintenance of order. In American society, the police are that part of this system which is in daily contact with crime and disorder. More importantly, the police are that part of the system which has the greatest contact with children, ghetto residents, and the general public.

The police system in America has evolved from the Anglo-Saxon model found in England. Due to the hostility to the idea of central control and to the idea of guarding the local peace with militia-like organizations, the American "system" of law enforcement developed along the lines of local responsibility and local control. As new problems of social control were recognized, the tendency has been to proliferate new agencies to meet specific needs and to keep control as decentralized as possible. Consequently, law enforcement in America rests primarily with the local patrolman functioning through local autonomous units.

The police system in America is charged with two primary responsibilities -- keeping the peace, and enforcing the law. Although the local patrolman is expected to fulfill both functions, he is essentially a peace officer rather than a law officer. The bulk of his time is concerned with order maintenance; and more importantly, his

role expectations revolve around keeping the peace rather than strict law enforcement.

Because the local patrolman is a peace officer, the effective performance of his role is impossible without public support. Thus, the nature of police-community relations is a vital topic both socially and sociologically. Unfortunately, little is known about the nature of the existing police-community relations as relatively few systematic inquiries have been conducted on this issue.

Focus of Current Study

The purpose of this study is to empirically examine the influence of the socio-cultural environment in which the individuals spend their lives on perceptions of the police. Specifically, the study focuses on three research-hypotheses. First, Negroes who attend schools with a high proportion of Negroes will hold more unfavorable images of the police than will those Negroes who attend schools with a low proportion of Negroes. Pro-police sentiments held by whites will not be influenced by the racial concentration of schools. Second, Negroes who have migrated to the North from the South will display more pro-police sentiment than will Negroes native to the North. Such migration will not influence the pro-police sentiments of whites. Third, the images of the police held by school students will compare closely to the perceptions those students have of the images of the police held by their parents and will compare less closely to the perceptions those students have of the images of the police held by their friends.

The data for this study were obtained from a questionnaire survey conducted in various public school systems in Michigan. The samples for this study were drawn from the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades in Muskegon Heights and in six of the eleven junior high schools in Grand Rapids; from the seventh and ninth grades in four of the five junior high schools in Kalamazoo; and from the third, fifth, and seventh through the twelfth grades from Muskegon Reeths-Puffer and Bridgeport in the Saginaw area. This group of schools includes both those from the inner city and those from suburbia, those with essentially a Negro student population and those with a white student population, and those serving basically students with fathers employed in professions and large business as well as those serving primarily students whose fathers are employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. The data consisted of demographic information, the respondent's attitudes toward the police (both general and specific images), the respondent's willingness to cooperate with the police, and the respondent's perceptions of the pro-police images held by his friends and parents. To facilitate the analysis of these data, two "perceptions of the police" scales were constructed: Scale PPP (Perception of Police Prejudice) and Scale PPR (Perception of Police Reputation).

Limitations of Current Study

One limitation of this research is that the study was designed only to tap feelings, ideas, images, or perceptions held by youth concerning the police and was not designed to study behavior. The

research does not assume that individuals will act in accordance with the attitudes which they express. In fact, Berelson and Steiner (1964: 567) report a number of studies which have indicated that there is often a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior.

However, attitudes can be defined as organizations of beliefs and feelings which predispose individuals toward a preferred behavioral response (Hollander, 1967: 137). Thus attitudes serve as predispositions for particular actions toward social objects. Consequently, it is important to know what people say they believe even if their behavior may be inconsistent with those beliefs.

It might be desirable to have a complete analysis of the attitudes held by youths toward the police and of the resultant behaviors. But, given the absence of the opportunities to study such behavior, the systematic investigation of the attitudes is worthwhile. As Bouma (1969: 42) suggests, "the systematic analysis of the beliefs is . . . much better than intuitive guesses about what people think, and better than drawing conclusions from the outbursts of the most vocal adherents of specific views."

