A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF SEX, RACE, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS ON THE ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

RANDALL DAVID SCOTT

1969

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF SEX, RACE, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS ON THE ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

By

Randall David Scott

An Abstract of a Thesis

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

School of Police Administration and Public Safety

College of Social Science

1969

Approved Louis A. Radelet

John E. Angell

John N. McNamara

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE
OF SEX, RACE, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS ON THE ATTITUDES
OF CHILDREN TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

By

Randall David Scott

This is a study of attitudes and perceptions of the police officer and other authority figures held by second grade children from diverse backgrounds--lower-class Negro, middle-class Negro, and middle-class white. Researchers to date differ in their views on the importance of sex, race and socioeconomic status in the various dimensions of human attitudes and behavior, prompting the present research study, in which the relationship of each of these variables of sex, race, and socioeconomic status to attitudes and perceptions of authority figures is observed. The policeman and other authority figures were selected because of the role they are believed to play in extending the child's attitudes and perceptions of rules and authority from the family to the larger society. Subjects' responses to questionnaire items concerning authority figures, to an attitude-toward-police scale

and to a subjective picture-drawing exercise were analyzed to determine differential response along sex, ethnic or socioeconomic status lines. Only socioeconomic status was found to be a significant variable in the analysis.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF SEX, RACE, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS ON THE ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

By

Randall David Scott

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

School of Police Administration and Public Safety
College of Social Science

1969

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is indebted to the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, the staff of the National Center on Police and Community Relations, Miss Barbara Johnson of the Chicago Board of Education, researchers Dr. June Tapp and Dr. Judith Torney, and the teachers and administrators of the target schools. Without their assistance, this study could not have been accomplished.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE PAGE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

A recent study concluded that:

> Every piece of evidence indicates that the child's political world begins to take shape well before he even enters elementary school and it undergoes the most rapid change during these years...The truly formative years of the maturing member of a political system would seem to be those years between the ages of three and thirteen. (Easton and Hess, 1962)

The obvious implication for adults is that if children learn to accept political institutions and leaders as legitimate--as possessing legal and rightful power--this acceptance is internalized, making the influence of external rewards and punishments less effective and facilitating stable political authority. That is, there is less reliance on the policeman on the corner as a deterrent and less reliance on "kickbacks" or favors to accomplish what should rightfully be done anyway.

Later work on the same project indicates that children do learn to accept political institutions and leaders as legitimate, and that the child's relationship toward "points of contact" with the system--authority

figures such as the policeman--plays a vital role which pervades the whole socialization process (Easton and Dennis, 1968). It is theorized by Hess and his associates, as well as by Kohlberg, that the socialization process proceeds in the same manner regardless of ethnicity or socioeconomic status, only the rate of development being affected, with a higher rate of development being associated with the higher ethnic or socioeconomic status. Several considerations raise doubts about the foregoing statement of general applicability. First, the Hess study itself admits to an insufficient sample of non-whites and rural or Appalachian whites. Secondly, the current work in developmental child psychology strongly indicates that cognitive patterns (ways of looking at the world) and basic attitudes (predispositions to act) are formed by the age of three (Pines, 1969). Ample evidence exists that child-rearing practices vary enormously with socioeconomic status and ethnicity (Sears, Levin, Maccoby and Sears, 1957; Lewis, 1961; Maccoby, Gibbs and others, 1964; Jeffers, 1966; Cahill, 1967; Pines, 1969), hence allowing differences in socioeconomic class and ethnicity to emerge as differences in cognitive patterns and attitudes. Finally, socioeconomic status and ethnicity have

proven to be significant in enough studies of various dimensions of human attitudes and behavior that they cannot be ignored (See K.Johnson, 1969; Derbyshire, 1968).

II. THE PROBLEM

The question therefore arises: Do attitudes toward authority differ with ethnicity and socio-economic status? The research herein described concerns itself with the foregoing question, as it relates to Negro second-graders from a lower-class inner-city neighborhood and an outlying middle-class neighborhood, and to white second-graders from a middle-class neighborhood. Alternate hypotheses generated by the problem (and discussed in greater detail in the chapter on methodology) are:

1. No difference exists in the attitudes of second-graders toward authority figures, regardless of socioeconomic status or race.

2. Attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status, regardless of race.

3. Attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with race, regardless of socioeconomic status.

4. Attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status and with race.

5. Attitudes of children toward authority

figures are as related to sex of the child as they are to socioeconomic status or race.

Following Chapters

The following chapter will deal with related literature, followed by a discussion of the hypotheses and methodology. Subsequent chapters deal with actual discussion of the research findings, as they relate to the above hypotheses.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Hess and Associates Political Socialization Study

Hess, with various others, has inquired into early political socialization in a study of over twelve thousand grade school children in four regions of the United States. Hess and Easton (1962) find that the phenomenon "most apparent to most children in the realm of politics" is the existence of an authority outside the family and school; this external authority is specifically represented in the Presidency and the policeman.[1] They further note that emotional, rather than rational, processes are at work on these cognitions of external authority; favorable feelings are developed for, as an example, the presidential form of authority long before much concrete knowledge about it is developed.

Hess and Torney (1967) theorize from the data (the same body of data referred to above) that reciprocal role relationships are the key to political socialization--that the child learns to see his own

---

[1]The child becomes increasingly aware of other institutions of authority, such as courts, Congress, and local elected officials as he grows older, say Easton and Dennis.

behavior in relation to that of some other person or institution and that role expectations are learned; the child learns the rights and duties of the individual in relation to the rights and duties of the system. As Hess and Torney see it, early political socialization begins with an attachment to the nation which is stable, basic, and "exceedingly resistant to change." Authority figures and institutions are perceived by the child as powerful, competent, benign, infallible, and to be trusted. Laws are just and unchangeable, with punishment inevitable for wrongdoing. The child's points of contact with the system are persons--the President and the policeman--later becoming institutions, abstractions, and the roles occupied by the persons. These points of contact--the President and the policeman--are also the visible authority figures and compliance with authority and law is mediated through these figures. Hess and Torney point out that the family can also strongly influence attitudes toward authority, roles and compliance. While the family and strong authority figures influence attitudes, the school appears as the primary source for content, information and concepts. For children of low socioeconomic status it may

be the only source (Hess and Torney, 1967; Coleman, 1965). The Hess and Torney study indicates that the school is "a central and dominant force in the political socialization of the young child" and that the period between grades three and five is especially important in acquiring political information.

Of particular relevance to the present research are the channels through which socialization into the compliance system--that part of the system requiring the individual "to deal with regulations and authority figures and also to respond with some degree of self-direction" (Hess and Minturn, 1967)--is theorized to take place. First, there is a fund of positive feeling for the government, especially the President, which extends to include laws and other abstractions as discussed above. Secondly, the child's socialization comes about through a "core" of respect for power wielded by authority figures, especially policemen.[1]

---

[1] Hess and Torney find the policeman to be in a strained position. Though the schools present a nurturant image of the policeman, the child learns early that the police have the duty to capture and to punish lawbreakers, leading to mixed feelings about law and law enforcement. They note the fact that "ideal statements" about government and authority are more stable longitudinally than statements about how things work may be directly related to this early ambivalence about a powerful authority figure.

A third channel is experience in compliant roles at home and school. Finally, there is the normative belief that all systems of rules are fair.

Easton and Dennis

Easton and Dennis (1968) have done more extensive work on the data described above, especially as it relates to the police officer. In addition, a free drawing exercise was utilized as an exploratory instrument, in which over six hundred children drew pictures of various authority figures (information is only available concerning the policeman). Evaluation of the pictures was on the basis of content: whether the policeman was seen as performing a protective, prohibitive or punitive activity. Over fifty per cent of the drawings emphasize punitive or prohibitive activity, indicating that the policeman's capacity to direct and punish emerges as salient to the child. The policeman also appears as physically dominant, being drawn several times larger than the comparison objects, such as an automobile or other people, and as physically and verbally active. Crime detection and prevention activities seldom appear in the drawings. The child's questionnaire rating of the police bears out the centrality of the capacity to direct and punish. Seventy-eight

per cent of second graders and sixty-eight per cent of third graders think the policeman "can make many people do what he wants" (48 per cent of second graders say he "can make almost anyone do what he wants"). Sixty-six per cent of the fourth graders think the policeman "can punish many people" and thiry-seven per cent say he "can punish almost anyone." From the above data, Easton and Dennis conclude that "the child is impressed with the presence of a power over and beyond that of father or mother and one that even parents, as potent as they may appear to the child, cannot escape." (1968) Policemen are seen as the "seed out of which a sense of the legitimacy of the authority structure springs." Through the policeman, the child "is encouraged in the belief that external authority should and must be accepted," reinforcing a similar posture he is early encouraged to adopt toward the President and the government. Lending further legitimacy to the policeman is the affective impression of benevolence and dependability. However, the child's feelings about the police, as noted above in discussing Hess and Torney (page 7, Footnote), are highly ambivalent, as is indicated in the way the child rates the policeman.

