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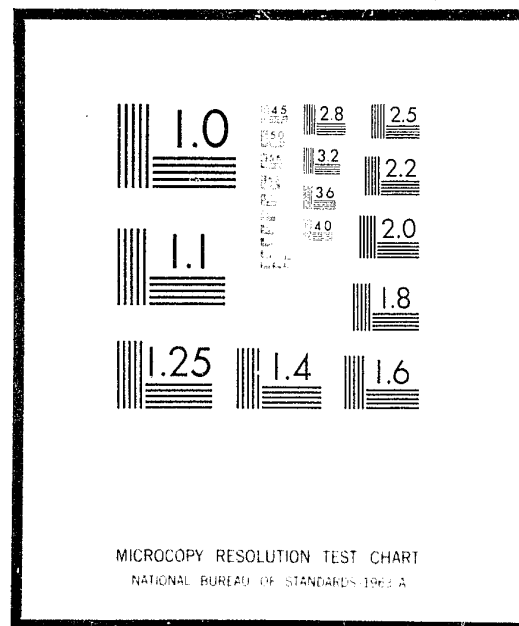
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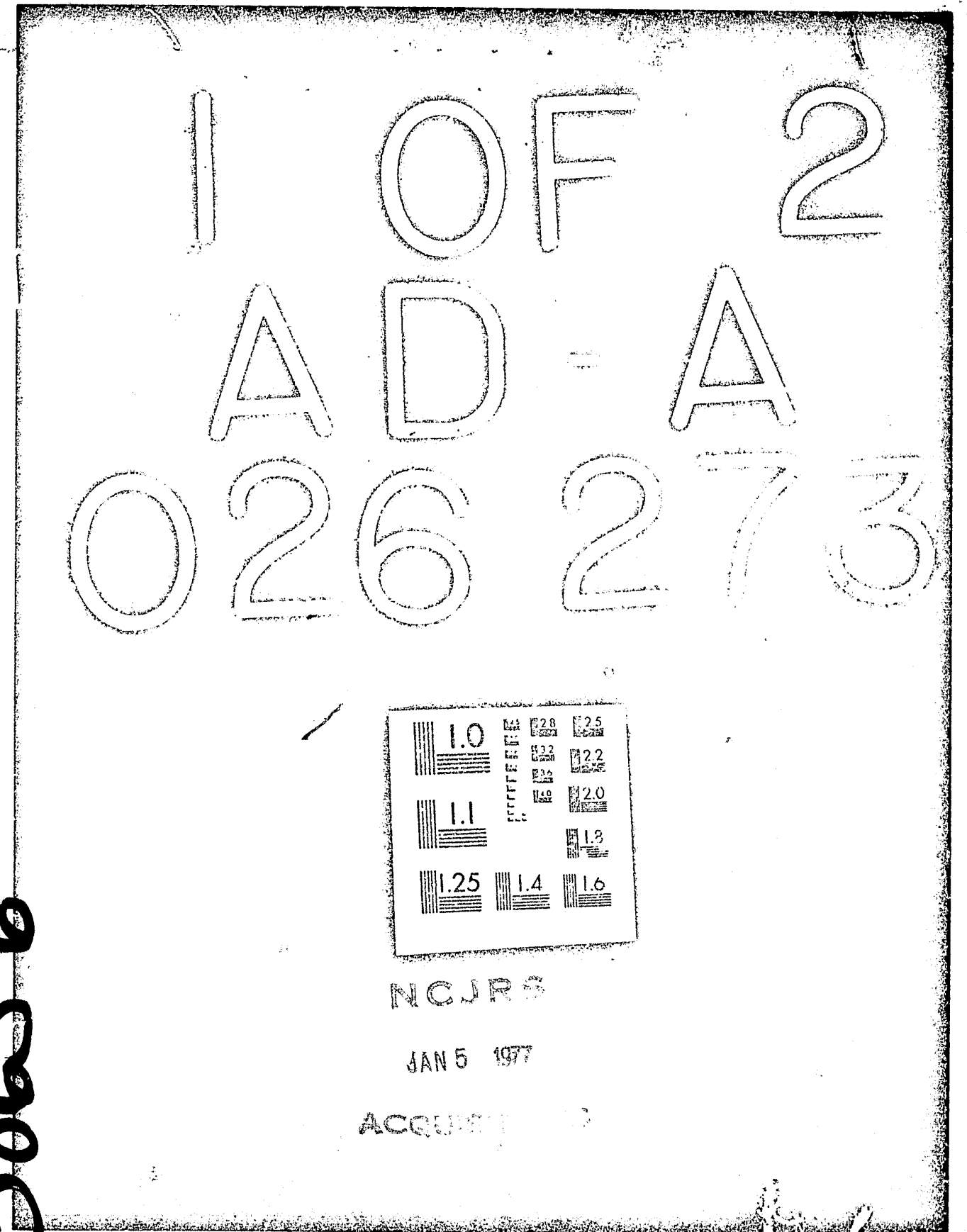
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THE ADOLESCENT YOUTHS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
POLICE, THEIR CONCEPT OF THE POLICE ROLE AND
IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

AIR FORCE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

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THE ADOLESCENT YOUTHS' ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE,

THEIR CONCEPT OF THE POLICE ROLE AND

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

BRIAN Y. SHIROYAMA

B. A., University of California, Berkeley, 1966

T H E S I S

Submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of

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in

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at

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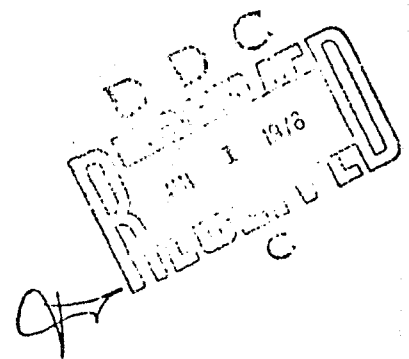_____, Second Reader

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THE YOUTHS AND THE POLICE:

HOW WIDE IS THE GAP?

INTRODUCTION

The problems involved in improving the relationship between the police and the citizens in a community have been thoroughly studied, judging from the volumes of material published on the subject of police-community relationship in recent years. It is, however, difficult to find a program which police administrators can claim as that which will give them a long sought-after solution to their problems involving police-citizen interactions. What are the problems involved? What must be done to solve the problems? This thesis is an attempt to examine these questions.

A need for a program to improve the relationship between the police and the citizens in the community implies that there is a gap between them. By using adolescent youth as a model, the first part of this thesis will "measure" the gap between the police and the youths by evaluating the youths' attitudes toward police and by examining disparity in the police role definition between the police officers' definitions and the youths' definitions of the role of the police. The second part of this thesis will explore to what degree police officers are guilty of creating the gap and what is being done to bridge that gap. The thesis concludes by examining the question: What must be done?

This thesis will try to show that the problems found in the police-community relationship are part of the problems of society in general, and that drastic changes are needed within society as well as within the police departments for a start in solving these problems.

C H A P T E R   O N E

INTRODUCTION

It is during adolescence that one acquires the identity of oneself and the ability to sustain loyalties to those who share his own values begins to emerge as well.[1] Describing adolescence, Portune stated:

> It is in early adolescence that a youth begins to fit the world to his own individual personality as he replaces the value systems that he has copied from the adults around him with a value system of his own. This is a period of great physical and emotional upheaval, of rapid changes within both body and mind. It is a period of discovery, of exploration, of experiences that will have a lasting effect upon the complex psychological system of the adult.[2]

When values become internalized, one's behavior becomes an expression of his values. When he develops certain predispositions in his behavior, we see an emergence of his attitudes. Attitude is defined as:

> . . .a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.[3]

Attitude, thus, can predict human behavior. If attitudes of an adolescent or a group of adolescent youths can be measured, the data

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[1]Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1963), p. 261.

[2]Robert Portune, Changing Adolescent Attitudes Toward Police (Cincinnati: The W. H. Anderson Co., 1971), p. 12.

[3]Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publisher, 1968), p. 12.

3

obtained from such measurement can be an invaluable source for
evaluating that youths' or the groups' behavioral predispositions
in a given situation. The measurement of attitudes can also help to
evaluate the degree of loyalty an adolescent may maintain toward
certain objectives. Thus, by measuring adolescent youths' attitudes
toward police, we can reasonably predict the quality of their interac-
tions with the police. If the police launch various programs to
improve the quality of police-youths interactions, the measurement of
youths' attitudes toward police can become an important tool in
evaluating the value and effectiveness of such programs. In essence,
the attitudes expressed by the adolescent youths towards the police are
the important measurements which can define a need for programs to
improve the police-community relations or form the basis from which to
evaluate existing programs.

CHAPTER TWO

AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ADOLESCENT

YOUTHS' ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE

Previous Studies

The best known among all researchers on the subject of youths'

attitudes toward police is Robert Portune.[4] In fact, the questionnaires

he has used in measuring youths' attitude toward police has become the

"Portune Attitude Toward Police (ATP) Scale" commonly utilized by other

researchers as a standard instrument measuring youths' ATP scores.

Using his scientifically developed ATP-Scale, he surveyed 971 adolescent

youths in Cincinnati in 1965. He found that:

1. Twelve-year-olds have more favorable attitudes toward
police than do fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen-year-olds.
2. Thirteen-year-olds have more favorable attitudes toward
police than do fifteen or sixteen-year-olds.
3. Girls have more favorable attitudes toward police than
do boys of the same race.
4. Whites have more favorable attitudes toward police
than do Blacks of their sex.
5. Students in high-ability groups at any grade level have
more favorable attitudes toward police than do students in
low-ability groups.
6. Boys who attend church regularly have more favorable
attitudes toward police than do boys who don't attend
church regularly. There is no significant difference with
girls.
7. There is a tendency for lower socio-economic groups
to have a less favorable attitude toward police than do the
highest socio-economic groups.

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[4]Portune, Changing Adolescent Attitudes Toward Police.

8. When a student leaves the ninth grade his attitude toward police is significantly less favorable than when he entered the seventh grade.[5]

Portune notes that a second study in 1970 using the same ATP scale with a slightly younger population revealed that conclusions of the 1965 study were still valid.[6] It is not clear from his statement if this second study was conducted by himself again or if he is referring to Jacobs' study which I will review later. Portune then made an interesting observation from the second study that a definite attitude pattern was formed by grade six and persisted through grade eleven.[7] The contents of the ATP-Scale and its use will be discussed later.

Another well known study was conducted by David Bouma during the 1967-1969 period.[8] This comprehensive study involved 10,000 junior high school students in 10 school systems throughout Michigan. The study intended to measure youths' attitude in three areas: general feelings about the police, perception of police fairness, and willingness to cooperate with the police. The 46-item questionnaire was verbally administered to students below the tenth grade to compensate for differences in reading ability. Some of Bouma's findings were:

The police presence in the community was viewed positively, with almost two of every three students feeling the city would be better off if there were more police officers.

Attitudes toward the policeman-in-action were much more negative among black than among white students.

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[5]Ibid., p. 33.

[6]Ibid., p. 37.

[7]Ibid., p. 37.

[8]Donald H. Bouma, *Kids and Cops: A Study in Mutual Hostility* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1969).

One-third of the white youth and two-thirds of the black youth think the police accuse students of things they did not do.

Just over a third of all students and only one out of five black students felt that the police treated all people alike.

Less than half of the white students and only 17 per cent of the black students felt police treated Negro and white people alike.

Almost half of the students think police are "always picking on the guy who has been in trouble before."

A third of the white students and half of the black students think police have it in for young people.

Male students showed a less favorable attitude toward the police than female students.

The higher the occupational status of the father, the less antagonism the student expresses toward the police.

Those students who had experienced negative police contact revealed more hostility than those who had not.

Race is the most significant single factor associated with differences in attitudes toward the police, with black students showing markedly more hostility.

Antagonism toward the police increases significantly as the student moves through the junior high years. Any effort to improve youth attitudes toward the police would have to focus on this segment of the school population.

Eight out of ten students think that criminals usually get caught, when, as a matter of fact, most usually do not get caught.

Generally, the students perceived the attitudes of their parents toward the police to be quite similar to their own.[9]

James Jacobs' study[10] in 1970 in Cincinnati was interesting because his data provided basis for comparison with the Portune conclusions in 1965. Jacobs used the same Portune ATP-Scale questionnaire with students from twelve elementary schools (thus, a large portion of Jacobs' samples are slightly younger than those in the Portune study), three junior high schools and one high school. Grade levels of 3, 6, 9, and

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[9]Ibid., pp. 36-7.

[10]James N. Jacobs, "Pupil Attitudes Toward Police," Police Chief 38 (October 1971): 36-37, 40-41.

11 were selected for the study and all students in these grade levels, totaling nearly 3,000, were surveyed. The conclusions of this study were very similar to those in the Portune study earlier. When combined with the results of the Portune study, Jacobs said:

> . . .the best ATP comes from high socio-economic status, young (third graders), white girls, while the poorest ATP comes from low socio-economic status, older (teenagers), Negro boys.[11]

Jacobs then concluded that his data showed a decline in attitude toward police among junior high school students in Cincinnati since the Portune study five years earlier.

Another study by G. Kuchel and A. Pattavina[12] in Omaha in the late sixties measured youth opinion of the police rather than their attitudes toward police. A total of 524 students were sampled from three junior high schools which were selected to represent the lower class, working class and middle and upper-middle class (arbitrarily labelled as East, Central and West). The age group ranged from 12 to 15. East Junior High is an old school with a predominantly Negro enrollment and has experienced a number of police-student problems; it represents the lower class in this study. Central Junior High, which represents the working class, is located in a neighborhood of largely European immigrants. A large number of police officers come from this area. West Junior High is a school in a new suburban area with predominantly white-collar workers and professionals. It represents the middle and upper-middle class. The East Junior High is almost exclusively Negro whereas

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[11]Ibid., p. 41.

[12]G. L. Kuchel and A. P. Pattavina, "Juveniles Look at Their Police," Police 13 (March-April 1969):13-17.

Central and West are almost exclusively white. The following statements
were to be evaluated with three possible responses - Agree, Don't Know
and Disagree:

1. Most Omaha policemen pick on teenagers.
2. Omaha policemen are neat and well-dressed.
3. Omaha policemen have good equipment.
4. Omaha policemen can be bribed.
5. Omaha policemen are usually overweight.
6. Most people respect Omaha policemen.
7. Omaha policemen are well trained.
8. Omaha policemen spend a lot of time goofing off.
9. Omaha policemen are usually courteous.
10. Omaha policemen try to do a good job.
11. Omaha policemen come quickly when they are called.
12. Most Omaha policemen are cheerful.
13. Most people dislike Omaha policemen.
14. Omaha policemen are underpaid.
15. Omaha policemen are kind.
16. Omaha policemen are lazy.
17. Negro policemen make it hard on their race in Omaha.
18. Omaha policemen are bossy.
19. Omaha policemen try to help people who ask for help.
20. I would like to be a policeman in Omaha.[13]

The results of this study generally indicated that students of East

Junior High tended to have a more negative opinion of the police. The

study also revealed that students of East High School generally tended

to have less "don't know" responses, indicating that their social

environment probably enabled their greater awareness of the police and

their ability to make a more accurate assessment of the police. For

example, students from East High rated high on item 7, 8, 11, and 18.

The authors concluded:

. . .we do believe that police service in the community under
survey could improve its image considerably in the eyes of
junior high school students if it would exert effort to inform
these students of the various functions, duties, responsibilities,
and activities of the police agency. Further, a more desirable
attitude toward police would probably be established with the

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[13]Ibid., p. 14.

test population if more personal contact between police and students were to occur.[14]

Stanley Coopersmith's study[15] completed in December 1970 is an evaluation of the community relations and education program, known as the Three "R" Program (Regulation, Responsibility, and Rapport) sponsored by the Davis Police Department, California. The Three "R" Program involved uniformed officers to make a series of visits to elementary and junior high schools (and some high school visits as well) to inform the students of the police functions. The program was intended to instill positive attitudes toward police among the adolescent youths, and hopefully to prevent or reduce juvenile delinquency. Coopersmith summarized his findings:

> The two major findings of this report can be briefly stated: a considerable percentage of students in the ninth through twelfth grades are negative, distrustful, or uninformed about police policies and practices. A special program of law education ("The Three R's") conducted through the schools produces positive changes in attitudes towards police and the law. Given the findings that no more than one-third of the students are generally informed and supportive of their local police, and that between 10 per cent to 25 per cent of them express considerable mistrust or hostility, the need for informative programs to modify student attitudes appears imperative.[16]

The following summarizes more specific findings which are pertinent in expressing attitudes of youths toward police:

> 1. Students from families marked by divorce, widowhood, or extended separation, or who have been previously arrested, or who are in the upper years of high school, are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards police and adults than persons from intact families, in junior high school, or who have not been arrested.

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[14]Ibid., p. 17.

[15]Stanley Coopersmith, Student Attitudes Toward Authority, Law, and Police: How They are Affected by the Law Education Program of Davis, California (Published for the California Council on Criminal Justice by the Institute of Governmental Affairs, U.C., Davis, 1971)

[16]Ibid., p. 42.

2. Students generally support the view that law education and matters relating to drug use should be dealt with by family and school groups acting together with police officials. They do not believe these matters should be left solely or separately to the police or schools.

3. Police efforts at crime prevention and the prevention of juvenile delinquency are recognized by the majority of the student population. The bulk of the minority are either skeptical or uninformed that the police are engaged in such effort.

4. Students make relatively negative appraisal of police courtesy and honesty and their respect for the legal rights of suspects. On none of these topics does the majority of students believe the police put the citizen's rights and welfare above their own (police) needs, values, and prejudices. The general impression is that the police are usually but not always fair, honest, and respectful.

5. Most students believe the cry of police brutality has a basis in fact and is not merely a slogan and accusation.

6. There is a division of opinion on the question of whether the police should be given greater power to deal with the rising crime rate and civil disorders. More persons oppose granting such power than support this move and few students are neutral on the subject.[17]

The generally negative views expressed by the students are surprising particularly since Davis is not a city of lower socio-economic status in which such negative attitudes toward police are expected. It is an important study which points out that negative attitudes toward police may not be a characteristic of only the low socio-economic class; the negative attitudes toward police among the youths can now be a characteristic of an university community like Davis with residents composed predominantly of professionals and white-collar workers.

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[17]Ibid., p. 42-43.

Do We Need Another Study?

While reading one of the recent issues of Police Chief, the
writer's attention was focused on two handwritten remarks adjacent to
an advertisement. It was a tear gas advertisement with a picture of a
youth lying next to a building, apparently shot to death by the police
while perpetrating a crime. The caption in this advertisement read, "If
we'd only had gas." The intent of this advertisement was obviously to
point out that the use of tear gas could have saved this youth's life.
Perhaps it was more dramatic in appeal than other police equipment
advertisements, but it left an impression that police officers could be
humane after all and that they could also be concerned about alternatives
to the use of deadly force in this particular type of situation. But,
spoiling the humane tone of this advertisement, one written remark
stated, "Who cares, you got another creep!" Another remarked, with a
different pen, "Right," with emphatic double underlines. It does not
matter who wrote these remarks, even though, judging from the nature of
the journal and tone of the comments, one could venture a reasonably
good guess as to the occupation of the authors of those remarks. The
writer's reaction was to ask how a youth might react to the same
advertisement and to those comments. Perhaps youths in general might
accept it as a way of life (not the commission of the crime but getting
shot by the police for the commission of such a crime and the negative
attitudes expressed by the police towards youths). No value judgement
is intended for those written comments, even if they were written by
police officers since such comments could simply be an expression of
their frustration inherent to their job in dealing with juvenile delin-
quents. But the important point is that such comments when communicated

to the youths could only reinforce the negative feelings the youths might already have towards police.

