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ABSTRACT

SOCIALIZATION AND THE COMPLIANCE SYSTEM: AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS, THEIR TEACHERS, AND POLICE OFFICERS

by

Martin G. Miller

It was the purpose of this study to determine the extent to which junior high school students supported selected components of the community's compliance system. The compliance system was defined as the network of laws, persons, and institutions vested with the authority to enforce their demands; this includes police, judges, probation officers, parents, teachers, and so on. The study also attempted to determine teachers' and police officers' attitudes towards the compliance system, to what extent the perceptions of teachers and police differ (horizontal analysis), as well as to what extent there are attitudinal differences between teachers, police, and youth (vertical analysis). Obtaining data from these adult groups was deemed important as teachers and police are primary socializers of children. The study adopts a social-learning orientation, recognizing the importance of transmission, reinforcement, and modeling. Teachers and police are part of the socialization community, that is, some of the many adults that have vested interest in influencing the attitudes, values, and behavior of the younger generation.

The problem of the study was to investigate the extent of diffuse support toward the compliance system by adolescents and agents of the socialization community who are also compliance system agents--teachers of the adolescent subjects and the police officers of the community. Such information is important to our understanding of political

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socialization and system-maintenance theory, that is, the persistence of the compliance system over time.

Based on a review of the literature, fourteen hypotheses were constructed for testing. The research design was nonexperimental and based on a multidimensional model of the socialization process. Attitude scale and projective instruments were completed by Dominant and Negro ninth graders in a medium-sized midwest city ($N = 1121$), their teachers ($N = 177$) and police officers ($N = 160$).

Except for a revision of the hypothesis dealing with the differences between teachers' and police' perceptions of teacher and police occupation topics, the hypotheses dealing with descriptive beliefs (beliefs in an object or situation) were found to be correct. There were more differences between teachers' and police' perceptions on police occupational topics than between their perceptions on teacher occupational topics. Significant differences in beliefs appeared between teachers and students, and police and students toward teacher and police occupations and citizenship. Significant differences occurred between the Negro students and other subjects regarding these topics.

Some revisions were suggested in regard to hypotheses dealing with differences between the groups' support of police, teachers and schools, judicial components, youth, and parents. Analyses of evaluative beliefs (beliefs about an object or situation) revealed that, as hypothesized, there were significant differences between the groups' support of these components. However, the hypothesized orders of positiveness between the groups were found to be incorrect.

The subjects were positive toward police, though the Negro students were less supportive. Differences occurred in perceptions toward teachers and schools -- teachers were most positive toward teachers, while the police were most positive toward schools. Regarding judicial components, Dominant students were most positive toward courts and laws, while the teachers were most supportive of judges and probation officers. The subjects were supportive of youth, the differences occurred in degree of positiveness. All groups were found to be positive toward fathers and less supportive toward parents.

As hypothesized, the value systems of the four groups significantly differed.

Throughout the study the attitudinal differences between the Negro students and others were most apparent, especially between these youngsters and adults, and most manifest between black youth and police. We found a lack of compliance system legitimacy by our black subjects.

In relating the findings to the problem of compliant behavior, we were concerned over the extent of vertical instability existing in the research community. The substantial number of hostile youths and socializers indicates incomplete socialization. The loss of respect for compliance system agents reduces the legitimacy of the obligation to comply to authority's wishes. The opposition that develops from the loss of authority legitimacy, and the resulting lessening of compliance, is stressful to system-maintenance.

SOCIALIZATION AND THE COMPLIANCE SYSTEM: AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY
OF ADOLESCENTS, THEIR TEACHERS, AND POLICE OFFICERS

by
Martin G. Miller

A THESIS

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
College of Social Science

1971

In memoriam

Shayle Miller

The love and encouragement he gave and faith he had in his son
are precious memories that will always be treasured.

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Deputy Director

Chief of Staff

Assistant Secretary

Assistant Secretary

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Appreciation is extended to the Lansing, Michigan, Board of Education, the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, the Human Learning Research Institute, Michigan State University, and the College of Sciences and Humanities, Iowa State University, for financial assistance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION AND THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM	1
A. Statement of the Problem	16
B. Definition of Terms	17
C. Limitations of the Study	23
CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORY	25
A. Public Support of the Compliance System	25
1. Support of teachers	26
2. Support of the police	27
3. The compliance system and minority groups	33
4. The police and minority groups	36
B. The Theory of Socialization	45
1. Outputs	46
2. Inputs	47
3. Political socialization	50
C. Society's Youth	55
1. Youths' support of the compliance system	56
2. The values of youth	70
D. Society's Schools	72
1. The school as a social system	73
2. The school as a component of the compliance system	75
3. The school as a component of the socialization community	82
E. Society's Teachers	85
1. Teachers' support of the compliance system and youth	85
2. The values of teachers	89
3. Teachers as agents of the socialization community	90
F. Society's Police	92
1. The police as a component of the compliance system	93
2. The police as a component of the socialization community	96
G. Society's Police Officers	98
1. Police officers' support of the compliance system and youth	99
2. The values of police officers	107
3. Police officers as agents of the socialization community	110
H. Vertical Analysis: The Compliance System and Youth	113
1. Teacher and youth analysis	115
2. Police and youth analysis	116
I. Horizontal Analysis: Interorganizational Relationships within the Compliance System	119

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END PAGE

TABLE OF CONTENTS		
(Continued)		Page
J.	Theoretical Orientation of the Study	125
1.	The theory of system-maintenance	126
2.	The social-learning approach	130
3.	Attitude - concept system	130
K.	Major Research Hypotheses	141
CHAPTER THREE DESIGN OF THE STUDY		149
A.	Research Design	152
1.	Instrumentation	152
2.	Subjects	156
3.	The procedures	157
4.	Methods for data analysis-testing of hypotheses	184
B.	The Research Community: A Profile of Lansing, Michigan	186
1.	School districts of the study's four junior high schools	189
2.	A comparison of Lansing, Michigan with other medium sized cities	193
CHAPTER FOUR ANALYSIS OF THE DATA		200
A.	The Testing of Hypotheses	200
1.	Analysis of descriptive beliefs: hypotheses relating to perceptions of teaching and police occupations	200
2.	Analysis of evaluative beliefs: hypotheses relating to support of: 1) police officers and police department, 2) teachers and schools, 3) judicial components, 4) youth, and 5) parents	262
3.	Analysis of values: hypothesis relating to the values of students, teachers, and police officers	311
B.	Synthesis of the Testing of Hypotheses	319
CHAPTER FIVE DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS		324
A.	Descriptive Beliefs	324
1.	Perceptions of the teaching occupation	324
2.	Perceptions of the police occupation	333
3.	Perceptions of citizenship	340
B.	Evaluative Beliefs	349
1.	Support of police department and police officers	349
2.	Support of schools and teachers	358
3.	Support of judicial components	367
4.	Support of youth	378
5.	Support of parents	383
C.	Values	390
D.	Negroes' Support of the Compliance System	398
CHAPTER SIX COMPLIANCE SYSTEM SUPPORT, COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR, AND SYSTEM-MAINTENANCE		414

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TABLE OF CONTENTS		
(Continued)		Page
BIBLIOGRAPHY		437
APPENDIX A	CODE BOOKS FOR CRITICAL PROBLEM SURVEY	468
APPENDIX B	SENTENCE COMPLETION CODEBOOK	473
APPENDIX C	SUPPLEMENT CODES FOR SENTENCE STEMS 18, 22, 24, 29, 33	487
APPENDIX D	CODE BOOK FOR SENTENCE STEMS 3, 12, 13, 16, 20, 31: Content Categories	492
APPENDIX E	INTERCORRELATION MATRICES OF THE RUNDQUIST- SLETTO LAW SCALE ITEMS	498
APPENDIX F	RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	501

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LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same content codes on the first and second administrations of the critical problem survey	155
2	Correlations between first and second Prestige Rating Scale scores: Teacher Items	157
3	Correlations between first and second Prestige Rating Scale scores: Police Items	158
4	Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same content codes on the first and second administration of the sentence stems	164
5	Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same accumulative attitude scores by content areas on the first and second administration of the sentence stems	165
6	Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same content codes on the first and second administrations of selective sentence stems	167
7	Number of subjects who completed a questionnaire	176
8	The demographics of five similar sized cities: Lansing, Mich.; Peoria, Ill.; Waterbury, Conn.; Santa Ana, Calif.; and Little Rock, Ark.	194
9	Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by teachers as identified by teachers and police officers	202
10	Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by teachers as identified by teachers and police officers	203
11	Frequencies and percentages of selection of teachers' responses (sentence stem: Teachers are chosen...) comparing teachers and police officers	204
12	Means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance of rating scores (high to low) on the teacher prestige rating scales comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	206
13	The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests and mean differences comparing means on the teacher prestige rating scales of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	207
14	Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by police as identified by teachers and police officers	209

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LIST OF TABLES
(Continued)

Table		Page
15	Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by police as identified by teachers and police officers	210
16	Frequencies and percentages of selection of police responses (sentence stem: Police are chosen...) comparing teachers and police officers	212
17	Means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance of rating scores (high to low) on the police prestige rating scales comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	214
18	The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests and mean differences comparing means on the police prestige rating scales of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	215
19	Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by teachers as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	218
20	Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by teachers as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	220
21	Frequencies and percentages of selection of teachers' responses (sentence stem: Teachers are chosen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	221
22	Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by police as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	223
23	Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by police as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	225
24	Frequencies and percentages of selection of police responses (sentence stem: Police are chosen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	227
25	Frequencies and percentages of responses toward juvenile delinquents (sentence stem: Juvenile delinquents...) comparing teachers and police officers	243

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LIST OF TABLES
(Continued)

Table	Page
26 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward good citizens (sentence stem: A good citizen...) comparing teachers and police officers	244
27 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward bad citizens (sentence stem: A bad citizen...) comparing teachers and police officers	246
28 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward citizenship (sentence stem: Citizenship means...) comparing teachers and police officers	247
29 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward juvenile delinquents (sentence stem: Juvenile delinquents...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	250
30 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward good citizens (sentence stem: A good citizen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	251
31 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward bad citizens (sentence stem: A bad citizen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	253
32 Frequencies and percentages of responses toward citizenship (sentence stem: Citizenship means...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	254
33 Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by police content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	264
34 Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by police content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	269
35 Police content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	273

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Table	LIST OF TABLES (Continued)	Page
36	Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by school and teacher content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	274
37	Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by school and teacher content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	280
38	School and teacher content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	287
39	Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by judicial component content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	289
40	Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by the judicial component content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	292
41	Judicial component content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	295
42	Means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance of scores on the criminal justice scale comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	297
43	The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests and mean differences comparing means on the criminal justice scale of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	297
44	Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by youth content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	299
45	Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no response elicited by youth content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	302
46	Youth content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	303

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LIST OF TABLES
(Continued)

Table	Page
47 Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by parents' content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	305
48 Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by parents' content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	307
49 Parents' content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	308
50 Terminal value medians and composite rank orders for Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	313
51 Instrumental value medians and composite rank orders for Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers	315
52 Intercorrelation matrix of the Rundquist-Sletto law scale items for the student sample (N=1121)	503
53 Intercorrelation matrix of the Rundquist-Sletto law scale items for the teacher sample (N=177)	504
54 Intercorrelation matrix of the Rundquist-Sletto law scale items for the police sample (N=160)	505

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure	
1 Classification of Chief Sanctions Applied to Social Control	78
2 Classification of Socialization Relationships	137
3 Multi-dimensional model of the Socialization Process	151

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Through the ages adults have blamed the younger generation for many of the ills society experiences. The reasons the senior generation gives are many; "youth lack respect for authority", "the younger people of today are amoral," "juvenile delinquency is our number one problem", and so on. These themes are quite evident in our society.¹ Surveys conducted recently for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice by Gallup and Harris (McIntyre, 1967) found that the American public professed great concern over the morals of the country and the moral training of youth. The majority of interviewees in the Gallup poll believed that crime is caused by poor parental guidance, inadequate home life and supervision of teenagers, and the breakdown of moral standards. The Harris poll subjects were most concerned with restless and immoral teenagers.

Society's authorities over youth appear to be the harshest critics of the young. Teachers bitterly complain of their continual need for discipline in their classrooms at the cost of learning. Police expound on the "lack of respect for law and order" exhibited by today's youth (Reiss, 1967a). Paul Simons' song so aptly pictures this type of police response:²

¹ It appears that younger generations have always been victims of adult blame-casting. For a discussion of the detriments of blame-casting in intergroup relationships see Sherif, 1966: Chapter 7.

² "Save the Life of My Child", is a song depicting a mother's desperate plea for someone to save her son from self-destruction by jumping off a building. Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel, Bookends. New York, Columbia Records, 1969.

A patrol car passing by
 Halted to a stop
 Said officer McDougal in dismay:
 "The force can't do a decent job
 Cause the kids got no respect
 for the law today (and blah
 blah blah)."

Much of the literature on modern youth also describes them in harsh terms. Clark and Wenninger (1964) in their discussion of this literature came to the following conclusions. First, the volume and emotional content of writings by lay persons, practitioners, and academicians indicates that there is widespread concern about the attitude of juveniles toward the legal institutions. Second, there is a need for a more accurate and detailed examination of the quality and quantity of these attitudes.

The need for empirical evidence of youths' support for the community's compliance system³ is quite evident. To what extent are youths rejecting and rebelling as popularly believed? A question just as important, but seldom asked is, to what extent is the compliance system rejecting and rebelling against its youthful charges? These questions are within the scope of this study. It is the purpose of this study to determine, through attitudinal measurement, the extent to which a

³The compliance system is a short hand term for the network of laws, persons, and institutions vested with authority to enforce their demands. This includes not only the criminal justice positions of police, judges, probation officers, and courts, but the primary group positions of parents and teachers. See Hess and Minturn, unpublished manuscript, undated, and Hess and Torney (1967).

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sample of junior high school students (ninth graders) support selected components of the community's compliance systems. In addition, this study will attempt to determine two prime socializers' -- teachers and police -- attitudes toward the compliance system; and to what extent the perceptions of teachers and police differ, as well as the attitudinal differences between teachers, police and youth. The adult and youthful subjects are from the same mid-west medium-sized city. Such an analysis is crucial for an understanding of political stability, social control, and political socialization.