Even though children rate the policeman very high on "would want to help me if I needed it" (71 per cent of second graders think the police "would always want to help me if I needed it" and another 14 per cent say "almost always"), they rate him very low on the statements "I like him" and "is my favorite." The conflict, according to Easton and Dennis, is between the punitive cognitive image and the affective impression of benevolence and dependability. Nonetheless, the report estimates that "if we had been able to construct some sort of index of respect by collapsing all our ratings into a single measure (no attempt was actually made to do so), we would have found that the child has a fairly high level of respect for the policeman."

Kohlberg's Moral Development Typology

Kohlberg characterizes society as a system of defined complementary role relationships (1968), similar to the concept expressed by Hess and Torney and related above. In becoming socialized into the system, the child must implicitly take the role of others toward himself and toward others in the group. These role-taking tendencies, representing various

patternings of shared or complementary expectations, form the basis of all social institutions. In one Kohlberg study, the moral development--of attitudes and values concerning right, wrong, good and bad--of seventy-five boys was observed at three year intervals over a twelve year period. In addition, cross-cultural studies have been carried out in several foreign countries. Kohlberg concludes from these studies that moral development is an invariant sequence in six stages coming one at a time and always in the same order. The sequential nature of moral development does not appear to be culture bound: development is still sequential in Taiwan, Turkey, Yucatan, Malaysia or in an inner-city ghetto, only the rate of development varies. The six stages can be classified into three levels: pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional. At the pre-conventional level (ages four to ten, with significant growth from eight), "good" and "bad" are interpreted in terms of physical consequences, regardless of human meaning or value, or in terms of the physical power of those who enumerate the rules and labels of good and bad. Toward the end of this period reciprocity develops, but on a pragmatic quid pro quo basis. At stage three (conventional level)

"good" is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by them--the child conforms to stereotypical images of what is majority or "natural" behavior. At stage four of the conventional level, maintenance of the status quo is perceived as valuable in its own right. The post-conventional level is characterized by a major thrust toward autonomous moral principles with validity and application apart from the authority of groups or persons who hold them and apart from the individual's identification with these persons or groups. Stage five is the "official" morality of American government as embodied in the thought of the writers of the Constitution, with a "social contract" orientation defining "right" actions in terms of standards critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. Stage six is oriented toward decisions of conscience and toward "self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality and consistency"--principles such as justice, the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.

Development of attitudes and values appears to Kohlberg to be related to cognitive development, with increasing differentiation and increasing integration.

Kohlberg theorizes that the reason for invariant developmental sequence, regardless of culture, is that "each step is a better cognitive organization than the one before it." Each stage takes account of everything present in the previous stage, but the child makes new distinctions and organizes into a "more comprehensive or more equilibrated structure." (1968)

Derbyshire's "Patrolman Bill" Evaluation

Perhaps the most directly related research findings available at this time are those of Derbyshire in assessing the effect of the "Patrolman Bill" program, a program designed to foster an improved image of the policeman among minority group children in Los Angeles (Derbyshire, 1968). Derbyshire hypothesized a greater degree of antipathy toward the police on the part of pupils of low socioeconomic backgrounds and a positive change in perception of the police on the part of those low socioeconomic status children exposed to the Patrolman Bill program. Third grade public school pupils from three divergent ethnic and social class categories were asked to draw pictures of the policeman at work as an "assignment" in art class. One low socioeconomic status group was asked to draw the pictures two weeks

prior to Patrolman Bill's visit and on the third day following the visit. Each picture was evaluated by four independent raters (Derbyshire and three fourth-year resident psychiatrists) on a seven-point scale for the degree of aggressiveness, authoritarianism, hostility, kindness, goodness, strength and anger expressed in the picture. An additional rater, working independently, performed an item analysis of police task performance on the basis of the picture's content (similar to the method used by Easton and Dennis, 1968, above). Comparison of the ratings yielded no significant difference between the item analysis and the evaluation by the four raters on the entire field of the picture. From the results, the image of police behavior held by the children fell into four categories: (1) aggressive--fighting, chasing, shooting--(2) assistance with negative overtones--unloading a paddy wagon, searching a building, in a car with prisoners, giving traffic tickets--(3) neutral--walking, riding in a patrol car, directing traffic--(4) assistance with positive overtones--talking with children, giving directions.

In the pre- and post-test group, there was a significant shift from responses in the neutral or

negative categories to the positive assistance image, tending to verify the hypothesis that "personal contact with policemen under informal, non-threatening conditions significantly reduces children's antipathy." Significant differences also appeared between the three highly diverse groups tested. The group from Watts, predominantly lower socioeconomic status Negro children, expressed less antipathy toward the police after the program than was originally expressed by the most positive group (white middle-class). Just how permanent a change may be effected by a single exposure was not studied; however, Derbyshire cautions that "experience of others who have researched attitudes and attitude change suggests that changes of this nature last only until future negative experiences."

Literature on Early Development of the Child

Research currently underway at Harvard University indicates the crucial importance of the child's first three years (Pines, 1969). White and others at the School of Education Pre-School Project have been concerned with the development of cognitive ability--how knowledge is acquired, retained and used--since the project began in 1966. So far the project has tentatively classified five prototype mothers according to

their manner of interacting with the child, and is now developing scales on thirty-six categories of infants' characteristics.

Bruner and others at the Center for Cognitive Studies at Harvard are exploring the manner in which the infant establishes communication with and perception of his environment. They have established that interaction with adults is essential in developing skills such as talking and manual dexterity. Lack of interaction thwarts expectancy--the expectation that the child's behavior will draw a response--and discourages learning.

Socioeconomic Status and Early Development

Kagan and others at the Department of Social Relations at Harvard are involved in the study of class differences in early childhood development. In a three-year longitudinal study of infants from their fourth to thirty-eighth month, as yet unpublished (Pines, 1969), class differences began appearing at eight to twelve months and became apparent in every one of the basic skills which the child learns during his first three years. Kagan has observed that the middle-class infant develops a closer attachment to

the mother due to the greater frequency and duration of contact with the mother, and becomes more attentive to the mother's actions and to nuances in the mother's actions. His greater attentiveness is accompanied by the development of a bigger stock of "schemata" with which to try to explain unexpected things in his environment. In lower-class families where homes are crowded, with constant noise from children and television and with little contact with the mother, stimuli are "tuned out" and learning is minimal. The child of the poor, according to Kagan, lacks the attachment to the mother which leads to acquisition of the mother's language and values, has developed few schemata and has developed little ability to cope with the unexpected in his environment.[1] He has learned a kind of impotence and is less persistent at difficult tasks, verbal and nonverbal.

Hess (1964) finds indications that modes of verbal and social interaction characteristic of low socioeconomic class mother-infant relationships "induct the child into patterns of poverty by restricting the range of verbal, social, ideational and economic opportunities."

---

[1] Note Bruner's concept of "thwarted expectancy" above (p.16).

However, Golden and Birns (1968) find no difference when comparing infants up to two years of age from three socioeconomic groups on intellectual performance, using two independent measures of cognitive functioning. No difference by socioeconomic status was noted in language development at age two in the same sample.

Literature on Sex Differences

Oetzel (1966) has compiled an excellent one-hundred page annotated bibliography of the older literature on sex differences and sex-role learning, repetition of which would only be redundant. More recent work by Kagan and Lewis (1965) and Goldberg and Lewis (1969) indicates significant sex differences in behavior as early as thirteen months of age. In the above two studies, the same group of infants was observed in interaction with their mothers at six months and in their behavior toward mothers, toys and a frustration situation at age thirteen months. Girls showed significantly greater dependence (reluctance to leave mother, vocalization to mother, looking at mother, remaining in close proximity to mother). In a frustration situation, girls cried and indicated distress, while boys actively tried to circumvent the

source of frustration, although boys also indicated some distress. In play activities, girls' activities involved more fine muscle coordination while boys' activities involved gross muscle coordination, were more boisterous and vigorous, and exhibited more exploratory behavior. All girls selected toys with faces, while boys did not select toys with faces at all (note Kagan's work concerning reactions to faces in the following paragraph). A definite relationship was noted between the mother's degree of close contact with the infant at six months and the infant's behavior at thirteen months toward the mother. Goldberg and Lewis hypothesize that parents reinforce behaviors they consider sex-role appropriate: the child learns these sex-role behaviors in the same way he learns any appropriate response rewarded by parents.