There is a definite need to keep abreast with how the youths feel towards the police, for without knowing their attitudes, the programs to improve the relationship between the police and youths cannot be effectively managed. The Coopersmith study has indicated that even among the middle class youths, negativism toward police was significant. Without the study to actually measure their attitudes toward police, any police administrator could become the victim of a common belief that negativism toward police is a lower class phenomenon. One may argue, as often argued, that there is no need for a study because any police officer can feel citizen's attitudes toward police in their interactions with them. But the individual and subjective nature of the perceived citizen's attitudes toward police provides no basis for an objective study. A formal study can provide objectively derived results which can be utilized as a source with which to build an effective police-community relationship.

A review of literatures failed to locate studies similar to the Portune study conducted on the West Coast, nor did it find any current findings since the Jacobs' study in 1970. Thus, it was felt that another study might not only be timely for evaluating any changes since 1970 but also worthwhile in terms of providing a basis for future comparative studies here on the West Coast.

Examination of Current Hypotheses

An evaluation of all conclusions found in past studies is beyond the scope of this thesis, but three of the most significant conclusions from past studies will be evaluated in addition to examining the overall adolescent youths' attitudes toward police. The three conclusions will be discussed in terms of hypotheses derived from analyzing the social changes in society in the last ten years.

Since there has been no similar study in the past for Sacramento, the overall attitudes of the adolescent youths cannot be compared to measure changes in the adolescent youths' attitudes toward police. But if such comparative figures were available, it is surmised that there would be a decline in favorable attitudes toward police.

Within the last ten years, there was a manifestation of the so-called permissive society, characterized by active participation by youths in activities which the youth in 1965 did not even dream possible, such as liberalized sexual practices, uncontrollable drug usage, and overt, aggressive protests against the Establishment. Since the laws governing these activities failed to change at the same rate as changes in society, the participants of these activities found themselves in increased contact with the enforcing agency of the law – the police. Riots of the late sixties and mass protest against the Viet Nam War highlighted the police-youth encounters. The anti-Establishment sentiments and distrust for authority became heightened recently due to the Watergate affair and its residual problems. Unfortunately, the police has become the object of youths' displacement of frustration and hostility since the police are the most tangible

representation of the Establishment and authority. The use of the
police to regulate moral and social issues, such as forced busing to
insure quality education, unfortunately further reinforced the anti-
police sentiments. A decline in attitudes toward police is not confined
to the youths alone. The parents of youths have also witnessed and
many have actually experienced unbelievably irrational police behavior
particularly in the late sixties when the police were employed to quell
mass demonstrations. Incidents in Chicago during the Democratic Con-
vention and in Berkeley during the People's Park demonstrations are
good examples of police-citizens encounters which have seriously affected
not only the youths' but the adults' confidence in the police as the
rational and humane protectors of the community. If the parents'
attitudes toward police thus have changed in the last ten years, it
is only reasonable to predict a manifestation of the parents' new
attitudes toward police by their children. General attitudes toward
police should be less favorable than they were ten years ago. Further-
more, the charges of police corruption in New York and numerous other
cities, and a recent police move toward militancy and police strikes
have only added salt to the wound. The positive accomplishments by
the police in the last ten years are many but they are overshadowed by
the evils of the police; to some, the police are even looked upon as a
necessary evil. Thus, in this generally negative atmosphere surrounding
the police in the last ten years, coupled with rapid social changes and
political turmoil, it is only reasonable to expect a decline in favora-
ble attitudes toward police.

The reasons which explain a decline in the youths' attitude
toward police should also affect the traditionally assumed (and valid
according to past studies) differential attitudes toward police based

on socio-economic status. A cursory review of the history in the last ten years as stated above suggests that youth-police encounters are no longer unique to the youths of the lower socio-economic status. In fact, the majority of events in which encounter with the police occurred, resulted in the involvement of the youths in the middle and upper socio-economic status. Radical protests in colleges are one good example. Even though differential treatment of juveniles by the police based on the neighborhood in which the police-youths encounters take place is still probable, the important point is that youths from the middle and upper socio-economic classes have more reasons to be concerned about their interactions with the police than they did ten years ago because of their involvement in activities the law still prohibits. We also cannot leave out another important factor which may have an important impact on the youth's attitude toward police - police programs on television and the popularization of police themes in the movie industry. Since youths of all socio-economic classes have practically equal opportunities to viewing these police shows in their own living rooms, it is reasonable to expect, if such programs are, in fact, determined to have an impact upon attitude formation of youths, that the traditionally observed differences in attitude toward police based on socio-economic classes should be diminished, if not eradicated completely. The first hypothesis then is that there is no longer a significant difference in attitudes toward police based on the youths' membership in a particular socio-economic status.

Another important issue is whether or not attitudes toward police can be meaningfully studied as a function of the ethnic background of a particular youth. This issue is often confused with the

analysis of the socio-economic factors since in many studies, membership

in a particular ethnic background was associated with a particular socio-

economic class. Such association may be valid to some extent but this

thesis examines the ethnic background factor free of association with

the socio-economic status of the youths. One unique feature concerning

the ethnic group as compared with socio-economic group is that the

"ethnic barrier" is relatively difficult to scale as compared to the

"socio-economic barrier." Hard work and subsequent achievement still

places one in his own identifiable ethnic group in the eyes of others,

and also of the police. For this reason, drastic change in the last

10 years in the attitude toward police as expressed by the members of

various ethnic groups is not expected. Therefore, the second hypothesis

is that there are still significant differences in attitudes toward

police as expressed by members of different minority groups.

Age has been another important variable in determining youths'

attitude toward police. The third hypothesis is a restatement of what

has been the trend in the past: youths' positive attitude toward

police will gradually decline as they become older.

The three hypotheses concerning adolescent youths' attitude

toward police are summarized:

1. There is no significant difference in attitudes toward police
between youths in the higher socio-economic class and lower socio-
economic class.

2. There is still a significant difference in attitudes toward
police between White youths and youths of minority ethnic background.
The White youths' attitude toward police should be higher (more favorable
toward police) than attitudes expressed by the minority youths.

3. Attitude toward police is inversely proportional to the
increase in age of the adolescent youths: the older the youth, the
less favorable his attitude toward police.

Scales Used to Measure Attitudes Toward Police

Two scales were utilized for this study. The Portune ATP-Scale[18] was used to provide comparative data with previous studies and to provide a basis for another comparison in the future if a similar study is made. Another scale used for this study was an Expanded-Scale[19] which was so named because it expands the Portune ATP-Scale with an additional 25 statements to insure that attitudes measured did, in fact, include four factors - youths' attitudes toward police brutality, effectiveness, fairness, and honesty, along with the general attitudes toward police. The four factors were not arbitrarily chosen. They were some of the most crucial subjects concerning the police in the last 10 years. The Expanded-Scale consists of 23 positively worded statements and 22 negatively worded statements. One "extra" positively worded statement was intentional to "balance" the natural inclination to react negatively toward the four factors which were added to the Portune ATP-Scale, particularly to the subject of police brutality and fairness by members of minority groups.

The Portune ATP-Scale consists of 20 statements with 10 positively and 10 negatively framed statements concerning the police. Each statement is evaluated on a scale of five possible responses: Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree and Strongly Disagree; with a point value ranging from 0 to 4. Four points are awarded to a "strongly agree"

[18]See appendix for the contents of the Portune ATP-Scale. The first 20 statements on the ATP questionnaire comprise the Portune ATP-Scale.

[19]See appendix for contents of the Expanded-Scale. The first 45 statements of the questionnaire comprise the Expanded-Scale.

response on a positively framed statement (thus 0 for a "strongly disagree" response) while four points are also awarded to "strongly disagree" response on a negatively framed statement. Thus, the highest degree of favorable attitudes toward police will be scored as 80; and the lowest (or highest negative attitudes) scored as 0.

The Expanded-Scale is scored exactly the same way as the Portune scale. The range was expanded from 0 to 180 on a 45 statement questionnaire.

Methodology: Preparation of Questionnaire for Youths

The questionnaire survey method was the obvious choice for this study since comparing the results with the figures from previous studies was one of the purposes of this particular study. Thus, the Portune ATP-Scale was adopted. It should be mentioned that "policemen" in Portune's questionnaire was changed to "police officers" in the realization that there are some policewomen on patrol duties now. Likewise, "men" in the Portune questionnaire was changed to "people." These changes should not affect the meaning of the statements at all.

One of the shortcomings of past studies has always been that measured attitudes could not be correlated with other variables which might possibly explain reasons for the expressed attitudes. In other words, past studies have found "what" but could not explain "why." The basic problem in devising a set of questionnaires which not only reveals "what" but also "why" is that variables associated with attitudes are simply too numerous. Thus, the scope was confined to one area of police-youth interactions, on the assumption that the youths' attitudes toward police are strongly affected by the nature and quality of their past interactions with the police. A nine-question questionnaire was devised which would reveal such interactions (Item 61-69). The results can be used to evaluate youths' attitudes toward police which are obtained at the beginning of the questionnaire (Item 1-20 for the Portune ATP-Scale or Item 1-45 for the Expanded-Scale). Two questions (Item 72 and 73) designed to reveal the youths' preoccupation with police programs on television were also included. Since television has become a powerful media of communication, the effects of television programming as another important variable which can influence the viewer's attitudes cannot be

ruled out.

Item 70 has been added to the questionnaire as a rough measure of the youths' composite attitudes, with an assumption that if the youths' attitudes toward police are generally positive, then they would tend to help a police officer whereas if their attitudes are generally negative toward police, they probably would not help.

Items 74 and 75 have also been added to measure the youths' perceived difficulties in talking with police officers relative to talking with store clerks. Again the youths' past experiences with the police should play a significant role in determining the perceived degree of difficulty in talking to police officers.

In addition to measuring youths' attitudes toward police and examining selected factors which might affect formation of attitudes, it was necessary to know how the youth would define what the police role should be. Questionnaire items 46 through 60 were again carefully prepared after an extensive research of literatures on the role of the police. The fifteen statements on police roles are designed to measure compositely, three basically different areas of police roles. Five statements are intended to find out whether or not the youths define police role as strictly law enforcement oriented with little or no service functions or if they define it to be service oriented with less emphasis on law enforcement. Three statements are intended to find out whether or not the youths favor public participation in control of police functions or leave police functions to the police. The remaining seven statements are intended to find out perhaps the most important concern for youths - should the police enforce all laws equally or should they enforce laws on a differential basis depending on the

situation?

In summary, the questionnaire was prepared with an intent to measure basically three elements which were felt to be crucial in arriving at a good picture of the youths' attitude toward police. They are:

1. Expression of attitudes toward police (Item 1-45)

   general attitudes
   attitudes toward police fairness
   attitudes toward police effectiveness
   attitudes toward police honesty
   attitudes toward police brutality

2. Concept of police roles as defined by youths (Item 46-60)

   law enforcement vs. service orientation
   public vs. police control of police function
   uniform vs. differential application of law

3. Selected factors relevant to attitude formation and role definition (Item 61-70, 72-73)

   nature and degree of interaction with police
   preoccupation with police television programs

4. Miscellaneous (Item 70-71, 74-75)

   willingness to help police officers
   importance of programs to improve police-youth relationship
   perceived difficulty in talking with police officers

Selection of Schools for the Survey

Since one of the hypotheses was to examine the attitude differen-
tial between youths in different socio-economic classes, the selection
of schools for the survey was critical. Upon a suggestion from one of
the school district personnel, it was decided to use the Aid to Families
with Dependent Children (AFDC)[*] data as an initial guideline in deter-
mining the socio-economic level of each school. Schools with a relatively
high percentage of students on the AFDC program can be roughly correlated
with the lower socio-economic class. Likewise, a low AFDC rate would
generally indicate higher socio-economic status. Based on the AFDC
rate, the following four schools were tentatively selected:

Junior High Schools		Senior High Schools	
School	% on AFDC	School	% on AFDC
Sam Brannan	3.6%	John F. Kennedy	7.2%
Peter Lassen	38.8%	Sacramento	29.1%

These schools represent two extremes on the AFDC rate. Since there
were other schools whose AFDC rates were close to the rates for these
four schools, all 54 elementary schools were plotted on the School
District map according to their respective AFDC rate in order to deter-
mine the neighborhood characteristics surrounding the four schools
selected. The plotting revealed that these four schools were, in fact,
located within the close proximity of elementary schools with similar
AFDC rates; therefore, these four schools remained as selectees for this

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[*]AFDC is a public welfare payment program to help children who
are in need because of the death, continued absence from home, incapa-
city or unemployment of their parents.

study.

The next step involved correlating the school subdistricts with the census tract* subdivisions in order to derive pertinent socio-economic indicators for the school subdistricts. This task was accomplished for each of the selected four schools as well as several other schools whose AFDC rates were close to the rates for the selected schools. The following results were obtained:

Junior High School

Socio-economic Factors	Lassen	Brannan	City of Sacramento
Average of median school year completed	11.2	13.0	12.3
Average of percentage of high school graduates	45.0%	80.7%	58.9%
Average of the mean income	$7,700	$17,500	$11,200
Average of percentage of families below poverty level	17.3%	4.0%	10.4%
Average of median value of homes	$14,120	$27,250	$16,600

*Census tract figures represent 1970 status, not 1975, but relative differences observed in 1970 should still be reasonably valid in 1975.

Senior High Schools

Socio-economic Factors	Sacramento	Kennedy	City of Sacramento
Average of median school year completed	11.4 (8.2-12.9)*	12.9	10.7
Average of percentage of high school graduates	51.9% (17.9-82.8)	78.2%	58.2%
Average of the mean income	$8,680 ($5,810-$19,600)	$14,890	$11,200
Average of percentage of families below poverty level	14.1% (2.4%-33.7%)	4.1%	10.4%
Average of median value of homes	$14,690 ($9,800-$22,300)	$25,430	$16,600

Based on above figures Brannan and Kennedy were arbitrarily designated as schools with students from the higher socio-economic class and Sacramento and Lassen as schools associated with the lower socio-economic class. The figures for other schools fell between the above figures; thus they were rejected. An examination of other socio-economic indicators, such as occupation and home ownership, also supported the socio-economic breakdown of the four schools selected.

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*The Sacramento Senior High School Subdistrict is unique in that there is one census tract area (of 26 total for the Sacramento High subdistrict) whose figures resemble those for the Kennedy High School. Thus, it indicates the range of figures for each socio-economic factor to present a better picture.

Implementation of the Research Project

A research of this nature and magnitude is impossible without the cooperation of school officials. Upon approval of the research proposals by assistant superintendents of Research and Development, Secondary Schools and Human Relations, the principals of schools selected for this research were contacted and at a mutually agreed time, the writer returned to these schools to administer the survey.

In the meantime, the Youth Services Division and Community Relations Division of the Sacramento Police Department were contacted and Division Commanders were informed of this research. A letter was delivered to the Chief of Police of the Sacramento Police Department also notifying him of this survey and to ask permission to survey police officers of the department. Since the Sacramento Police Department maintains jurisdiction over all schools involved in my research, it was important to be able to survey the police officers whom the youths in these schools encounter. The request was verbally denied by the Inspector of the Patrol Division, for the reason that it would cost too much of the tax payers' money to fill out questionnaires, and that it would reduce the response capability of officers while involved with the questionnaire. At this writing, a reply from the Chief of Police, which was requested in order to include in this thesis an official statement and reason for the denial of the survey request, has not been received.

The questionnaire to measure youths' attitude toward police has been examined and evaluated by numerous individuals, including school officials, police officials, teachers familiar with the youths' style of language, and junior and senior high students as well.

Administration of the Questionnaire

Students were selected by the principals or vice principals on the basis of random selection of classes rather than individuals. Two classes for each grade level were selected in each school, and students who were present in these classes were administered the questionnaire. In some cases, necessary changes were inevitable due to prior commitments and other classes were selected to replace the classes which could not participate. Since the time designated for this survey was near the end of the quarter, the random selection of students, as desired in order to maintain validity in random sampling, was not possible without unduly disrupting class schedules. This lack of true random sampling will be discussed later as one of the limiting factors of this study.

Each student was provided with a copy of the questionnaire, an optical scanning form to mark responses, and a pencil. Since the entire class period was provided for the survey in all schools, there was more than enough time to explain the purpose of the survey and procedures, answer questions as they arose, and engage in a discussion about the questionnaire after the completion of the survey. In order to compensate for the reading deficiency of some of the students, each statement was slowly read twice. Also, by administering the survey orally, a pace was set to maintain their interests since it turned out to be a long survey, and questions were answered for the benefit of all the students at one time. By personally conducting the survey, instead of relying on the teachers or the school officials, consistency was maintained in the administration of this survey.

At the completion of the survey, the answer sheets were indivi-

dually collected to insure correctness of the demographic information on the sheet. Since the ethnic background information could not be asked, due to enactment of federal laws to protect privacy, the writer's own determination of the students' ethnic origin was recorded as the answer sheets were collected. In some cases, assistance from the teachers who were familiar with the students' names were solicited to make the ethnic background determination.

Findings

Analysis of the Sample Population

The following tables provide the basic background information of the 692 sample population for this study.

TABLE 1

Number of Youths Surveyed by Sex

Sex	Kennedy	Sacramento	Brannan	Lassen	TOTAL
Male	83	77	73	71	304
Female	100	88	103	97	388
TOTAL	183	165	176	168	692

TABLE 2

Number of Youths Surveyed by Sex and Ethnic Background

Sex	Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Male	49	35	58	162
Female	82	44	41	221
TOTAL	131 (18.9%)	79 (11.4%)	99 (14.3%)	383 (55.4%)

TABLE 3

Number of Youths Surveyed By Ethnic Background and Socio-economic Class

Class	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Higher Socio-economic Status	41	7	81	230	359
Lower Socio-economic Status	90	72	18	153	333

TABLE 4

Number of Youths Surveyed by Ethnic Background and School

School	Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Kennedy	27	· 5	34	117
Sacramento	44	34	12	75
Brannan	14	2	47	113
Lassen	46	38	6	78

TABLE 5

Number of Youths Surveyed by Ethnic Background
and Grade Level

Grade	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
7th	12	11	20	65	108
8th	28	13	21	72	134
9th	20	16	12	54	102
10th	20	9	22	46	97
11th	28	11	10	71	120
12th	23	19	14	75	131

Findings

All numerical figures to represent attitude measurement in this section, unless otherwise stated, are based on the Portune Attitude Toward Police Scale (ATP-Scale). All computations to determine the statistical significance of the measured attitude scores are based on the ATP-Scale, rather than on the Expanded-Scale.

The mean score for the attitudes toward police as expressed by youths in this study was 50.65 (N=692, s=11.92). The mean score ranged from the lowest of 12 (white, female, 7th grader at Lassen and Asian, female, 10th grader at Kennedy) to 80 (white, female, 8th grader at Brannan).

The following tables are presented to evaluate the three main hypotheses stated earlier:

TABLE 6

Comparison Between Two Socio-economic Classes

Hypothesis: There is no significant difference in attitudes toward police between youths in the higher socio-economic class and lower socio-economic class.

Socio-economic Class	Mean Score
Higher	51.17 (N=359, s=11.56)
Lower	50.08 (N=333, s=12.28)

Student's t = 1.19 (df=690)
Not significant at any level

TABLE 7

Comparison Between Youths of Different Ethnic Groups

Hypothesis: There is still a significant difference in attitudes toward police between White youths and youths of the minority ethnic groups. The White youths' attitudes toward police should be higher, thus more favorable, than attitudes expressed by youths of the minority ethnic background.