Questions about the extent of mutual support of the compliance system and youth of the community lead us to a consideration of the concept of political socialization. Support for the compliance system depends on effective socialization. It is felt that the socializers' perceptions of their charges, as well as their own attitudes towards the compliance system, are crucial variables in the socialization process.

Philosophers have always discussed education and politics. Both Plato and Aristotle recognized the importance of citizenship training. Education, for Plato was at the heart of politics; stability of a body politic depended upon the nature of civic training. Aristotle felt that the legislator should make the education of the young his chief and foremost concern. Bodin, Locke, and Hobbes discussed the development of society's citizens.

Though political scientists and sociologists agree that early learning is important in the shaping of personality characteristics that continue to influence political beliefs and behavior throughout

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adulthood, few have supplied the empirical data needed for progress in the field of political socialization. Easton and Dennis, in discussing this issue, state:

In the end we were driven to the surprising discovery that childhood has been thought of as a political vacuum probably only because to this day so little attention has been given to the specifically political aspects of the socializing processes during that period (Easton and Dennis, 1968: 365).

Lack of progress can be contributed to two factors. First, the literature is fragmentary and nontheoretical. Second, the concern has centered around voting, partisan orientation, or issue and candidate preferences. An understanding of political socialization depends upon development of orientations toward other aspects of the political systems. The need is for knowledge about the development of orientations toward political institution and processes.

Early childhood is a period of little recognition of rules and authority. Youngsters rapidly progress, however, to a stage in which rules are recognized as absolute, directed by higher authority. This progression is most functional, a needed aspect of system maintenance (Easton and Dennis, 1968). Social order is based on obedience or adherence to the compliance system. One's place in the adult world depends upon the learning and following of rules and regulations. Thus, older generations have always instilled in younger generations the necessity and goodness of obedience. This is a child's first contact with government, his recognition of authority, rules, and necessity of obedience. For most persons this orientation remains throughout life. The law-abiding basis of adult citizenship is laid early.

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Not all agree that this socialization of absolute obedience is functional. Hess is of the opinion that American children are being socialized in ways that contribute to the very fragmentation which political socialization is meant to prevent. He concludes from his study of a national sample of 12,000 grade school children that:

We found, among other things, that elementary-school children have a highly idealized view of the Government and a very high estimate of the power of the individual vote, combined with an ignorance of other legitimate channels of influence. These views are unrealistic (a fact that is becoming increasingly obvious today to children themselves) and they do not offer a good foundation for active, effective participation in a democratic process. They seem to point more toward compliance and complacency on one hand, and toward disillusionment, helplessness, anger and perhaps even rejection of the system on the other (Hess, 1969: 25).

It is problematic whether youths' extreme idealistic beliefs are interrelated with complacency and alienation. This is a subject in need of empirical investigation. That some of our youth, however, are antagonistic of the compliance system is a fact. It is felt that this may be contingent on socialization cross-pressures. Society's neophytes obtain their world views in a socialization community.⁴ Within this community, the youngster is open to the pressures of conflicting

⁴Ronald Lippitt states that:

Most frequently, perhaps, we think of the community as an economic community, a political community, or a physical community. But it is just as valid, and for our purposes more important, to think of the community as a socialization community. In our studies of community functionings, we have identified a number of clusters of personnel that have a vested interest in influencing the behavior and values of children and youth. Each of the ... clusters has a program of socialization, more or less planned, and more or less formally presented as a program to influence the growth and development of information, attitudes, values, and behavior of the younger members of the community (Lippitt, in Clausen, 1968: 334).

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values. Cross-pressures may be established that reduce conformity to any single group's values. Thus we find, for example, gang members more committed to the values of their peer group than those of their teachers or police officers. Peer group values are, many times, the antithesis of compliance system values -- therefore we find the delinquent, rebellious gang.⁵ This is an area in need of much investigation. We concur with Clausen that:

The call for more attention to sequences of influence and to the overall effect of a myriad of competing and interacting sources of influence may dismay those who are dedicated to rigorous experimental studies of socialization. Such studies have added immensely to our understanding of psychological processes underlying social influence. Comparable rigor in problem analysis and methodological design in the study of sequence and of the interactions among agents and agencies is needed if we are to understand the linkages among influence systems, and their effects on personal commitment and personality development (Clausen, in Clausen, 1968: 177).

It is believed that the most fruitful way to study the socialization community is through adopting an open system approach.

Traditional organizational theory focused on the internal organization of public bureaucracies (the organization as a closed system). More recent attempts have recognized the crucial effects of the public on the efficiency of public bureaucracies and have sought to analyze the links between the web of organizations and the public (the organization as an open system).⁶ Necessary to the study of the socialization of youth is an open system analysis of the interrelation between the components of the socialization community.

⁵See Walter B. Millers' (1958b) discussion of the conflicts that arise between focal concerns of lower class culture and middle class norms.

⁶See Joiner (1964) and Katz and Kahn (1966) for discussions on the open system approach.

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Miller (1958a) discussed how conflicts among the various community agencies concerned with the welfare of youth impeded the goals of delinquency prevention. The major impediment to effectiveness in delinquency prevention relates more to the nature of relations among the various concerned institutions than to a lack of knowledge as to effective procedure. Miller suggests a shift in emphasis in current research and action efforts, from a focus on relations between agent and client, to the relationships among the agents themselves. Precious little has been done in examining the congruences and stresses between compliance system agencies -- particularly relationships between two prime components of the socialization community, the schools and the police. McHardy sees much conflict in this relationship:

Under fire, waging a struggle against a common enemy, it would seem that these creations of government -- the courts, police, and schools -- would be allies supporting each other in their efforts. But, unfortunately, this often is not the case. The school principal may denounce the juvenile court for failure to detain and "send away" a schoolyard troublemaker. The probation officer may accuse the police of brutality. The police officer may be refused admission to the school to question a burglary suspect. The school board member demands "toughness" from the court, while the judge pleads to school authorities for special education facilities. It goes on and on and is a feature in almost any newspaper (McHardy, 1968: 48).

This study adopts an open system approach and examines the relationships between teachers and police. We will investigate how the two occupations perceive each other as well as how they perceive the compliance system itself.

Three populations are involved in this study; junior high school students, their teachers, and police officers. It is most important to examine the attitudes and values of each in order to gain an understanding of socialization to the compliance system process. Beginning

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with a discussion on youth, the importance of obtaining data from each population will be presented below.

Because the younger generation has been viewed in terms of a political vacuum, researchers have neglected to measure young peoples' political perceptions. Political socialization research has relied on adults, reflecting on their childhood, as if children really do not have minds of their own. It is believed that youth have most important opinions to contribute, even though their cognitive processes are being formed and changed. In many ways, youths' opinions play a vital role in determining the world of today. It is essential that discussions of youths' attitudes and opinions be based on an accurate knowledge of what they are. This study follows Easton and Hess's (1962) lead in concentrating on a Platonic or Rousseauon point of view. Adult choices of behavior are intimately related to childhood experiences. The kind of reality the adult perceives and his attitudes about it are determined by what he learned during his early years. As Easton and Hess relate:

The significance of early impressions is that those values and attitudes acquired in childhood are likely to change much more slowly than those developed through later experience, especially in maturity. If this is so, unless we know something about the values and attitudes with which a person is armed in childhood, we cannot fully understand the matrix within which he interprets and responds to the ongoing stream of political events in adulthood (Easton and Hess, 1962: 229-230).

It is felt that social scientists should seek explanations of youths' deviant conduct through examining the actor's conceptions of the compliance system. Just as important, however, is knowledge of the compliance system's attitudes toward youth, their policies, and day-to-day decision making. These are key elements in how juveniles come to

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be known as delinquent.⁷

Many have pointed out that teachers are prime socializers of our children. The literature on teachers as socializers will be reviewed in a coming section. It can be said here, however, that the literature states that school teachers impart much political learning by their styles of behavior, their classroom procedures, and their general attitudes toward children. How these school experiences are linked to adult political behavior needs to be determined, but it is felt that they influence some life-long political attitudes. Teachers may tend to reinforce or undercut the stated objectives of the formal program of political education.

The symbolic interactionists have pointed out that attitudes of significant others have a crucial bearing on a child's attitude toward himself -- self-attitudes are composed of refracted appraisals. If a child perceives significant others as hostile and rejecting, his attitudes toward himself will be derogatory (Jersild, 1955). Therefore, since teachers are important significant others of children, their attitudes are of crucial importance.

The preceding discussion on the importance of teacher attitudes leads, logically, to considerations of the school's involvement in socialization of youth toward the compliance system. A succeeding section will elaborate on this issue.

Based on his findings regarding the attitudes toward police of 1,000 junior high school students, Portune (1963) ridiculed the schools

⁷See Clark and Gibbs (1965), Lemert (1951), Piliavin and Briar (1964), and Schur (1969) for elaborations on the societal reaction school approach.

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for neglecting their responsibilities of instilling into youth the proper attitudes toward law enforcement. He concluded that:

1. The general population of junior high school students displayed an alarming ignorance of the functions and missions of law enforcement in a democratic society.

2. The standard junior high school program was almost totally devoid of curriculum units and materials aimed at improving student knowledge and understanding of law and law enforcement.

3. Students who emerged from the ninth grade had significantly poorer attitudes toward police than did students who entered grade seven. Thus, instead of building favorable attitudes toward law and law enforcement, the school was allowing the students attitudes to deteriorate (Portune, 1968: 9).

Certain aspects of education having to do with law, justice, police and citizenship need to be stressed in school programs if pupils are to avoid situations that lead to detrimental police and youth contacts. The place of law enforcement in the social structure of the community, contributions of the law enforcement officer to the safety of citizens, and an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens with respect to the compliance system, are areas of knowledge that need to be clarified for the teen-ager. Since the school is a main agent in the socialization community, capturing youth for at least eight hours a day, its responsibility in forming such perceptions is apparent.

Coleman refers to this notion when he states:

Although the central focus of education will continue to be the educational system and its determinants, and that of political scientists the political system and the factors affecting it, there is now a vastly broadened basis for a fruitful dialogue regarding the education - polity relationship on such questions as the role of education in the formation of attitudes, values, and personality; in the recruitment of elites; and in sociopolitical change (Coleman, in Coleman, 1965: 10).

One of the purposes of this study is to determine the extent to which the schools, of one community, are effective in this particular

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aspect of political socialization.

Teachers have previously been mentioned as prime socializers of children. Few consider police officers as socializers; however, it is a thesis of this study that police are most important agents in the socialization community. The attitudes, demeanor, and actions of police officers are most important to the formation of children's perception of the compliance system. The policeman as a socializer will be considered in a succeeding section. Children come into direct contact with policemen; police are spatially and affectively close to children (Easton and Dennis, 1968). They become a physical symbol connected with a felt obligation to obey something outside of the family.

We have little doubt that the tail-end of the structure of political authority -- the policeman -- has left a distinctive imprint on the mind of the child. Through the policeman, the child learns an important lesson about the power of external authority and about the need to accept as obligatory or binding the actions and decisions of others from the broad world beyond the family (Easton and Dennis, 1968: 206).

It appears that contact between police and youths are of utmost importance in the socialization toward the compliance system process. Portune (1968) discovered that attitudes of adolescents toward police were non-negative rather than positive. When a police contact (either casual or formal) occurred, these attitudes invariably became negative. This adverse reaction, Portune feels, stems from mutual ignorance. Adolescents were naive in their understanding of the function of law enforcement, therefore they did not possess favorable attitudes sufficiently strong to survive the police contact. Just as serious, is the police naivety of adolescent psychology resulting in police officers' failure

to make the special efforts required to improve the police image of youth.

The seriousness of the police lack of and misunderstanding of youth becomes evident when one reviews the literature on societal reactions to delinquency. The official delinquent is a product of the attitudinal dispositions possessed by police (Piliavin and Briar, 1964). A delinquent is a delinquent because police and others of the compliance system define him as one. Often this judgement is based not on the rational facts of commitment of a deviant act, but on the demeanor, deference, and stereotype exhibited by a youth.

The lack of importance of the police to scholars of political phenomena is pointed out by Easton and Dennis (1968). They state that law-enforcement agencies have been neglected in political research and their plea is "to bring the police back into the study of politics in a more meaningful way" (Easton and Dennis, 1968: 218). Scholars have failed to appreciate the central part that police play as a component of the authoritative output structure of a political system. Police are in a peculiarly appropriate and visible position to mediate between the members of a system and the rest of the compliance system. This mediation role reveals itself through the way in which the police may or may not contribute to the growth of a sense of legitimacy. Through studying this aspect of the police, scholars are able to bring knowledge of law enforcement agencies to bear on an understanding of the process of legitimizing agents of the compliance system (political authorities as Easton and Dennis would call them), a central phenomenon in all political systems.

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The focus of this study in examining socialization toward the compliance system is from a social-learning point of view, i.e., transmission, reinforcement, and modeling theory. Social learning, of course, does not occur in a vacuum. The environment⁸ is an important variable that makes a major difference in the outcome of a persons socialization process. There are a range of environments, from the most immediate social interactions to the more remote cultural and institutional forces. The environment provides a network of forces and factors which surround and play on the individual. There are many characteristics of an environment which social scientists and educators have identified that positively or negatively effect cognitive and affective development. These include communications and interactions with adults, motivations and incentives for achievement and understanding of the environment, and the availability of adult models and examples of language, communication, and reasoning.

It is assumed that significant socializing agents -- teachers and police officers -- serve as models for youth. Children imitate their models and are reinforced for proper responses. In compliance system socialization this reinforcement is for positive attitudes (support) of laws, courts, police, teachers, and so on. It is in these terms that measurement of attitudes toward the compliance system and of it become important in political socialization theory.

Inkeles and Levinson (1954) are explicit in their identification of the need for concentrated study of youth and compliance system

⁸Environment is defined as the conditions, forces, and external stimuli which impinge upon the individual. These may be physical, social or intellectual forces or conditions (Bloom, 1964: 187).

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(authority) relationships. They suggest a Standard Analytic Issues approach to facilitate the study of national character. These authors call for a move toward such an approach so that model personalities in all societies could be described and compared. A promising approach would be to concentrate on a limited number of psychological issues. Inkeles and Levinson point out that relations to authority meet the criteria of universal psychosocial relevance. Their orientation toward a social-learning emphasis in this standard analytic scheme is apparent in the following statement:

All children developing in a societal context are dependent on older figures (persons and, usually, psychologically real supernatural agents) who provide gratifications conditionally, who exert impulse-controlling and value-inducing processes, and through whom self and world acquire increasing meaning (Inkeles and Levinson, in Lindzey, 1954: 990).