Kagan (1969) finds there is a sex difference in "...babbling...in the service of attentional processes..." in response to exposure to faces. Girls are more attentive to faces and vocalize in response to them. Moore (1967) finds a positive correlation between the vocalization in response to faces exhibited by infant girls and later development of speech; no such correlation appears for boys.

Hess and Torney (1967) note that girls express more attachment to personal figures in the social and political systems while boys are more concerned with events and are more activist.

Summary

Concepts set forth by the preceding authors basic to the present research center around the idea that children develop many of their ways of looking at the world at very ages, perhaps even before the age of three, and that interaction between the child and adults--first the mother, later the father and other authority figures--is crucial to the development of most, if not all, of the child's skills and attitudes. Cognitive development and moral development--perception and internalization of concepts of right and wrong--are thought to be related. Higher stages of moral development are believed to derive from development of the child's ability to make finer distinctions and to better organize. Class differences in the early development of the child are noted and attributed to differential child-rearing practices, with greater interaction between the middle-class infant and adults. The policeman is stressed as an important authority

figure and contact point with society at large in extending the child's perceptions and attitudes toward authority from the family to the system of laws and role relationships present in the larger society. The present research attempts to assess children's attitudes toward the policeman and other authority figures to determine the relationship of factors such as socioeconomic status, race and sex--all of which are important variables in the literature reviewed--to attitudes and perceptions regarding these authority figures on the part of children.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

I. HYPOTHESES

Of the possible hypotheses suggested by the literature, five are presented here.

First, the null hypothesis is that no difference exists in the attitudes of children toward authority figures, regardless of socioeconomic status or race. In some studies, socioeconomic status, though theorized to be important, was found on empirical test to have no significant relationship to other variables (Johnson, 1969). Hess and Torney consider socioeconomic status a significant factor only insofar as higher status is associated with more rapid development of attitudes (Hess and Torney, 1965), and Torney has been unable to establish a significant difference between the white and Negro responses in the political socialization study (Torney, 1969).

An alternative hypothesis, supported by much of the literature, is that attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status, regardless of race. Johnson (1969) observed this at

the junior high school level. The reverse side of this hypothesis is that attitudes vary with race, regardless of socioeconomic status. Some support for this hypothesis (as well as the previous one) comes from the likelihood of differential child-rearing practices among Negro families engendering differential attitudes.

However, child-rearing practices seem to be as much class-determined as ethnic (Sears, Levin and Maccoby, 1957; Maccoby and Gibbs, 1964; Jeffers, 1964; Cahill, 1967), allowing for any of the above hypotheses, as well as the hypothesis that attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with both socioeconomic status and race.

A final hypothesis is that the relationship of some other variable, such as sex or the absence of the father, is as significant as race or socioeconomic status. Hess and Torney (1967) found significant differences between boys and girls in several areas of political socialization, including girls' greater attachment to personal figures as symbols of government and authority, and girls' greater acceptance of all systems of rules and laws as just. Kohlberg (1963) concludes that girls are more compliant and tend to internalize social and moral codes earlier than boys.

II. METHODOLOGY

Design

Three schools were selected from census areas consisting of all-white middle-class, all-non-white middle class and all non-white lower class (see Table I). None of the schools engaged in bussing pupils, so the school population should reflect the characteristics of the census area. Racial composition of the target schools suggests that this is so, as can be noted from Table II. Two intact classrooms were selected at random in each school. Greater randomization would of course been desirable, but the hard facts of research life required a minimum amount of disruption of normal school routine. Similarly, the researcher would have preferred to control for mental age, a variable Hess and Torney (1965) found to be significant, but this was not feasible. Consequently, there was a marked variation in the students' ability to handle the test materials, particularly among the students at the inner-city school. Testing was accomplished within one class period for each classroom, generally in the absence of the regular teacher.

TABLE I

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOL COMMUNITIES

Census Area:	27 (Inner-City)	14 (Northwest)	73 (Far South)
Percentage Negro	87%	.05%	96.2%
Percentage Other Non-White	1.4	2	.6
Percentage under 18	39.1	27	38.8
Percentage over 65	5.4	14	2.7
Median School Years Completed	8.7	10	12
Median Family Income	$4119	$6650	$8315
% Incomes under $3,000	36.3	11	2.7
% Incomes over $10,000	4.1	19	31.3
% Unemployed Males	13.5	3	2.8
% Sub-standard Housing Units	26.9	1	1.6
Population per Household	3.45	2.8	4.15
Median Number of Rooms, All Units	3.3	4.6	5.3

(Kitagawa and Taeuber, 1963)

TABLE II

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOLS

School:	A (Low SES)	B (Middle-Class Negro)	C (White)
Total Enrolled	1212	1383	728
% White	8	0	97.7
% Negro	76.2	100	.7
% Other Non-White	15.8	0	1.6

(Chicago Board of Education, 1968)

Instruments

Free Drawing Exercise. This technique follows the procedures used by Derbyshire (1968), with the regular teacher providing the class with crayons and manila paper at the time usually devoted to art lessons. The "Assignment" is to draw a picture of a policeman at work. Teachers are instructed to make no suggestions as to content, other than that they are especially interested in the student's impression of a policeman going about his work. As in the Derbyshire study, pictures are subjected to an item analysis of role performance items and classified according to the four categories established by Derbyshire. In view of Derbyshire's finding of no significant difference between ratings based on analysis of the whole field of the picture by trained psychiatrists and ratings based on role performance, analysis by psychiatrists was omitted from the research design. As in the Derbyshire study, the basic purpose of the free drawing technique is to determine the kind of image of the police held by the child.

Questionnaire. The pencil-and-paper questionnaire, administered orally by the researcher, consists

of fifty attitude items related to government, authority figures, law and citizenship. Those attitude items related to government and citizenship are derived from the political socialization questionnaire arrived at after several pilot tests by Hess and others (Hess and Torney, 1965) and used in the above cited study.[1] Items related to authority figures and laws are derived primarily from am instrument found to be reliable by Hess, Minturn and Tapp in a cross-national study of socialization into compliance systems (1969). The present instrument relies more heavily on pictures to sustain the subjects' interest and to make questions as unambiguous as possible (Appendix I includes the questionnaire and Portune Attitude-Toward-Police Scale).

Portune Attitude-Toward-Police Scale. The Portune Scale consists of twenty simple statements of opinion about the police, each ranked on a three-point scale (Agree, Don't Know, Disagree), with values assigned to each degree of the scale (Agree=2, Don't Know=1, Disagree=0 for items favorable to the police; for unfavorable items, values are reversed). As used by Portune, the scale

---

[1]Also available as ADI-9365 from the American Documentation Institute, Library of Congress.

was a five-point scale arrived at by standard Thurstone-Chave judging of one-hundred-five statements by one hundred junior high school judges. Preliminary testing for this study indicated that second-graders who experienced difficulty with the five-point scale could handle the three-point scale, and that a retest on a face-to-face interview basis correlated with the test at the .90 level. Portune's work with the scale indicates it may be treated as a Lickert scale: the value for each item may be added up and a cumulative score reached--the higher the score the more favorable the child's attitude toward the police.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

General. The author is aware of the possibility that the sampling procedure used may have introduced a cluster effect, wherein the similarities within a classroom overbalance the expected variations within a random sample, as described by Campbell and Stanley (1963). Under similar circumstances Tapp adopted what was termed the "conservative strategy" in assigning significance levels and establishing criteria for selection and analysis of items (Hess, Minturn and Tapp, 1969; Tapp, undated). In the first stage of examining the Tapp data,

results for which the probability was .001 or less were selected. Where the theoretical expectations seemed to reinforce the statistical results, effects having probabiltiy levels between .01 and .001 were examined. A similar strategy has been followed in the present research, although not rigidly, since the analysis was not computerized.

Presentation of data will be in tabulations by percentage or by contingency tables, as appropriate for clarity.