Ethnic Background	Mean Scores	Range
Black	45.82 (N=131, s=12.25)	23 – 79
Chicano	47.67 (N=79, s=11.28)	17 – 74
Asian	50.74 (N=99, s=10.89)	12 – 75
White	52.89 (N=383, s=7.47)	12 – 80

$$F = 14.05 \ (df=3/688)$$
Significant at .05

TABLE 8

Comparison Between Youths in Different Grade Levels

Hypothesis: Attitudes toward police expressed by youths are inversely proportional to the age; older the youth, lower the attitude score.

Grade Level	Mean Scores	Range
7th	55.10 (N=108, s=9.98)	12 – 77
8th	52.37 (N=134, s=6.65)	26 – 80
9th	50.08 (N=102, s=12.45)	19 – 78
10th	50.02 (N=97, s=10.41)	12 – 75
11th	47.65 (N=120, s=11.31)	19 – 71
12th	48.93 (N=131, s=11.70)	24 – 78

$$F = 8.70 \ (df=5/686)$$
Significant at .05

The following tables are presented to support conclusions derived in evaluating the three hypotheses:

TABLE 9

Comparison Among Four Schools

School	Mean Scores	Range
Kennedy	48.91	12 – 75
Sacramento	48.88	17 – 78
Brannan	53.51	19 – 80
Lassen	51.48	12 – 79

TABLE 10

Comparison Between Junior and Senior High Schools

Schools	Mean Scores	Range
Junior High	52.52 (N=344)	12 – 80
Senior High	48.79 (N=348)	12 – 78

TABLE 11

Comparison Between Sex and Socio-economic Classes

Socio-economic Class	Male	Female
Higher	50.75 (N=156) Range: 19 – 76	50.47 (N=148) Range: 12 – 80
Lower	51.49 (N=203) Range: 17 – 79	49.87 (N=185) Range: 12 – 78

TABLE 12

Comparison Between Youths From Different Ethnic Backgrounds and Socio-economic Classes

Socio-economic Classes		Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Higher		43.41	49.14	50.63	52.80
		(N=41)	(N=7)	(N=81)	(N=230)
	Range:	28 - 58	26 - 66	12 - 75	19 - 80
Lower		46.91	47.53	51.22	53.01
		(N=90)	(N=72)	(N=18)	(N=153)
	Range:	23 79	17 - 68	31 - 70	12 - 78

TABLE 13

Comparison Between Youths from Different Ethnic Backgrounds and Junior and Senior High School

School		Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Junior		47.93	48.20	53.92	54.48
		(N=60)	(N=40)	(N=53)	(N=191)
	Range:	23 - 79	26 - 74	28 - 75	12 - 80
Senior		44.03	47.13	47.07	51.31
		(N=71)	(N=39)	(N=46)	(N=192)
	Range:	28 - 71	17 - 68	12 - 69	19 - 78

TABLE 14

Comparison Between Youths from Different Ethnic Backgrounds and Sex

Sex		Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Male		45.77	48.84	50.93	52.62
		(N=49)	(N=35)	(N=58)	(N=162)
	Range:	29 - 79	17 - 68	22 - 75	19 - 78
Female		45.73	46.66	50.46	53.30
		(N=82)	(N=44)	(N=41)	(N=221)
	Range:	23 - 71	24 - 68	12 - 69	12 - 80

TABLE 15

Comparison Between Youths from Different
Ethnic Background and Schools

Schools		Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Kennedy		41.59	50.6	46.21	51.33
		(N=27)	(N=5)	(N=34)	(N=117)
	Range:	28 – 56	40 – 66	12 – 69	19 – 75
Sacramento		45.57	46.62	49.50	51.26
		(N=44)	(N=34)	(N=12)	(N=75)
	Range:	31 – 71	17 – 68	35 – 68	31 – 78
Brannan		47.07	45.50	53.83	54.32
		(N=14)	(N=2)	(N=47)	(N=113)
	Range:	29 – 58	26 – 65	28 – 75	19 – 80
Lassen		48.20	48.34	54.67	54.70
		(N=46)	(N=38)	(N=6)	(N=78)
	Range:	23 – 79	26 – 68	31 – 70	12 – 78

TABLE 16

Comparison Between Youths from Different
Ethnic Background and Grade Levels

Grade Level		Black	Chicano	Asian	White
7th		46.33	51.81	56.80	56.60
		(N=12)	(N=11)	(N=20)	(N=65)
	Range:	33 – 59	32 – 74	37 – 75	12 – 77
8th		50.75	47.08	51.38	54.25
		(N=28)	(N=13)	(N=21)	(N=72)
	Range:	29 – 79	26 – 61	28 – 70	28 – 80
9th		44.95	46.63	53.58	52.22
		(N=20)	(N=16)	(N=21)	(N=54)
	Range:	23 – 67	26 – 63	38 – 67	19 – 78
10th		44.90	49.89	45.95	54.21
		(N=20)	(N=9)	(N=22)	(N=46)
	Range:	28 – 66	38 – 53	12 – 69	35 – 75
11th		44.75	47.09	48.70	48.73
		(N=28)	(N=11)	(N=10)	(N=71)
	Range:	31 – 71	17 – 68	28 – 68	19 – 71
12th		42.39	45.84	47.64	51.96
		(N=23)	(N=19)	(N=14)	(N=75)
	Range:	29 – 67	24 – 56	36 – 59	29 – 78

TABLE 17
Comparison Between Schools and Sex

Sex		Kennedy	Sacramento	Brannan	Lassen
Male		49.23	47.30	52.48	54.75
		(N=83)	(N=77)	(N=73)	(N=71)
	Range:	19 – 75	17 – 68	19 – 76	26 – 79
Female		48.65	49.85	54.24	49.63
		(N=100)	(N=88)	(N=103)	(N=97)
	Range:	12 – 71	24 – 78	28 – 80	12 – 77

A total of 150 youths (22% of the total sample size) scored lower than the mid-point on the Portune ATP-Scale (40) and Expanded-Scale (90) thus scoring on the negative side of the scale. The mean of these scores was found to be 35.49 on the Portune ATP-Scale and 75.23 on the Expanded-Scale. About half (74) of these youths were from the higher socio-economic class, while the other half (76) were from the lower socio-economic class. Eighty-seven were from the high schools, while 63 were from the junior high schools. Eighty were females. The following table examines the further breakdown of the 150 youths by each school:

TABLE 18
Analysis of Youths Whose ATP Scores were Below the Mid-Value by School and Grade Level

Grade Level		Brannan		Lassen	
7th		4	(6%)	7	(16%)
8th		12	(18%)	15	(22%)
9th		10	(21%)	15	(28%)
	TOTAL:	26	(15%)	37	(22%)
		Kennedy		Sacramento	
10th		11	(22%)	8	(17%)
11th		23	(34%)	14	(27%)
12th		14	(22%)	17	(25%)
	TOTAL:	48	(26%)	39	(24%)

Percentage refers to % of sampled population.

The following table examines the ethnic background of the 150

youths whose ATP scores were below the mid-value (40/90):

TABLE 19

Analysis of Youths Whose ATP Scores were Below the
Mid-Value by Ethnic Background

	Black	Chicano	Asian	White
Number of Youths	44 (29%)	34 (16%)	21 (14%)	61 (41%)

Based on the proportion of youths identified with the four ethnic groups

in the total sample size, one expects the figures of 28, 17, 21 and 83

for Black, Chicano, Asian and White, respectively, assuming that there is

no difference in attitudes toward police among youths of different ethnic

backgrounds. A chi-square test produced $X^2 = 17.31$ (df=3) which is

significant at .01 level. Therefore, by rejecting the null hypothesis,

it can be concluded that there is a difference in attitudes toward

police among ethnic groups. Black youths are significantly less

positive in attitude toward police.

Factors which may influence or cause the etiology of certain

attitudes toward police will now be examined. The questionnaire items

61 and 63 were analyzed together since the intent of these questions

was to determine the degree to which the youths might be personally or

closely associated with being the victims of criminal acts and to what

degree they chose not to call the police. The questionnaire asked:

Item 61: Have you ever been a victim of a crime but did not
call the police?

Item 63: Has anyone in your family been a victim of a crime but
did not call the police?

A total of 213 responses stated "yes" to either item 61 or 63, which

amounts to 31% of the total number surveyed. It means that almost one in every three victims did not call the police. The nature of the criminal acts was not determined and thus, further analysis cannot be made to determine the seriousness of the incidents. Of the total, 122 were males and 91 were females. The ethnic background ratio was close to the ratio of the total population. The mean of the attitudes expressed by the 213 youths was 47.54/101.07,[*] which is slightly less than the overall attitude toward police (50.65/106.30). Youths in the junior high schools expressed a slightly more favorable attitude toward police than those in high schools (48.31/103.99 with N = 86 and 47.02/99.09 with N = 127 for junior and senior high schools, respectively). Youths in the lower socio-economic class expressed a slightly more favorable attitude toward police than those in the higher socio-economic class (48.07/101.54 with N = 110 and 46.98/100.57 with N = 103 for lower and higher socio-economic classes, respectively). The differences are not statistically significant.

Analysis of items 62 and 64 was similar to that of items 61 and 63, except the former determined what extent they did call the police when they became victims of crimes. The questionnaire asked:

Item 62: Have you ever been a victim of a crime and did call the police?

Item 64: Has anyone in your family been a victim of a crime and did call the police?

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[*]For this portion of the findings, two figures will be used. The first numerical figure represents the Portune ATP score; the second figure represents the score obtained from the Expanded-Scale. Both figures are used for comparative reasons.

A total of 359 responded by marking "yes" on either item 62 or 64, which means that over half of the total samples (52%) or their family members have come into contact with the police when they became victims of criminal acts. Of the total, 174 were males, while 185 were females. Again as in items 61 and 63, the ethnic background ratio for those who called the police was very similar to the ethnic background ratio of the total population. The mean of the attitudes toward police was 49.01/102.40 which is very close but slightly less than the overall mean (50.65/106.30) and slightly higher than the mean for those who did not call the police (47.54/101.C7). The differences are not statistically significant. Youths in junior high schools expressed generally more positive attitudes toward police than those in senior high schools (51.96/109.82 with N = 157 vs. 46.72/96.64 with N = 202). Again as found in items 61 and 63, youths in the lower socio-economic class expressed more favorable attitudes toward police than those in the higher socio-economic class (50.96/105.42 with N = 161 vs. 47.43/99.95 with N = 198). These figures are slightly higher than comparable figures for those who did not call the police, but statistically the variance is not significant.

Item 65: Have you ever been questioned by the police as a witness to a crime?

Item 66: Have you ever been stopped by the police for any reason?

Items 65 and 66 were not evaluated.[*]

Item 67: Have you ever been searched by the police, but you were not arrested?

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[*]Questions were not well-worded to exclude other factors from influencing the result. Therefore, analysis of the responses to these two questions would not be meaningful.

In item 67, the youths were responding with "yes" answers to the
search of their cars as well as to the intended search of the body. The
data still should be valid to include auto searches. The mean score
for the attitude expressed toward police by 112 youths who stated they
were subjected to a search by the police, as expected, was lower than
the mean score for the total population: 44.16/91.68 with N = 112
(mean for the total population was 50.65/106.30). In evaluating the
ratio of the ethnic background of these youths, the ratio for Black
and White youths were very close to the ratio in the total population.
However, the ratio for Chicano youths doubled and the ratio for Asian
youths decreased by half. Junior high school youths expressed almost
the same but slightly less favorable attitude toward police than did
the senior high school youths (43.51/91.59 with N = 29 and 44.38/91.71
with N = 83, respectively). The figure also shows that of the 112
respondents almost three times as many senior high school youths
stated they were subjected to a search than youths in junior high
schools. When the responses were evaluated in terms of the socio-economic
classes, the results revealed that youths in higher socio-economic classes
expressed almost the same kind of attitude toward police as those in
the lower socio-economic class (44.35/93.16 with N = 62 and 43.92/89.84
with n = 50, respectively).

Item 68: Have you ever been arrested?

A total of 60 youths (35 males and 25 females) responded affirma-
tively to this question. Analysis of the ethnic background of those
with arrest experience, while noting the small sample size which may
invalidate further analysis, shows again that Chicano youths are dis-
proportionately represented with more than twice the ratio as that in

the total population, while the ratio for the Black and White youths were slightly lower with the ratio for the Asian youths considerably lower. The mean score for the 60 youths was 44.82/92.42. The mean score for the Chicano youths was 39.47/80.47 with N = 15. Forty-three youths in senior high schools and 17 youths in junior high schools had similar mean scores: 44.91/93.81 and 44.58/88.88, respectively, and 20 youths in the higher socio-economic class scored a mean of 46.65/94.95, while 40 youths in the lower socio-economic class showed a mean of 43.90/91.15. All these figures are lower than the mean of the total population, 50.65/106.30.

Item 69: Have you ever been beaten up by the police?

A total of 17 youths responded with "yes" answers, including 4 females. The mean score was 42.94/86.29. The sample size is too small to make further analysis.

The mean scores for items 61 through 69 are summarized:

Item and Description	Mean Scores
61 - 63: Victim but didn't call the police	47.54/101.07 (N=213)
62 - 64: Victim and did call the police	49.01/102.40 (N=359)
65: Questioned as a witness to a crime	Not evaluated
66: Stopped by police for any reason	Not evaluated
67: Searched but not arrested	44.16/91.63 (N=112)
68: Arrested	44.82/92.42 (N=60)
69: Beaten up by the police	42.94/86.29 (N=17)

Item 70 was designed to measure the youths' attitude toward police from another angle with an assumption that youths who would not help police officers are definitely committed toward negative attitudes toward police. Care was taken to explain to the students when the

survey questions were being given that the assistance rendered can be of a non-risk nature such as calling the police for help rather than a physically intervening act. The question was stated:

If you see a police officer in trouble and he asks you to help him, would you help him?

A total of 75 youths (11% of the total population) stated they would not help a police officer. There were 38 males and 37 females. The mean score for the 75 youths was 39.88/84.00, which is considerably lower than the mean of the total population, 50.65/106.30. When the scores are analyzed by schools, 15% of those sampled at Lassen, 6% at Brannan, 21% at Sacramento and 17% at Kennedy stated they would not help a police officer. Sixty-three per cent of these youths were in the lower socio-economic class, while 37% were in the higher socio-economic class. Analysis by the ethnic background of these youths revealed that the ratio within these groups is far off the ratio of the total population. Even though less than 20% of the total population is composed of Black youths, 43% of those who stated they would not help a police officer were Black youths. The following table summarizes these figures:

TABLE 20

Comparison of Unwillingness to Help a Police Officer
When He Asks for Help by Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background	Number (%)	% in Total Population	ATP Mean Scores
Black	32 (43%)	19%	40.16/82.84
Chicano	13 (17%)	11%	37.69/79.69
Asian	9 (12%)	14%	38.78/82.33
White	21 (28%)	56%	41.29/89.14
TOTAL:	75 (100%)	(100%)	39.88/84.00 (Overall ATP mean score)

The abundance and variety of police programs on television may have recently become one of the most important factors in influencing the youths' attitudes toward police. Several combinations can be examined between items 72 and 73 to evaluate the influencing effect of television police programs upon youths. A combination between items 72 and 73 that expresses extreme practices was selected for analysis. D and E on item 72 with A and B on item 73 were selected as one practice which represents preoccupation with police programs (three hours or more television per day and all or majority of that television viewing time spent on watching police programs). A combination of A and B on item 72 and D and E on item 73 was also chosen to represent the opposite practice (no more than one hour a day is spent on watching television with some or none of that viewing time used to watch police programs). Thus, this particular combination of items 72 and 73 represents those who are preoccupied with police programs (long television viewing and heavy concentration on police programs) and lack of such preoccupation (none or some television viewing with none or some police programs). The following table summarizes the findings:

TABLE 21

Comparison of Youths' Attitude Toward Police Between Those Preoccupied with TV Police Programs and Those Who Showed no such Preoccupation

| | Schools | | | |
	Kennedy	Sacramento	Brannan	Lassen
Preoccupied	49.38/102.62 (N=13)	48.19/111.38 (N=16)	57.53/119.79 (N=19)	52.74/112.31 (N=42)
Not Preoccupied	47.06/99.18 (N=32)	44.32/89.09 (N=22)	55.47/115.84 (N=19)	46.75/101.75 (N=8)

Overall

| Preoccupied | 52.46/112.32 (N=90) |
| Not Preoccupied | 48.26/99.46 (N=81) |

Student's t = 1.065 (df=169)
Not significant at any level

The results show that even though there is a slight tendency toward expressing more favorable attitudes toward police by youths who are preoccupied with television police programs, the difference is not statistically significant enough to conclude that television police programs have a definite impact upon youths in their attitudes toward police.

The following four items (items 8, 10, 27, 37) were selected for analysis to evaluate the youths' response pattern on four of the specific areas which may have significant bearing on youths' attitude toward police - police brutality, police effectiveness, police fairness, and police honesty.

Item 8: Police use clubs on people for no reason at all.

This statement was used to evaluate the youths' own convictions toward police brutality. The following table shows the summary:

TABLE 22

Youths' Conviction Toward Police Brutality by Evaluating the Statement:
"Police Use Clubs on People for No Reason at All"
Category by Ethnic Background

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Strongly Agree	5%	14%	3%	1%	5%
Agree	13%	9%	6%	4%	7%
Undecided	32%	23%	15%	16%	21%
Disagree	30%	33%	48%	39%	38%
Strongly Disagree	20%	21%	28%	40%	29%

Combined Results of Strongly Agree with Agree Results and Strongly Disagree with Disagree Results:

	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Agree	18%	23%	9%	5%	12%
Undecided	32%	23%	15%	16%	21%
Disagree	50%	54%	76%	79%	67%

Item 10: Without the police there would be crime everywhere.

This statement can be evaluated to measure the degree of confidence the youths may have toward police or to evaluate their concept of police effectiveness. The following table summarizes the results:

TABLE 23

Analysis of Youths' Concept Toward Police Effectiveness by Evaluating the Statement: "Without the Police There would be Crime Everywhere" Category by Ethnic Background

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Strongly Agree	41%	44%	34%	54%	49%
Agree	29%	36%	38%	31%	31%
Undecided	12%	8%	14%	7%	9%
Disagree	12%	9%	10%	6%	8%
Strongly Disagree	6%	3%	4%	2%	3%

Combined Results of Strongly Agree with Agree Results and Strongly Disagree with Disagree Results:

	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Agree	70%	80%	72%	85%	80%
Undecided	12%	8%	14%	7%	9%
Disagreement	18%	12%	14%	8%	11%

Item 27: Police are prejudiced toward members of different minority groups.

This statement was intended to measure the youths' concept of police fairness. The following table summarizes the results:

TABLE 24

Analysis of Youths' Concept Toward Police Fairness by Evaluating the Statement: "Police are Prejudiced toward Members of Different Minority Groups"

Category by Ethnic Background

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Strongly Agree	17%	17%	11%	3%	11%
Agree	18%	30%	18%	12%	18%
Undecided	40%	30%	34%	33%	34%
Disagree	13%	15%	29%	38%	25%
Strongly Disagree	12%	8%	8%	14%	12%

TABLE 24 - Continued

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL

Combined Results of Strongly Agree with Agree Results and Strongly Disagree with Disagree Results:

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Agree	35%	47%	29%	15%	29%
Undecided	40%	30%	34%	33%	34%
Disagree	23%	23%	37%	52%	37%

Item 37: Most police officers are honest.