Since our attention in this study is toward an examination of both some adult components of the socialization community and those receiving the socialization, we will be concerned with intergenerational differences. Rintala (1963) has criticized political scientists for not giving more consideration to experimental approaches that investigate intergenerational differences. Such an approach might help to understand some otherwise inexplicable aspects of politics. Along the same line, Sigel (1965) is critical of political scientists for paying so scant attention to the role of conflict and tension in the political socialization process. Conflict and tension play crucial roles in the political socialization process, both creative and disruptive. Political socialization is a process by which attitudes and values are transmitted from generation to generation. Therefore we must always be aware of

attitudinal and value change in the society. We must also be aware that sub-cultural values do exist. "Conflict engenders tensions among generations and among political groups and such tensions in turn lead to change" (Sigel, 1965: 9).

Socialization research must be aware of not only inter-generational differences, but intra-generational differences.⁹ In the study of socialization, one deals with interactions among expectations, views of socialization agents, and views of those in the process of being socialized. These components of socialization differ in power, goals, and personality makeup. One would expect a multitude of attitudes and practices in the socialization community. In measuring congruences and divergences, this study looks at differences between socializers, i.e., teachers and police, and differences existing within the adolescent subculture.

This study does not focus on the traditional emphasis in socialization research of parent, family and child relationships. As Almond and Verba suggest:

Family experiences do play a role in the formation of political attitudes, but the role may not be central; the gap between the family and the polity may be so wide that other social experiences, especially in social situations closer in time and in structure to the political system may play a larger role (Almond and Verba, 1965: 305).

Froman (1962) blames the psychoanalytic orientation of political socialization theory for the over emphasis on the family. Such reliance on this perspective has the following limitations: (1) It draws attention away from possible agents of learning other than parents;

⁹Vertical and horizontal differences as Easton and Dennis (1968) would term them.

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(2) It has not been adequately tested;¹⁰ (3) It tends to blur together component parts of what have been referred to as "images", at the cost of theorizing about the learning process.

Reiss (1966) emphasizes that change in moral behavior and norms in modern societies comes about through the way socialization of children is organized through formal socialization agencies outside the family. Character development in the changing society is a matter of the society transforming children by wrestling the control of socialization from the family.

It is hoped that this study will help fill the gap in the lack of knowledge about compliance system agents within the socialization community other than family.

A. Statement of the Problem

The problem of this research might be defined as the investigation of support for the compliance system by two components of the socialization community and adolescents within the socialization process. Of interest is the fact that the adult socializer subjects are themselves agents of the compliance system, i.e., teachers and police officers. The study involves a multifaceted attitudinal approach based on social learning and system-maintenance theoretical orientations (Easton, 1965, and Easton and Dennis, 1968). Specifically, an attempt will be made to employ a set of instruments which will elicit attitudes toward police,

¹⁰ However, Jaros, Hirsh, and Fleron (1968) found in their study of grade school children in Knox County, Kentucky, small amount of variance in children's political affect which is explained by the family variable. They suggest searching for other agents of socialization.

teachers, the criminal justice system, youth, and family. This will enable comparison of attitudes from generation to generation and between two occupational groups -- teachers and police. Consideration will be given to the issue of ethnicity and support for the compliance system. This study will attempt to consider the following specific issues:

1. The extent of youths' support of the compliance system.
2. The extent of compliance system agents support of youth.
3. The extent to which two agents of the compliance system support each other and the various components of the compliance system itself. This is an important issue in understanding the socialization process.
4. The extent of differing attitudes and values, which may cause cross-pressures for youth, within the socialization community (horizontal intragenerational analysis).
5. The extent of differing attitudes and values between the socialization community and youth within the socialization process (vertical inter-generational analysis).
6. The extent of the differences in support between minority and Dominant group subjects.

B. Definition of Terms

The following terms have either specialized meanings or need to be operationally defined for this study.

An attitude is "an enduring organization of several beliefs focused on a specific object (physical or social, concrete or abstract) or

situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" (Rokeach, 1968-1969: 550). Rokeach (1969) describes beliefs as simple propositions, conscious or unconscious, inferred from what a person says or does. Beliefs are capable of being preceded by the phrase "I believe that ...". These interrelated beliefs describe, evaluate, and advocate actions with respect to an object or situation, and each have cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. The attitude has cognitive and affective properties by virtue of the fact that the beliefs comprising it have cognitive and affective properties which interact and reinforce one another. Attitude measurement consists of the assessment, by direct and indirect procedures of an individual's responses to a set of situations. The set of situations is a set of items about an attitude object, to which the subject responds to a set of specific response categories (i.e. agree or disagree) or produces a written statement about the object.

The compliance system is a network of laws, persons, and institutions vested with authority to enforce their demands (Hess and Minturn, undated; Hess and Torney, 1965; and Hess and Torney, 1967). Support of the compliance system and the assurance that members of a social system will comply with its regulations is crucial to the system's stability. In this study the police and schools are considered prime components of the compliance system. The police are given the legal authority by the state to prevent behavior, control behavior and to force compliance to norms, even at the cost of life if an individual, perceived to be seriously dangerous to the social system, rejects a police officer's demands for obedience. Schools are part of the

compliance system because they are given the legal authority by the state to compel persons up to a certain age to be in attendance, and to prevent and control behavior perceived to be disruptive to the social system, by various discipline measures (in many states by corporal punishment). As one can see, the police and school systems have many things in common, the primary one being that they are both representatives of the government.

Demographic variables refers to certain statistical data frequently used in sociological studies. For the student data, these variables are: sex, socioeconomic status, parental status (i.e., are parents living? Are they divorced?), parental structure (i.e., does the subject live with natural parents, mother or stepfather only mother, etc.?), birth order, and number of siblings. The demographic variables obtained from teachers and police officers are: age, marital status, number of children, sex, and educational background. This data was gathered through forced-choice and open-ended items on the questionnaires.

Ethnicity refers to three distinct ethnic groups: Dominants, who are Caucasian, of non-Mexican-American extraction; Negroes; and the Spanish-named. The use of the term Dominants was suggested by Bayley and Mendelson, who explain:

It should be understood that these divisions within the community are a result of a combination of cultural and racial factors that create feelings of social difference and group identity. People of Mexican-American heritage, while tending to be Latin in appearance, have in common the Spanish language, an historical tradition, and a sense of cultural uniqueness. Negroes participate to a greater extent than the Spanish-named in the culture of America; they do not, for example, speak a different

language, but have a more distinctive physical appearance which sets them apart. The majority community is composed of everyone else, people who are neither Negro nor participants in the Spanish Culture. We have chosen to designate these groups as Dominants, Negroes, and the Spanish-named. These labels are both descriptively accurate and unencumbered with emotional connotations (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: V.).

This information was obtained through a forced-choice question.

Socialization in this study, encompasses all learning relating to society's compliance system, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle. Included in this broad definition are not only explicit learning pertaining to the compliance system, but also non-explicit learning that effects a person's behavior in regard to the compliance system. Examples of non-explicit learning would be the learning of relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of relevant personality characteristics. More narrowly, socialization is the instilling of information, attitudes, values, and practices, pertinent to the compliance system, by society's socialization agents. Coleman's definition of political socialization is a good statement of how the term socialization is used in the present study.

[Political socialization] refers to that process by which individuals acquire attitudes and feelings toward the political system and toward their role in it, including cognition (what one knows or believes about the system, its existence as well as its modus operandi), feelings, (how one feels toward the system, including loyalty and a sense of civic obligation), and ones sense of political competence (what one's role is or can be in the system) (Coleman, in Coleman, 1965: 18).

Common to all definitions of socialization is the direct and indirect functional qualities of this process for society and for the individual: "a major response mechanism through which political systems typically seek to avert any serious decline in the level of support for an existing regime is to be found in the process of political

socialization" (Easton and Dennis, 1967: 25) and "Socialization ... is defined as the acquisition by pre-adults of those attitudes and overt behavioral responses which enable them to interact with the major institutions or social systems of their society" (Hess and Minturn, undated).

The socialization community is composed of adults in many different types of positions within the community who have a vested interest in influencing the attitudes, values, and behaviors of the younger generation (Lippitt, in Clansen, 1968). Members of this community have more or less planned programs of socialization, and are more or less formally presented as a program to influence the development of information, attitudes, values, and behavior of youth. This study considers compliance system actors direct agents of the socialization community.

Social learning is the key process of socialization. Social learning, in this study, is a combination of the accumulation, interpersonal transfer, and the identification models of political socialization (Hess, and Torney, 1967). The child acquires cognitive and affective orientations toward the compliance system through direct teaching by the agents of the socialization community. The child also acquires these orientations through various interpersonal experiences and direct and indirect reinforcement. Through his experiences in the family and school, the child has developed multifaceted relationships with figures of authority. In subsequent relationships with figures of authority, the person will establish modes of interaction which are similar to those he experienced early in life. In addition, children acquire attitudes and values through identifying with, and thus modeling

significant others. Elkins summarizes these combined components of social-learning in the following way:

Significant others define the world for the child and serve as models for his attitudes and behavior. They teach the child, in a broad sense, through bestowing rewards and inflicting punishments. These rewards are conditional. If the child behaves as the significant others desire, they give him attention, affection, gifts, or invitations to participate; if he behaves otherwise, they refuse attention; reprimand, express disappointment, withdraw expected gains, or physically punish.... Significant others teach some role behavior through direct instruction (Elkin, 1960: 26-27).

Support refers to feelings of trust, confidence or affection, and their opposites, that persons may direct to some object (Easton and Dennis, 1968). A person favors an object if he possesses positive support; if he has withdrawn his faith in the object he possesses negative support. Support will vary in degree from absolute hostility to blind loyalty. In this study, the term support shall mean both negative and positive support. Positive support will be synonymous with the term positive attitude, and negative support is synonymous with negative attitude. Diffuse support refers to an attachment to components of the compliance system for the components own sake; it constitutes a store of good will. Diffuse support is crucial for system-maintenance, that is, the persistence of the compliance system over time. If there is not a good deal of diffuse support toward the compliance system, stress will result.

A value is a type of belief that is centrally located within one's belief system. In this study, two types of values will be dealt with; instrumental values, one's oughts and ought nots and terminal values, one's belief in end-states of existence worth or not worth attaining.

"...to say that a person 'has a value' is to say that he has an enduring belief that a particular mode of conduct or that a particular end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternate modes of conduct or end-states of existence" (Rokeach, 1968-1969; 550).

A value system is a hierarchical arrangement -- a rank ordering -- of values along a continuum of importance (Rokeach, 1968-1969). Instrumental and terminal value systems will be determined by the Rokeach Value Survey.

C. Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study center around the instrumentation and samples of the investigation.

The research instruments used in this study were chosen through an examination of other attitude studies related to the topic of compliance system support. Criteria of selection was: 1) ease in administration, 2) clarity of content, and 3) possession of attitudinal indicators of compliance system support. Most of these measures were developed for adult populations. Whether adolescents understood the meaning of the words and concepts was a concern of the staff. Some of the anxiety was relieved in pre-testing which indicated that youngsters apparently had little difficulty with the questionnaire. We should be aware, however, that the young subjects might not have been fully aware of all the concepts presented to them.

The projective techniques used in this study were fruitful in producing a wide range of information relatively free from suggested answers; however, like all such instruments, coding was problematic.

Since the three coders were adults, coding the responses of adolescents was particularly difficult, since youngsters have a language all their own. However, the coders tried to be painstakingly cautious in interpreting responses. At times much discussion resulted between coders for purposes of deciding correct codes.

The adolescent and adult respondents were assured anonymity in order to facilitate truthfulness. Names were not placed on the questionnaires. This eliminated direct interview follow-ups for clarification and interpretation of responses. The old problem of lack of time and finances also precluded interviewing.

The study is limited to a population of all the ninth grade pupils and their teachers in attendance at the time the questionnaires were administered at four junior high schools in one city. The police officers were members of the department that serviced this city. The reason for these limitations of one grade and one city is that the data is part of an evaluation of a police and school citizenship program being conducted in the ninth grades of the junior high schools of this city. This must be considered a case study of one city and therefore generalizations to other cities and age groups must be made cautiously.

The subjects do not represent random or probability samples, thus necessitating careful use of significance tests in the interpretation of results.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORY

To gain a clear perspective of the compliance system support issue, it is necessary to present to the reader a summary of writings on several relevant topics. First the extent of public support of the compliance system will be determined. The theory on how these attitudes are formed is then presented. Next, the literature relevant to the three types of populations -- teachers, police, and adolescents -- will be discussed. Writings pertinent to inter-generational relations are then described. The literature describing relationships among the adult subjects -- inter-organizational relationships -- are next. This is followed by a presentation of the general theoretical orientation of the study and a discussion of the nature of the main variables this study examines, attitudes and values. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a statement of the study's major research hypotheses.

A. Public Support of the Compliance System

Public support refers to the political culture. Political culture refers to the specifically political orientation -- attitudes toward the political system and its parts (Almond and Verba, 1965).

Almond and Verba's use of the concept of culture is as follows:

Here we can only stress that we employ the concept of culture in only one of its many meanings: that of psychological orientation toward social objects. When we speak of the political culture of a society, we refer to the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of its population. People are inducted into it just as they are socialized into non-political roles and social systems (Almond and Verba, 1965: 13).

In discussing points of articulation between personality and the social system, Parsons and Shils consider attitudes toward authority a crucial superego element. "...the organization of attitudes toward authority is always a functionally essential element of social systems" (Parson and Shils, 1951: 150).

Studies of the political culture regarding the compliance system are presented below.

1. Support of teachers

Havighurst and Neugarten (1967) identify teachers as "sociological strangers" within their communities. They are often regarded as persons who are in, but not of, the community, persons who seldom sink roots into the community. Teachers are perceived as a sub-culture. Expectations are that they are a group apart, with cultural interests and cosmopolitan tastes that differentiate them from the rest of the community.

Brookover and Gottlieb (1964), and Terrien (1955) describe the teacher-public relationship as adversary. People are hostile to teachers because of their bitter experiences with the repressive authoritative teacher role they were subjected to in their youth. These authors blame this lack of positive teacher support on adults' selective perceptions of their childhood.