Questionnaire. Questionnaire items were first arranged into contingency tables by socioeconomic status and by sex. Middle-class responses were further arranged by race. A chi-square test of significance for each questionnaire item was run, testing the relationship between white and Negro middle-class, between middle-class and lower class Negroes, between girls and boys and between lower-class boys whose fathers lived at home and those whose fathers did not live at home. No comparison was made between white middle-class and Negro lower-class children's responses, since white and Negro Middle-class responses did not differ significantly. Frequencies for certain related items were combined, for example, responses to items

asking the subjects to choose characteristics of a "best citizen (child)" and a "best citizen (adult)," and chi-squares by sex and socioeconomic status were run as above. Those items found significant beyond the .01 level are generally presented in percentage form. Other related items are presented in rank order according to frequency of response.

Portune Scale. Principal test of significance for the Portune Scale was the t-test for difference between means, according to the formula $t = \frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{S_{diff}}$. Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation (Rho-coefficient) was also used to determine the correlation between groups. A second t-test was run from the rho-coefficient, according to the formula $t = \frac{\rho}{\sqrt{1-\rho^2}}\sqrt{N-2}$. Although the chi-square test cannot be used with the Portune Scale as such, it was possible to arrange a contingency table by frequency of favorable, don't know or unfavorable responses for lower and middle-class Negroes and calculate a valid chi-square. Responses of various groups to the Portune Scale are indicated by rank-order tables, comparison of means and medians, and percentages.

Free Drawing Exercise. Derbyshire's technique of item analysis of role performance items has been followed, with the assumption that the four categories of

police functions established by Derbyshire would continue to apply. Responses were examined in terms of number and per cent of responses falling into each category, with attention paid to interactions between socioeconomic status and sex. The drawing exercise was also used as a reliability check for attitude items related to the police image.

CHAPTER IV

NEGRO AND WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POLICE

I. DIFFERENCES

In general, Negro and white middle-class responses to items concerning the policeman are quite similar. On the Portune Scale, both groups are generally favorably disposed toward the police, with the difference between means not significant on the t-tests. However, comparison of the distribution for the two groups readily indicates a more positive attitude toward police on the part of white children which is not reflected in the means due to the wider low range of the white scores (see Table III). Ranking responses to each item, white and Negro middle-class second graders differed on only four items:

Number 12. "Policemen are dedicated men." Whites responded more negatively to this than to any other statement on the scale, while Negroes responded to about half the items more negatively and half the items more positively.

Number 13. "Police try to act big shot." While whites responded quite favorably to this item (fifth out

of twenty), only three items received a more unfavorable response from Negroes.

Number 15. "Police help me to help myself." While most Negroes agreed with the statement, it ranked low in white responses.

Number 17. "Police are brave men." Ninety-six per cent of the middle-class Negro children endorsed this statement, for the most positive response of the twenty items, while whites responded more favorably to eleven other items.

The largest percentage of unfavorable responses (not counting "don't know" answers) on any one item for Negro middle-class children was 37.6 per cent, for whites, 26.7 per cent. No one item could really be said to have received an unfavorable response, in the sense that a majority responded unfavorably. The comparatively limited range makes it difficult to explain the few differences which did occur, and no really adequate explanation presents itself.

On questionnaire items concerning the police, only one item showed a significant difference between groups: "Whose rules are most important?" with more whites selecting the policeman (significant at .001 level).

Name

Most Fav
40

39

38

37

36

35

34

33

32

31

30

29

28

27

26

11-25

10 ar
Leas

Year

Year

TABLE III

PORTUNE SCALE: DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES

Score	% of Total Responses White Middle-Class	% of Total Responses Negro Middle-Class
(Most Favorable) 40	8.3%	4%
39	10	8
38	23.3	13.5
37	8	4
36	5	6
35	10	11.75
34	5	6
33	8.3	4
32	10	11.75
31	3.3	8
30	0	9.9
29	3.3	0
28	0	4
27	0	2
26	0	2
11-25	0	6
10 and Under (Least Favorable)	5	0

Mean Score-White Middle-Class.... 34.58

Mean Score-Negro Middle-Class.... 33.34

II. SIMILARITIES

As already mentioned in the preceding section, Negro and white responses for middle-class children are generally quite similar. 91.7 per cent of white scores and 86.3 per cent of Negro scores on the Portune Scale were thirty or over on a forty-point scale, highly favorable and not differing significantly. Questionnaire items related to attitudes toward police indicate no significant difference in perception of the policeman as a strong authority figure (see Table IV, p.37), as well as a benevolent one (Table V).

Since no drawings were received for white pupils, white and Negro children could not be compared on the free-drawing exercise.

TABLE IV

NEGRO AND WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE ITEMS ON THE AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY OF THE POLICEMAN

	Percentage of Those Responding	
"Most wrong to disobey"	Negro	White
Mother	14	3.5
Father	12	13.8
Teacher	10	0
Policeman	55.3	82
Multiple answer	6	0
"Least wrong to disobey"		
Mother	19.5	17
Father	12	7.5
Teacher	51.2	62
Policeman	17	13
"Worst to be punished by"		
Mother	13	7.3
Father	17.4	34.5
Teacher	8.7	7.3
Policeman	58.7	51

No significant differences on chi-square.

TABLE IV (continued)

"Whose rules most important?"	% of Those Responding Negro	White
Mother	13	0
Father	20	0
Teacher	4	5
Policeman	62	95

$\chi^2 = 14.74$, 3 df
P=<.001

"Whose punishment most feared?"		
Mother	8	13.3
Father	35.5	25
Teacher	4	11.7
Policeman	51	48.3

Difference not significant.

"Who can make you follow a rule or a law?"		
Mother	88	71.7
Teachers	68.6	56.5
President	84.3	78
Policeman	88	83.3
Friends	9	6.7
Mayor	68.6	71.7

Difference not significant.

TABLE V

NEGRO AND WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE ITEMS ON THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE POLICEMAN

"Who helps you and your family the most?"	% of those responding Negro	White
Teacher	3	3
President	18.5	22
Father	35.4	45
Mayor	7	3
Policeman	24.6	23
Soldier	10	3

"Do...want to help you when you need it?"	% "yes" responses Negro	White
Teachers	94	95
Mother	98	98
President	47	55
Father	90	94.9
Policeman	80	95
Minister, Preacher, Rabbi	52	65
Friends	76	68
Mayor	52	53

(No significant differences)

CHAPTER V

MIDDLE-CLASS ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES

As with responses toward items related to the policeman, there was little significant difference between middle-class white and Negro children's responses to questionnaire items related to other authority figures. Only one item yielded a significant difference; this was:

"Do you like the President of the United States?" significant at well beyond the .001 level ($\chi^2 = 25.7, \alpha = 10.5$), with middle-class Negroes responding much more negatively. Only forty-one per cent answered "yes" compared with 86.6 per cent of the white pupils. As a symbol of government, the President was chosen more frequently than any other alternative by both groups, with many who answered "no" or "don't know" to "Do you like the President?" nonetheless selecting the President. As having real authority, only the policeman received more "yes" responses to "Can... make a person follow a rule or law?" (see Table IV, pp. 37-38). On helpfulness ("Does the President want to help a person when he needs it?") the President received fewer "yes" responses than any other figure listed from the middle-class Negro children, and only slightly more than the lowest from the white students. On more

immediate helpfulness ("Who helps you and your family the most?"), both white and Negro middle-class children indicate the President behind their fathers and the policeman but ahead of the teachers, mayor or soldier (Table V, p. 39). All responses considered, the President is seen as having both symbolic and real authority, but, at least for this sample at this time, there is no strong attachment, particularly among Negro middle-class children, nor is he viewed as especially benevolent. At the date of testing, the President had not yet been in office six months, which, together with the parents' attitudes, may hve had some bearing on the apparent lack of strong emotional ties.

Teachers. Teachers are seen as wanting to help by ninety-five and ninety-four per cent white and Negro students respectively, but not really contributing materially (three per cent indicated the teacher on "Who helps you and your family the most?"). Nor is the teacher seen as a potent figure; over half of both groups picked the teacher as the figure "least wrong to disobey." Only two per cent of the white and four per cent of the middle-class Negroes considered the teacher's rules the most important. Less than ten per cent of each group thought it was "worst to be punished by" the

teacher.