Another limitation of the study is the timing of the surveys. Phase I was conducted in May, 1967; Phase IV was conducted in November, 1967, after a summer of racial disturbances both nationally and locally; and Phase VI was conducted in November, 1968, after the nationally broadcasted Chicago incident involving the police. Thus, differences identified in the various cities might be accounted for by the episodes which took place, by the mere passage of time, or by qualitative differences in the communities. This research is not

able to assess the alternative explanations. On the other hand, the similarities between the over-all responses given by white students in all three phases are striking. These similarities suggest that the measures are reliable, and that perceptions of the police are relatively constant.

Another limitation of this research is the lack of specificity for particular variables. 1) In order to facilitate the guarantee of anonymity of the respondents, the questionnaire was unable to have students list specific places of employment or detailed descriptions of occupations. In addition, many students did not know specifically where their fathers worked or specifically what work they did. The result was that the occupations could only be grouped into rather broad ranks. 2) In order not to jeopardize the needed cooperation of the school officials, the question of interaction with the police was approached indirectly. The datum in this research only indicates whether the respondent has been exposed to the police on an official level and does not reveal the degree of the seriousness of the incident nor the atmosphere of the interaction. Consequently, it was impossible to completely analyze the influence of father's occupation or of police interaction on perceptions of the police. However, neither variable was one of the major dependent variables of this study. Thus, the lack of specificity is a limitation rather than a major shortcoming of this research.

Another limitation of this research is the introduction of two variables simultaneously on willingness to cooperate with the police. The factor of familiarity of the offender and the factor of the

seriousness of the crime were introduced at the same time. Thus, it is impossible to identify which factor influenced the willingness to cooperate with the police. This limitation will be resolved in a scheduled follow-up survey in two of the school systems utilized in this research.

Major Findings of Current Study

One major finding of this study is that public school students, in general, hold highly favorable images of the police. A vast majority of the students think that the police are "pretty nice guys" (about seven out of ten respondents), that the police are honest (about eight out of ten respondents), and that they do an effective job in apprehending criminals (about seven out of ten respondents). On the other hand, only a small minority of the students think that the police would accept a bribe (about one out of ten respondents), that the police are mean (about one out of ten respondents), and that the police act like "big shots" because they wear a badge (about two out of ten respondents). This general conclusion is also supported by the distribution of respondents' scores on Scale PPP and Scale PPR -- for both scales, the distribution is heavily skewed towards favorable perceptions of the police with the bulk of students scoring above nine on the twelve point scale (high score denotes favorable response).

This finding offers further evidence for the general conclusion exhibited in other researches. That contrary to popular belief, most members of American society hold the police in high regard.

Furthermore, most people, including those who are the most critical of the police on particular points, do not want to discard the police. About nine out of ten respondents in this study reported that the police are necessary, and about six out of ten respondents reported that cities would be better off if there were more policemen.

A second major finding of this research is that race is the most influential single variable on perceptions of the police. Over-all, Negroes hold less favorable images of the police than do whites. This differential is most evident for specific images rather than for general images, and for those items dealing with the differential treatment of various racial groups by police officers. This conclusion supports the notion often stated in the literature and the findings of other studies that non-whites display less pro-police sentiment than whites. However, it does not support the contention that there exists widespread hostility, distrust, and antagonism among Negroes toward the police. A sizeable majority of the Negro respondents in this study think that the police are "pretty nice guys" (about five out of ten), that the police are honest (about six out of ten), and that the police do an effective job of apprehending criminals (about seven out of ten). On the other hand, only a minority report that the police are mean (three out of ten), and that the police think that they are "big shots" (four out of ten). Further, most Negroes think that the police are needed (about eight out of ten), and that the city would be better off if there were more policemen (about five out of ten).

The third major finding is that the contextual variables used in this research were not influential on perceptions of the police. The data reported in Chapter III supported neither Research-Hypothesis I nor Research-Hypothesis II. Neither the racial proportion of the neighborhood in which an individual resides nor migration to the North from the South seems to influence the degree of pro-police sentiment expressed.