This lack of diffuse support for teachers appears to be substantiated by Janowitz, Wright, and Delany (1958) who, in a Detroit area study, found the public school system to be the public agency most criticized; and by Eppel and Eppel (1966), who in a survey of London compliance

system agents, found them most critical of teachers. Teachers and the schools were not perceived as influential; this was taken as a sign of low status by the authors.

There appears to be a scarcity of empirical studies on the public's perceptions of teachers. This is unfortunate, for the climate of opinion is most important to the teacher's performance as Charters points out:

... the climate of public opinion regarding the schools, be it a climate of indifference, or overprotectiveness, or antagonism, certainly is sensed by the teacher and may well effect what he attempts to do in the classroom (Charters, in Gage, 1963: 778).

2. Support of the police

In considering the political culture regarding police two points should be kept in mind. First, there is no single attitude toward police. Attitudes depend upon context and the fact that people have several, and at times inconsistent, beliefs regarding the police. Attitudes must be located within a context of actions, needs, and expectations. Second, the police job is most difficult in contemporary society because of the crosscurrents of beliefs. Many of these beliefs are negative.

A community's conflicting beliefs regarding police is described by Whyte:

There are prevalent in society two general conceptions of the duties of the police officer. Middle-class people feel that he should enforce the law without fear or favor. Cornerville people and many of the officers themselves believe that the policeman should have the confidence of the people in his area so that he can settle many difficulties in a personal manner without making arrests. These two conceptions are in a large measure contradictory. The policeman who takes a strictly

legalistic view of his duties cuts himself off from the personal relations necessary to enable him to serve as a mediator of disputes in his area. The policeman who develops close ties with local people is unable to act against them with the vigor prescribed by the law (Whyte, 1955: 136).

Neither the public nor police really ever feel completely at ease with each other. The causes of this stress are complex, but stem from this society's values of individual freedom and responsibility, compounded by the fact that the frontier era's disregard for law still plays an important part in its traditions. Almond and Verba's (1965) five nation study of political culture relates to this notion of police and citizen uneasiness. Their finding of expectations of police consideration by American citizens was not as high as British and German citizen expectations. The authors suggest that American historical experience with government is the cause of Americans feeling that they will not receive considerate treatment from police -- "an experience that began with distrust and revolution against the British Crown, and that has been consolidated by the American tendency to subject all governmental institutions, including the judiciary and bureaucracy, to direct popular control" (Almond and Verba, 1965: 314-315). We now turn to the literature concerning the degree of intensity of this stress.

Many authors discussing contemporary law-enforcement describe police as being in "poor shape" in the eyes of the community. A national-sample survey, designed to determine the relative prestige of ninety occupations, found that police ranked fifty-fifth in 1947, and forty-seventh in 1963 (Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi, 1963). This is a

serious situation, for the power of the public to effect the police job is substantial. Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) point out that the public is powerful because the role performance of policemen is highly observable and easily confronted by public criticism.

Banton (1964) states that the low prestige of the American police occupation, causing their social segregation, is due to the lack of a clear definition of the police role and the country's extensive business and production ideology, rather than service. Reiss and Bordua (in Bordua, 1967) credit low police prestige to the American public's unwillingness to accord the police status either in the European sense of status honor as representatives of the State or in the more typically American sense of prestige based on a claim to occupational competence. Skolnick (1966) feels that the citizen's own psychology causes a rejection of society's police. The police officer's responsibility for controlling dangerous and sometimes violent persons alienates the average citizen. Citizens desire automated policemen, because once the police officer's humanity is recognized, the citizen necessarily becomes implicated in the dirty and dangerous policeman's work.

Wilson (1968) relates that the order-maintenance functions that patrolmen must perform is the main cause of police and citizen friction. The patrolman's role is defined more by his responsibility for maintaining order than for enforcing the law. Wilson elaborates by defining "order" as the absence of disorder; disorder means behavior that either disturbs or threatens to disturb the public peace, or that involves face-to-face conflict among persons. Disorder involves a dispute over what is "right" or "seemly" conduct, and who is to blame for this conduct,

An officer performs his order maintenance function when he deals with a drunk, a family dispute, a noisy neighbor, a panhandler soliciting money from passerbys, and so on. The difficulty, as Wilson sees it, is summed up in the following statement:

...the order-maintenance function of the patrolman defines his role and that role, which is unlike that of any other occupation, can be described as one in which sub-professionals, working alone, exercise wide discretion in matters of utmost importance (life and death, honor and dishonor) in an environment that is apprehensive and perhaps hostile (Wilson, 1968: 30).

The stress that Wilson and the above theorists identify leads to police feelings of isolation and peer group conformity. In Clark's (1965) study of three Illinois cities in which data was collected on police, other social control agencies, and citizens, the findings indicated that officers felt they were not integrated into their communities. There was agreement by police and public on the content of the ideal police role, but the police role performance differs significantly from this common ideal -- an indication of strong organizational and peer influences.

Several theorists have related that diffuse support for the police is impossible because a natural, innate, adversary condition has always, and will always exist between society's repressors of behavior and those repressed.

Most adversary interpretations have been from a psychoanalytic or psychological perspective. Probably the first to present this theory was Freud (translated from the German and edited by Strachey, 1961), who argued that the whole structure of culture was designed to put prohibitions on individuals, id demands. In modern society, formal

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding page numbers. The names are listed in a single column, and the page numbers are listed in a single column to the right of the names. The names are: "1. The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding page numbers."

control by laws enforced by police is a main inhibiting force. There results a continual struggle between man's desires for instinctual expressions and the inhibitions of society. Falk presents a Freudian interpretation of the adversary position in the following statement:

Because it is the duty of the police to enforce laws that restrict behavior, the very nature of their work leads to both private and public resentment. Therefore, the groundwork for the development of negative stereotypes toward the police is laid by the very existence of the police force. The origin of this resentment is rooted in the same dilemma that confronts all authority relationships and has occupied such a large amount of attention in psychoanalytic and psychiatric literature (Falk, 1964: 109).

Toch (1965) proposed that the police role itself, due to the helplessness and regression to childhood feelings of its citizens confronted by a policeman and the negative selective experiences of the officers, is conducive to social tensions and is therefore self-defeating. Stinchcombe (undated) also feels that the police function is self-defeating because of the citizen's embarrassment, feelings of injustice for coercion of customary illegal behavior, anxiety over uncertainty about the immediate future, feelings of powerlessness, and alienation from the establishment the police represent.

A psychiatric analysis by Pierce (1962) suggests that the emancipation of women has had among its far-reaching positive and negative ramifications, the incessant revisions of public attitudes toward police authority, since the policeman is a father equivalent.

Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) relate an adversary position when they state that public hostility to police is a natural consequence of the initiator of the action role of police. The victims of police action

are unpalatable to them (the policeman's "profit" is usually someone's loss), and since police are the public conscience, threatening the status and treasure of the wrong-doer, they are always at war with the public. These authors conclude by stating:

We are aware of perceptions which present him [the policeman] as a protector of the community and the champion of the weak and the good. However, these positive images, we suspect, are more the product of conscious effort and institutional advertising by police agencies than of "natural" cultural response (Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966: 8).

Wilson (1968) feels there is little hope to improve the situation, since police are so highly involved in order maintenance. Order maintenance involves conflict management, and conflict means disagreement over what should be done, how, and to whom. Since conflict is found in all social strata, in all strata there will be resentment of the police arbitrators.

While most authors lament on the problems of the adversary relationship, Tauber (1967) hypothesizes that it is quite functional for society. It represents a psycho-social function for the citizens positive self-conception. To grant legitimate authority to the police means allowing the police the right to question one's self-conceptions.

Banton (1963) appears to be one of the only theorists who rejects the natural adversary notion. He feels that police spend most of their time helping citizens (service function instead of order-maintenance) and that police activities are governed by popular morality, i.e., authority that is not resented because it is conferred on the police by the community (this is similar to Weber's legal authority).

Whether the adversary or anti-adversary theorists are correct can be somewhat determined by examining opinions of citizens regarding the

police. It appears from public opinion polls that the adversary theorists do the citizens an injustice in their statements of a natural lack of support for police. Public opinion polls throughout the years have consistently shown that the majority of the polled subjects related positive and supportive statements about America's police systems (Gourley, 1953; Harris, 1968; Janowitz, Wright, and Delany, 1958; McCaghy, Allen, and Colfax, 1967; McIntyre, 1967; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Chapter 6, 1967; Reiss, 1967b; University of Houston, 1959).

Even though the vast majority of Americans report that they positively support police, the order-maintenance type of police and citizen contact are problematic (Wilson, 1968). Such contacts leave both parties dissatisfied. Whitaker (1964), concurs with Wilson's analysis by claiming that the relations between police and public have not necessarily worsened in recent years, but they have altered. The increasing urbanization and motorization of police and citizens have resulted in both becoming more distant and less human to each other.

3. The compliance system and minority groups

A consistent finding of public opinion polls is that ethnic groups do differentially support the police. The minority groups, particularly Negroes, are significantly more negative than the Dominants in their attitudes toward police (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967: 146-149; Mihanovitch, 1967). The severe cleavage between black Americans and law enforcement has created considerable stress on the compliance system, and has proven to be

detrimental to the blacks, police, and society in general. The compliance system cannot socialize toward positive support any group that does not perceive society's teachers, police, and judges as their allies.

It is logical that minority groups should not support society's compliance systems. In many ways minorities, especially Negroes, are excluded from the dominant political culture of their community and nation; they are denied its rewards (Marvick, 1965). Black children perceive this exclusionary process quite early in their lives. By the time they reach adolescence, they have less positive affect for America than their Dominant peers; this is especially so for black youngsters who see inequality in race relations -- such youngsters tend not to be proud of America (Greenberg, 1969). Jaros points out:

Studies in political socialization which differentiate their findings by race are rare. But it takes only a cursory examination of sociological data to develop the expectation that Negroes are socialized to a different affective orientation to political authority than are whites. Gunnar Mydal notes that his treatment by the white majority "...prevents the Negro from identifying himself with society and the law." Although much resentment against the dominant white majority may be repressed for fear of punishment, one would expect at least some expressions of hostility against or alienation from symbols of the regime. This can be seen in the lesser degree of "political involvement" and higher crime rate among Negroes (Jaros, 1967: 380-381).

Political socialization produces many more anxieties and confusions for a minority group person than a Dominant. Socialization takes place in both the minority group sub-culture as well as within society's socialization community. These two socializing factors emphasize

conflicting norms, values, and models.¹¹

Strecher describes the resulting psychological problem that results from such conflict:

Cognitive dissonance exists in the lower class Negro's simultaneous awareness of the conventional social norms of behavior, and the substituted norms by which he lives. There is also cognitive dissonance in his knowledge that this sub-cultural behavior does not work out as well as most residents say it does. The means of reducing this cognitive dissonance are to reject the conventional cultural goals, and legitimate means of accomplishing them, and to attach allegiance to other goals and means which bring behavior and norms into consonance. This, however, is a tensely balanced solution for the lower class Negro (Strecher, 1967: 706).

Due to the crisis between police and minority groups the literature on this relationship is extensive. Unfortunately, substantial sociological interpretation and research on teachers and minority groups is meager. The problems between society's schools and minority groups are just as crucial as police and minority group relations. Indifference or antischool attitudes are reflected in the high rate of Negro school dropouts. Negro high school dropout rates are estimated as being twice as high as those of Dominant teenagers. A major root of the problem is reflected in the following statement:

... it should be mentioned that the roots of delinquency are often found in unfair treatment accorded members of minority groups. Both teachers and administrators may have strong prejudices, of which they may be unaware, thus rendering a strictly judicial attitude impossible. Discrimination against Negroes in some schools is the rule rather than the exception (Smith, 1952: 89).

The need for research in this area of difficulty is quite evident.

All the complexities of minority groups and compliance system relations are not fully understood or investigated. The following

¹¹An example of the conflict between the Negro gang norm of the necessity for fighting for one's honor and the police norm of the function of neighborhood tranquillity and order is presented by Werthman and Piliavin, in Bordua (1967): 62-63.

literature helps to clarify the issue.

4. The police and minority groups

The police are most important to the psychology of the minority person:

The police are important for minority people not just because of what they do, but because of what they are. Minority people recognize that other problems must be solved if substantial improvements are to be made in the quality of their lives. Yet what they experience at the hands of the police is of enormous emotional significance. It symbolizes for them the backhanded treatment they receive from society as a whole. The police are the ubiquitous, public, authority-laden symbols of their own second-class citizenship. Upon them is vented the accumulated frustrations of lifetimes of inequality and subservience.... Minority people project upon them, their emotional reactions to deprivations at the hands of the majority (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 141).

Since police are symbols of society, it is important to review the literature that relates to police reactions, prejudices, and treatment of minorities.

From 6,330 questionnaires from police throughout the country, Watson (1967) found that police are quite aware of their fellow officers' prejudices against minorities. Nine out of ten indicated that they know of officers who openly hate minority groups. Eight out of ten stated that some officers were inclined to be impolite as a rule to minority group citizens. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) did not find Denver police so harsh on their fellow officers. Five percent admitted that sometimes police were unfriendly to minority people. No officers

said they were prejudiced or antagonistic.¹² Westley described the police of the city he investigated as extremely prejudiced. "...no white policeman with whom the author has had contact failed to mock the Negro, to use some type of stereotyped categorization, and to refer to interaction with the Negro in exaggerated dialect, when the subject arose" (Westley, 1951: 168). Westley felt that the police perception of the Negro is a main cause of brutality. The police feel that Negroes dislike police and will only respect them if they are fearful of the police. Since Negroes are politically powerless, they can be mistreated with little danger. The police also related beliefs that Negroes are born criminals, not made criminals. Kephart's (1954) description of Philadelphia police is similar to Westley's. From 1,081 police questionnaires he found that 51.8 percent of the respondents were more strict with Negroes than with Dominant violators. Interviews revealed that these men felt that Negroes required strict treatment because of their pugnacious attitudes. Bayley and Mendelsohn's (1969) recent study of Denver found that police approach minority group members cautiously -- alert for danger. Race is a cue in the policeman's world. Minorities are correlated with violence, crime, and lack of support for police. Officers, confused about and unknowing of the minority world, become suspicious of all minority people. Beyond this suspicion are unfortunate emotions:

12. Policemen strongly object to being called prejudiced or biased. They, according to their own standards are merely truthful, not biased.