This statement should provide a reasonable assessment of the youths' concept of police honesty. The following table summarizes the results:

TABLE 25

Analysis of Youths' Concept toward Police Honesty by Evaluating the Statement: "Most Police Officers are Honest" Category by Ethnic Background

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Strongly Agree	14%	9%	15%	17%	15%
Agree	34%	48%	50%	57%	48%
Undecided	34%	30%	23%	17%	24%
Disagree	12%	7%	10%	7%	9%
Strongly Disagree	6%	4%	2%	4%	4%

Combined Results of Strongly Agree with Agree Results and Strongly Disagree with Disagree Results:

Response	Black	Chicano	Asian	White	TOTAL
Agree	48%	57%	65%	72%	63%
Undecided	34%	30%	23%	17%	24%
Disagree	18%	11%	12%	11%	13%

Summary of Findings

This study revealed that contrary to past findings, there was no significant difference in attitudes toward police between the youths in the higher socio-economic class and the lower socio-economic class. However, differences in attitudes toward police based on ethnic group differential and the grade level (age) differential were still found to be significant.

Previous studies have shown that female youths would tend to express more favorable attitudes toward police than male youths within the same ethnic group. This study revealed that such a variance in attitudes based on sex difference could not be substantiated.

The mean of attitude toward police scores for the entire population (50.65/106.30) is on the positive side of the attitude scale (based on 40/90 as the mid-value point). A total of 150 students (22%) scored on the negative side of the 40/90 point, with a mean of 35.49/75.23. These youths were almost equally divided among higher and lower socio-economic groups. When the scores for these youths were analyzed according to ethnic groups, it was found that a significant number of Black youths was represented among those whose scores were on the negative side of the scale. Chicano youths also accounted for the higher than expected figures based on the ethnic ratio of the total population.

In examining possible reasons for the development of certain attitudes toward police, several examples of police-youth interactions were evaluated. The mean scores for youths whose interactions with the police were characterized by a "police-victim" relationship tended to be more favorable toward police than for youths who had

experienced interactions characterized as "police-policed" or "police-suspect." A significantly larger proportion of Chicano youths reported that they had been subjected to a search by the police without being arrested. A similar disproportionate trend was indicated among the Chicano youths in the analysis of youths with arrest experience.

An 11% of the total population stated that they would not help a police officer even if he needed and asked for help. The mean score for these youths was 39.88/84.00, which is considerably lower than the overall mean of 50.65/106.30. There were almost twice as many students in the lower socio-economic class who stated they would not help a police officer than students in the higher socio-economic class who were also unwilling to help a police officer. Black youths represented a disproportionally high percentage among them followed by a slightly disproportionate percentage of Chicano youths, and to some degree, the Asian youths. Black youths, however, expressed a slightly more favorable attitude toward police than the Chicano and Asian youths.

The influence of television police programs has been evaluated as one of the possible factors in the youths' attitude formation. A breakdown by schools revealed that youths with preoccupation toward police programs tended to have a slightly higher attitude toward police than those who did not or seldom watched television or police programs. However, the difference was not statistically significant at any level.

Four statements were used to take a quick look into four possible traits of the police - brutality, effectiveness, fairness, and honesty.

To the statement, "Police use clubs on people for no reason at all," 12% agreed, 67% disagreed and 21% were undecided. The Chicano

youths and Black youths expressed a greater degree of agreement with this statement (23% and 18%, respectively) than White and Asian youths.

To the statement, "Without the police there would be crime everywhere," the majority of youths agreed with the statement (80%). But 18% of Black youths, 12% of Chicano youths and 14% of Asian youths disagreed with the statement.

To the statement, "Police are prejudiced toward members of different minority groups," 20% agreed, 37% disagreed with 34% being undecided. Among the highest in agreement with the statement were the Chicano youths (47%) and Black youths (35%). Only 15% of White youths agreed with the statement while 52% of the White youths disagreed with the statement. The lowest in disagreement with the statement were also Black youths and Chicano youths with 23% each.

To the statement, "Most police officers are honest," 63% of the youths agreed while 13% disagreed. Among the four ethnic groups, the White youths had the highest percentage of those agreeing with the statement (72%) while Black youths had the lowest percentage of those agreeing with the statement (48%). Also, among those who disagreed with the statement that most police officers are honest, Black youths had the highest percentage of those disagreeing with the statement (18%).

Discussion on the Findings

The mean score for the total population, 50.65/106.03, as a measure of the adolescent youths' attitude toward police, must be interpreted cautiously. Since the score is above the 40/90 mark which arbitrarily separates the positive and negative attitudes toward police, the writer has already made an observation that the youths' attitudes toward police were generally positive. This observation is valid. But if one examines closely the scoring procedure for measuring attitudes, he would see that the "undecided" reply which carries 2 points can technically vary from mid-point on both sides of the scale in the same way a student's grade point average can vary from 1.5 to 2.5 and still mathematically claim an overall "C" average. This means that youths' "undecided" attitude score can vary between 30 and 50 on the Portune ATP-Scale and between 67.5 and 112.5 on the Expanded-Scale while still reflecting "undecided" responses without being on the "agree" or "disagree" side on the scale. Therefore, the mean score for youths who stated they would not help a police officer even if he asked for such help (39.88/84.00) is still within the "undecided" range even though it is definitely below the arbitrary 40/90 mark. It also means, then, that the mean score for the entire population (50.65/106.30) is just at the boundary of the positive (favorable) and "undecided" range. More accurately stated, it _tends_ to be positive without being decisively positive.

Based on the criterion to determine positive or negative attitudes toward police, a profile of a youth with positive attitudes toward police is that he (she) tends to be White and more likely in junior high school. This profile is similar to that which was depicted

in the Portune and Jacobs studies, except that a profile in this study does not include the socio-economic factor or the sex of the youth since these factors were determined to be not significant.

Among minority groups, the Asian youths generally expressed more favorable attitudes toward police than the Black or Chicano youths. In fact, in some instances, the mean scores for the Asian youths were quite similar to those of the White youths. The overall mean score for Asian youths was just beyond the "undecided" range (thus, just in the positive side) with 50.74. Likewise, similar positive scores for Asian youths were reflected in both higher and lower socio-economic classes and in junior high schools. In general, the Black youths expressed less positive[*] attitudes toward police than other ethnic groups, even though in some categories, the Chicano youths expressed similar, less positive attitudes as did the Black youths. This trend was reinforced by analysis of the scores for youths who expressed their unwillingness to help a police officer in need of help. It revealed that a disproportionately high percentage of Black youths stated they would not help a police officer as compared with other ethnic groups.

The impact of police programs on television upon attitudes of youths is difficult to assess. Statistically the result showed that such programs could not be correlated as having a significant impact, positively or negatively upon attitudes of youths toward police. But it is felt

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[*]The term "less positive" is used instead of "negative" in order not to imply that scores for the Black youths were below the 40/90 mark. Their scores were generally above the 40/90 mark (thus, on the positive side of the scale) but they were consistently lower than scores for the White and Asian youths, and generally lower than the scores for the Chicano youths.

that a more detailed and carefully designed research is required to reassess the influence of police programs upon the youths' attitudes.

It was interesting to discover that youths who had experienced encounters with the police in a "police-policed" or "police-suspect" situation as characterized by being searched, arrested or beaten up, did not express the degree of negative attitude that was anticipated by the writer. Even though their mean scores were significantly below the overall mean (for example, 50.65 vs. 44.82 for youths with arrest experience), the scores were still within the "undecided" range on the positive side of the scale, instead of being on the negative end of the scale as anticipated. The result might suggest a favorable impression of the police officers with whom these youths might have encountered. But again, further inquiry is needed to explore reasons for the relative lack of negative attitudes one tends to attribute to youths who had experienced encounters with the police in a "police-policed" situation.

A review of the results on the statements selected specifically to examine the four areas of police brutality, effectiveness, fairness and honesty, revealed that the police were generally seen as not being brutal and as being reasonably effective, fair and honest. One must be cautious, however, in interpreting the results in that a significant difference in data exists particularly between the Black youths and the White youths, and to some extent among youths of all ethnic backgrounds. For example, 17% of Black and Chicano youths had indicated that they strongly agreed that the police are prejudiced toward members of minority groups while only 3% of the White youths expressed the same conviction. Similarly, 47% of the Chicano youths agreed that the police were prejudiced toward members of minority groups while only 15% of White

youths felt the same way. These differences, even though they may be assumed to be true without a study to prove the validity of such assumption, must be noted and appreciated instead of merely looking at the overall result and drawing conclusions from it.

As with any statistically based data, one can obtain what he wants or what he is looking for and draw his conclusions. Therefore, if it were to prove that the police were generally perceived positively by the adolescent youths, the mean score of 50.65/106.30 could be interpreted as being positive because it is above the arbitrary 40/90 mark, which, as stated earlier, is a valid statement. But from the critical researcher's point of view, the primary interest is not with those whose attitudes are generally positive, but in the difference or gap between a perfect score and the mean. Therefore, by looking at the data, one can make an observation that on the average, adolescent youths are basically undecided about their attitudes toward police by extending the "undecided" range to 50.00/112.5 mark as previously discussed. In order to be objective, if the overall mean score resulted in a lower score than the 40/90 mark, a similar analysis would have been made. It is felt that a more objective and accurate interpretation of the data is being made by utilizing the "undecided" range on the attitude scale. If the overall mean score had resulted in higher figures, reasonably beyond the 50.00/112.5 mark, it would have been concluded, with confidence, that such a score reflected a definite, favorable attitude toward police. But with the 50.65/106.03 score, it must be concluded that even though the adolescent youths' attitudes toward police tend to be positive, their attitudes are generally characterized as undecided. Therefore, there is a gap between the desired positive attitudes toward police and what the survey has actually revealed.

Limiting Factors

The problem concerning the lack of true random sampling as required for this type of survey was already mentioned. However, the analysis of the ratio of various ethnic groups of the sample groups for each school revealed that such a ratio matched reasonably well with the actual ratio of the youths of various ethnic backgrounds in the same school. Thus, using the ethnic background ratio as a basis for evaluating the "randomness" of the collected sample, the lack of true random sampling should not seriously affect the survey. If the sex ratio is used to evaluate "randomness," it indicated that Black and White female students exceeded the ratio of the general population. But since sex differences were not statistically significant in measuring attitudes toward police, the larger ratio of female students among the sample population should not produce a detrimental effect on the outcome.

The number of the sample size should have been larger in order to allow for further analysis in several instances. For example, the number of youths who were subjected to beatings by the police was only 17 and too small to make further analysis.

The questionnaire may have been too long. Short breaks and occasional jokes were needed to sustain the level of interest and concentration. Even though the wording and sentence structure of all statements had been previously screened by several junior high school students, it was learned that some junior high school students still did not understand the meaning of a few words such as "enforce," "victim," and "witness." If other students pretended that they knew the meaning and answered according to their own erroneous interpretation, the results may have been affected.

It was pointed out previously that one census tract in the Sacramento Senior High School Subdistrict has socio-economic indicators closely resembling those for Kennedy Senior High School. There were 14 responses from students who lived within that particular tract with a mean score slightly higher than the overall mean. Since computation of the socio-economic indicators for Sacramento Senior High School included figures from that tract (thus raising the average), these 14 responses were not discarded from computing the mean score for Sacramento.

During the administration of the survey, there was a concern about students who simply could not keep from verbalizing their reactions to some of the statements despite the request not to make any verbal responses which might influence others in the class. These comments may have affected some of the responses.

At times, the administration of the survey was difficult due to the unruly nature of the students. The teachers had cooperated fully by trying to insure the proper atmosphere in which this survey could be accomplished, and in that process, it may be possible that students may have overreacted negatively toward the police in this survey while expressing their resentment toward the teachers.

The Sacramento City Police Department has a School Liaison Detail operated by the Youth Services Division. Police officers, in civilian clothes, who are specially trained to deal with juveniles, are assigned to junior high schools. The goal is to develop rapport with youths and ultimately to reduce juvenile delinquency. Students and teachers generally expressed high regard for these officers. The School Liaison Detail operated in senior high schools until last year except in Sacramento Senior High School which did not participate in this

program from the beginning, allegedly due to students' apprehension concerning the presence of an armed police officer on campus. In other schools, it is possible that students may have had the police officers on the School Liaison Detail in mind when responding to this survey. If so, the final result should spuriously express more positive attitudes toward police.

In items 72 and 73, the effects of television police programs upon attitudes of the adolescent youths were examined and it was not possible due to the wording of the questions, to control other factors which might influence the outcome. For example, the youths' attitudes toward police might be affected by television news programs in which the activities of the police were vividly presented. The coverage of riots in the late sixties and more recently the live telecast of police actions against the SLA fugitives in Los Angeles are good examples of what might affect the attitudes of youths toward police. Also, even if the data in this survey showed that differences in attitudes toward police between youths with a preoccupation toward police programs and youths without such a preoccupation were statistically significant, it would be impossible to determine if these attitudes were due to or inspite of the police programs. For example, if the data were to show that youths preoccupied with police programs expressed significantly more favorable attitudes toward police, it cannot be determined if such favorable attitudes could be correlated with police programs or whether they liked to watch police programs because they already possessed favorable attitudes toward the police.

CHAPTER   THREE

AN EXAMINATION OF THE YOUTHS' CONCEPT OF THE POLICE ROLE

Introduction

Studies on police-citizen encounters have often focused upon the
examination of the police role.[20] Johnson's summary serves as an
introduction to the study of the role of the police. He stated:

> The basis for the relations between the police and the community
> are created in the actual contacts or encounters that occur
> between citizens and the police (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969:57).
> It is within these police-citizen interactions that the citizen
> reveals his role conception by his response to the citizen's
> needs. More importantly, it is within these police-citizen
> interactions that the patrolman is exposed to conflicting de-
> mands by both the citizen and the police organization. The
> manner in which the patrolman resolves his role conflict has
> great importance to the texture of police community relations.[21]

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[20]For example, T. A. Fleek and T. J. Newnam, "The Role of the
Police in Modern Society," Police 13 (March-April 1969):21-27; Ivan
R. Gabor and Christopher Low, "The Police Role in the Community,"
Criminology 10 (February 1973):383-411; Elmer H. Johnson, "Police: an
Analysis of Role Conflict," Police 14 (January-February 1970):47-52;
Arthur Niederhoffer and Abraham S. Blumberg, The Ambivalent Force:
Perspectives on the Police (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing,
1970), pp. 40-77; Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination
of Role Theory (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966); James
W. Sterling, Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers (Gaithersburg,
Md.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1972); John J.
Sulger, "The Role of the Police in Modern Society," Police Law Quarterly
3 (July 1974):5-13; Bruce J. Terris, "The Role of the Police," The Annals
of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November 1967):
58-69; Richard H. Ward, "The Police Role: A Case of Diversity," Journal
of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 61 (December 1970):580-86.

[21]Thomas A. Johnson, "Police-Citizen Encounters and the
Importance of Role Conceptualization for Police Community Relations,"
Issues in Criminology 7 (Winter, 1972):103.

To empirically examine Johnson's quote, the youths' concept of the role

of the police will first be examined. Specifically, the writer wanted

to explore three different aspects of the police role. Firstly, whether

or not the youths see the police role as that of strictly legalistic and

law enforcement oriented or as that of being service oriented, capable

of providing services which are not normally associated with being police

work will be studied. Secondly, whether or not the youths-define the

role of the police as that which the police should be the sole determinant

of its functions or as that which the public should be allowed to play a

significant role in determining the functions of the police will be

examined. In other words, it is a question of whether or not the police

should be allowed to close the door to the public, or allow the public

to control police functions. Thirdly, whether or not the youths consider

law enforcement functions to be carried out uniformly according to the

letter of the law, or to be accomplished on a differential basis depending

on the circumstances will be explored. It is a question of whether it is

the role of the police to enforce laws equally to all people or to dis-

charge its duties on a differential basis when warranted. Obviously,

there are many different approaches one can take to examine the question

of the role of the police. The choice of these three areas was based on

what was considered to be the key issues on the subject of the roles of

the police.

Another set of police role definitions that was needed in order

to empirically examine Johnson's statement was the police role defini-

tion as maintained by the police officers themselves which can be compared

to the definition of the police role perceived by youths. The disparity

in role definitions between the police and the youths could be looked

upon as a potential source of conflict police officers may encounter in
dealing with youths and will have to be resolved.

Hidden behind Johnson _ statement on role conflict is another
important factor which must be considered. The problem is not only
that there may be differences in defining the role of the police
between the police and citizens but also that discrepancies may exist
between citizens' definition of the role of the police and what the
police officers think is the citizens' definition of the role of the
police. In other words, police officers may react to situations based
not only on his own definition as to what he must do but also on his
erroneously perceived notion of how citizens would react; thus, he
might assume that a negative confrontation with citizens may be inevi-
table when in fact, citizens might completely agree with the police of-
ficer's action and thus support him. It is felt that the etiology of
"symbolic assailants" can also be traced to this erroneous understanding
of the citizens' definition of the police role. Perhaps, one of the goals
of the police-community relations program could be to eliminate such
misconceptions by clearly defining the police role to citizens and
in turn, by clearly understanding the citizens' definition of the police
role. To measure the degree of such misunderstanding, the police
officers* were asked not only to define the role of the police by

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*A total of 41 police officers from the local area responded
to my questionnaire administered in the undergraduate Criminal Justice
classes at California State University at Sacramento, and in a class
offered under the external degree program. Since many police officers
are pursuing college level education, the sampling in these classes
should not unduly bias the outcome by surveying poli e officers
attending college. It was necessary to survey these police officers since
the Sacramento Police Department did not approve surveying of its
personnel.

responding to the 15 statement questionnaire but to also indicate their own understanding of how a typical youth might respond to the same statements. The degree of disparity in police role definition thus derived can be measured by comparing with the definitions of the police role actually defined by youths in a separate survey. The 15 statement questionnaire for the role definition study is found in the ATP Questionnaire (Item 46-60) and in Questionnaire for Police Officers (Item 1-15) found in the appendix.

Defining the Role of Police

TABLE 26

Summary of the concept of the police role as defined by police officers, youths and police officers as to how they think the youth would define the role of the police.

Respondent	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	A	B	C	D	E

Law Enforcement Versus Service Orientation

1. "The main job of the police should be to keep the peace instead of catching criminals."

Police	2%	8%	2%	37%	51%*
Youths	6%	7%	18%	40%	29%
Police Perception of Youths	10%	25%	20%	3%	15%

2. "The police should act more like a public servant than a crime fighter."

Police	5%	17%	3%	61%	14%
Youths	7%	17%	31%	30%	15%
Police Perception of Youths	25%	46%	20%	9%	0%

3. "The public should not be calling the police to help look for a lost child, since it's not their job."

Police	0%	0%	3%	37%	60%
Youths	5%	5%	6%	38%	46%
Police Perception of Youths	3%	3%	4%	41%	49%

*Response with the largest % figure is underlined only to facilitate visual comparison of the data.

TABLE 26 - Continued

Respondent	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	A	B	C	D	E

4. "There should be more foot patrols so that the public can better communicate with police officers."

Respondent	A	B	C	D	E
Police	23%	40%	9%	19%	9%
Youths	19%	44%	24%	9%	4%
Police Perception of Youths	22%	50%	17%	6%	5%

5. "If my parents have a violent argument, the first thing I should do is to call the police for help."

Respondent	A	B	C	D	E
Police	22%	32%	7%	32%	7%
Youths	15%	26%	29%	21%	11%
Police Perception of Youths	12%	24%	27%	30%	7%

Public Versus Police Control of Police Functions

6. "The public should determine how the police department should be run."

Respondent	A	B	C	D	E
Police	6%	20%	4%	40%	30%
Youths	12%	17%	27%	24%	20%
Police Perception of Youths	32%	54%	12%	2%	0%

7. "Police should be allowed to strike for better pay just like anybody else."

Respondent	A	B	C	D	E
Police	17%	6%	12%	37%	28%
Youths	20%	33%	24%	12%	11%
Police Perception of Youths	7%	12%	12%	32%	37%

8. "The public has no right to look into the activities of the police to see if they are doing what they are supposed to be doing."