Hypothesis considered. Considering again the hypothesis that attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with race, regardless of socioeconomic status, it would appear from the foregoing discussion that where socioeconomic class is held constant, little significant difference can be found between racial groups. Those differences which were observed are insufficient to support the hypothesis and may be due to imprecision in determining socioeconomic status in the samples or to other methodological problems.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARATIVE NEGRO MIDDLE-CLASS AND LOWER-CLASS ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE AND AUTHORITY

I. ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE

Turning now to class comparisons with race held constant, a great many significant differences emerge. On the Portune Scale, the means for the lower-class and middle-class Negro groups differ well beyond the .005 level on the t-test. Likewise, as seen in Table VI, the two groups differ well beyond the .005 level on the chi-square. Particularly strong disagreements exist between the two groups on four statements:

> Police keep the city good.
> The police are mean.
> The police offer you money to tell on other kids.
> Police use clubs on people for no reason at all.

Middle-class Negro children responded very unfavorably to the first two items while lower-class Negro children responded very unfavorably. Just the reverse is true of the second two items above; lower-class children responded very unfavorably while the middle-class children responded very favorably (see Table VII). Two observations might be made concerning the above. The first is

TABLE VI

NEGRO MIDDLE-CLASS AND LOWER-CLASS RESPONSES ON THE PORTUNE SCALE

	Middle-Class	Lower-Class
Mean score	33.34	30.8
Median score	34	32

$t = 2.31$, $P = .005$

$\chi^2 = 12.37$, 2 df, $P = < .005$ ($\alpha .001 = 13.815$)

SCORE DISTRIBUTION

Score	% of Total Responses Middle-Class	% of Total Responses Lower-Class
40 (Most Favorable)	4%	6.4%
39	8	2
38	13.5	6.4
37	4	2
36	6	8.5
35	11.75	4.3
34	6	12.75
33	4	4.3
32	11.75	10.6
31	8	0
30	9.9	2
29	0	8.5
28	4	2
27	2	6.4
26 and under (Least Favorable)	8	23.4

TABLE VII

RANK ORDER OF RESPONSES TO PORTUNE SCALE BY MIDDLE- AND LOWER-CLASS NEGRO CHILDREN

Item Number	Rank of Lower-Class Response	Rank of Middle-Class response
1	1 (Most Favorable)	16
2	17	18
3	11	13
4	5	9
5	4	2
6	6	19
7	18	5
8	19	4
9	3	8
10	9	12
11	7	15
12	14	10
13	13	17
14	12	6
15	10	3
16	15	11
17	8	1 (Most Favorable)
18	2	7
19	20 (Least Favorable)	20 (Least Favorable)
20	16	14

that the last two items are concrete statements apparently relevant to the experiences of an inner-city second grader, while students in the middle-class neighborhood are less likely to have had such experiences or to have knowledge of such experiences. Secondly, responses on the first two items indicate an ability on the part of middle-class children to handle more abstract ideas (born out by differential response to a sequence on ability to distinguish between rules and laws, and suggested by the work of Hess and Torney [1965]).

Free Drawing Exercise. Responses on the free drawing exercise by both groups differ in much the same manner as the Portune Scale responses. While 67.5 per cent of the responses of middle-class Negro children fall in the most positive category, only thirty-six per cent of the children of low socioeconomic status depict an image of the policeman falling in the most positive category. Roughly half the lower-class children depicted the policeman's activities in a "neutral" manner, as opposed to a quarter of the middle-class Negro children, thus accounting for 93.5 per cent of the middle-class children in the two categories. It might be noted that even the responses of inner-city Negro children indicate considerably less antipathy

to the police than is shown by most of the children in Derbyshire's study, responding quite similarly to the group tested three days following exposure to a program designed to enhance the child's image of the policeman. Table VIII compares groups in the Chicago and Los Angeles studies.

Further differences in the way the two groups view the policeman are evident in the questionnaire responses to items concerning the police officer. In the area of liking the policeman, the more favorable attitudes are shown by the middle-class youngsters, ninety-eight per cent of whom responded "yes" to the question "Do you like policeman?" compared to seventy-nine per cent of the lower socioeconomic group. A large majority of both groups felt that "policemen want to help me when I need it." However, responses on items related to the policeman as a symbol of government or authority indicate that lower-class Negro children see the policeman as the prime authority figure much more so than do middle-class children. Asked to choose among alternatives the two which most nearly symbolize the government, lower socioeconomic status pupils chose the policeman over all others. On the sequence concerned with the relative strength of teacher, mother,

TABLE VIII

RESPONSES TO FREE-DRAWING EXERCISE: CHICAGO AND LOS ANGELES

Image	L-C Negro LA	M-C White LA	Post-test L-C Negro	M-C Negro Chicago	L-C Negro Chicago
Agressive	33%	12.5%	17.5%	0	6.5%
Assistance, Negative	20	12.5	3.5	7	10.5
Neutral	37	56.75	29	26	49
Assistance, Positive	10	18.25	50	67	35

Chi-square, Chicago Middle-and Lower-Class Negro= 7.90, P=.05

father and policeman, an appreciably greater percentage of lower-class children chose the policeman as "...worst to be punished by...", "...whose rules most important...", and "...whose punishment...feared the most...", significant beyond the .001, .02 and .01 levels, respectively. Middle-class responses on these items show greater diversity, rather than perception of the policeman as the sole figure of authority (see Table IX).

However, there does not seem to be a continuum of development as theorized by Hess and Torney (1965). According to Hess and Torney, lower-class children, being farther behind in development of attitudes, should show greater affective response toward the policeman--that is, they should have a strong emotional tie with the policeman, which would later diminish as they developed awareness of other contact points with the system. Such is not the case, however. Lower-class children perceive the policeman as <u>the</u> authority figure, and many fear him ("sometimes afraid" to talk to policemen--fifty-four per cent "yes" answers), but that doesn't mean they have to like him, and many do not. Hence, a lower response on the blunt question, "Do you like policemen?", lower scores on the Portune Scale and subjective responses

TABLE IX

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS NEGRO CHILDREN TO ATTITUDE ITEMS ON THE POLICEMAN AS AN AUTHORITY FIGURE

Figures symbolic of Government	Percentage of those responding	
	Lower-Class	Middle-Class
Policeman	38.9	17
Washington	29	17
President	13.9	38.9
Don't know	8	4
Voting	2	6
Uncle Sam	2	5
Supreme Court	1	3
Congress	1	7
Flag	1	14.9

$\chi^2 = 27.28$, 8df P=<.001

"Most wrong to disobey"		
Mother	6	14
Father	9.3	12
Teacher	9.3	10
Policeman	37.2	55.3
Multiple Responses	37.2	6

$\chi^2 = 35.86$, 3df
P=<.001

TABLE IX (continued)

"Least wrong to disobey"	Percentage of those responding Lower-Class	Middle-Class
Mother	7	19.5
Father	7	12
Teacher	46.4	51.2
Policeman	17	17
Multiple answers	21	0
χ^2= 12.62, 4df, P=<.02		
"Worst to be punished by"		
Mother	9	13
Father	6	17.4
Teacher	0	8.7
Policeman	64.5	58.7
Multiple answers	19	0
χ^2= 10.20, 4 df, P=.02		
"Whose rules most important"		
Mother	4	13
Father	4	20
Teacher	14	4
Policeman	80.5	62
χ^2= 8.12, 3 df, P=<.02		

TABLE IX (continued)

"Whose punishment most feared"	Percentage of those responding Lower-Class	Middle-Class
Mother	0	8
Father	7	35.5
Teacher	0	4
Policeman	94	51

$\chi^2 = 12.19$, 3 df
P=<.01

"Who can make you follow a rule or a law?"		
Mother	97.7	88
Teachers	74.4	68.6
President	85.7	84.3
Policeman	84	88
Friends	25	9
Mayor	64	68.6

(Not significant)

(drawings) indicating greater antipathy toward the police than shown by middle-class Negro children. Results of this section of the analysis definitely support the hypothesis stated earlier that attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status, regardless of race, and refute the null hypothesis that no difference exists in the attitudes of children toward authority figures, regardless of any variable.

II. ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES

As mentioned earlier, lower- and middle-class children differ in their conception of symbols of government. While lower-class children view the policeman as symbolic of government and authority, middle-class children recognize several figures as important, with little difference between figures. The two groups differed on questionnaire responses in this area at beyond .001, as can be seen in Table IX, p.50. Where lower-class children consider the policeman as worst to be punished by, having the most important rules, and worst to disobey, middle-class Negro children recognize the roles of others, particularly the father, in areas of authority.