...the policeman would object...to the term racial bias as a portrayal of his attitude on two grounds: it is not descriptive, but accusatory; and it singles out the policeman when in fact he represents a wider body of opinion. His most important objection, however, would be to the ambiguity of the term when applied to the issue of how he does his job (Skolnick, 1966: 83).

Policemen...feel cynical, and sometimes angry, because they have been placed, despite themselves, in such an invidious position. They are asked to do a job that few people understand, involving in the case of minority persons, people who are bitter and frustrated. The policeman's ability to reach the roots of problems is exceedingly limited; yet Dominant society expects him to contain unrest and disorder, and criticizes him freely if he does it illconsideredly, in haste, or anger. The police officer, in his relations with minority people, feels terribly put upon. He, like minority group people, feels caught in an embittering situation, not of his own making - a situation few people in majority society will make the effort or have the patience to try to understand (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 197).

In Black and Reiss' (1967) police and citizen transactions study of selected police precincts of Boston, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., the great majority of Dominant officers in all precincts held anti-Negro attitudes. In the predominantly Negro precincts over three-fourths of the Dominant policemen expressed prejudice toward Negroes. Only one percent expressed attitudes sympathetic toward Negroes.

Bouma and Schade (1967a, 1967b) obtained attitudes regarding racial problems in the community from 150 Grand Rapids and 120 Kalamazoo police officers. They found that a majority of the officers, in both cities, rejected the idea that charges of police brutality are in some cases true, the officers did feel that inner-city residents have become more negative toward police and uncooperative in recent years. Twenty two percent of the Grand Rapids, and 30 percent of the Kalamazoo police felt that one has to be tougher when dealing with Negroes, since they are more likely to be trouble makers. Just over half of the officers subscribed to the clearly racist idea that "even if Negroes had the same living conditions as white people, most Negroes would have lower morals than whites" (Bouma, 1969).

Wilson (in Wheeler, 1968) in his study of two cities police departments found that police perceive Negroes as vicious, secretive, and always alien. However, the high arrest rate of Negro juveniles compared to Dominants, may have had nothing to do with prejudice. Officers look to the family structure as a dispositional cue -- the lower class Negro family is perceived as weak and matriarchal. High arrests and court referrals of Negroes are the result of officers' beliefs in the need of the court to handle a "homeless child." In a recent study of police dispositions of a large sample of inner-city youth, it was discovered that police take into account the offender's family structure when making a disposition of his case and that some of the difference in dispositions handed out to Dominants and blacks can be explained in terms of this practice by the police (Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970). The study pointed out, however, that police officers are not attending to the less obvious qualities of family life in making their disposition, "...a broken home may have quite different implications in the two racial groups" (Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970: 520).

In Black and Reiss' (1970) study of 281 police and juvenile encounters in three cities, they found that though the arrest rate for Negro juveniles was higher than for Dominant youths, this is due not to police behavioral orientation, but more to complainants tendency to insist on arresting black youths more than Dominant youths.

The "labeling of delinquency" theorists appear to emphasize prejudice of police as a cause of juvenile delinquency more than other

writers in the delinquency field.¹³ Piliavin and Briar found that, "compared to other youths, Negroes and boys whose appearance matched the delinquent stereotype were more frequently stopped and interrogated by patrolmen -- often even in the absence of evidence that an offense had been committed -- and usually given more severe dispositions for the same violations" (Piliavin and Briar, 1964: 212).¹⁴

In his study of the juvenile justice system, Cicourel states:

Interviews I have observed between officers and lower-income Negro males typically involve direct accusations about the youth's dishonesty, his general style of life, and his defiance and disrespect of authority, as revealed by his posture, speech mannerisms, demeanor, dress patterns, lack of remorse, seemingly unconcerned view about the consequences of his acts, what could happen to him, and so on (Cicourel, 1968: 215).

¹³Werthman's thesis graphically describes the frustrations felt by Oakland and San Francisco gang member youths due to police labeling and stereotyping:

By the time gang members have passed through junior high school and the early years of adolescence...their attitude towards the police has changed to outrage.... during early and middle adolescence, the gang boys simply do not think they are the kind of people they see reflected in the words and deeds of the police, and much of their antagonism, including most challenges to the authority of the police, is precisely an attempt to defend their preferred self-conceptions as moral equals, and as "men" against official attack. They simply do not accept the view of themselves they find both implicit in the operations of the police (Werthman, 1964: 149).

¹⁴Goldman (1963) also found differential treatment of Dominant and Negro children by police of and around Pittsburgh. While only 33.6 percent of the Dominant juveniles apprehended were referred to court, 64.8 percent of the Negroes apprehended were disposed of by court referral. More of the minor offenses of Negro children were handled by court referral.

Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969), Ferdinand and Luchterhand (1970), and Strecher (1967) identify a main cause of police and minority group relation problems in the fact that the majority of the police are not well equipped, due to their upbringing, in personal knowledge of minority groups and their problems. The great majority of the country's police are Dominants from socio-economic statuses that rarely interact with minorities.

We now focus on the other side of the police and minority issue, a review of the literature dealing with the extent of minority group support.

Both Gourley (1953) and the University of Houston (1959) found the minority groups, especially Negroes to be most critical of their police departments. Recent public opinion polls findings are similar to these two early ones. Reiss (1967b) found that twice as many Dominants as Negroes in Chicago, and more than two and one-half times as many Dominants as Negroes in Boston, thought the police were doing a very good job. Less than one in five Negroes in either city see the police as doing a very good job. The Hartford study (McCaghy, Allen and Colfax, 1967) revealed that somewhat over half of the Negro sample were satisfied with the police job, while slightly over two-thirds of the Dominants were. The findings indicate that, compared to Dominants, Negro attitudes toward police are more negative not only in diffuse support, but also in specific issues as political influence, police arrogance and police understanding. Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) found that the minority group respondents (though only 34 in number) of the two Michigan cities they sampled for attitudes toward police were significantly more

likely to view the police in a negative manner. The Harris poll (1968) revealed that Negroes perceive the compliance system as significantly more unfair than Dominants do. While 84 percent of the Dominants feel that the arrest of people accused of committing a crime as fair, only 51 percent of the Negroes feel so. While 71 percent of the Dominants feel that people waiting in jail to be tried are treated fairly, only 32 percent of the Negroes agree that this is true. While six in ten Dominants have a lot of confidence in law enforcement officials, only one in three Negroes express this attitude. Data from a national survey in 1960 by NORC revealed findings that substantiate the Harris poll findings of feelings of unfairness. Substantially fewer Negroes (100 Negroes interviewed) than Dominants expected either bureaucrats or policemen to give serious consideration to the explanations (Marvick, 1965). Bayley and Mendelsohn's (1969) most recent study of Denver finds the same results as the other polls. Less than one out of every four Negroes said the reputation of the police was high in their neighborhood. Minority groups were more reluctant to call the police on problems that arise. Regarding police fairness, almost three-fourths of all Dominants described police treatment as being fair, while only half as many Negroes and Spanish-named agreed. Of course, a much larger percent of the minority group felt that the police were unfriendly and prejudiced than Dominant group. The 1966 NORC poll for the Federal Crime Commission found Negroes, regardless of income, much more critical than Dominants about police effectiveness, police honesty,

and police respectfulness toward "people like yourself" (Ennis, 1967).¹⁵

The emphasis of this review will now focus on studies that examine support of police by minority youth.

Derbyshire (1968) conducted one of the only studies of very young children's attitudes toward police. Using a projective technique of picture drawing he studied 30 Negro, 30 Spanish-named, and 30 Dominant children from lower to higher socio-economic status areas. All subjects were of the third grade. Content analysis of the subjects' drawings of policemen showed that the Negro and Spanish-named children see policemen's tasks as aggressive, negative and hostile, while Dominant children are significantly more preoccupied with tasks being neutral, non-aggressive, and assisting.

Turning to studies of adolescent minority youth, one finds results regarding minority youth attitudes toward police similar to their adult counterparts. In a study of 1,000 Cincinnati junior high school youths, the Negro sample responded significantly more negative on an Attitude-toward-Police Scale than the Dominants did (Portune, 1965). In studies of 2,000 students of six junior high schools in Grand Rapids and one in Muskegon Heights, and 2,000 junior high students in Kalamazoo, race turned out to be the most significant factor associated with difference in attitudes toward police, with Negro students showing markedly more antagonism (Bouma and Williams, 1968 and Bouma, Williams, and Schade, 1967). Consistent with the other findings, Clark and Wennenger (1964) in their study of 1,154 sixth to twelfth graders from four different socio-economic and rural-urban districts, found less positive support for the legal institutions from the Negro-lower-class urban

¹⁵For an interesting analysis of the cause and effects of this police and minority group stress see Jacobs (1966).

subjects than from the subjects of other areas.

What accounts for the formation of such negative support for police, at such a young age, in minority groups? Police and youth contact seems to be a prime causal factor. Streets are a true social institution for many minority youths (Sebald, 1968). The lack of more private recreation facilities within minority areas forces minority teen-agers to gather at street corners, beer joints, soda shops, dance halls, and public playgrounds. For many such youths there is no place to go other than the street. Therefore minority youths come under more police observation and, in turn, have more opportunity to observe police actions than do Dominant youths. What type of contacts do minority youth on the street have with police?

In all, it is clear that among even the more prominent Negroes rough treatment at the hands of the police is not unusual and that in the Negro community no love is lost on the police force (Westley, 1951: 106).

And:

Young Negro men (teen-agers and twenty-one to thirty years old) have a higher incidence of being badly treated than older people. This may indicate that they are in fact singled out for harassment more often than others or that they have a much greater sensitivity to the slights of police contact. Whichever the explanation, young Negroes have had experiences with the police that do not dispose them favorably toward policemen (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 127).

As conditions exist today, there appears little chance minority youth can effectively be socialized toward the possession of diffuse support: as a matter of fact, it appears that the compliance system is socializing these youth effectively in a negative direction.

B. The Theory of Socialization

An individual's support for the compliance system develops in a complex way. Attitudes do not arise instantaneously, but develop slowly; for the young person they are always in a state of flux. The securing of support depends on a process referred to as socialization -- a most important concept in social science. Brown has stated that socialization "may reasonably be designated the central topic of social psychology" (Brown, 1965: 193).

Generally, social scientists hold that the primary, but not the only, means of order is accomplished through the various processes of social control and socialization. Social control is a process of controlling overt behavior through societal, group, or interpersonal means, along acceptable lines. Socialization is usually considered a process of educating, in the broadest sense, societal members in values, norms, information, and skills considered desirable and useful to society. The emphasis is on training to produce effective and contributing members of society. Both processes rely on rewards and punishments to achieve their goals. Social control processes rely on direct, repressive, coercive force, usually administered by a governmental agent, while socialization relies on direct and indirect means of teaching people to want to do what the system requires. The more successful a society is in socializing its members, the less there is need for social control. However, no society has ever been completely free of social control.

Most authors, in defining socialization, mention two elements. One has to do with output, i.e., the results of the process. The other is

the input, i.e., the process of acquisition; this refers to what is "done" to the child. This review will now discuss these two elements.

1. Outputs

Parsons and Shils (1951) look at the maintenance function of socialization. Socializers act to maintain and modify the social system and the value patterns in which and by which they live, and to keep the personality structures of their living descendents within the pattern. This maintenance function involves perpetuation of its own structure, norms, values, etc., in spite of the many changes due to deaths and births that society experiences (Eisenstadt, 1956). The social system emphasizes the potential danger of discontinuity and disruption, and the necessity of overcoming them. The learning of the culture is the key to socialization. "Learning may be conceived as mental activity that affects subsequent mental activity" (Cole and Cox, 1968: 4). Learning is crucial to the maintenance function. An individual must learn to be reasonably responsive to the pattern of social order and to the personal needs and requirements of others, i.e., he must be basically socially conforming (Inkeles, in Clausen, 1968). The maintenance of society requires that its members have certain motor and mental skills, and certain ways of thinking about the world, organized in belief and value systems.

Most discussions of socialization emphasize belief and value system development of the neophyte. Elkin (1960) feels that socialization includes both the learning and internalizing of appropriate patterns, values, and feelings. For Mainer (in Remmers, 1963) the process of

socialization impresses upon each person the accumulated beliefs, norms and values of family and culture. Hess and Minturn (undated), Hollander (1967), and Holloran (1967) all emphasize socialization as acquisition of attitudes and values which enable the youth to interact with the major institutions or social systems of society. Havighurst and Neugarten combine cognitive and affective skills in their discussion of socialization:

There are two major aspects of social development that are of special importance to educators. The first is the general process of social learning, whereby the child learns all the many things he must know and all the things he must do or not do to become an acceptable member of society. We refer to this process as the socialization process; we say that the child is gradually "socialized" (that is, he becomes a member of the group and takes on the way of life that are the group's ways); and we say that society, through its agents (parents, teachers, and other persons) acts to "socialize" the child.

The second aspect of social development is the formation of social values and social loyalties in the child; his feelings of allegiance to the various groups of which he is a member; his desire to collaborate with others, and the merging of his self-interest with the group interest (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1967: 125-126).

It is important, according to Wrong (1961), to keep in mind the separation of these two major aspects of social development. If they are confused, the "malady" of an oversocialized view of man results.

2. Inputs

Socialization theory was restructured in the mid-1950's by the initiation of the social-role and systems approach to socialization theory. Through the influence of Parsons (1951), and Parsons and Bales (1955) role theory was incorporated into socialization theory.

Role theory is concerned with interaction, it is concerned with identifying and relating behavior patterns of individuals. The

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combination of role and socialization theory directed researchers toward investigating the process by which social roles are learned. The focus of socialization theory building shifted from Freudian orientations of observable training practices to interest in the informal practices of learning. The major variables were no longer those associated with the libido, but those relationships between the individual and the socialization community that introduces group behavior orientations. With this new orientation came an expansion of adolescent research.