Respondent	A	B	C	D	E
Police	0%	6%	0%	61%	33%
Youths	6%	13%	21%	31%	29%
Police Perception of Youths	2%	2%	6%	40%	50%

TABLE   26 — Continued

Respondent	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	A	B	C	D	E

Uniform Versus Differential Application of the Law

9. "Police should ignore the little stuff and concentrate on serious crimes."

Police	5%	20%	5%	50%	20%
Youths	10%	19%	21%	33%	17%
Police Perception of Youths	50%	37%	5%	2%	6%

10. "Police should enforce all laws equally."

Police	30%	40%	0%	25%	5%
Youths	22%	29%	25%	12%	12%
Police Perception of Youths	37%	32%	7%	21%	3%

11. "Police should be easier on the juvenile delinquents than adult criminals."

Police	5%	12%	15%	46%	22%
Youths	15%	28%	24%	21%	12%
Police Perception of Youths	30%	46%	5%	12%	7%

12. "Police should treat all people alike regardless of differences in social class and influence in the community."

Police	56%	32%	2%	10%	0%
Youths	54%	34%	9%	2%	1%
Police Perception of Youths	51%	47%	0%	2%	0%

13. "There should be more police patrols in the lower class or ghetto areas."

Police	6%	52%	15%	20%	7%
Youths	27%	34%	25%	10%	4%
Police Perception of Youths	6%	44%	11%	24%	15%

TABLE 26 - Continued

Respondent	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	A	B	C	D	E

14. "Police should stay away from enforcing marijuana laws."

Police	5%	5%	10%	50%	30%
Youths	17%	13%	24%	25%	21%
Police Perception of Youths	44%	44%	2%	10%	0%

15. "Police should obey all laws just like everybody else."

Police	68%	25%	0%	4%	3%
Youths	64%	24%	5%	5%	2%
Police Perception of Youths	81%	14%	0%	0%	5%

Analysis of the Police Role Definition

The police and youths generally agreed on the definitions of the role of the police. Only in two cases were marked discrepancies noted. While the majority of police officers felt that the police should not be allowed to strike for better pay, the majority of youths thought that police officers should be allowed to strike. Also, while the majority of police officers indicated that the police should not be easier on juvenile delinquents than adult criminals, a large proportion of youths felt that the police should be easier on juvenile delinquents.

The police officers were correct only about half of the time on their concept of how a typical youth would respond to the same statements. Marked discrepancies were found in 7 items. Most of the discrepancies were found in the sections of "law enforcement versus service orientation" and in "public versus police control of police function." The police officers incorrectly felt that youths would define police roles to be less law enforcement oriented and more like a public servant. The police officer incorrectly thought also that youths would favor public control of the police function. Perhaps the most interesting discrepancy is that police officers rated the youths' responses very similar to their own on the subject of whether or not the police should be allowed to strike for better pay (both were rated heavily not in favor of police strike) and the majority of youths actually rated on the opposite end of the scale, in favor of allowing the police to strike for better pay. The police officers also incorrectly thought that youths would define the police role as that which should ignore less serious crimes and concentrate on serious crimes. The most surprising finding might be to discover that less than a third

of the youths actually advocated non-enforcement of the marijuana law whereas 88% of the police officers thought that youths would strongly favor such non-enforcement. In view of the above findings, the more common problem appears to be the discrepancy between the police officer's concept of the youths' definition of the role of the police and the role of the police actually defined by youths.

Another way of analyzing the role conflict issue is to examine the discrepancies between the police officers' own definition of the police role and their concept of the youths' definition of the police role without any regards at this moment as to whether or not their concept of the youths' definition of police role is, in fact, correct. In other words, this approach measures the degree of discrepancies in role definition solely on the basis of how much the police officers actually "admit" to having such discrepancies. This is accomplished by measuring differences in responses to each statement and determining the mean score for the discrepancy. This mean score on each questionnaire would indicate the degree of discrepancy the police officer had actually "admitted" to having differences in the role definition of the police. Thus, what one has then is a measurement of the role conflict which the police officers think they have, rather than what they actually have. The mean score for the 41 police officers was 1.14 which means that on the average the police officers have "admitted" to having a role definition conflict of about one letter on the scale (A-B-C-D-E scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree). The individual mean score ranged from 0.33 (practically no discrepancy) to 2.00 (two letter). The significance of this method of analysis is that when combined with an analysis to determine the accuracy of the police officers' concept

of the youths' definition of police role, as previously discussed, it might offer another approach to examining the problems involved in police-youth interactions. If discrepancies in defining the role of the police between police officers and youths do not appear to be significant enough to cause serious conflict in the police-youth relationship, the real problem might be in the police officers' misconception of the youth's definition of police role and their behavior based on such a misconception.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW WIDE IS THE GAP?

In previous chapters, references were made to the gap that exists between the police and youths. To summarize the point, the gap refers to any disparity between what one desires to be and what one is. It can be measured in terms of attitudes. Thus, the gap between the police and the youths in this survey can be expressed in terms of the disparity between a score of a desired 80 on the Portune ATP-Scale and the actual mean of 50.65. The gap can be examined in terms of differences in the number of youths the police officers would like to see express favorable attitudes toward them and the number who actually maintain favorable attitudes. Thus, the percentage of Black or Chicano youths who would refuse to help a police officer in need of help is another measure of the gap between the police and youths. A disparity in police role definition between the police and youths as well as a misunderstanding of each other is another form of the gap between them. Qualitatively, the meaning of the term "pig" in reference to a police officer, as used by a disgruntled youth and as interpreted by police officers as an abbreviation for "pride, integrity and guts" also reflects the gap between them in terms of the youth's intent in using such a term and the police officers' attempt and need to euphemize it.

Another way of measuring the gap between the police and youths is to determine the degree of difficulty each perceives in talking or communicating with the other. It is an important way of analyzing the

degree of the gap between the police and youths because the perceived
degree of difficulty in talking or communicating with each other should
not only reflect their attitudes based on past experiences with the
police but also the potential quality of interactions between them in
the future. For the youths, two questions were asked and scored on
the following scale: A. Very Easy; B. Easy; C. Undecided; D. Difficult;
and E. Very Difficult. The questions were:

Item 74: Do you find that talking with a police officer is ...
Item 75: Do you find that talking with a store clerk is ...

The purpose for including item 75 was to provide a reference point to
compare responses in item 74. The following table summarizes the
responses for item 74 and item 75:

TABLE 27

Comparison of Responses for Item 74 and Item 75

Item	Very Easy A	Easy B	Undecided C	Difficult D	Very Difficult E
74	14%	33%	33%	16%	4%
75	31%	46%	14%	5%	3%

As expected, the data shows that it is considerably easier to talk to
a store clerk than to a police officer. The gap can be measured in
terms of a discrepancy between 47% who stated it would be easy or very
easy talking to a police officer and 77% who stated that it would be
easy or very easy talking to a store clerk. The gap can also be the
20% of youths who responded to either difficult or very difficult to
talk to a police officer as compared with only 8% for a store clerk.
In analyzing further, it was found that the mean score for the youths who

expressed difficulty in talking to a police officer ("difficult" and
"very difficult" combined) was 43.74/92.21 (N=136) which is significantly
below the overall mean of 50.65/106.30. The mean score for those who
responded by marking "very difficult" was 38.41/80.81 (N=27), with
Black youths accounting for 40% of the group. The proportion of the
ethnic groups among those who found it difficult to talk to a police
officer revealed a slightly higher percentage of Black and Chicano
youths than Asian and White youths found in the sample group. The
following table compares the responses to item 74 between socio-economic
classes (the degree of difficulty perceived in talking with a police
officer):

TABLE 28

Comparison of Responses to Item 74 Between
Higher and Lower Socio-economic Classes

Socio-economic Class	Very Easy	Easy	Undecided	Difficult	Very Difficult
	A	B	C	D	E
Higher (N=358)	15%	34%	33%	15%	3%
Lower (N=333)	14%	32%	33%	17%	4%

The above results show that the difficulty of talking to a police
officer is not a function of the socio-economic class. The mean atti-
tude scores for youths who responded by marking "difficult" and "very
difficult" for each of the two socio-economic classes were almost
identical.

Even though the above data shows that the majority of youths do
not find it difficult to talk to a police officer, the fact remains that
the youths do not find talking with a police officer as easy as they
would with a store clerk. Thus there is a gap between the police and

the youths as expressed by the youths' response to items 74 and 75.

Thus far, the subject of the communication gap between the police and youths was examined by analyzing responses from the youths. But what do the police think? Do they find it relatively difficult to talk to a youth? To a store clerk? The following table will provide answers for these questions:

TABLE 29

Comparison of the Perceived Degree of Difficulty as Seen by Police Officers in Communicating with Various Segments of a Community.

Segments of the Community	Very Easy	Easy	Undecided	Difficult	Very Difficult
	A	B	C	D	E
Minority Groups in General	7%	51%	15%	27%	0%
Black Persons	6%	66%	17%	11%	0%
Chicano Persons	7%	73%	13%	7%	0%
Asian Persons	10%	80%	7%	3%	0%
Senior Citizens	25%	63%	2%	10%	0%
Store Clerks	15%	85%	0%	0%	0%
College Students	15%	66%	17%	2%	0%
Youths	13%	56%	6%	25%	0%

Combined Results of Very Easy with Easy and Very Difficult with Difficult:

	A and B	C	D and E
Minority Groups in General	58%	15%	27%
Black Persons	72%	17%	11%
Chicano Persons	81%	13%	7%
Asian Persons	90%	7%	3%
Senior Citizens	88%	2%	10%
Store Clerks	100%	0%	0%
College Students	81%	17%	2%
Youths	69%	6%	25%

Much of the above data are self explanatory but two observations should be underscored. The police officers' own notion of the relative degree of difficulty involved in communicating with members of various ethnic

groups correlates with the relative degree of attitudes toward police as expressed by youths of the same ethnic background. For example, the survey in measuring the attitudes of youths toward police revealed that Asian youths expressed the highest degree of favorable attitudes toward police when compared with the Black and Chicano youths. The Black youths scored the lowest among the three. The above result also reflects the same trend. The police officers, in general, find communicating with Asian persons to be relatively easier than with Chicano or Black persons. Likewise, the police officers generally find it most difficult among the three to communicate with Black persons. Thus, the findings from both surveys appear to reinforce each other.

It should also be noted that the police officers, in general, find communicating with youths almost equally difficult as communicating with various members of the minority groups. The police officers find communicating with youths considerably more difficult than with senior citizens, store clerks or college students. Huseman and McCurley's study to examine the police attitude toward communicating with the public in six cities in four southern states resulted in similar findings.[22] Thus, there is a gap between the police officers and youths as perceived by the police themselves in terms of the degree of difficulty involved in communicating with the youths. When this gap is combined with the youths' perception of the relative difficulty involved in talking with the police, the gap has a potential of becoming even wider.

[22]Richard C. Husemand And Stephen H. McCurley, "Police Attitudes Toward Communication with the Public," Police Chief 39 (December 1972): 68-73.

P A R T   T W O

ARE THE POLICE GUILTY OF CREATING THE GAP?

CHAPTER   ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Why is there a gap between the police and the youths?" One may
also ask, "What is wrong with the programs to improve the relationship
between the police and citizens of the community?" One might look at
these questions and explain that an ideal situation or anything close
to being ideal in the relationship between the police and citizens is
an impossible goal when dealing with human beings and that regardless
of how much effort put forth to improve the police-community relationship,
it will not significantly change. The inescapable "oppressor-oppressed"
connotations inherent in the police-citizen relationship may add to the
failure in bringing the police and the citizens closer together.
Another might look at the same questions and attribute the problems
simply to not doing enough to promote better relationships between the
police and the community. His remedy might be to do more of everything
possible and get the community involved in what is being done. Both
the "pessimist" and the "optimist," respectively, representing the
above views are found everywhere in police literatures. But neither
extreme has succeeded in satisfactorily explaining why the problems
inherent in police-community relationships continue to persist.

Then, how do we approach trying to answer the questions restated
earlier? Instead of blaming ambiguous human nature as the source of
the problem or on deficiencies in quality and quantity of the police-
community relations programs, some writers advocate a critical examina-

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tion of the unique patterns of traits which characterize the police, and processes involved in the functioning of these unique patterns of traits. In essence, this approach is one of psychological with important sociological implications. In other words, it examines the "personality" of the police and to what degree "police personality"[1] affects interactions with the citizens in the community. The "police personality" model allows one to concentrate on the unique patterns of traits characteristic of the police which affect positively or negatively toward police-community relations, and hopefully it will offer more reasonable answers to the questions than to blame capricious human nature or deficiencies in an effort to promote better police-community relationship.

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[1]For example, Robert W. Balch, "The Police Personality: Fact or Fiction," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 63 (March 1972):106-1 Helena Carlson, Robert E. Thayer, and A. C. Germann, "Social Attitudes and Personality Differences Among Members of Two Kinds of Police Departments (Innovative Vs. Traditional) and Students," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 62 (December 1971):564-67; David J. Dodd, "Police Mentality and Behavior," Issues in Criminology 3 (Summer 1967):47-67; John F. Galliher, "Explanation of Police Behavior: A Critical Review and Analysis," The Sociological Quarterly 12 (Summer 1971):308-18; Harlan Hahn, "A Profile of Urban Police," Law and Contemporary Problems 36 (Autumn 1971):449-66; Robert Hogan, "Personality Characteristics of Highly Rated Policemen," Personnel Psychology 24 (Winter 1971):679-86; Rodney W. Lewis, "Toward an Understanding of Police Anomie," Journal of Police Science and Administration 1 (December 1973):484-90; Robert Prytula et al., "The Personality and Characteristics of Police Officers and Their Attitudes Toward Others," Police Chief 39 (December 1972):54; David M. Rafky, "Police Cynicism Reconsidered, " Criminology 13 (August 1975):168-92; William E. Simon, Veronica Wilde, and Robert M. Cristal, "Psychological Needs of Professional Police Personnel," Psychological Reports 33 (August 1973): 313-14; Martin Symonds, "Policemen and Policework: A Psychodynamic Understanding," The American Journal of Psychoanalysis 32 (1972):163-69; Larry L. Tifft, "The Cop Personality Reconsidered," Journal of Police Science and Administration 2 (September 1974):266-78; Robert C. Trojanowicz, "The Policeman's Occupational Personality," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 62 (December 1971): 551-59.

CHAPTER   TWO

"POLICE PERSONALITY" AND BEHAVIOR

"Police Personality" traits

One of the most widely discussed "police personality" traits is

that of cynicism. Suspiciousness, contemptuousness, pessimism, and

misanthropy are some terms closely associated with cynicism. The best

known authority on police cynicism is Niederhoffer.[2] He asserted that

cynicism is the inevitable consequence of pressures exerted by the

middle-class professional administrators upon the working-class

patrolmen. The conflict between the ideal of professionalism demanded

by the administrators and the reality of the job as experienced by

patrolmen result in a state of anomie in which the patrolmen react

rebelliously against the principle of professionalism and join the

subculture of cynicism. Cynicism is characterized by "diffuse feelings

of hate and envy, impotent hostility, and the sour-grapes pattern,"[3]

and can be directed toward life, world and people as well as the police

system itself. Cynicism is an adaptation to anomie and resists

professionalization of the police system. The following quote concisely

summarizes conditions which lead to cynicism:

> . . .the code of ethics and ideals that are not consistent with
> the force's sense of reality may actually impede professionali-
> zation. For example, professionals advocate higher education for

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[2]Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban
Society, (New York: Anchor Books, 1969).

[3]Ibid., p. 98-99.

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policemen, to whom school represents at best a waste of time. Professionals support respect for the civil rights of minority groups, which the average policeman considers a concession to "the other side." Professionals want policemen to be active and involved in their duties, whereas many patrolmen are content to drift along doing as little as possible. These members of the force feel threatened by the proposed changes. In self-defense they join the opposition to professionalism and become part of the subculture of cynicism.[4]

Another widely talked about "police personality" trait is that of authoritarianism. The most influential study on authoritarianism by Adorno included a cluster of variables such as conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotype, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity and sex.[5] Adorno's variables are mentioned only to make a point that a study of authoritarian personality generally requires an examination of a multiple of variables. Authoritarianism will be defined as:

> . . .authoritarianism can be seen as a characteristic psychological reaction pattern to a wide variety of social situations. In common sense language, the authoritarian is the individual who is prone to resolve conflict in an arbitrary manner. He is seen as having strong and persistent desires that others submit to his outlook.[6]

Issues concerning whether or not police officers are in fact authoritarian and if so whether or not the police services itself attracts recruits with authoritarian dispositions have not been clearly resolved. McNamara's 1964 survey of 166 New York City Police recruits prior to their entrance into the police academy and another survey of 294 recruits in their third month of training in the academy produced

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[4]Ibid., p. 27.

[5]T. W. Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 228.

[6]Morris Janowitz and Dwaine Marvick, "Authoritarianism and Political Behavior," The Public Opinion Quarterly 17 (Summer 1953):185.

an identical mean score (4.15 on Adorno's F-scale for measuring
authoritarianism with the variables as described above) slightly less
than that for the working-class men (4.19 as measured by Adorno).[7]
Since the majority of New York City Police recruits then came from the
working class, McNamara's findings showed that police recruits were no
more authoritarian than their counterparts in the community. But in
contrast to McNamara's findings, Neiderhoffer's quote of David Rapaport
states:

> This adjustment as a patrolman may have been, in many cases, an
> effort of sublimation or the choice of a mode of life where their
> restlessness or aggression found a socially acceptable form of
> expression.[8]

Omohundro found in the Sacramento Community that:

> College students aspiring to be policemen were no more
> authoritarian than non-police majors.

> College students aspiring to be policemen showed less
> authoritarianism than in-service policemen.

> Policemen who were attending college showed less degree of
> authoritarianism than those who were not attending college.

> The degree of authoritarianism increased in proportion to
> the length of police service.

> The police staff officers showed the highest degree of
> authoritarianism.

> The degree of authoritarianism rose in proportion to the
> increased age of the officers.

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[7]John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Public Work: The Relevance
of police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training," The Police: Six
Sociological Essays, ed. David J. Bordua (New York: John Wiley and
Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 194.

[8]Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society,
pp. 109-110.

> The degree of authoritarianism diminished in proportion to the increase of the educational level of officers.[9]

Omohundro's finding that the degree of authoritarianism increases with the length of police service is supported by McNamara's survey with the same sample of police recruits in 1964, as previously mentioned. He found that the F-scale scores slightly increased at the end of training (from 4.15 to 4.18) and more significantly increased at the end of the first year of service (4.31).[10] Similarly, Niederhoffer observed after evaluating literature and research findings on authoritarianism:

> It seems to me that the above data and conclusions support the notion that police authoritarianism does not come into the force along with the recruits, but rather is inculcated in the men through strenuous socialization.[11]

Omohundro's other findings concerning lower authoritarian scores for police officers attending college when compared with police officers who were not attending college is also supported by another study:

> In a previous study (Smith, Locke, and Walker, 1967) it was demonstrated that college oriented policemen are significantly less authoritarian than non-college oriented police. Later, (Smith, Locke, and Walker, 1968) it was established that police officers in college were considerably lower on the "authoritarian" scale than fellow students who were not police officers. The present study shows that the completion of a baccalaureate program results in a notable diminution of authoritarian attitudes in a police population as contrasted to a matched group of non-college educated

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[9]Gary D. Omohundro, "The Authoritarian Police Personality: It's Etiology and Effect on Police-Community Interaction" (Master's Thesis, California State University, Sacramento, 1971), pp. 41-47.

[10]McNamara, The Police: Six Sociological Essays, ed. David J. Bordua, p. 212.