III. ABSENCE OF THE FATHER

Considering the traditional view of the broken home as the source of multiple emotional and deviance problems (Finichel, 1945; Gardner, 1959; Freud, 1963), it is interesting to note that lower-class boys from households where no father was present responed very much like lower-class boys with both parents living at home. Even on the item "Does your father want to help you when you need it?" the significance level on the chi-square test was .75--a seventy-five per cent chance of there being no difference at all. Seldom did any item yield a difference of more than ten per cent between the responses of boys from intact and broken homes; in no case was there a significant difference.

Portune Scale responses also agreed closely, with the mean for boys from broken homes at 30.83 and those from intact homes at 30.5.

Of course, crudely categorizing by the presence or absence of the father at home does not indicate the quality of home life experienced by the child. As Komarovsky (1964) points out, many (about two thirds) lower-class couples consider their marriages as unhappy, and McCord, McCord and Thurber note serious

disturbance on the part of lower-class children from intact homes with high rates of marital conflict (1962).[1] Nonetheless, presence or absence of the father in the home has had no apparent effect on the responses of lower-class boys in the present study, eliminating at least one possible outside factor which could have influenced the results of this study.

---

[1]The same researchers also noted that many effects often attributed to paternal absence may be more likely in association with certain parental characteristics more often found in broken families--intense conflict, rejection, deviance.

CHAPTER VII

INFLUENCE OF SEX ON ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY

As discussed above in the review of the literature, many authorities agree that there are sex differences in certain areas, although not necessarily on how these differences develop. Upon reviewing the literature, it appeared possible that differential response by sex of the child might outweigh any differential response by race or socioeconomic status, thus nullifying the validity of the research. Therefore, a test of this hypothesis was included in the analysis. From the available data, the hypothesis cannot be supported. Some differences were apparent, but not at any appreciable level of significance. Portune Scale responses for boys and girls closely paralleled one another, generally differing by less than ten percentage points on any one response. Of the three exceptions where responses differed by more than ten percentage points, the differences were still below acceptable levels of statistical significance on the chi-square: at the ten per cent level of probability for the statement "Without policemen, there would be crime everywhere," and the fifteen per cent level for "The police

are stupid," as shown in Table X. Mean score for lower-class boys was 30.5, only 0.3 below the mean for all lower-class children tested. Mean for middle-class Negro boys was 32.4, 0.94 below the mean for all middle-class Negro children tested. Responses to the free-drawing exercise yielded similar results, with no significant difference between boys' and girls' responses, controlling for class. Girls did tend to include more female figures in their pictures than boys, but indicated an image of the policeman very much like that depicted by boys.

While no significant differences existed between girls' and boys' responses to questionnaire items, a trend toward more diffuse responses on the girls' part when required to choose among authority figures was evident. In the sequence on comparative power and legitimacy of mother, father, policeman and teacher, boys' responses indicated perception of the policeman as having the greatest amount of authority, power and legitimacy, while a smaller plurality of girls selected the policeman. Table XI compares boys' and girls' responses on these items. Similarly, on the question "Who helps you and your family the most?" the policeman, father and soldier

TABLE X

RESPONSES TO SELECT ITEMS, PORTUNE SCALE, BY SEX

	2-pt response	1-pt response	0-pt response
"The police are stupid."			
Boys	63%	16%	20%
Girls	81	8	11

$\chi^2 = 3.83$
P=.15

"Without policemen, there would be crime everywhere."			
Boys	70%	8%	21%
Girls	83	11	5

$\chi^2 = 4.29$
P=.10

TABLE XI

RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE ITEMS
ON THE AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY OF THE POLICEMAN BY SEX

	Percentage of those responding	
	Boys	Girls
"Most wrong to disobey"		
Mother	11%	10%
Father	12	8
Teacher	7	13
Policeman	48	43
Multiple responses	20	24

(Not significant)

"Least wrong to disobey"		
Mother	8	24
Father	8	13
Teacher	62	37
Policeman	21	13
Multiple responses	8	10

^{2}= 4.9, 4 df,
P= .30 (not significant)

TABLE XI (continued)

	Percentage of those responding	
	Boys	Girls
"Worst to be punished by"		
Mother	8%	17%
Father	8	20
Teacher	4	6
Policeman	72	44
Multiple response	8	10

^{2}= 5.86, 4 df
P=.25 (not significant)

"Whose rules most important"		
Mother	7	11
Father	13	11
Teacher	5	17
Policeman	75	60

(Difference not significant)

"Whose punishment most feared"		
Mother	4.5	6
Father	11	41
Teacher	2.5	3
Policeman	82	50

^{2}= 10.97, 5 df
P=.10 (marginal)

TABLE XI (continued)

"Who can make you follow a rule or law?"	Percentage of those responding Boys	Girls
Mother	94%	89%
Teachers	67	76
President	89	78
Friends	20	6
Policeman	92	81
Mayor	66	63

(Difference not significant)

account for eighty per cent of the male responses and sixty-eight per cent of the female responses. For other relevant items, see Table XII. In observing sex differences within a class, on only one item did the responses show an appreciable difference. The antipathy toward the President shown by middle-class Negro pupils is greater for girls than for boys, with the difference approaching statistical significance (.05).

Viewing the questionnaire responses shown in the above tables, it would appear that not only is there no support for the hypothesis of sex as a variable of equal or greater influence than socioeconomic status, but that certain expected relationships between male and female responses failed to appear. Using similar materials with white students, Hess and Torney (1965) reported that girls were more attached to personal figures of the system than boys were, particularly to the President and policeman. As reported above, the reverse proved true in the present study, where girls expressed less attachment to the President and a lesser degree of recognition of the authority and legitimacy of the policeman, although at less than statistically significant levels.

TABLE XII

RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE ITEMS
ON THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE POLICEMAN, ACCORDING TO SEX

	Percentage of those responding	
	Boys	Girls
"Who helps you and your family the most?"		
Teacher	2%	5%
President	9	9
Father	27	29
Mayor	4	14
Policeman	39	27
Soldier	17	12

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has concerned itself with five hypotheses about the relationships between race, socioeconomic status and sex to attitudes held by second graders toward authority figures. These hypotheses, briefly restated, were that:

1. No difference exists in the attitudes of second graders toward authority figures, regardless of socioeconomic status or race.

2. Attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with race, regardless of socioeconomic status.

3. Attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status, regardless of race.

4. Attitudes of children toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status AND with race.

5. Attitudes of children toward authority figures are as related to sex of the child as they are to socioeconomic status or race.

Of these, only the hypothesis that attitudes toward authority figures vary with socioeconomic status was supported, at least in the case of middle- and lower-class Negro second graders (No sample of lower-class whites was available for comparison). Middle-class white and Negro children responded quite similarly, as did boys and girls, although some trends

were noticed toward more diffuse responses on the part of girls and toward atypical lack of attachment to authority figures on the part of girls. This hypothesis of socioeconomic status as a significant variable and the supporting findings are consistent with the literature noting the relationship between class differences in child-rearing and class differences in cognitive development from infancy on, and the relationship between cognitive development and the development of attitudes and perceptions of authority figures. Whether a longitudinal study would show similar results might be worth looking into. Certainly such a study would yield considerable information on the attitudes of young people toward authority figures, especially in the development of differential boy-girl attitudes--an area where existing studies diverge substantially. Indeed, research on attitudes toward authority beginning at age three and running into high school would appear advisable on the basis of the work currently underway at Harvard, and of Hess and Torney, Portune, Miller and others discussed earlier in this study. A great deal needs to be done yet in the area of the interaction between socializer and socializee--between mother or teacher or policeman and the child--both in the dynamics

of the relationship and in the correlation between the attitudes and actions of the socializing agent and the attitudes and actions of the child. Some preliminary work in this direction has been done by Miller and others (1969) with teachers and police, Biber and Lewis (1949) with teachers, and Hess and Torney (1965), as well as a number of researchers now interested in the mother-infant relationship.

What seems to be needed is sufficient information to allow the formulation and testing of a theory integrating the various concepts studied in research so far conducted at points along what may be a continuum of development and interaction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

Campbell, Donald, and Julian Stanley. Experimental and Quasi-experimental Designs for Research. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966.

Coleman, James S. (ed.). Education and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Fenichel, O. The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis. New York: Norton and Company, 1945.

Freud, Sigmund. Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality. New York: Basic Books, 1963.