The process of socialization is dependent upon social interaction in which adults are acting in roles in their orientation to the child, and the child develops expectations which rapidly become role-expectations (Parsons and Shils, 1951). Eisenstadt (1956) emphasizes the transmissions of social heritage and maintenance of social continuity through the interactions of an older age cohort with the younger age cohort.¹⁶ Adults, perceived as already socialized are the legitimate teachers of youth. Adults can be identified as two kinds of socializers. Primary socializers are parents, teachers, and police. These are adults who interact with children in direct ways. Secondary socializers are spatially separated and may never meet the one being socialized, but who are nevertheless able to effect attitudes, such as the President, or one's favorite baseball player or actress. Regarding the acquisition of attitudes and values, Hollander (1967) relates three ways this is accomplished: direct contact with the object, interaction with those

¹⁶A cohort is an aggregate of human beings who experience the same kind of, or a common, event during a given time period (Reiss, 1966: 12).

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holding the attitude or value, and upbringing within the family's structure. These processes involve transmission, reinforcement, and modeling, topics that will be discussed in a succeeding section.

It is important to realize that there are vast amounts of inputs that a child experiences through the day from his primary and secondary socializers (the socialization community). This is difficult for the child, as Lippitt points out:

The daily socialization maze of the child and youth is indeed a medley of intervention. Many of the inputs are competing for attention and time; some are conflicting in their messages; there are great variations in the type of relationships offered by, and expected with, the socialization agents (Lippitt, in Clausen, 1968: 333).

It is more or less assumed, in political socialization theory, that the extent to which the agents of the socialization community are operating in the same direction, the more effective will any one of them be. If the parents, teachers, police officers, school curriculum, scout leader, peer group are all urging a youngster to "obey the law," the message from any one agent is bound to effect his attitude. However, if the socialization community agents are pulling in different directions, the success of any one agent will be less. Cumulative or congruent socialization describes the first situation and noncumulative or incongruent socialization describes the second (Prewitt and O'Kello-Oculi, in Segal, 1970).

Inkeles (in Clausen, 1968) identifies two "waves" of socialization that all individuals experience. The first wave consists of the learning that takes place in infancy and early childhood. The second wave

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consists of the more sophisticated learning regarding heterosexual relations, work orientations, political allegiances, and so on. This wave takes place in the adolescent years and deals primarily in political socialization.

3. Political socialization

The comments presented in the previous section on general socialization pertain also to this section. Political socialization is just a narrower aspect, focusing on political concerns of socialization in the broad sense. Within the last few years there has been a large upsurge of theorists attempting to delineate and define the concept of political socialization.¹⁷ Most of these definitions fall within the framework of general socialization; the only difference is emphasis. This is logical, since political socialization has borrowed extensively from cognate social science disciplines (Dawson, in Robinson, 1966).

There appears to be two types of political socialization that can be identified as indirect and direct political socialization (Prewitt and OKello-Oculi, in Sigel, 1970). Indirect can be thought of as the internalization of values not themselves political but which subsequently influence the acquisition of analogous values that are political. This is quite evident in the development of children's attitudes toward authority. Through interactions with significant others, parents, teachers, scout leaders, and etc., youngsters come to acquire expectations about authority positions. A general disposition toward

¹⁷For inventories of history, concepts, and definitions of political socialization, see: Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Dawson, in Robinson, 1966; Dennis, 1967; Dennis, 1968; Greenberg, 1970; Langton, 1969; Patrick, 1967; and Sigel, 1970.

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authority formulates. This becomes attached to political authorities. Their socialization with respect toward political authority was indirect--the initial acquisition and the later transference. Learning situations where the content of what is transmitted is specifically political is termed direct political socialization. Attitudes are attached to political objects right from the start. Prewitt and OKello-Oculi hypothesize that direct political socialization can be seriously undermined by contradictory indirect socialization. They state:

Although political socialization theory cannot with confidence assert that indirect learning is necessarily more compelling than direct learning, it can suggest that a program of political education is weakened to the extent that other political socialization experiences, direct or indirect, are pulling in different directions (Prewitt and OKello-Oculi, in Sigel, 1970: 618).

In his review of political socialization literature, Dennis identified ten major areas in which political socialization research deals:

1. System-relevance of political socialization.
2. Varieties of content of political socialization.
3. Political socialization across the life cycle.
4. Political socialization across generations.
5. Political socialization across different political systems.
6. Political socialization as it varies between sub-groups and sub-cultures of a society.
7. The political learning process.
8. The agencies of political socialization.
9. The relative effects upon different individuals or the extent of political socialization.

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10. Specialized (especially elite) political socialization (Dennis, 1967: 4).

These areas deal, for the most part, with the developmental process through which a person matures politically, i.e., develops his political self (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, and Prewitt and O'Kello-Oculi, in Sigel, 1970).¹⁸ Political socialization produces a political self. A positive political self means a competent self. The objective of political socialization is to produce competent people, as competence is defined in any given society (Inkeles, 1966). A competent person takes care of himself, supports others, votes, obeys laws, interacts effectively with the compliance system, and so on.

Three sources are involved in the development of the political self. First is maturation. As a person develops, personality characteristics relating to his sense of competence evolve. In regard to this study's interest in the development of support for the compliance system, Kohlberg's (1963; 1968) and Piaget (1965) works are pertinent. Piaget formulated a two-stage theory of moral development. In early childhood, stage one, the person is subject to another's (adult) law, and he interprets rules and laws in a literal, unalterable way. Competence develops in the second stage, later childhood, when the person develops to the extent to which rules and laws are complied to because of respect, agreement and common interest. Kohlberg elaborates on

¹⁸This term refers to his entire complex of orientations regarding his political world, including his views toward his own political role. In suggesting "political self" as a shorthand reference to an individual's package of orientations regarding politics, we are borrowing purposefully from Mead's notion of social self. Through his relationships with the social world an individual develops a political self (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969: 17).

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Piaget's theory by hypothesizing that moral development consists of six stages. Competence with the compliance system does not come about until stage 4 (about 13 years of age):

Stage 4: Orientation toward authority, fixed rules and the maintenance of the social order. Right behavior consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. One earns respect by performing dutifully (Kohlberg, 1968: 26).

The second source of political self is the socialization community: "...those persons and institutions in his environment that are capable of transmitting to him explicit or subtle messages about the political sphere" (Easton and Dennis, 1967: 34). This source of political socialization is mostly manifest (Almond, in Almond and Coleman 1960), i.e., it takes the form of an explicit transmission of cognitive and affective orientations through the rules, inputs, and outputs of the political system.

The third source is the person's background variables, such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, and sex. This source can be termed latent political socialization (Almond, in Almond and Coleman, 1960).

These three sources of political self appear to be effective since few children are cynical or distrustful toward politics (Easton and Dennis, 1968; Greenstein, 1965a; and Hess and Torney, 1967).¹⁹ There are a number of reasons for such extreme positive support by children. One is that the socialization community protects and shelters children from the dysfunctions of the political system (Greenstein, 1965a). Another is suggested by psychoanalytic theory. Political authority

¹⁹This support is not universal, however, as pointed out by Jaros, Hirsh, and Fleron (1968) in their study of political attitudes of poor, rural appalachian children.

(the President, policemen, etc.) are unconsciously perceived by children as the analogues of parents (Greenstein, 1965a). Easton and Dennis (1968) refute this psychoanalytic interpretation. Their research on over a thousand elementary school children from various parts of the country found that children do not see or feel about all compliance system agents in identical terms. Children differentiate between fathers as authority, and an outside the family authority; children differentiate between the various compliance system agents readily, and in later childhood institutionalization displaces personalization of the compliance system. Besides this displacement, at the adolescent stage, some shift away from political euphoria takes place. Disillusionment, probably caused by increased realistic understanding of the social system, occurs (Easton and Dennis, 1968; Greenstein, 1965a; and Hess and Torney, 1967).

The function of socialization for system-maintenance has been elaborated by Easton (Easton, 1965; Easton and Dennis, 1968; Sigel, 1965).²⁰ System maintenance will be discussed more thoroughly in a

²⁰The system-maintenance point of view is best described in this following paragraph by Sigel:

The goal of political socialization is to so train or develop individuals that they become well-functioning members of the political society. While the definition of a well-functioning member will vary with the political system-- from obedient passive subject in one system to active participating citizen in another -- a well-functioning citizen is one who accepts (internalizes) society's political norms and who will then transmit them to future generations. For without a body politic so in harmony with the ongoing political values the political system would have trouble functioning smoothly and perpetrating itself safely. And survival, after all, is a prime goal of the political organism just as it is of the individual organism (Sigel, 1965; 2).

succeeding section, however, it is beneficial at this point to present the four processes through which socialization toward compliance system support occurs, and thus how the system is able to cope with stress. First, Easton and Dennis (1968) describe politicization as the knowledge and understanding that the child acquires about the presence of a political sphere external to the family. These cognitive factors are most crucial, for political orientations which are most important in the behavior of adults arise earliest in the childhood learning sequence (Greenstein, 1965a). Second, political awareness comes about through the personalization of the compliance system. At an early age, children personalize the President and policemen (the head-and-tail effect as Easton and Dennis call it). Therefore these two well known figures become the "gatekeepers" into the political system. Third, personalization makes possible idealization of political authority--personalization is the link to diffuse support toward the compliance system. Last, the maturing child shifts from personalizing authority objects to the diffuse supporting of political institutions (such as congress, the House of Representatives, the Supreme court, and so on); this is referred to as institutionalization (Easton and Dennis, 1965). Hess' (1963) cross-cultural study of children from the United States, Chile, Puerto Rico, Australia, and Japan indicates that these four processes appear to be universal.

C. Society's Youth

The four processes through which socialization toward compliance system support occur -- politicization, personalization, idealization, and institutionalization -- are effective in prying the child away from

the exclusive family hold and making it possible for him to reach out to the structure of non-familial authority. By adolescence the child is well aware of the presence of an authority outside of and more forceful than the family (Easton and Dennis, 1968). A central feature of the adolescent period is the gradual replacement of familial significant others with non-familial agents of the socialization community. Besides this awareness, by the time youth have reached adolescence their political self, in many aspects, is pretty well developed (Easton and Hess, 1962). Feelings of competence are much higher for adolescents than younger children (Easton and Dennis, 1967). These aspects of youth can be seen as functional. If the child confused familial and non-familial authority, if his development of a political self was slow, the necessity to draw the child out of the family for the development of diffuse support toward the various other components of the compliance system would be extremely difficult. The following literature explores more fully members of a subculture, an age period most crucial for system maintenance, the American Adolescent.

1. Youths support of the compliance system

a. Support toward the schools The literature of youths' support of school and teachers is so sparse that one has difficulty in determining the extent of diffuse support children have toward these components of the compliance system. Of the studies that do relate to this issue, most indicate that youth exhibit negative support. Costin and Eiserer (1949), in a study of seventy-four eleventh graders found that the subjects identified more with each other than they do with other aspects of school life, and that they expressed a "stereotyped

oppositional" attitude toward school as an institution. However, not all students reject the school. Hargreaves (1961) in a study of boys from a London secondary modern school of a lower socio-economic area, identifies two subcultures within the school. The "academic" subculture indicates a group of boys who positively support the school and teachers. The "delinquent" subculture is a distinct group who are rebellious against the school. Stinchcomb (1964) identified a "delinquent" subculture in an American high school. The students of this subculture expressed "expressive alienation" characterized by (1) short-run hedonism, (2) negativism, (3) alienation from the status systems either created by authorities or closely connected to legitimate institutions, and (4) a culture of personal autonomy, a claim for the same sort of rights as adults have. Sexton blames the system of the school for the hostile subculture (which she includes not only non-achievers, but some who are among the successful). "The system creates a rather large group of aliens, marginals, and outcasts, those who cannot 'make out' in the system and those who reject individual achievement goals" (Sexton, 1967: 87). A central strain in the system is caused by an anomic situation -- the school system believes in equality but its practice is more often "every man for himself" (Merton, 1957). This produces serious conflict between the haves and have-nots, but also strain is identified in those who accept the incompatible school values and the scholarly. This strain is most evident from deviant students of white-collar background. Again, the explanation lies in anomic concepts -- the perceptions of success.

A study of deviant and highly socialized adolescent boys of blue-

collar background, found that though as a group white-collar boys hold more favorable attitudes towards school than blue-collar youth, the white-collar deviants were more hostile than blue-collar deviants (Weinberg, 1964). White-collar boys shift, when academic success is unavailable, to the values toward school which are antithetical to their original positions. They become alienated from the system and reject the legitimacy of the system and find comradeship with their blue-collar peers. This reaction formation manifests itself in a vengeance against the school. "They reject so harshly because they are socialized to want so badly" (Weinberg, 1964: 466). This strain manifests itself in overt aggressive behavior in boys, and in girls it manifests itself more in self-rejection and feelings of personal inadequacy (Jackson and Getzels, 1959).

Rosenberg and Silverstein's (1969) study of three social blocks situated in the slums of New York, Chicago, and Washington, described the young people's perceptions of the school as a penal institution which is at once an obstacle course and battlefield.

Whatever the causes -- how much the individual and how much the system are at fault, one finds a generalized state of demoralization. Pupils view school officials as hostile, indifferent, once in a while-- but exceptionally and unpredictably--"nice", and also as people who, whether or not they "care", have pretty much given up on them. With feeble motivation in the first instance, large numbers give up on themselves (Rosenberg and Silverstein, 1969: 39).

In a recent study of over 4,000 Western Contra Costa County California public junior and senior high school students, Hirschi (1969) reports that those with little academic competence and those who perform poorly in school are more likely to commit delinquent

acts. He argues that the link between ability and performance on the one hand and delinquency on the other is the bond to the school. Students who dislike school and who do not care what teachers think of them are more likely to have committed delinquent acts. Such youngsters are free to commit delinquent acts, for positive feelings toward controlling institutions and persons in authority are the first line of social control. If there is no emotional attachment to a person or institution, the rules of the person or institution tend to be denied legitimacy. In cross tabulating data, Hirschi found that a favorable attitude toward school protects the child from delinquency regardless of the intimacy of his ties with his father and regardless of his concern for the opinion of teachers. Concern for the opinion of teachers is also related to delinquency regardless of attitudes toward school or intimacy of communication with the father.

Turning to youths' perceptions of teachers, one may ask if teachers are viewed as part of the compliance system. This is an important question for if support of children toward the compliance system is relevant for adult attitudes toward this system, some evidence is necessary that indicates children's ability to identify teachers as agents of the compliance system, and to distinguish them from the other parts of this system. One of the only studies that relates to this issue found that, in regard to perceptions of governmental status, elementary school students and their teachers are unclear of teachers' status (Easton and Dennis, 1965; Easton and Dennis, 1968). Teachers status is complex. Adelson, Neil, and Green (undated) found that adolescents (between the ages of thirteen and fifteen) do understand government in

the person of its visible deputies, i.e., teachers, the police, the mayor, and the President, but do not grasp the institutions they act for and represent.