However, before we conclude that variables based on characteristics of the individual are of more importance than are contextual variables for attitudes toward the police, a further finding of this research should be noted. Although not anticipated by this researcher, Negroes who lived in Kalamazoo reported significantly less favorable perceptions of the police than did Negroes who lived in Grand Rapids and Muskegon Heights; further, this differential was not evident between corresponding whites. Although this research is not designed to fully analyze this difference, two plausible explanations might be offered. First, there is the possibility that there is a qualitative difference between the communities, and that this difference results in a higher degree of pro-police sentiment in Grand Rapids and Muskegon Heights than in Kalamazoo. The second possible explanation is based on the timing of the survey. The survey was conducted in Muskegon Heights and Grand Rapids in May, 1967; while the survey was conducted in the Kalamazoo schools during the fall of 1967. The summer of 1967 was a "hot" summer both in Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo as both communities experienced a series of racial disturbances. The less favorable images of the police expressed in Kalamazoo may be the result of the

behavior of the police and the minority members during these racial episodes. If the Negro students in Grand Rapids had been re-surveyed in the fall, they might have expressed attitudes similar to those of the Negro students in Kalamazoo. The assessment of these explanations awaits further research.

Another major finding of this research is the identification of two dimensions of perceptions of the police. Although other researchers (for example, Walker, 1963) have suggested that youth attitudes toward the police are multi-dimensional, most of the literature assumes that this phenomenon is uni-dimensional. Using the assumption of uni-dimensionality, this researcher attempted to construct a single un-dimensional scale to measure youth attitudes toward the police. When the matrix of inter-correlations for the entire set of items was arranged to maximize the magnitudes of the correlation coefficients on the main diagonal, it was discovered that there were two distinct factors in operation. The first factor dealt with those items concerned with attitudes toward police role performance in general (identified as Scale PPR), and the second factor dealt with those items concerned with attitudes toward police treatment of various groups of persons (identified as Scale PPP).

Another major finding of this research is that adolescents express attitudes toward the police which are similar to their perceptions of their parents' attitudes. On the other hand, the respondents perceive friends and peers as much less favorably disposed toward the police than they themselves are; in addition, the respondents perceive their friends as less willing to cooperate with

the police than they themselves are. Furthermore, these patterns are consistent for students from grade three through grade twelve.

One possible explanation for this finding is that the respondents are projecting their own evaluations of the police onto their friends and peers. Even though the respondents were assured of anonymity and were assured that there would be no attempt to trace answers back to them, there may have been some reluctance in reporting negative evaluations on items pertaining to their own feelings. A second possible explanation is that parents serve as one of the primary sources for attitudes held by adolescents; and, thus adolescents identify strongly with their parents' attitudes.

Although this research was not designed to test the plausibility of these two explanations, the data tend to support the second explanation. When the favorable and unfavorable responses are compared with the responses indicating uncertainty, a persistent pattern is evident. Respondents express more doubt about the reaction of friends than they do about their own response or about the reaction of their parents. On general questions, about 30 per cent of the respondents report that they are unsure of the reaction of friends while less than 10 per cent report uncertainty about their own or their parents' reactions. On specific questions, about 15 to 20 per cent of the respondents are unsure of their own or their parents' reactions and about 30 per cent are unsure about the reactions of friends.

In summary, this research supplied empirical data which question certain ideas on police-community relations frequently expressed in the existing literature and which support other ideas. Further, this

research supplied data which help clarify the nature of youth-police relations as these relations exist in selected Michigan communities.

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH INSTRUMENT
UTILIZED IN PHASE I

Attitudes Toward the Police (dnh-w; -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. For example:

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?
3. Do you think that the police try not to arrest innocent people?
4. Do you feel that police are always picking on Negroes?
5. Do you think that police don't even give you a chance to explain?
6. Do you feel that policemen treat rich boys the same as poor boys?
7. Would you like to be a policeman when you grow up?
8. Do you think that the police have it in for, or pick on, young people?
9. Do you feel that most policemen would let you buy your way out of trouble?
10. Do you think that the police think they are "big shots" because they wear a badge?
11. Do you think that police are always picking on the guy who has been in trouble before?
12. Do you think that being a policeman is a good job for an intelligent guy?
13. Do you feel that policemen treat all people alike?
14. Do you think that the police are mean?