[11]Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society, p. 160.

police.[12]

Studies on police authoritarian personality suggest (assuming
that the majority of police officers are still being recruited predomi-
nantly from the working class as in the New York City Police at the time
of McNamara's study) that police recruits would tend to be more
authoritarian than those in other occupations associated with the middle-
class socio-economic status. It is generally known by other studies
(Adorno, for example) that low socio-economic status is usually corre-
lated with a higher degree of authoritarianism. Thus, even though
police recruits may not be more authoritarian than those in their own
working socio-economic class, they would tend to be more arbitrary
and have a stronger and more persistent desire that others submit to
their outlook than persons from a higher socio-economic status. Further-
more, since endeavors for higher education generally reflect middle-
class values and status, the college education of policemen (those from
the working class), as pointed out above, should result in a lower degree
of authoritarianism. If less authoritarian policemen are desired in
modern police departments, then ideally the new recruits should be drawn
from the middle-class, college educated segment of the community. The
importance of authoritarianism as defined and explored here will be
discussed later when it will be re-examined relative to police behavior
and its implication to police-community interactions.

Cynicism and authoritarianism obviously are not the only "police

[12]Alexander B. Smith, Bernard Locke, and Abe Fenster,
"Authoritarianism in Policemen Who are College Graduates and Non-
College Police," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science
161 (June 1970):314-15.

personality" traits that are widely discussed in police literatures.
But they are the most significant traits which will be examined here
in order to establish a good foundation for the later analysis of
problems involved in police-community relations. Also, some of the less
discussed characteristics of "police personality," which are thought to
contribute significantly toward the over-all personality makeup of
police officers will be studied. Again, there are countless numbers of
these personality characteristics but the scope of this thesis will be
limited only to those which have relevance to the analysis of police-
community interactions.

It is often stated that cops are dumb, and traditionally low
level of educational achievement associated with police officers
contributed much to that "dumb cop" image of police officers. The impact
of a 1917 intelligence measurement of 30 police candidates in San Jose
by Terman, Otis and colleagues who announced that the median IQ of the
applicants (on Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale) and appointees were
84 and 89, respectively,[13] was felt until recent times when more favora-
ble results were revealed. Furthermore, Thurstone's revelation in 1922
that policemen in Detroit or Cleveland who had been on the force for a
longer period of time tended to have lower IQ's than did the more
recent recruits to the police forces[14] only added salt to the wound in
promoting the "dumb cop" image of policemen. The opposite extreme to
this unfavorable image of police intelligence was announced in 1962 by
Zaice that police officers with 15 years or more service in the Portland

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[13]C. Abraham Fenster and Bernard Locke, "The 'Dumb Cop': Myth
or Reality?", Journal of Personality Assessment 37 (June 1973):276.

[14]Ibid., p. 276.

Police Department averaged an IQ score of 126.[15] The "happy medium"
scores were revealed by Niederhoffer when he wrote that during the last
10 years the average IQ for a class of recruits at the New York City
Police Academy has been about 105.[16] Fenster and Locke found in a study
also of the New York City Police personnel who were enrolled in various
undergraduate college courses that:

> The IQ scores of non-college police (110) are significantly
> higher than those obtained by non-college civilians (102).
>
> There is no significant difference between the IQ scores
> obtained by college educated police (115) and college educated
> civilians (116).
>
> The IQ scores of college educated police (115) are significantly
> higher than those of non-college educated police (110).[17]

Since the average IQ of the general population was 102 at the time of
this study, Fenster and Locke concluded that the stereotype of the
"dumb cop" is completely out of keeping with the intelligence of the
average New York City patrolman. Thus, if we accept that the New York
City patrolman is a fair representation of policemen in general, we can
confidently say that the police are not stupid; in fact they tend to be
intelligent.

Another remark often heard is, "cops are crazy!" Being "crazy"
can be complementary if used in certain situations such as in a police
officer's hazardous rescue attempt of a would-be suicidal person. But

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[15]Ibid., p. 276.

[16]Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society,
p. 35.

[17]Fenster, "The 'Dumb Cop': Myth or Reality?", p. 278.

more often it is used to imply irrationality, unpredictability, and even
mental illness. The particular concern here is to discuss further the
most serious of these implications, namely the relationship between men-
tal illness and the police personality. More specifically, the subject
focuses on neuroticism among policemen since the police screening process,
however adequate or inadequate it may be, should eliminate applicants with
overt psychotic tendencies. Here again, as we saw in authoritarianism,
questions have been raised, without much success in answering them,
whether or not police work as an occupation attracts certain types of
neurotic individuals. Advocates of this assertion imply that police
work somehow satisfies the neurotics' authoritarian or aggressive impulses
and thus police work itself becomes a form of defense against unaccep-
table impulses. Is neuroticism the common characteristic of police
officers? Fenster and Locke tried to answer this question by measuring
the degree of neuroticism among New York City patrolmen (some of whom
were attending college) and compared the data with neuroticism scores of
the civilian populace. They found:

> The neuroticism scores of non-college police are significantly
> lower than those of non-college civilians.
>
> College police and non-college police were significantly less
> neurotic than non-college civilians.
>
> Non-college police are significantly less neurotic than either
> college or non-college civilians.[18]

Therefore, Fenster and Locke concluded that neuroticism was not a major

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[18]C. Abraham Fenster and Bernard Locke, "Neuroticism Among
Policemen: An Examination of Police Personality," _Journal of Applied
Psychology_ 57 (February 1973):359.

characteristic of those policemen who were surveyed, and thus not a characteristic of the average New York City policeman.[19] Even though neuroticism among police officers cannot be refuted, there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that police officers are more neurotic than average citizens. Likewise, even though one cannot deny that the unique nature of police work may tend to attract recruits with certain type of neurotic dispositions, there appears to be no solid evidence that police applicants are more neurotic than applicants for any other occupation. Therefore, "cops may be crazy," but they are no more predisposed to mental illness than other citizens in the community.

When one human interacts with another, as a police officer with a citizen, the nature of such interaction often depends upon the preconceived and unreasonable judgment or opinion one maintains of the other. In essence, we are asking whether or not police officers maintain prejudices toward a certain segment of the community. Numerous allegations have been made in the recent past that the manner in which the police handled Blacks and hippies was a clear indication that "cops were prejudiced." Are cops really prejudiced? Bayley and Mendelsohn said yes, but they qualified their affirmative answer:

> The answer is yes, but only slightly more so than the community as a whole. Policemen reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority of people towards minorities. Consequently, if one thinks it is fair to characterize our society as prejudiced - a view we adopt - then the data show that the police are prejudiced.[20]

It is important to know that police officers' ethnic prejudices reflect

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[19]Ibid., p. 359.

[20]David Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police: Confrontation in America, (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 114.

the ethnic prejudices of the society as a whole, and that the police

should not be singled out as being prejudiced. Another study by Rafky,

Thibault and Lunch of the "Lake City" Police also drew similar conclusions:

> An anonymous survey of the Lake City Police Department together
> with findings from a number of national public opinion polls,
> has shown that the Lake City Police are not more prejudiced than
> (1) Americans in general or (2) other northern members of the
> "working class." The finding that police share certain racial
> attitudes with the rest of the population suggests an important
> implication: Police appear not to be selectively recruited from
> groups with extreme racial views. Or, from another perspective:
> People with intolerant views are not especially attracted to
> police work. Therefore, any racial problems involving police are
> not simply police problems - they are related to the whole of
> society.[21]

In this section, some of the traits and characteristics commonly

attributed to the "police personality" have been examined. In some

cases, characteristics such as "being dumb," "crazy" and "prejudiced"

may be closer to myths than reality. On the other hand, such traits as

cynicism and authoritarianism may be more real than what one commonly

believes. The significance of discussing these traits and characteris-

tics is not that it will enable one to academically distinguish myths

from reality but that the public generally believes these traits and

characteristics to be attributable to police officers and their "police

personality." The citizens' belief that police officers are arbitrary,

stupid and prejudiced certainly will have an effect upon their concept

of police fairness and effectiveness, and subsequently upon their

interactions with police officers. This section thus serves as a

foundation for a closer examination of police-citizen interactions

discussed later in this chapter.

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[21] David M. Rafky, Edward Thibault and Lawrence Lunch, "Are
Cops Prejudiced?" Police Chief 40 (March 1973):62.

Police Behavior

Skolnick asserted that there are distinctive cognitive tendencies in the police as an occupational group and that such tendencies were due to the policeman's "working personality."[22] The element of danger involved in police work makes the policemen attentive to signs which might signify violence. The patrolman thus learns to be suspicious, alert to identify the "symbolic assailant." When danger is perceived, the patrolman uses authority, another variable inherent in police work, to cope with the threatening situation. If the symbol of authority (his uniform and badge, for example) is not met with respect and submission to authority, the patrolman resorts to whatever means available to minimize or eliminate danger. Therefore, frequently the judicious use of his legal authority is undermined by his perception of danger. One of the adaptive responses to frequent exposure to actual or perceived danger is to isolate from the "symbolic assailants" and from society in general. Isolation results in solidarity of police officers which in turn causes the formation of a police subculture.

James Q. Wilson argues a similar point. He also pointed out that the possibility of danger (the unexpected nature of danger in order maintenance function) as perceived by the patrolman makes him suspicious and apprehensive. Since the patrolman tends to communicate his apprehension to the citizen, he in turn sees resentment and animosity being expressed by the citizen. The patrolman's reaction then to the

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[22]Jerome H. Skolnick, _Justice Without Trial_, 2nd edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975), p. 42.

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citizen's resentment may result in "an ascending spiral of antagonisms."[23]
If his legal authority is questioned, the patrolman may resort to his
personal authority to handle the situation. The patrolman learns to
detect cues which may indicate danger and impropriety in his order
maintenance function.

It is important to note that Skolnick and Wilson both discuss the
significance of two of the "personality traits" which were presented
earlier - suspiciousness (as related to cynicism) and the use of
authority in an arbitrary manner (authoritarianism). As stated
earlier, whether or not the researchers academically acknowledge a
direct correlation of cynicism and authoritarianism in police officers
is not the important issue. Cynicism and authoritarianism are the
logical consequences of the patrolman's attempt to cope with his per-
ception of danger inherent to his job. Being suspicious becomes a way
of life for the patrolman; the motto, "don't trust anybody" which was
originally looked upon as a good guideline in his effort to succeed as
a policeman eventually becomes his personal and strong conviction, thus
becoming cynical in his views, attitudes, and behavior. He also becomes
authoritarian not only because he is expected to exercise his legal autho-
rity as a policeman but also because he must assert his authority,
personal authority if necessary, in order to cope with danger. Any
demeanor perceived as a challenge to his authority, legal or personal,
is interpreted as defiance, thus warranting retaliatory response, in

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[23]James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management
of Law and Order in Eight Communities (New York: Harvard University
Press, 1968), p. 20.
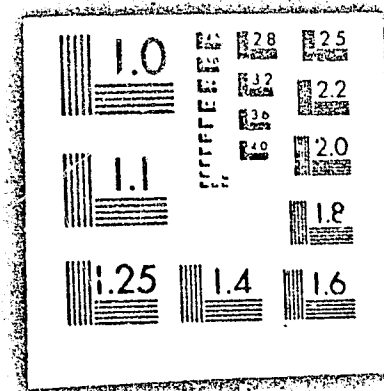
the same way a parent may respond to his child's act of defiance toward him, for his authority should not be questioned. Thus, the patrolman's behavior becomes assertive and arbitrary; he becomes authoritarian.

One of the most serious consequences of cynicism and authoritarianism is widely publicized police deviant behavior which involves corruption and brutality. Not even Hollywood could adequately highlight the degree to which police corruption was part of almost every policeman's life, as in the movie, Serpico. And we have witnessed police brutality in many cities such as Chicago, Detroit, and Berkeley. These acts are not only illegal according to laws which the police have sworn to uphold and enforce, but clearly unethical and even uncivilized except perhaps from the police's point of view. Some understanding of the etiology of police deviant behavior is important in examining the police-community relationship, because such behavior promotes charges of hypocrisy against the police and further sets the police and the community apart.

Police are quick to argue that if they were paid more, the police corruption problem would be reduced. But there is something seriously wrong with this argument because it implies that money can "buy" the sense of honesty and "buy" back the loss of dignity in the police profession. Failing to recognize this apparent fallacy in the philosophy that "more money will solve corruption problems" is indicative of the extent to which some of the police administrators have examined the problem of corruption; such mentality may, in fact, be the underlying theme which breeds, or at least tolerates, corruption within the department.

It is not the intent here to discuss in detail as to the etiology,

nature and extent of police corruption. But it is necessary to examine whether or not corruption is inherent in the nature of police work and to explore to what degree the problem of corruption can be traced to "police personality" as discussed earlier. If corruption is inherent in police work or traceable to "police personality," it will require much more profound plans to combat corruption than simply to raise the salary of police officers. It will have serious implications for the police-community relationship if the inevitability of police corruption is found to be associated with the nature of the work and "personality" of police officers.

If police corruption as a deviant behavior is looked upon as a violation of normative rule[24] and thus, if corruption is defined as a violation of any normative rule, then corruption is definitely part of the police system itself. Skolnick and Bent argues that under the democratic legal system, which demands police to operate within the rules of the law, the police are placed in a serious dilemma which is characterized by a conflict between bureaucratic pressures to take initiative and produce results and constraint upon such initiative required by procedural rules.[25] In an efficient police department, procedural rule becomes secondary to initiative. Skolnick's "Justice Without Trial" can be looked upon as a study of police corruption that exposes ways in which the police meet the managerial and technical efficiency demanded

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[24]Thomas Barker and Julian Roebuck, _An Empirical Typology of Police Corruption_ (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1973).

[25]Alan Edward Bent, _The Politics of Law Enforcement_ (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974); Jerome H. Skolnick, _Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society_ (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966)

by initiative conscious administrators who are also under a misguided
notion that professionalism equates to police efficiency as reflected in
high clearance rates, not to the department's ability to not only
"produce" but to also stay within the legal bounds of the normative rules.
He argues convincingly that circumvention of rules is a widespread
practice particularly (and paradoxically) within the highly efficient
departments. With the ever increasing crime rate in our society and
public demands of the police to do something about it, (thus perceived
as a mandate of support of police efficiency by the public), the police
will continue to circumvent or manipulate the procedural rules under
pressure to produce results which in turn will appease the public.
Hence, corruption, defined as violation of normative rules, will
continue. In essence, corruption becomes an integral part of the
police system. Thus, the recent emphasis to examine the "barrel"
rather than an "apple" (a refutation of the "rotten apple" theory to
police corruption) in corruption control has a larger implication –
"barrel" implying the entire police system, not just an individual
police department.

Compounding the problem of the inevitability of police corrup-
tion within the current police system that rewards efficiency over
adherence to rules, is the use of discretion by police in performing
their duties. According to James Q. Wilson, the necessarily ambiguous
nature of relevant laws and impossibility of issuing directives to
control discretionary use in many cases involving unpredictable order
maintenance situation demand police officers to exercise his discretion
in "handling the situation" or to "do something."[26] Administrators are

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[26]Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 24.

forever hopeful that the use of discretion by their men is within the
general departmental philosophy and guidelines, but since administrators
cannot maintain close supervision of their men, particularly the
patrolmen, there is no assurance that they will conform to such depart-
mental philosophies and general guidelines. If one accepts the strict
definition of corruption as meaning any deviation from the normative
rules, then by such definition, the use of discretion becomes almost
synonymous with corruption. If a police officer, for example, decides
to handle a case involving a minor fracus informally (thus exercising
discretion) by simply counseling the parties involved instead of
arresting them for disturbing the peace, as required by the normative
rule, his use of discretion may technically constitute corruption.
The "production" conscious administrator may then, in order to deal
with allegations of corruption as defined here, institute a very
strict legalistic style that demands all cases (except for a very
few exceptions in which the use of discretion may be absolutely
necessary) be handled formally which in turn will certainly change the
nature of police-citizen interactions. The police officers'
perception of danger will significantly increase when laws are
enforced and order maintained in a strict legalistic style and
situations handled formally by arrests. We thus return to the
problem of the "ascending spiral of antagonism" and to the "working
personality" of the police officer.

Less inclusive and less encompassing definitions of
corruption is found in other literatures. This definition with
some minor variations, look at corruption as using one's official

position for personal gain.[27] This definition is more acceptable to
police administrators since manipulation or circumvention of laws in the
interest of efficiency can be looked upon as sound police practice and
not as corruption, as long as such deviation from the normative rules
does not result in personal gain of the police officers involved. But
even within this liberal definition of corruption, instances of police
corruptions are many.[28] Reasons offered for such corruption range from
cynicism,[29] low public and managerial visibility, peer group and
managerial secrecy, and low status of the police,[30] "anything for a
price" ethic, "anything to stay in office" political ethic, public
apathy, and to police managerial irresponsibility.[31] More sociologically
minded police administrators would look at society in general as blame-
worthy of police corruption.[32] But whether or not the etiology of
police corruption can be academically studied again is not the key
issue; the important fact is that stories of corruption continues to

[27]For example, Peter Maas, Serpico (New York: The Viking Press,
1973); John C. Meyer, Jr., "A Descriptive Study of Police Corruption,"
Police Chief 40 (August 1973):38-41; Lawrence W. Sherman, ed., Police
Corruption (New York: Anchor Press-Doubleday, 1974).

[28]For example, New York, N.Y., The Knapp Commission Report on
Police Corruption (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1972); Gene Radano,
Walking the Beat (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1968); Ralph Lee
Smith, The Tarnished Badge (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1965).

[29]Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society.

[30]Sherman, ed., Police Corruption.

[31]Patrick V. Murphy, "Police Corruption," Police Chief 40
(December 1973):36-37, 72.

[32]James C. Parsons, "A Candid Analysis of Police Corruption,"
Police Chief 40 (March 1973):20-22, 67.

make headlines and the public knows that it exists or can exist. When
the honesty of police officers, in general, is questioned by the public,
it is only logical to conclude that it would seriously undermine public
trust and confidence in the police. Characterization of the entire
police system as corruptible or corrupt from the generalization based
on actual instances of corruption in the past is an unfortunate
reality that adversely affect police effort to win confidence of the
community. Past cases of corruption by a relatively small number of
police departments actually exposed as being corrupt will haunt all
police departments for many years to come in their effort to establish
the right kind of atmosphere in which police-community relations can be
promoted.

Thus far, two dominant views in defining police corruption have
been described. One view defined corruption as any deviation from the
normative rule. Another view looks at corruption as that which results
in personal gain by using his official position. Academically, there are
distinctions between the two; realistically, there is no difference in
terms of the goals of "corrupt practices." The only variance one can
offer between these views is that one results in an immediate reward
of personal gain (the latter definition) whereas the other results in
a delayed gratification (the former definition). It has been stated
that deviation from the normative rules is being justified by police
administrators in terms of producing positive results for the department's
crime clearance rate, and thus, according to the latter definition of
corruption, officers who circumvent the normative rules are not corrupt.
But realistically, whether or not officers are truly altruistically or
department oriented can be questioned. These officers are under

pressure to individually produce results and that their promotions

and assignments are predominantly based upon how much they can produce

individually. In other words, the reward for high production of posi-

tive results is individually evaluated and determined. Thus, deviation

from the normative rules (which promotes efficiency in terms of pro-

ducing results demanded by the department) becomes the means to derive

personal gain even though such personal gain may not be immediately

realized. Granted that the public tends to associate corruption with

such things as bribery and graft, certainly not with police efficiency,

but if the public stops to realize that "police efficiency" can be an

euphemism for manipulation of laws which guarantee rights of individual

citizens, it is just as corrupt if not more than cases in which police

officers are revealed to be "on the take." Thus, it is difficult to

see the difference between the two views in defining corruption. Pro-

blems in both views present serious implications for the police-

community relations programs, as it will be discussed later in this

chapter.