Studies that specifically measure attitudes toward teachers appear contradictory. Costin and Eiserer's (1949) study found that the elementary school students expressed greater negative attitudes concerning teachers than toward other areas of school life.

Bouma's (1969) study of some 10,000 students in ten Michigan cities found the youthful subjects to possess markedly negative feelings about the way teachers treated different categories of students. In almost every area they thought school personnel were less fair than were the police. Less than half the students felt teacher and principles treated Negro and white students alike. Bouma found the police had a more positive image of the subjects than did school personnel.

Offer's (1969) study of two high schools also found the students critical of their teachers. The youth perceived the athletic coaches as the only teachers in the high-school environment who treat them as individuals. It was his general impression that the school environment is a tense one for both the student and the teacher.

Brookover and his associates (Brookover and Gottlieb, 1964) found, in a study of junior high school students in a middle-sized city, that a great majority of the subjects identified teachers as being concerned, when asked to list names of all persons felt to be concerned about an individual's school achievement.

b. Support toward the police and the criminal justice system

Measuring youths' attitudes towards police is a crucial process for understanding socialization toward the compliance system. Children are exposed to police officers before most other compliance system agents. At an early age, children play with police dolls, toy police cars, and toy badges and guns; parents threaten their children by naming the policeman as a source of punishment to induce obedience, and the games of "cops and robbers" is a universal favorite among children. Children meet policemen at the school crossing, see them direct traffic, and listen to the conversations between father and policeman when the former is caught going somewhat over the speed limit. It is evident that the police become prime socializers (gatekeepers) of the compliance system. Therefore, the attitudes formed early in life toward police have direct bearing on adult support of the system.

Interestingly, the police, like social scientists, depend on attitudes to predict behavior. Police discretion is not based only on the acts a youth commits but on the youth's "moral character." Such judgements are based on knowledge of a person's attitude towards the compliance system, his deference and his demeanor. Adolescents tend to be defined as "delinquent," "troublemakers," and so on in brief encounters with compliance system agents, i.e., school officials, probation officers, and policemen.²¹ Their encounters become "trials"

²¹ See Cicourel (1968) and Werthman (1964) for case study analysis of such encounters.

on moral character rather than on behavior. "What do you think of your actions young man?" is a close proximity of the first question asked of youth who have not complied. Such a question is a test of the "right" attitudes. If the youngster appears penitent, guilty, afraid, submissive, and polite, he passes with freedom or a light sentence. If he is sullen, uncooperative, sassy, gives a shrug of disrespect, or is impolite he fails and is dealt with harshly -- he has rejected the one value all compliance system agents base their self-image on, "respect for authority." It appears that a youngster's attitude toward police is not only important to the stability of the compliance system, but is a crucial variable in his future and life chances. His attitudes determine if and how he proceeds through the system of juvenile justice.

This section deals with these most crucial attitudes of young people.

An important question to ask about youths' perceptions of police, like perceptions toward teachers, is: are they viewed as part of the compliance system? Easton and Dennis (1965, 1968) found that children, from youngest to oldest in their sample, most easily recognized that the policemen belong in the governmental sector. The clear governmental status of police, as compared to teachers is logical. The policeman is a tangible personal agent of authority to the child, an agent who is perceived to have power over and beyond that of fathers or mothers; a power that even parents, as powerful as they may appear to the child, cannot escape.

There is overwhelming evidence of youths' positive support of police. At the younger ages this is extreme. Police are viewed as: powerful, as much concerned for the child's welfare as one's father; agents who enforce laws and will help children when necessary; authority figures that one complies to even "if you think the policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do" (Hess and Torney, 1967). To the child the policeman is dependable by virtue of his capacity for persisting in what he does; he is trustworthy, plays some role as a decision-maker, and above all, he is a benign figure (Easton and Dennis, 1968). A feeling of powerlessness seems to be an important variable in the etiology of these feelings. Marwell (1966) described society as restricting the child's resources for use in manipulating others. It is a society that gives adults considerable legitimate advantages in controlling children. The youngster has few rewards he can hold out to adults for compliance with his wants. Several articles emphasized the relationship between youths' extreme positive support for the compliance system and feelings of powerlessness (Easton and Dennis, 1968; Easton and Hess, 1962; Hess, 1963; and Hess and Torney, 1967). Such positive support reflects important psychological needs of youth. Since children have few resources of power to manipulate adults, while adults constantly confront them with demands that can be enforced, children must seek some congenial form of accommodation. Some rebel and become labeled delinquents, others may become detached from the adult world. Most, however, impute to authority, qualities that permit the youngster to construct the compliance system and its agents in a most favorable light. Positive support is a psychological protection

for fears and anxieties of powerlessness. Therefore the adult threatening figure becomes a protector. The security needs of the youngster become an important ingredient in the socializing process. It should be noted that one study did not find this interpretation to be correct (Reading, 1968). The findings indicated that although Colombian children were relatively powerless, this need to perceive powerful figures as benevolent to cope with feelings of powerlessness was absent.

This idealism decreases with age. Older children do become aware that things are not so perfect. Hess (1969), in a study of 12,000 grade schoolers, found that though agreement with positive statements about how the system should be stays high in all grades, perceptions of how things actually are become more realistic with age. Generally children agree that the policeman's job is to make people obey laws, but the belief that punishment inevitably follows crime declines from 57 percent in second grade to 16 percent in eighth. There was also an increase with age in the number of children who saw the policeman's major function as helping people, accompanied by a decrease in the number of subjects who reported liking policemen. By grade four, the child has begun to develop some well-defined feelings about the police and these prevent him from expressing a strong personal attachment to them. Sixty-five percent of the second graders could say that the policeman is either their favorite of all or of almost all, while only 16 percent of the eighth graders can so state. Twenty-seven percent of the fourth graders are able to declare that they like the policeman more than anyone or than most, and this falls to 10 percent by eighth grade (Dennis and Easton, 1968 and Hess and Torney, 1967). Clearly, the

police charisma lessens with age.

Coombs (1968) found, in his study of 284 second through eighth graders, that the general tendency to comply with almost any authoritative command declined steadily and rapidly as children mature. Older children are slightly more inclined to protest legitimate acts than younger children, and much more likely to protest illegitimate acts. Strong initial positive affect for police, commitment to law, social trust, and authoritarianism decline markedly throughout the school years. With each higher grade level, however, the author found greater understanding of legal concepts and superior comprehension of what legal authorities should and should not do. Coombs concluded that students learn the norms of procedural due process while giving up idealized views of authorities and people in general. The transmission of these restrictive norms most probably weaken strong attachments to authority figures, but function in the long run to enhance democratic system stability due to the reduction of uncertainty they provide.

We will now concentrate on the literature especially dealing with adolescent support toward the compliance system. Adelson and his associates (Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, undated, and Adelson and O'Neil, 1966) extensively interviewed 120 youths, ages 11, 13, 15, and 18, on their sense of community and law. They found that younger adolescents are unable to respond abstractly; their discourse is concrete, almost literal. In regard to law, they emphasize the constraining, coercing side of the law. These youngsters appear to Hobbesian, i.e., they view the citizenry as willful and potentially dangerous, and society,

therefore, has a right, and need to be coercive and authoritarian. This is supported by Hirschi's (1969) findings that the vast majority of his subjects, nondelinquent and delinquent, adhered to a free will position in regard to criminals. That is, the majority did not deny the criminal responsibility for his own actions. Though this view does not lose its appeal, it does lessen with age. Many more older youths stress the inner corruption which follows lawlessness -- personal confusion, anomie, and a dwindling of moral sense and capacity. Younger adolescents assume authority to be omniscient and benign, hence law is enacted only for good reasons. These youth were radical in ideas of enforcing the law:

In a mood of serene omnipotence they propose baroque methods for the detection and punishment of "crime", giving little apparent heed to the gap between the possible triviality of the violations and the Orwellian apparatus needed to control, enforce and punish (Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, undated: 14).

The same conclusion was drawn by Tapp and Levine (1970) in their legal socialization study of pre-adolescents:

Children's responses to "What would happen if there were no rules?" cogently expressed their ideas about the nature of man and the function of laws and rules in society. American children demonstrated a fearful, distrusting view of mankind; both blacks and whites most often thought violence and crime would erupt without rules ... Children also thought anarchy, disorder, and chaos as well as personal desire would be rampant (Tapp and Levine, 1970: 569).

By fifteen, youths become more mellow. Law is now viewed as a product of man and thus is fallible.

Tapp (1970) found in her cross-cultural legal socialization study that the functions of laws and rules were regarded both as special norms that guide behavior and require obedience. A key finding was that the

concept of coercion was noticeably absent from their answers. These youngsters focused on the content and purpose of rules, not on punishment and authority. The author related:

This reluctance to recognize coercion suggests, as many legal scholars and social scientists maintain, that coercion and force do not insure obedience to the law, and that they are not the defining quality of all things legal or rule-like (Tapp, 1970: 31).

The extensive early public opinion polls of Los Angeles (Gounley, 1953; Houston (University of Houston, 1959), and a Purdue poll of 3,000 teenagers from throughout the country (Remmers and Radler, in Seidman, 1960) confirm the extensive diffuse support of the younger generation. Remmers and Radler interpret their results as a disturbing phenomena that is anti-Democratic:

This rather unpleasant portrait is an inescapable conclusion from the mass of data on the attitudes of the younger generation. More than half of our teenagers believe that censorship of books, magazines, newspapers, radio and television is all right. More than half believe that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local police should be allowed to use wiretapping at will, that the police should be allowed to use "third degree," that people who refuse to testify against themselves should be forced to do so. About half of our teenagers assert that most people aren't capable of deciding what's best for themselves; fully 75 percent declare that obedience and respect for authority are the most important habits for children to learn. On practically all questions of social policy, the youngsters lean strongly to stereotyped views (Remmers and Radler, in Seidman, 1960: 601).

These results should not be surprising considering what we know from the studies just previously reviewed.

Clark and Wenninger (1964) found in their study of 1,154 public school students, that those who did exhibit a negative attitude toward the legal institutions (police, courts, and judges) seemed to possess

an "anti-authority syndrome"; there appeared to be a correlation between the juveniles assessment of the quality of parental discipline and their school adjustment with this negative attitude.

Portune (1965) in a study of 971 seventh to ninth graders found that the majority responded positively on an Attitude-toward-Police scale. In follow-up interviews of 64 students he found consensus on the necessity of police, but very little knowledge on police operations. Voelcker (in Rolph, 1962) found very similar results with a group of London working-class youth. Gibson's (1967) results on interviews of ninety-four English boys, some delinquent, revealed predominant positive attitudes toward police. Positive support for police was evident in an attitudinal study of over 4,000 Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon Heights junior high school students (Bouma, 1969; Bouma and Williams, 1968; and Bouma, Williams, and Schade, 1967). Males had less favorable attitudes than females, negativism increased with age, those who had police contact had more negativism, and the lower the socio-economic status of the subject the more negativism.

In studying inner-city youth from three cities, Rosenberg and Silverstein (1969) were told many examples of police corruption and brutality. But their respondents rationalized these beliefs with elaborate apology for the police. They offered the apology despite their ambivalence, which prompted the subjects to say that they do not like cops, most of whom are "mean and crooked" -- and then led them to state that they understood the difficulties of police work.

The recent Harris poll (1968), which included 200 teenagers, was

not as optimistic regarding youths' positive support toward police. When ranking confidence in occupations, youth ranked law enforcement eighth out of eleven (teachers were ranked sixth). In ranking confidence in twelve compliance system agents, police fell in ninth place, judges first, detectives third, and probation officers seventh (the adults ranked policemen second and judges seventh). When asked about careers they seriously considered, police work placed ninth (teaching, fourth) out of thirteen alternatives.

Preiss and Ehrlich's (1966) results of samples from two Michigan cities, which included twenty-three teenagers, revealed younger persons less favorable with respect to the composite image of police. The authors blamed teen-age negativism on the realistic value conflict between the "car culture" of the adolescent and the "traffic safety culture" of the police.

Focusing on attitudes of delinquent youth, we find, as one would expect, delinquents more hostile toward legal agencies of authority than nondelinquents (Chapman, 1956). This author revealed that the degree of hostility is greater toward the police than any other compliance system agency.

In Hirschi's (1969) study of over 4000 adolescents, it was shown that those who reported one or more delinquent acts tended to not feel any "respect for the police" and to condemn policemen for not treating kids fairly. Matza (1964) interprets this hostility by delinquents in the following way: first, the antagonism is toward the compliance system agents, not the system itself; second, the juvenile court appears

most unjust to the youth who has experienced its processes; third compliance system agents are considered to be morally and technically incompetent by the youth who see so much vacillating in ideas and action among the agents; and last, it is not difficult to see compliance system ineffectiveness, therefore, a general notion develops among the youth that everybody commits many offences and only a few unfortunates get caught.

To conclude, it can be safely stated that the studies show that American youth of all ages, positively support police. Though the extreme idealism of childhood decreases with age, some support remains. This is a process of system maintenance, for this contributes to the ease with which the developing members of society acquire diffuse support for the compliance system.

2. The values of youth

Values are of decisive importance in understanding human behavior. The many variations that social scientists study in culture, social class, sex, religion or politics, deal with differences in underlying values. Many have turned to value analysis when investigating deviancy, conflict, human development, socialization, and therapy. As Rokeach elaborates:

Values... have to do with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. To say that a person "has a value" is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence. Once a value is internalized it becomes consciously or unconsciously, a standard or criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and others'

actions and attitudes, for morally judging self and others, and for comparing self with others. Finally, a value is a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes, and actions of at least some others -- our children's, for example (Rokeach, 1968: 159-160).

The influential aspect of values on children is problematic. In attempting to formulate and pursue appropriate goals the child is hampered by the fact that he is continuously in the process of formulating a value system which is emergent from the many value systems within the socialization community. Sigel (1965) emphasizes the importance of value system development as a function of the socialization community, when she described her finding that young boys, at a summer camp, expressed positive feelings toward the word freedom, while the word power brought mixed reactions. The socialization community had prejudged for them and told them that freedom is a good thing.