15. Do you think that the police can steal and get away with it?
16. If you needed help, would you go to the policemen?
17. Do you think that the police treat Negro and white people alike?
18. Would you call the police if you saw someone break into a store?
19. Would you call the police if you saw a friend stealing a car?
20. Would you tell the clerk if you saw a friend take some small items from a store without paying?
21. Would you tell the police if you saw someone commit a murder?
22. Do you think criminals usually get caught?
23. Do you think police are paid enough money?
24. Do you think police accuse you of things you didn't even do?
25. Do you think police treat members of all churches alike?
26. Do you think police treat all nationalities (like Polish, Dutch, Spanish, Italian) alike?
27. Do you think teachers and principals treat all pupils alike?
28. Do you think the police get criticized too often?
29. Do you think the police are strict in one district and not in another?
30. Do you think people would be better off without the police?
31. Do your friends think people would be better off without the police?
32. Do your parents think people would be better off without the police?

SOME THINGS ABOUT YOURSELF

1. Boy_____; Girl_____; 2. Age_____ 3. Grade_____
4. White_____; Negro_____; Other_____
5. What school did you attend in the 6th grade?_____
6. How long have you lived in this city? _____years.

7. Where did you live before you moved here? City _____
State _____
8. Have the police ever asked you any questions because you did something wrong?
9. Do you usually go to church or Sunday school?
10. Occupation of parent or guardian.
11. Have you ever taken part in any Youth Commonwealth activities?

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH INSTRUMENT
UTILIZED IN PHASES IV AND VI

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. For example:

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?
3. Do you think that the police try not to arrest innocent people?
4. Do you feel that police are always picking on Negroes?
5. Do you think that police don't even give you a chance to explain?
6. Do you feel that policemen treat rich boys the same as poor boys?
7. Would you like to be a policeman when you grow up?
8. Do you think that the police have it in for, or pick on, young people?
9. Do you feel that most policemen would let you buy your way out of trouble?
10. Do you think that the police think they are "big shots" because they wear a badge?
11. Do you think that police are always picking on the guy who has been in trouble before?
12. Do you think that being a policeman is a good job for an intelligent guy?
13. Do you feel that policemen treat all people alike?
14. Do you think that the police are mean?
15. Do you think that the police can steal and get away with it?

16. If you needed help, would you go to the policemen?
17. Do you think that the police treat Negro and white people alike?
18. Would you call the police if you saw someone break into a store?
19. Would you call the police if you saw a friend stealing a car?
20. Would you tell the clerk if you saw a friend take some small items from a store without paying for them?
21. Would you tell the police if you saw someone commit a murder?
22. Do you think criminals usually get caught?
23. Do you think police accuse you of things you didn't even do?
24. Do you think police treat members of all churches alike?
25. Do you think police treat all nationalities alike?
26. Do you think the police get criticized too often?
27. Do you think the police are strict in one district and not in another?
28. Do you think people would be better off without the police?
29. Do you think teachers and principals treat all pupils alike?
30. Do you think that the teachers and principals treat Negro and white students alike?
31. Do you feel that teachers and principals treat rich students the same as poor students?
32. Do you think that teachers and principals are pretty nice guys?
33. Do you think that being a teacher is a good job for an intelligent guy?
34. Do your friends think that the police treat Negro and white people alike?
35. Do your friends feel that policemen treat rich boys and poor alike?
36. Do your friends think that policemen are pretty nice guys?
37. Do your friends think people would be better off without the police?

38. Would your friends call the police if they saw someone break into a store?
39. Would your friends call the police if they saw a friend steal a car?
40. Would your friends tell the clerk if they saw a friend take some small items from a store without paying for them?
41. Would your friends tell the police if they saw someone commit a murder?
42. Do your parents think people would be better off without the police?
43. Do your parents feel that the police treat Negro and white people alike?
44. Do your parents think that the police treat rich people and poor people alike?
45. Do your parents think that the police are pretty nice guys?
46. If they needed help, would your parents call the police?

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?
55. Do you usually go to church or Sunday School?
56. Occupation of parent or guardian _____ .

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