Greenstein, Fred I. Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Hess, Robert, and Judith Torney. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

Jeffers, Camille. Living Poor. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1967.

Komarovsky, Mirra. Blue Collar Marriage. New York: Random House, 1964.

Powers, E. and Helen Whitmer. An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Sears, Robert R., Eleanor Maccoby, and Harry Levin. Patterns of Child-Rearing. Evanston and White Plains: Row, Peterson and Company, 1957.

B. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Bureau of Research, Development, and Special Projects, Chicago Board of Education. Student Racial Survey. Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1968.

Easton, David, and Jack Dennis. The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship during the Elementary School Years, Final Report. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, CRP 1078. Washington: U.S. Office of Education.

Hess, Robert D., Leigh Minturn and June Tapp. Authority, Rules and Aggression: a Cross-National Study of the Socialization of Children into Compliance Systems. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, CRP 2947. Washington: U.S. Office of Education, in Preparation.

Hess, Robert D., and Judith Torney. The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship during the Elementary School Years, Part I. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, CRP 1078. Washington: U.S. Office of Education, 1965.

Kitagawa, Evelyn, and Robert Taeuber. Chicago Community Fact Book. Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, 1963.

Portune, Robert G. The Cincinatti Police-Juvenile Attitude Project. Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968.

C. PERIODICALS

Bayley, Nancy, and E.S. Schaefer. "Correlations of Maternal and Child Behaviors with the Development of Mental Abilities: Data from the Berkeley Growth Study," Society for Research in Child Development Monograph, XXIX (1964), 63-79.

Biber, Barbara, and Claudia Lewis. "What Young Schoolchildren Expect from Their Teacher," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XL (1949), 3-97.

Derbyshire, Robert L. "Children's Perceptions of the Police: a Comparative Study of Attitudes and Attitude Change," Journal of Criminal Law, LIX (June, 1968), 183-190.

Easton, David, and Jack Dennis. "The Child's Image of Government," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCXLI (September, 1965).

Easton, David, and Robert Hess. "The Child's Political World," Mid-West Journal of Political Science, VI (1962), 229-246.

Goldberg, Susan, and Michael Lewis. "Play Behavior in the Year-Old Infant: Early Sex Differences," Child Development, LX (March, 1969), 21-31.

Golden, Mark, and Beverly Birns. "Social Class and Cognitive Development in Infancy," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, XIV (1968), 139-149.

Hess, Robert. "Educability and Rehabilitation: the Future of the Welfare Class," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (November, 1964), 422-429.

Kagan, Jerome. "Continuity in Cognitive Development During the First Year," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, XV (1969), 101-119.

Kagan, Jerome, J. Hosken and R. Watson. "Child's Symbolic Conceptualization of Parents," Child Development, XXXII (1961), 625-636.

Kagan, Jerome, and Michael Lewis. "Studies of Attention in the Human Infant," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, XI (1965), 95-127.

Kohlberg, Laurence. "The Child as Moral Philosopher," Psychology Today, II (September, 1968), 12-15.

Kohlberg, Laurence. "Moral Development and Identification in Child Psychology," Yearbook of the National Society for Studies in Education, LXII (1963), Part I.

McCord, Joan and William, and Emily Thurber. "Some Effects of Paternal Absence on Male Children," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXIV (March, 1962), 361-369.

Moore, T. "Language and Intelligence: a Longitudinal Study of the First Eight Years," Human Development, X (1967).

Pines, Maya. "What Babies Are Teaching Harvard," New York Times Magazine, July 6, 1969, 8-13.

D. ESSAYS AND ARTICLES IN COLLECTIONS

Cahill, Imogene. "Child-Rearing Practices in Lower Socio-economic Ethnic Groups," The Urban R's, Robert Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Ellen Warshauer, editors. New York: Frederick Praeger, 1967.

Maccoby, Eleanor, and P.K. Gibbs. "Methods of Child-Rearing in Two Social Classes," Readings in Child Development, W.E. Martin and C.B. Stendler, editors. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1964.

Oetzel, Roberta. "Annotated Bibliography," The Development of Sex Differences, Eleanor Maccoby, editor. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

E. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Hess, Robert D., and Leigh Minturn. Authority, Rules and Aggression. Research Proposal presented to the U.S. Office of Education, 1967. (Mimeographed.)

Johnson, Knowlton. Socioeconomic Status as Related to Junior High School Students' Attitudes Toward Police. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1969.

Miller, Martin. Personal Communication, October, 1969.

Tapp, June. Field Manual. Manual prepared for Office of Education Cooperative Reseach Project 2947, undated. (Mimeographed)

Torney, Judith. Personal Communication, February, 1969.

APPENDIX: TEST INSTRUMENTS

1. How old are you right now? Put an X in the box that tells how old you are.

5 ☐	7 ☐	9 ☐
6 ☐	8 ☐	10 ☐

2. When was your birthday? Circle the month you had your birthday in.

Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec

3. Are you a (1) boy ☐ or
(2) girl? ☐

4. Does your mother live with you in your house? YES ☐
NO ☐

5. Does your father live with you in your house? YES ☐
NO ☐

6. When your father works, he has a certain kind of job. What kind of job does he have?

(Circle the number of the answer that comes closest to describing what your father's job is or was like.)

1. He works at odd jobs--anything he can get.

2. He works in a factory, mill, or at some other job where he works with his hands.

3. He works with his hands in a job that takes a long time to learn.

4. He works in a store or office for somebody else; or he works for the government, or is in charge of other workers in a factory. He usually wears a white shirt and tie or uniform to work.

5. He works in an office or company where he is in charge of other workers. Or, he owns a small store or business. He has had some special training.

Note: Items #6 and #7 omitted from final study.

6. He works at a job which requires many years of college and also special training.

7. He owns a large business or factory.

8. My father doesn't have a job. He is not working now.

9. I don't know what my father does.

7. When your mother works, she has a certain kind of job. What kind of job does she have?

(Circle the number of the answer that comes closest to describing what your mother's job is or was like.)

1. She works at odd jobs--anything she can get.

2. She works in a factory, mill, or at some other job where she works with her hands.

3. She works with her hands in a job that takes a long time to learn.

4. She works in a store or office for somebody else; or she works for the government, or is in charge of other workers in a factory. She usually wears a dress or uniform to work.

5. She works in an office or company where she is in charge of other workers. Or, she owns a small store or business. She has had some special training.

6. She works at a job which requires many years of college and also special training.

7. She owns a large business or factory.

8. My mother doesn't have a job..She is not working now.

9. I don't know what my mother does.

8. Do you like to talk to teachers? YES ☐ NO ☐

9. Are you sometimes a little afraid to? YES ☐ NO ☐

10. Do you like to talk to policemen? YES ☐ NO ☐

11. Are you sometimes a little afraid to? YES ☐ NO ☐

12. Do teachers want to help you when you need it? YES ☐ NO ☐

13. Does your mother want to help you when you need it?

YES ☐
NO ☐

14. Does the President of the United States want to help a person when he needs it?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

15. Does your father want to help you when you need it?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

16. Do policemen want to help you when you need it?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

17. Does your minister, priest or rabbi want to help you when you need it?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

18. Do your friends want to help you when you need it?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

19. Does the mayor want to help a person when he needs it?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

20. Does the mayor have the power to punish you when you do wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

21. Does your mother have the power to punish you when you do wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

22. Does the President of the United States have the power to punish a person when he does wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