Police brutality, another form of deviant police behavior, is

also closely associated with "police personality" and intimately with

the police subculture. A frightening revelation to naive citizens

may be that police brutality is routine, and that police officers

consider such excessive use of force legitimate.[33] Thus, police officers

feel such behavior is usually justified and even admirable.[34] Westley,

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[33]Rodney Stark, Police Riots: Collective Violence and Law
Enforcement (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), p. 55.

[34]Ibid., p. 63.

one of the leading authorities on police violence stated:

> The policeman uses violence illegally because such usage is
> seen as just, acceptable, and, at times, expected by his
> colleague group and because it constitutes an effective means
> for solving problems in obtaining status and self-esteem which
> policemen as policemen have in common. Since the ends for
> which violence is illegally used are conceived to be both just
> and important, they function to justify, to the policeman, the
> illegal use of violence as a general means. Since "brutality"
> is strongly criticized by the larger community, the policeman
> must devise a defense of his brutality to himself and the
> community, and the defense in turn gives a deeper and more
> lasting justification to the "misuse of violence."[35]

In a study of police violence in a slightly different environment,

suburban instead of a metropolitan milieau, Katz concluded:

> A certain level of violence, then, seems to be not only inevitable,
> or necessary, but strategically advantageous....This suggests
> another interesting possibility: that the frequency and
> quantity of violence employed by Ridgeview policemen is just
> enough to satisfy their collective needs (for revenge, perhaps,
> or for reinforcing group identity and solidarity) without
> reaching the level at which it would begin to jeopardize
> departmental values. In other words, it might be argued that
> police violence is not an irrational phenomenon but one that
> serves group, as opposed to organizational, needs.[36]

Perhaps the most serious and perplexing element of police brutality

is that the scale of police violence can be easily escalated into

police riots in which the behavior of police officers becomes completely

indistinguishable from other riot participants as we saw in the late

sixties. Examples of police riots are well documented.[37] A review

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[35]William A. Westley, "Violence and the Police," The American
Journal of Sociology 59 (July 1953): 34. (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint 308)

[36]Michael Katz, "Violence and Civility in a Suburban Milieu,"
Journal of Police Science and Administration 2 (September 1974):239-49.

[37]For example Stark, Police Riots; Daniel Walker, Rights in
Conflict (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1968).

of these literatures generally points out one interesting element common to most of these police riots. It is the grossly exaggerated perception of the "symbolic assailant" which the police expected to encounter during situations which resulted in police riots. For instance, immediately prior to the so-called police riot in Berkeley in June 1968, Stark found that the police chief of Berkeley was convinced that "they" were planning to move into a potentially volatile situation and exploit it to produce violence.[38] Apparently, "they" were the "radicals" about whom the FBI had previously warned the police chief and with other police "intelligence" information which pointed toward "their" intended violent encounters with the police, the perception of danger from such confrontation was unusually heightened among police officers. The "ascending spiral of antagonism" reached its peak and the "police personality" under extreme fear motivation, was about to be revealed. What was about to happen, in essence, was the riot of a police subculture with policemen as the dangerous instrument to express their pent up sense of frustration, anger and contempt. The police riot equipment ostensibly procured to deal with the violence of other rioters were available as instruments of their own violence. The general public, in the absence of the violent radicals, whom the police had prepared themselves for battle, became the "symbolic assailant." Once irra-tionality overcame the rational perception of real danger and the true nature of the "symbolic assailant," the stage was set for the so-called police riot in Berkeley. And it was repeated exactly in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic Convention. The grossly distorted image of

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[38]Stark, Police Riots: Collective Violence and Law Enforcement, p. 51.

the "symbolic assailant" based on faulty "intelligence" information and irrational perception of danger resulted in the overreaction by the police in the scale of a police riot. It appears to be a common theme in most of the situations labelled as police riots. The prospect of eliminating police riots in the future is dim without doing something to deal with the police subculture, particularly if the values of such a subculture remain apart from those of the community. Stark's statement summarizes this point well:

> Thus, the anger and contempt police direct against those who challenge their use of violence as brutal is not because the police refuse to admit they commit the acts in question, but because they reject the moral and legal standards by which this behavior is judged brutal.[39]

And as long as police brutality remains routine and police riot a strong possibility in any confrontation with the police, we will continue to see serious difficulties in promoting a better police-community relationship.

The discussion on deviant police behavior primarily centered upon corruption and brutality because they are a familiar form of police deviancy for everyone in this society, and because they present a monumental obstacle to improving police-citizen relationship. There is another form of police behavior, also traceable to "police personality" and police subculture, which at this moment has the potential of becoming one of the most serious police deviant behaviors. It is generally known as police militancy, or in some instances, blue power. The etiology of police militancy is generally traced to isolation and

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[39]Ibid., p. 62.

alienation of police officers from the community they are supposed to
serve. Kronholm, in discussing the threat of the militant policemen,
stated:

> This alienation leads to frustration and a common antagonism
> toward the public. When the officer attempts to rebuild the
> ego that is constantly subjected to rebuffs and indignities,
> his idealism can gradually degenerate into an ethnocentric
> view of society in general and the system of justice in par-
> ticular. When that mental attitude develops, and is seen in
> context with the very nature of the policeman's job, militancy
> can be seen as a not impossible result.[40]

Police militancy, has been traditionally limited to a sedate debate
over unionism, but recently it has become more political, and more
militant. It ranges from an alleged attack on a group of Black Panthers
in a Brooklyn Criminal Court in 1968 by a militant Law Enforcement
Group (LEG) of New York's Patrolmen's Benevolent Association to a
rebellion against the Mayor by an active participation in the political
process in Cleveland, also in 1968.[41] Recently, we have witnessed
several instances of large scale police strikes and in one such strike
in San Francisco, an open defiance of a court order to return to work.
It is difficult to understand from the tax payer's point of view, how
public employees could deliberately be derelict in their duties while
still on public payroll and demanding more money. Perhaps, from the
police perspective, it is the only recourse available to make a needed
impact for their demands. But it is not the question of who is right

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[40]William C. Kronholm, "Blue Power: The Threat of the Militant
Policeman," _Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science_
63 (January 1972):294-99.

[41]William J. Bopp, _The Police Rebellion: A Quest for Blue Power_
(Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1971).

that is the concern here. It is the willingness of police officers to
subject the indefensible citizens to the criminal elements whom the
police themselves fear as symbolic or real assailants that becomes
appalling. Once the police officers publicly denounce their responsi-
bility for the sake of personal interest, a deterioration in the public's
confidence in the police is only inevitable. Therefore, police militancy
can become very important and possibly a dangerous deterrence in
promoting sound police-community relationship.

It is appropriate to discuss another type of militancy which has
not received the degree of attention of the type of police militancy
that was just discussed. It is different in style, etiology and perhaps
even in mode of expression of its militant inclinations. The police
officers involved are also part of a police subculture but it is quite
different from the police subculture associated with police corruption
and brutality. The right wing orientation of this group may be similar
to the extreme militant faction of police organizations, such as the
Law Enforcement Group of the New York's Patrolman's Benevolent Asso-
ciation, but the method of execution to achieve the militant goal is
seldom publicized, or even known. The membership in this subculture
is known only to the members of the group. Generally, the members are
extremely efficient, low ranking police officers and are highly regarded
by the department as future detectives and administrators. They do not
share the cynicism toward the police system even though they retain
cynicism toward people in general. They do not regard the police system
as the beginning step in the criminal justice system; for them, it is
the beginning and also the end. They carry out their duties zealously
as a moral obligation to society. Their highly efficient demeanor is

not intended to satisfy the department, but to fulfill their own personal
convictions, values and beliefs. The police system is used as a means
to achieve their personal moral goals. Euphemistically, they may be
called crime fighters, "gung-ho" cops, and so forth. But for the lack
of satisfactory terminology for this group, it will be called the
"Magnum Force Syndrome"[42] to describe characteristics mentioned above.

Admittedly, the presentation of the "Magnum Force Syndrome" may
be closer to speculation than facts derived from empirical observations
or basis of authoritative literature. But when one examines closely
some of the routine statistics published by the police and description
of cases which relate to these statistics, there appears to be ample
room for such speculation. For example, there are significant numbers
of citizens or alleged suspects "justifiably" killed by the police each
year. As long as such killings are committed in the line of duty and
within reasonable legal requirement, any further inquiry is very seldom
made. Legally there is no need to make such inquiry since the police is
given the power to kill, if necessary, in performance of their duty.
But the key question still remains to be answered. Why were they killed?
Again, the legality of such killings is not being questioned nor a moral
issue raised. Not even police procedures employed in such killings is
being questioned for it is believed that reasonable efforts were made
in a majority of these cases to "take the suspects alive." The
question concerns the true state of mind of some of the officers

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[42]From a movie, "Magnum Force" whose basic theme was exactly
illustrated as I have here.

involved in such killings. By asking for the "true state of mind" of police officers engaged in a gun battle, it is meaningless to question whether or not they fired their weapons to kill or to wound the suspect as required by many departmental directives, for it is easy to miss the suspect's non-vital areas and "accidentally" strike vital organs. The key question is whether or not the suspect was intended to be killed and if so, was such killing necessary or merely an overreaction to that particular situation by police officers who had happened to be called to the scene, or more importantly, was the suspect carefully set up by certain officers to be killed as an administration of "justice" defined by the police officers involved? Unfortunately, as long as such killings are defined legally "justifiable" further investigation of the circumstances surrounding such a killing is conducted internally within the police department. Then the culpability of officers involved is examined strictly according to the legal definitions and departmental policies. Therefore, the question may never be answered and neither will the question of how many of the "unsolved" killings of notorious criminals, from pimps, drug pushers to mobsters, be traced to police officers with the unique personality traits described here as the "Magnum Force Syndrome." With the current trend toward a rising crime rate, an emergence of a unique militant subculture of a small number of dedicated police officers who will take the law into their hands but are clever enough to avoid criminal culpability does not appear to be far fetched, if it doesn't already exist.

Police militancy, regardless of the form it takes, will tend to further complicate the effort toward bringing the police and the community closer. In fact, growing police militancy can be looked

upon as a clear indication of the deteriorating relationship between the
police and the community. Police militancy adds another dimension to
the already troubled "police personality" and it will further reinforce
the "ascending spiral of antagonism."

The discussion on police corruption, brutality and militancy was
intended to provide pertinent background information which is needed in
order to evaluate what degree the police should share in the responsibi-
lity for the gap between the police and the citizens, as expressed by
attitudes of adolescent youths in the survey discussed in part one of
this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

ARE THE POLICE GUILTY OF CREATING THE GAP?

The "Police Personality" Problem

Frequently we tend to judge the character of another by his
personality attributes. Thus, we say, "he has a good personality" to
characterize a pleasant, likeable individual while we also say, "he has
a personality problem" to stigmatize someone whose socialbility is below
our expectancy. The police also suffer from the same handicap; they
have a "police personality" problem. Police are not dumb, mentally ill
or overly prejudiced, as discussed earlier. Yet, the public treats
them with hostility and antagonism, causing police officers to isolate
themselves from the community. Consequently, police solidarity that
results in a formation of a subculture of "authoritarian cynics" not
only fails to resolve the problem of having a "bad personality" but it
reinforces it. To make things worse, the recent trend toward militancy
has turned a relatively "quiet kid on the block with a personality pro-
blem" into a "big bullie" of the neighborhood still with the same
personality problem. The prospect of improving his personality in the
near future appears dim.

Can the "police personality" be changed? Skolnick implies that
it can be changed but it will require a drastic change in our society.
Somehow, the element of danger in police work must be considerably
reduced. Without danger, there would not be a need for the police to
identify the "symbolic assailant." Without danger, police officers can

judiciously exercise legal authority without being compelled to resort
to his personal authority. Without danger, there is hope that an "ascen-
ding spiral of antagonism" may turn into an ascending spiral of mutual
understanding between the police and the citizen.

But how realistic is it to expect a reduction of danger in
police work? The first thing which must be considered is what must be
done to significantly reduce danger in police work. An analysis of the
circumstances in which police officers were killed over a ten year
period (1964-1973) shows that 95% of 1285 police killings have been
perpetrated by firearms (72% handgun, 12% rifle and 12% shotgun).[43]
Nearly 50% of slain officers had less than 5 years in police work and
68% were assigned to patrol duties. 1973, over 75% of the officers were
slain within 10 feet of their killers. These figures suggest that
rookie and early patrol years are the most dangerous period. As dis-
cussed earlier, it is also the important formative years of the "police
personality." The image of police officers being slain violently (with
firearms and within close proximity of killers) as portrayed by these
figures add another element of reality to their perception of danger in
police work. Solidarity among police officers only contributes to
heightened fear and perception of danger as each officer, by identifying
with the slain officers, becomes convinced that "it could have been me,"
and begins to ask, "who is next?" A recent survey of 61 police officers

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[43]Figures quoted for the analysis of police killings were taken
from: Statistical Abstracts, 1973 and FBI Uniform Crime Report, 1973.

enrolled in the undergraduate program at California State University, Sacramento, revealed that 84% of these officers considered police work as dangerous; such results are no surprise in light of what was discussed here. It is obvious that if we want to reduce danger in police work, as a start, we must take drastic measures to control firearms, particularly handguns. But realistically, for now, it appears that one can only expect another token measure to control firearms. Therefore, the police officers will continue to perceive danger in police work, and they will continue to have a "personality problem" that will adversely affect the police-citizen relationship and ultimately the police-community relationship.

In keeping with an intent to maintain objectivity, it is only fair to present several views which argue that police work is not dangerous. It is important to analyze these arguments because if it is in fact true that danger is not an inherent nature of police work, the basic foundation of Skolnick and Wilson's sketch of the "police personality" will have to be re-examined. It has been argued[44] that occupationally there are other jobs which present far greater chances for becoming a fatality than police work. The most recent statistics available to evaluate this argument were examined. The below figures indicate the death rate per 100,000 by occupational groups in 1972:[45]

Mining........................ 117
Construction.................. 70
Agriculture.................... 61

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[44]Gerald Robin, "Justifiable Homicide by Police officers," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 54 (March 1963):225-31.

[45]Statistical Abstracts, 1973.

Transportation and Utilities........ 36
Police (computed separately)........ 34
Service............................ 13

It clearly shows that miners in 1972 faced three times higher chances of death than did the police officers. Or on the average, a carpenter building a hou.e or a farmer harvesting his crop faced a considerably higher risk of being killed than did the police officers. Another set of statistics to determine the leading causes of death for males between 25 and 44 (the closest age group to fit police officers' age) were examined:[46]

Accident........................... 81
Heart Disease...................... 57
Cancer............................. 34
Police Work(computed separately)... 30
Homicide........................... 25
Suicide............................ 20

These figures also point out that police work should not be perceived as dangerous and that the police should not live in fear of such danger since accidents kill more people. One usually does not let the perception of danger of accidental deaths play a significant part in our daily routine.

Gerald Robin made an interesting study of justifiable homicide by the police in Philadelphia in 1963, and he too tended to support the argument that the danger element of police work is exaggerated.[47] He found that police officers are six times more likely to kill than be killed. He also found that the probability of police officers killing the suspect and being killed by the suspect at the same time is very

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[46]Ibid.

[47]Robin, "Justifiable Homicide by Police Officers," pp. 225-31.

small. Therefore, by drawing a logical conclusion from these two
statements, he asserted that the popular conception of the dangerous
nature of police work has been exaggerated.

These arguments to down-play the degree of danger involved in
police work, as presented above, can be quite convincing when examined
purely from the perspectives they have been presented. But these
arguments usually fail to take into consideration the implication of
other statistical evidence such as those presented earlier in connection
with police killings. The fact that the police must deal with unpre-
dictable human emotions in hostile and adversary situations must be
seriously considered. It is also crucial to note, as argued by
Skolnick, that the police are the only peacetime occupational group with
a systematic record of death and injury from gunfire and other weaponry.[48]
The earlier statistical presentation on the manner in which police
officers have been killed supported this statement. Wilson's argument
also supported the fact that 84% of police officers who in the survey
considered police work as being dangerous:

> Statistically, the risk of injury or death to the patrolman
> may not be great in order maintenance situations but it exists
> and, worse, it is unpredictable, occurring, as almost every
> officer interviewed testified, "when you least expect it."[49]

Thus, as long as society is unwilling or unable to take drastic
measures to eliminate the sources of danger, for example, by controlling
handguns, it is unreasonable to expect the police to change their
"personality." And since their own "personality" adversely affects

[48]Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, p. 47.

[49]Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 19.

their interactions with citizens in the community it must be concluded
that the police do share a responsibility in creating a gap between the
police and the citizen. But to the extent that the "police personality"
problem cannot be attributed totally to the police, in that it is
strongly affected by society's willingness (or unwillingless) toward
making a less dangerous environment in which the police can operate, the
blame for creating the gap should be assumed by society as well. As
long as police officers continue to feel that their lives may be in
danger every time they put on their uniform, the police will continue
to communicate their apprehension and defensiveness toward citizens.
Thus, the prospect for truly improving police-community relations,
in view of the token improvements to appease the police-citizen
relationship as we see often, remains dim for now.

The Problem of Police Deviant Behavior

The previous discussion on "police personality" and its implica-
tions toward improving the police-community relationship has placed the
primary blame on failure of our society to reduce danger in police work.
Thus, one can look at the community's negative attitudes towards the
police as a sign of its own failure to improve relationships with the
police. But the police certainly do not emerge completely free of
responsibility for perpetuating the problem. Even though the responsi-
bility for causing the "police personality" problem must be assumed by
society in general, the majority of the responsibility for police
deviancy, such as corruption and brutality, must be attributed to the
police themselves. It is true that the etiology of corruption and
brutality can be traced to the "police personality" problem and thus,
arguments can be raised that society is again primarily responsible
for the corruption and brutality. But there must be a point in the
continuum of responsibility when police administrators must stand up and
say, "it's our responsibility." Many administrators reacted to the Knapp
Commission Report by taking positive steps to prevent corruption in
their own respective departments. But other administrators failed to
do anything and even attacked the report. The most often repeated
explanation for the existence of police deviant behavior is that the
police are only human. Too often, "being human" is used as an excuse
for human frailty rather than as an intelligent and innovative being
capable of solving problems. It may be "human nature" to react
violently towards the instigator of insults and contempt in a tense
confrontation, but it is also a quality of humans to be able to control
emotions to a reasonable degree, and to exercise the alternative course

of action whenever possible. Stark argues:

> Here is the false premise: the notion that cops are only
> human; we do and we must expect more of the police in
> their role as policemen than we demand of ordinary persons.[50]

The writer is sympathetic with police officers who are expected to be

more than ordinary persons because some of the confrontations they face

must be emotionally intolerable. The difference between violence and

restraint on the part of the police is often determined by the abilities

of administrators and supervisors to gather accurate information about

an impending situation, to coordinate with other concerned agencies,

to plan thoroughly so that such intolerable confrontations can be

minimized and executed in a disciplined manner. Violations of these

basic management principles are still too common, resulting in dire

consequences that include charges of police brutality. These kinds of

tragic consequences can be avoided and many police administrators

throughout the United States have successfully averted such disasters

while others still continue to have their problems. Admittedly each

confrontation is different and must be handled accordingly, but the

basic issue remains the same - to use "police are only human" as an

excuse for the subsequent overreaction and brutality or as rational and

disciplined beings different from ordinary persons. The outcome of

such confrontations is extremely crucial for determining the kind of

relationship the police could enjoy with the community they serve. One

cannot be convinced that police administrators have done all they could

to control police violence and brutality. Even allowing for disparities

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[50]Stark, Police Riots, p. 59.

in the definition of violence and brutality between police and citizens, the instances involving excessive use of force do not appear to have declined. It is a difficult problem for the administrator. But if administrators truly believe that improving police-community relationship is as important as they say it is, they must continue to work towards controlling police violence and brutality. The problem of police corruption is not as serious as police brutality in the sense that the impact of police corruption upon the average citizen is indirect whereas brutality and police riot interactions are direct. But charges of corruption will seriously undermine confidence and trust which the citizens need to support the police. The decrease in community support for the police will certainly affect the police-community relationship. The police-policed relationship is inherently fragile and it takes a considerable amount of effort from both sides to prevent it from deteriorating. Police deviant behavior, particularly corruption and brutality, will only hasten the process of deterioration.

"Viscious Cycle" Model

When a particular problem has two or more causes, it is possible that the relationship between such causes may be characterized by what is commonly known as a "viscious cycle" to reinforce or aggravate the problem. The problems between the police and the community may also be characterized as a "viscious cycle." It is the "viscious cycle" between society's failure to create a less dangerous environment for the police on one hand and police deviant behavior that induces the citizens' negative attitudes towards the police on the other. It's a "viscious cycle" between the "police personality" problem and police deviancy. The police blame the public for their "personality" problems while the public blames the police for giving them reasons for not wanting to support the police. Therefore, the "gap" between the police and the citizen is more accurately described as the degree of the "visciousness of the cycle." The "viscious cycle" model to visualize the problem between police and the community is useful and functional since it means that in order to solve the problem, it requires all elements of the cycle to appropriately change. It also means that, once such changes have been made, each element can still reinforce each other with the same vigor (or visciousness) to create a new cycle acceptable to all elements within it. The "viscious cycle" model is also useful since it means that a step towards creating a new cycle can be initiated by one of the elements and cause the other elements to respond. The model assumes that others would respond according to the change created by one in the same way we are respon- sive and very adaptive to changes in our environment. The model is also

useful in asserting my conviction that the police and the community
both are responsible for the gap between them, and that both should
seriously consider taking the drastic first step to bridge the gap.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT IS BEING DONE TO BRIDGE THE GAP?

Approaches to Police-Community Relations Programs

The programs to bridge the gap are generally called police-
community relations programs, and a brief overview and an evaluation
of such programs as to their effectiveness will be presented.

The variety of existing police-community relations programs
can be categorized into three groups based on the approach used to
implement the program. These categories are the police-social work
approach, the police-community involvement approach, and change the
police approach. Each will be discussed separately.

Police-social work approach

This approach is built on the principle that the police must
be willing and prepared to provide non-law enforcement type services
immediately upon request for such service. Frequently, such request
involves a social work type of assistance and many police departments
have implemented programs to fulfill expectations of the public to
provide such services. The social work programs can be established one
of two ways. The police officers themselves can be trained to perform
some of the social work functions or the police department can incorporate
social workers into the functions of the police. The most common form
of training to prepare the police officers to perform some of the social

work functions has been the crisis intervention training.[51] A study in Louisville revealed that citizens dealt with by trained officers in family crisis intervention reported greater rapport with the officers, greater involvement of officers, more satisfaction with the intervention, and an increased regard for the police.[52] Other programs included police officers to be trained to perform more non-law enforcement functions such as the role of paramedics in addition to crisis intervention functions.[53] Incorporating social workers into the functions of the police was not easy due to inevitable conflicts between police officers and social workers resulting from the differences in functions and goals of the two agencies. But such conflicts can be resolved as in the well-known Wheaton-Niles project in Chicago in 1970.[54] Regardless of which style the police administrators might adopt, if the police departments can effectively and efficiently respond to the community's needs, such programs should serve to promote an improved image of the police and should contribute positively toward a better police-community relationship.

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[51]An excellent summary of crisis intervention trainings for the police officer is presented by Donald A. Liebman and Jeffrey A. Shwartz, "Police Programs in Domestic Crisis Intervention: A Review," in The Urban Policeman in Transition, John R. Snibbe and Homa M. Snibbe, ed. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1973), pp. 421-472.

[52]James M. Driscoll, Robert G. Meyer, and Charles Schanie, "Training Police in Family Intervention," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 9 (January-February 1973):62.

[53]For example Gerald O'Connell and Harold Johnson, "The Blue Beret: A New Police Image," Police Chief 41 (June 1974):58.

[54]Harvey Treger, Doug Thomson, and Gordon S. Jaeck, "A Police-Social Work Team Model," Crime and Delinquency 20 (July 1974): 280-90.

Police-community involvement approach

This approach is based on an assumption that increased inter-
actions between the police and the citizens in non-threatening situations
would promote familiarity, understanding and respect for each other.
This approach is the heart of the police-community relations programs
and thus there are many examples. Within this approach there are
basically three styles. One calls for a greater involvement by citizens
into the activities of the police to promote understanding of the police
functions and problems. It varies from a ride-along program, an open
house, a crime prevention program to a more formal program such as the
Community Service Officer (CSO) Program of New York.[55] The CSO Program
recruited a large number of minority citizens to perform quasi-police
functions in their own respective communities. Despite problems, the
CSO program appears to have succeeded in getting the police and citizens
closer in terms of understanding each other. Another style emphasizes
police-citizen encounters in a non-threatening environment. The police
athletic league is a good example of this style. The success of an
experiment at Stanford to bring the police and students together in a
non-hostile atmosphere through rap sessions, dinners and ride-along
programs[56] pointed to the value of this style. The third style is
not very common. It involves a study of the policed-role in order to
promote better understanding and appreciation of police-citizen

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[55]James M. Erikson and Matthew J. Neary, "The Community Service
Officer: a + or a -?" Police Chief 42 (March 1975):36-40.

[56]Michael Diamond and W.C. Lobitz, "When Familiarity Breeds Respect:
The Effects of an Experimental Depolarization Program on Police and Student
Attitudes toward Each," Journal of Social Issues 29 (1973):95-109.

encounters. "Operation Empathy" of the Covina Police Department[57] which required police officers to spend a night in a jail after being "arrested" and "booked" is one example. This style should contribute directly toward promoting better police-community relationships because it attacks the very essence of the problem, the quality of police-citizen interactions on streets, not in a comfortable office or over a good meal.

Change the police approach

This approach assumes that a significant improvement of the police-community relationship is not possible without first changing the police. Such changes can be relatively as minor as changing the police uniforms to civilian clothes.[58] It may call for an alternative to police revolvers.[59] It may call for the renaming of the police to "public service officer," "human affairs officer," etc.[60] Dual level recruitment and training, lateral entry into the police force, and civilianizing police academies are relatively mild forms of changes recommended by Stark while police draft and separating patrol from investigative functions are some of his more radical views.[61] Odell

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[57]R. Fred Ferguson, "Creativity in Law Enforcement - Field Experiments in Preparation for the Changing Police Role," Covina Police Department, Covina, California.

[58]James H. Tenzel and Victor Cizanckas, "The Uniform Experiment," Journal of Police Science and Administration 1 (December 1973):421-24.

[59]Carl F. Vaupel, Jr., "Improving Police Effectiveness and Police Relations," Police 15 (September-October 1970):19-20.

[60]A. C. Germann, "Community Policing: An Assessment," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 60 (March 1969):89-96.

[61]Stark, Police Riots.

argues for the recruitment of police officers from more diverse social

classes.[62] This approach, because it involves changes within the police

system, is perhaps the least vigorously pursued approach of the three.

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[62]Brian N. Odell, "America's New Anti-Police Sentiment,"
Journal of Human Relations 19 (Third Quarter 1971):347-55.

treat the cause can be effective. And without treating the symptoms,
the disease may reach epidemic proportions. Therefore, if the current
police-community relations programs are to be judged according to how
effectively they treat symptoms, then many police administrators
should be able to produce examples of successes of such programs. But
it is important that they keep a proper perspective and not confuse
such successes as curing the cause.

Conclusion: What Must Be Done?

First, one must believe that the police-community relations pro-
grams are important for the police and for everyone, since a belief in
the importance of such programs implies confidence that such programs
can succeed in improving the relationships between the police and the
citizens in a community. This study asked the youths and the police
officers for their views to determine to what degree the youths and the
police officers feel such programs were important. The following table
summarizes the responses:

TABLE 30

Analysis of Responses by Youths and Police Officers to the Statement:
"Programs to Improve the Relationship Between Police and Youths are..."

Respondent	Very Important	Fairly Important	Slightly Important	Not Important	Don't Know
Youths	45%	31%	8%	4%	12%
Police	88%	10%	2%	0%	0%

The data shows an encouraging result. Nearly half the youths believe
that such programs are very important and an overwhelming percentage
of police officers also felt that such programs were very important.
If these figures can be interpreted as a degree of confidence both
the police and youths have in the police-community relations programs
to improve the relationship between them, then the prospect of possibly
bridging the gap between them might be bright.

However, one must also accept very obvious implications of such
data. It can also mean that there is something seriously wrong with
the present quality of police-youths interactions and that something
needs to be done to resolve the problem. The high percentage of
responses attesting to the importance of police-community relations

programs by both sides may be a reflection of their desire to bridge the gap between them.

. What must be done? It will require some drastic changes to initiate the first step toward changing the "viscious cycle," which was used to characterize the current relationship between the police and the public, into a system of a mutually supporting and manageable cycle. The current programs will not cure the "police personality" problem or the police deviancy problem, for too many of the current programs simply reflect a "Right Guard" mentality which measures its successes by the ability to keep the sweat down instead of finding out the real cause of such perspiration. The "police personality" problem will not be cured unless drastic steps are taken to reduce the element of danger persistently present in police work. As a start, society must take steps to effectively control handguns. It cannot be done by athletic programs or ride-along programs. Society must take a drastic step in order to create an atmosphere in which the police can function without treating everyone as if they were "symbolic assailants."

The police must change drastically as well. The police must solve its corruption and brutality problems which undermine public confidence. The police must abide by the procedural rules as defined by the law, not by the department, in order to produce results. The police must prove that they are part of the community, not apart from the community. The current police-community relations program, while effective to some degree, cannot bring the police and the community together because they are designed to treat symptoms, not the cause of what really separates them apart.

The drastic changes needed to overhaul the police-community

relationship are part of the changes needed in our society to solve
many of our social problems. Unless our society can change, we will
see no change in the police-community interactions. The police depart-
ment as a small segment of society cannot be expected to solve society's
problem. The variance in attitudes toward police among youths of
different minority groups is a reflection of the racial problems in our
society as a whole. The term "drastic" was used to describe the degree
of change which is needed to significantly improve the police-community
relationship because changes needed will require almost the same degree
of leadership by those in power positions, and the same degree of
dedication to a cause and a willingness to personally sacrifice by
everyone in the society as demanded during a national crisis such as
a war. The alternative is to live with our current problems for many
years to come.

APPENDIX

Dear Student:

I am doing a study to find out how you feel about the police. When all the questionnaires are collected and tabulated, I will know how the youth in this community feels about the police.

I would like to have your honest answer to each question. There is no right or wrong answer to any of the questions, so please give me your honest response to each question.

The only background information I am requesting from you is your age, grade and sex. Your name or any other identifying mark should not appear anywhere on this questionnaire or on your answer sheet.

Please read instructions carefully and answer all questions.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Brian Y. Shiroyama

INSTRUCTIONS FOR QUESTION NUMBER 1 THROUGH 60.

Each question must be answered as to whether or not you strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

"A" on your answer sheet means.............. strongly agree
"B" on your answer sheet means.............. agree
"C" on your answer sheet means.............. undecided
"D" on your answer sheet means. .... disagree
"E" on your answer sheet means.............. strongly disagree

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1. Police keep the city good.

2. Police accuse you of things you didn't do.

3. The police are stupid.

4. Police protect us from harm.

5. The police really try to help you when you are in trouble.

6. The police are mean.

7. The police offer you money to tell on other kids.

8. Police use clubs on people for no reason at all.

9. The police keep peace and order.

10. Without the police there would be crime everywhere.

11. You can rely on the police in time of distress.

12. Police are dedicated people.

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13. Police try to act big shot.

14. The police are always mad at kids.

15. Police help me to help myself.

16. Police represent trouble instead of help.

17. Police are brave people.

18. The police are protective of our country.

19. Police don't even give you a chance to explain.

20. Police try to get smart with you when you ask a question.

21. Police are pretty nice people.

22. Police are prejudiced toward people on welfare.

23. People would be better off without the police.

24. Police should have more power and authority to deal with criminals than they have now.

25. Police never make good on their promises; they say one thing and they do another thing.

26. Police try not to arrest innocent people.

27. Police are prejudiced toward members of different minority groups.

28. Police treat all people equally.

29. Police don't pick on kids who have already been in trouble with the police.

30. Police treat the rich kids better than poor kids.

31. Those who get arrested by the police deserve to get "busted."

32. Police will not accuse you of things you didn't do.

33. Police respond to calls from poor and rich people with the same speed and fairness.

34. Cities would be better off if there were more police officers.

35. Most criminals are not caught by the police.

36. Police don't respond fast enough when you need them.

-3-

37. Most police officers are honest.

38. Police need better training to do their job.

39. Even if the public cooperated fully with the police, they still won't catch most of the criminals.

40. Police are lazy and spend lots of their time goofing off.

41. It won't do you any good to try to bribe a police officer.

42. Police officers are usually courteous when they talk to you.

43. Police can steal and get away with it.

44. Police try to use the least amount of force necessary when they make arrests.

45. Most police officers would let you buy your way out of trouble.

46. Police should ignore the little stuff and concentrate on serious crime.

47. Police should enforce all laws equally.

48. The public should determine how the police department should be run.

49. The main job of the police should be to keep the peace instead of catching criminals.

50. The police should act more like a public servant than a crime fighter.

51. The public should not be calling the police to help look for a lost child, since it's not their job.

52. Police should be easier on the juvenile delinquents than the adult criminals.

53. Police should be allowed to strike for better pay just like anybody else.

54. Police should treat all people alike regardless of differences in social class and influence in the community.

55. The public has no right to look into the activities of the police to see if they are doing what they are supposed to be doing.

56. There should be more foot patrols so that the public can better communicate with police officers.

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57. There should be more police patrols in the lower class or ghetto areas.

58. Police should stay away from enforcing marijuana laws.

59. Police should obey all laws just like everybody else.

60. If my parents have a violent argument, the first thing I should do is to call the police for help.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR QUESTION NUMBER 61 THROUGH 70.
    Each question must be answered by either "yes" or "no" depending on your own experience.

                    "A" on your answer sheet means........... yes
                    "B" on your answer sheet means........... no
    ----

61. Have you ever been a victim of a crime but did not call the police?

62. Have you ever been a victim of a crime and did call the police?

63. Has anyone in your family been a victim of a crime but did not call the police?

64. Has anyone in your family been a victim of a crime and did call the police?

65. Have you ever been questioned by the police as a witness to a crime?

66. Have you ever been stopped by the police for any reason?

67. Have you ever been searched by the police, but you were not arrested?

68. Have you ever been arrested?

69. Have you ever been beaten up by the police?

70. If you see a police officer in trouble and he asks you to help him, would you help him?

-5-

INSTRUCTIONS FOR QUESTION NUMBER 71 THROUGH 75.
    Select one appropriate answer and mark your answer sheet with the
corresponding letter (A, B, C, D or E) next to your answer.
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71. Programs to improve the relationship between police and youths are:

    A. Very important
    B. Fairly important
    C. Slightly important
    D. Not important
    F. Don't know

72. On the average, how much time do you spend watching television
     PER DAY?

    A. Don't watch TV or seldom watch TV
    B. About one hour
    C. About two hours
    D. About three hours
    E. Four hours or more

73. How much of you TV viewing time is spent on watching "police"
    programs?

    A. All
    B. Majority
    C. Half
    D. Some
    E. None

74. Do you find that talking with a police officer is:

    A. Very easy
    B. Easy
    C. Undecided
    D. Difficult
    E. Very difficult

75. Do you find that talking with a store clerk is:

    A. Very easy
    B. Easy
    C. Undecided
    D. Difficult
    E. Very difficult

I am conducting a study to try to understand some of the problems involved in the relationship between the police and the public. I am particularly interested in the adolescent youth group (junior and senior high school age) for this study. Your candid answers to the following questions will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Brian Y. Shiroyama

For questions 1 through 15, I would like your response first by using the below listed code. Then immediately below your answer, please indicate how you think a typical youth (your own concept of an adolescent youth) would answer the same question.

Strongly agree............... A
Agree........................ B
Undecided.................... C
Disagree.................... D
Strongly disagree........... E

----

1. Police should ignore the little stuff   Your answer: A B C D E
   and concentrate on serious crimes.   Youth's answer: A B C D E

2. Police should enforce all laws   Your answer: A B C D E
   equally.   Youth's answer: A B C D E

3. The public should determine how   Your answer: A B C D E
   the police department should be   Youth's answer: A B C D E
   run.

4. The main job of the police should   Your answer: A B C D E
   be to keep the peace instead of   Youth's answer: A B C D E
   catching criminals.

5. The police should act more like a   Your answer: A B C D E
   public servant than a crime   Youth's answer: A B C D E
   fighter.

6. The public should not be calling
   the police to help look for a lost   Your answer: A B C D E
   child since it's not the police   Youth's answer: A B C D E
   job to do so.

7. Police should be easier on   Your answer: A B C D E
   juvenile delinquents than the   Youth's answer: A B C D E
   adult criminals.

8. Police should be allowed to strike   Your answer: A B C D E
   for better pay just like anyone else. Youth's answer: A B C D E

9. Police should treat all people alike   Your answer: A B C D E
   regardless of difference in social   Youth's answer: A B C D E
   class and influence in the community.

10. The public has no right to look into
    the activities of the police to see if Your answer: A B C D E
    they are doing what they are supposed   Youth's answer: A B C D E
    to be doing.

11. There should be more foot patrols so   Your answer: A B C D E
    that the public can better communicate Youth's answer: A B C D E
    with police officers.

12. There should be more police patrols   Your answer: A B C D E
    in the lower class or ghetto areas.   Youth's answer: A B C D E

13. Police should stay away from enforcing Your answer: A B C D E
    marijuana laws.   Youth's answer: A B C D E

14. Police should obey all laws just   Your answer: A B C D E
    like everybody else.   Youth's answer: A B C D E

15. If an adolescent youth finds that his
    parents are having a violent argument, Your answer: A B C D E
    the first thing he/she should do is   Youth's answer: A B C D E
    to call the police for help.

For questions 16 through 24, please use the following code:

                Very easy.................... A
                Easy......................... B
                Undecided.................... C
                Difficult.................... D
                Very difficult............... E

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16. Do you find that communicating with members of the
    minority group is: A B C D E

17. Do you find that communicating with youth is: A B C D E

18. Do you find that communicating with senior citizens is: A B C D E

19. Do you find that communicating with black persons is: A B C D E

20. Do you find that communicating with a store clerk is: A B C D E

21. Do you find that communicating with college students
    is: A B C D E

22. Do you find that communicating with Chicano (or Mexican-American) persons is (assuming they speak English):   A B C D E

23. Do you find that communicating with Asian Americans is (assuming they speak English):   A B C D E

24. Do you feel that the majority of adolescent youths (junior high and senior high) does not support the police?

    A. Yes
    B. Don't know
    C. No

25. If your answer is "yes" for the above, what is the major reason for such a lack of support?

    A. Fear of Police
    B. Lack of respect for police
    C. Lack of understanding for police
    D. Lack of time to get involved

26. Police-youth relations programs are:

    A. Very important
    B. Fairly important
    C. Slightly important
    D. Not important
    E. Don't know

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name of your department:

Your rank:

Your duty:

Number of years of service:

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SOURCES   CONSULTED

CONTINUED

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