23. Does a judge have the power to punish a person when he does wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

24. Do teachers have the power to punish you when you do wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

25. Does your father have the power to punish you when you do wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

26. Do your friends have the power to punish you when you do wrong?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

27. Do you like your father? YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

28. Do you like your mother? YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

29. Do you like your teachers? YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

30. Do you like policemen? YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

31. Do you like the mayor? YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

32. Do you like the President of the United States? YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

33. Here are some pictures that show what our government is. Pick the 2 that show best what government means to you.

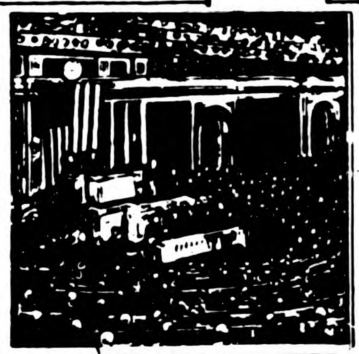
☐ POLICEMAN

2. ☐ WASHINGTON

3. ☐ UNCLE SAM

4. ☐ VOTING

5. ☐ SUPREME COURT



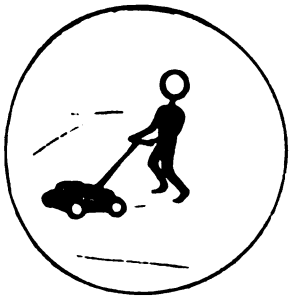
6. ☐ CONGRESS

7. ☐ PRESIDENT

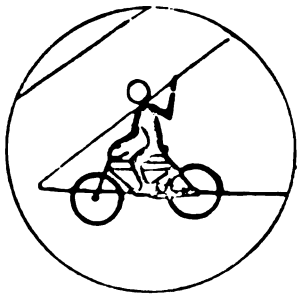
8. ☐ FLAG

9. ☐ I DON'T KNOW

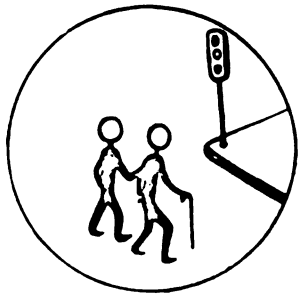
34. If the mayor came to your school to give a prize to the boy who was the best citizen, and he had these boys to choose from, which 2 boys would he pick as best citizens?



☐ Someone who works hard.

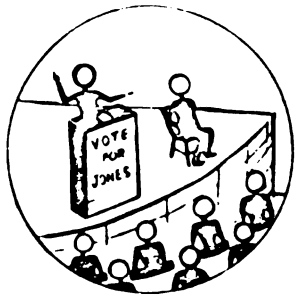


☐ Someone who always obeys the laws.

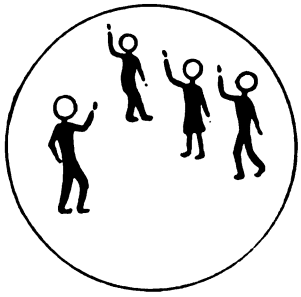


☐ Someone who helps others.

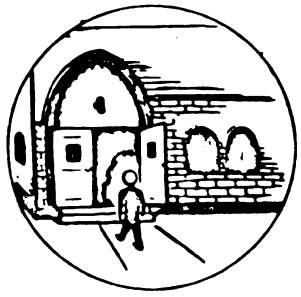
☐ Someone who is interested in the way our country is run.



☐ Someone who votes and gets others to vote.



☐ Someone everybody likes.



☐ Someone who goes to church.

☐ I don't know what <u>citizen</u> means.

35. Here's a guessing game: some of these are laws and some aren't. See if you can tell.

1. Brush your teeth every morning. Is this a law?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

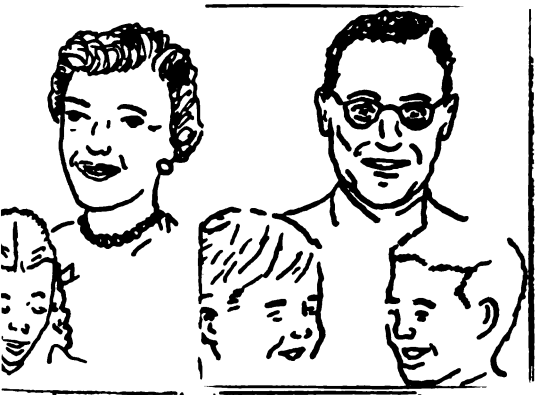
2. Don't cheat in school. Is this a law?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

3. Cars must stop at stop signs. Is this a law?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

4. Get to school on time. Is this a law?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

5. Always vote. Is this a law?
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

36. Here are some people: a mother, a father--let's say they're <u>your</u> mother and father--a teacher, a policeman. Pick the one it's most wrong to disobey (Disobey means to do something someone tells you not to).



☐ MOTHER ☐ FATHER

☐ TEACHER

☐ POLICEMAN

37. Now, who is it the <u>least</u> wrong to disobey?

☐ Mother ☐ Father ☐ Teacher ☐ Policeman

38. And now, who is it worst to get punished by?

☐ Mother ☐ Father ☐ Teacher ☐ Policeman

39. Are there rules that children have to obey that grown-ups don't?

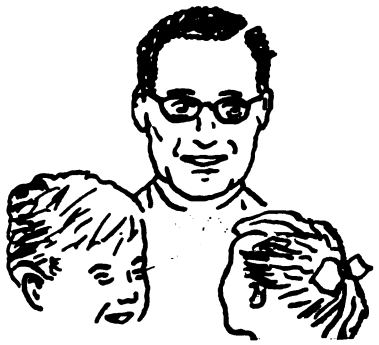
YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

40. Are there rules that both grown-ups and children have to follow?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

41. Whose rules are most important?

☐ MOTHER



☐ FATHER

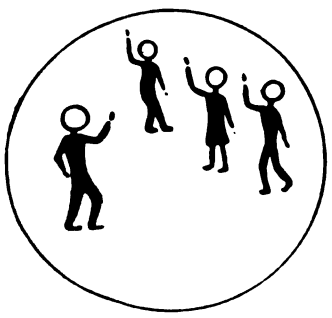
☐ TEACHER

☐ POLICEMAN

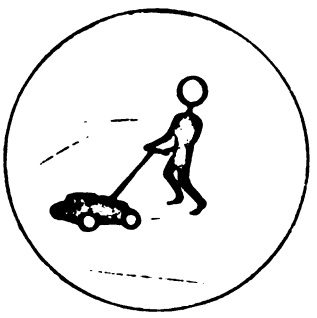
42. Whose punishment do you fear the most?

☐ Mother ☐ Father ☐ Teacher ☐ Policeman

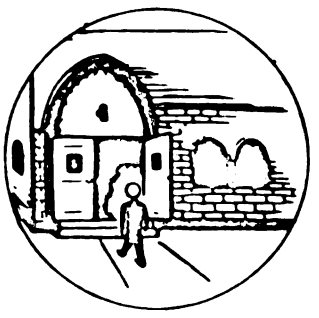
43. If the President came to your town to give prizes to the two grown-ups who were the best citizens, which of these grown-ups would he choose? (Hint: go through the pictures and pick <u>one</u>, then go back through and pick the other)



Someone everybody likes. ☐



Someone who works hard. ☐



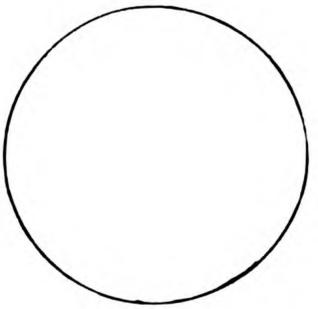
Someone who goes to church.

(MORE PICTURES ON NEXT PAGE)

Someone who always obeys the laws.

☐ Someone who is interested in the way our country is run.

☐ Someone who helps others.



☐ I don't know what citizen means.

44. **Who helps you and your family the most?**

☐ TEACHER

☐ PRESIDENT

☐ FATHER

☐ MAYOR

☐ POLICEMAN

☐ SOLDIER

45. Can your mother make you follow a rule or law?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

46. Can teachers make you follow a rule or law?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

47. Can the President of the United States make a person follow a rule or law?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

48. Can a policeman make you follow a rule or law?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

49. Can your friends make you follow a rule or law?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

50. Can the mayor make a person follow a rule or law?

YES ☐ NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐

PORTUNE ATP SCALE

1. **Police keep the city good.**

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

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

   YES NO DON'T KNOW.

3. **The police are stupid.**

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

4. **Police protect us from harm.**

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

5. **The police really try to help you when you're in trouble.**

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

6. **The police are mean.**

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

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

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

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

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

9. **The police keep law and order.**

   YES NO DON'T KNOW

10. **Without policemen, there would be crime everywhere.**

    YES NO DON'T KNOW

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

YES NO DON'T KNOW

12. Policemen are dedicated men. ("dedicated" means they think more of doing their job than of themselves)

YES NO DON'T KNOW

13. Police try to act big shot.

YES NO DON'T KNOW

14. The police are always mad at kids.

YES NO DON'T KNOW

15. Police help me to help myself.

YES NO DON'T KNOW

16. Police represent trouble instead of help.

YES NO DON'T KNOW

17. Police are brave men.

YES NO DON'T KNOW

18. The police are protective of our country.

YES NO DON'T KNOW

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

YES NO DON'T KNOW

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

YES NO DON'T KNOW