The studies of adolescent value systems consistently show that adolescents are preoccupied with values pertaining to their peer culture. Havighurst and Taba (1949) found that the principal values of Prairie City adolescents were social participation group loyalty, and individual achievement and responsibility. A value inventory administered to 307 elementary school children of rural and urban schools revealed that friendship, excitement, and recreation were ranked the highest (Hawkes, 1952). The seventy-two twelfth graders of Newmann's (1965) study ranked competence highest in their value system. Eppel and Eppel's (1966) content analysis for values from essays on "The Person I would Most Like to Be Like," of 250 working-class London teenagers, showed that physical appearance, material possessions, personality traits, and personal relationships were the most frequent mentioned.

In one of the only studies on the differential ranking of values by youth and adults, Shafer (1960) found that fifteen hundred seventh through fourteenth graders identified and ranked the following values: Health, love, life, and life's work or a career. Forty-six teachers and parents identified the same values, but ranked health and life's work higher than did the youngsters.

Matza and Sykes (1961) and Rothstein (1962) present conflicting results regarding differential value systems of delinquents and those not so labeled. The former identified subterranean values, i.e., values which are in conflict or in competition with other deeply held values but which are still recognized and accepted by many. These values are part of the dominant value system, delinquents just emphasize them more than others. Delinquents represented a reflection of society. Rothstein's study compared the way 163 delinquents perceived attributes related to high social status with the way 439 non-delinquents perceived these same attributes. The findings indicated that values held by the delinquent sample were significantly different from those of the non-delinquent sample. These differences persisted when socio-economic status level and community size were held constant.

D. Society's Schools

The school is a main variable in the maintenance of society's political system. The schools have always been used for ideological socialization, to transmit values to the young and to teach order and loyalty to the society. This socialization responsibility is accomplished in several ways: through formal quasi-political instruction and through

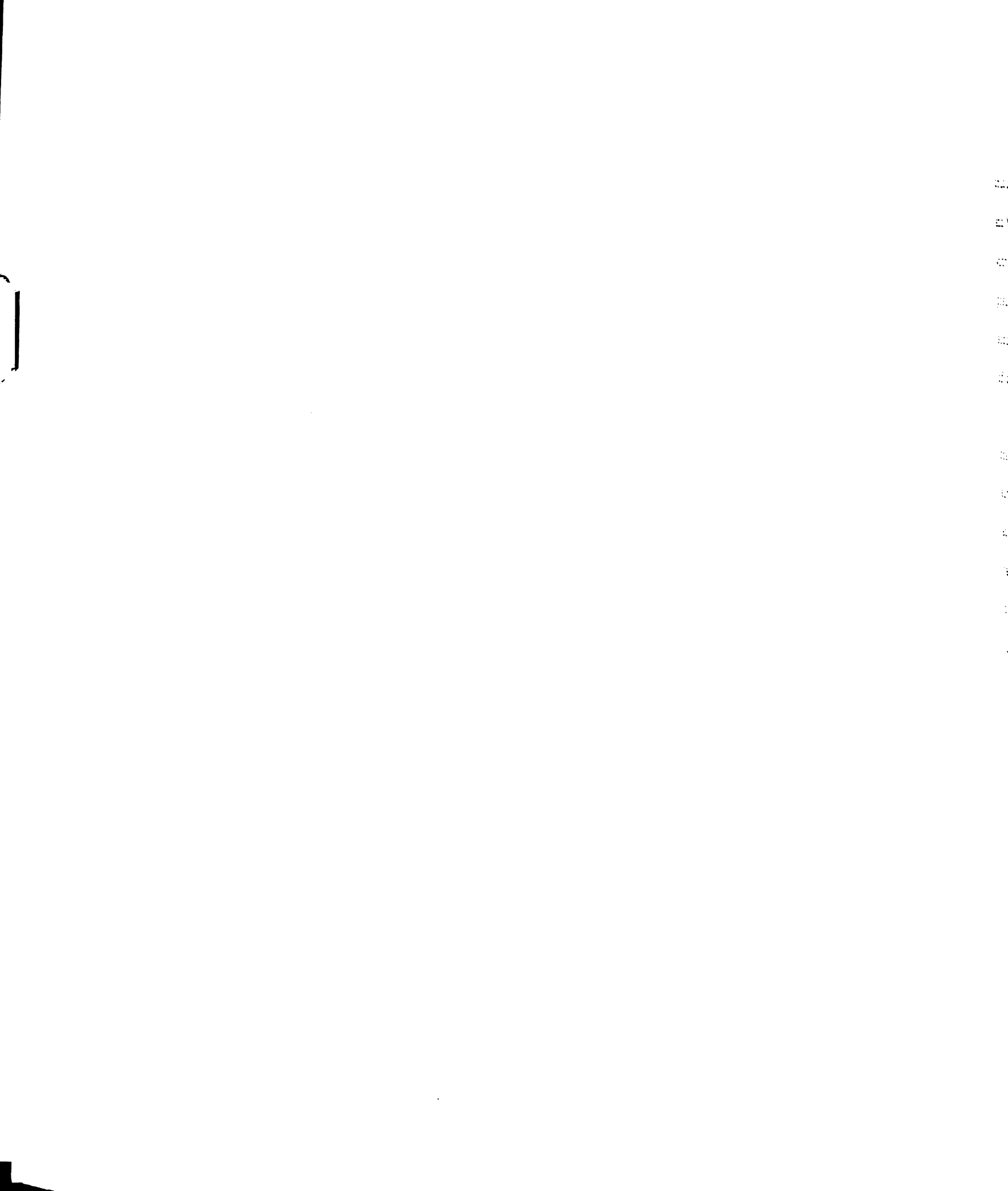
the atmosphere that prevails in the school, not only during instructions but also in the interaction between students of faculty. It is appropriate, therefore, that this review now focus on this most important component of society's compliance system.

1. The school as a social system

The concept social system is useful in studying social structure and organization. A social system is a network or system of social interactions; it is a system of the actions of individuals. It is organized to carry out one or more essential tasks of society. The principal units of the system are roles and constellations of roles (Parsons and Shils, 1951). In a social system one can identify the persons involved, which means that they have at least one distinctive characteristic in common. The school, like the police department, the court, and the other compliance system components, is a social system that has an unequivocal collective identity, an exact roster of members, a program of activity, and procedures for replacing members (Caplow, 1964).

In a recent discussion of the school as a prime political socialization component, it was stated:

...the school...is a social system of its own containing unofficial groups, organizations, clubs, and the like. The ease with which students can have access to these groups, the extent to which the school is run by these groups, or by cliques within them, the extent to which the school is an open system or a closed system all seem to shape profoundly the young person's sense of belonging and his own sense of control over his environment.... Thus the school as a social organism can either bestow or deny to the student some of the very skills and tools that permit him to enter the adult political arena with self-assurance and with trust in government (Sigel, 1970: 315).



The network of social interactions of the social system are crucial to the socialization process (Cole and Cox, 1968; Gross, 1959; and Minuchin, Biber, Shapiro and Zimiles, 1969). A student's contact with school personnel and peers affect his political self. The composition of the school, including attitudes and values, as well as social class and ethnic makeup, can aid in or hinder the development of community identification and compliance system support.

Each school has a somewhat distinct set of role incumbents composed of administrators, custodians, teachers, and students; therefore, schools have ideosyncratic climates (Coleman, 1961).²² There is general acceptance of the hypothesis that the schools' impact upon political values is more a result of the prevailing climate of opinion than formal instructions. This idea is depicted in the saying that children learn not what is taught, but what is "caught" (attitudes toward learning, toward authority, values of right and wrong, and so on). Levin (1961) found that the political orientations of high-school students moved toward the dominant political opinions of the high-school community. Newcomb (1957) attributed Bennington College's liberal climate of opinion that his female subjects were immersed in as the cause of their political value change.

There are several important consequences of the school's social system that social scientists have neglected to study. First, Sexton (1967) identifies the virtual isolation of the school from the society --

²²These climates are subject to change, however, due to the quick turn-over of staff and students.

thus the school is a closed system. Students acquire no intimate knowledge of business, financial, labor, or governmental institutions. This may be dysfunctional to the socialization process. Second, Shoben (1962) discusses the need of an open climate of opinion, that is, the socialization of children is hindered unless the differences in political and aesthetic opinions of the school staff are openly discussed with enjoyment in the presence of and with students. In such an atmosphere, youngsters come to realize that conflict may produce healthy consequences.

It is clear that a school's climate of opinion, the attitudes and values of student and teachers, must be taken into account in examining the schools' social system.

2. The school as a component of the compliance system

This study considers the schools as an important element in society's compliance system. The rationales for this notion come from the literature of the sociology of education, political sociology, and the sociology of deviance. The literature regarding this topic examines the educational system in: its governmental aspects, its relationship to the process of social control, its socialization processes, and its emphasis on discipline. These are variables that all compliance system components have in common. The literature also includes discussions of the importance of teachers as compliance system agents.

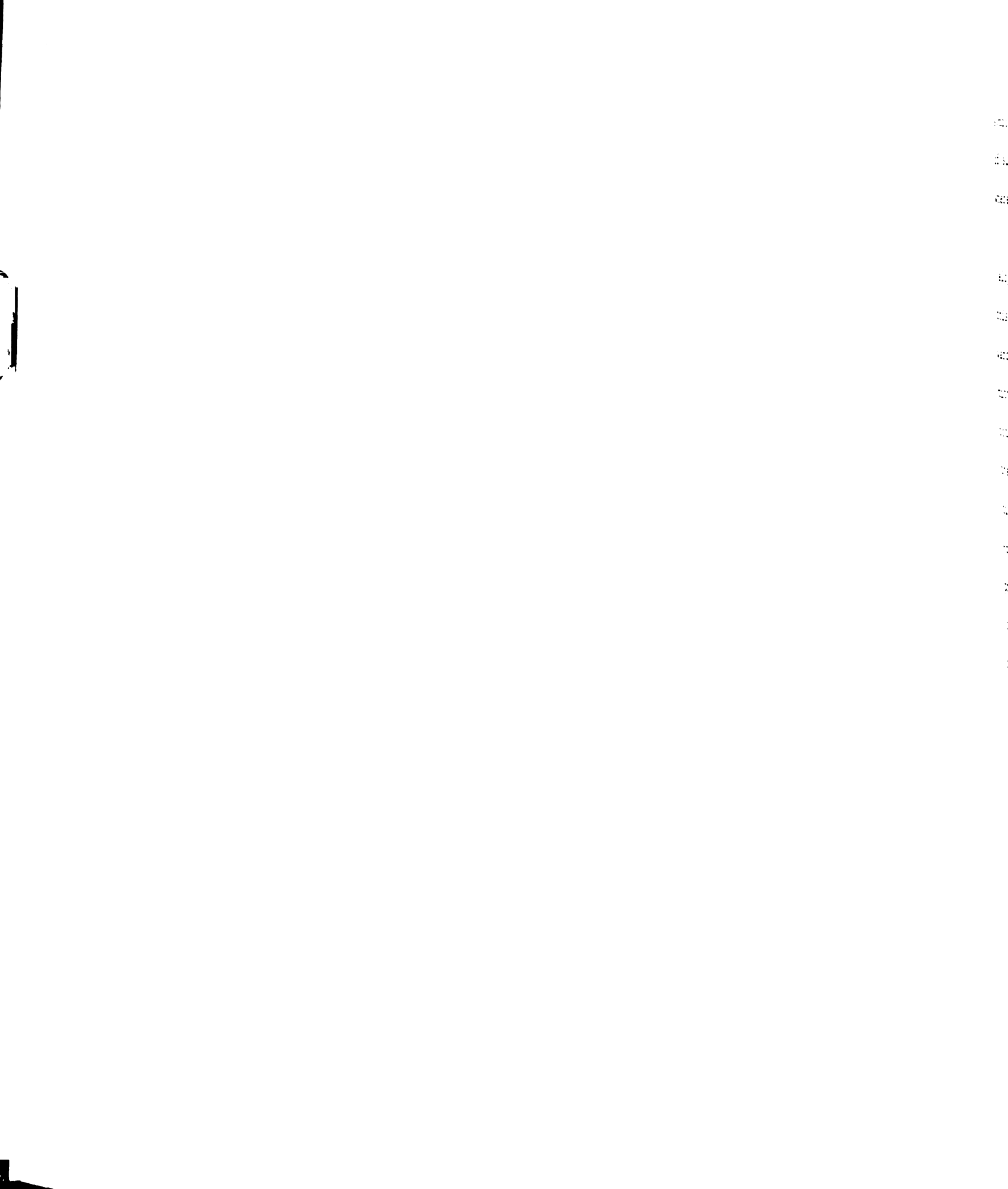
a. Government It is assumed that the educational system is a sub-system of a more general political system. The school's most obvious aspect in this regard is that it is a governmental agency, as is the other major compliance system component this study examines --

the police. Since schools are an arm of the government they are accountable to the public. They must respond to public definitions of the nature of adequate service. An important public definition centers around the teacher as an authority figure. Teachers are given the right formalized by state law, to control the actions of pupils in the classroom and to employ sanctions to enforce this control. Many of these governmental codes are coercive to youth and "would be regarded as confiscatory, and hence doubtless unconstitutional, if applied to any member of the Commonwealth old enough to be respected as having the right to dispose of his own time" (Friedenberg, 1969: 38).

b. Social control Since schools, as public bureaucracies (Peabody and Rourke in March, 1965), have no control over client selection, and clients have no choice concerning their participation, it is not surprising to find school personnel obsessed by control (Carlson, 1964). The school has its own set of social controls. Formal controls, as mentioned above, are often set by state or local authorities. Derbyshire states:

Formal controls are those sanctions instituted by the body politic and its agencies. Since emotional attachment is seldom a part of secondary associations, laws, sanctions, and punishments are explicitly stated and theoretically apply to everyone, no matter what his position in the social structure. Schools...and the police are examples of secondary socializing agencies who use formal social control methods (Derbyshire, 1966: 224).

Formal social control mostly involves negative controls, that is, punishment designed to prevent certain forms of behavior from continuing or developing. Such control is most effective in its symbolic form, that is, control verbally administered by school personnel through



symbols that insinuate some type of unpleasant consequences (threat of suspension, expulsion, petition to juvenile court, or in states where the schools are allowed corporal punishment, a whipping).

Schools also rely on positive controls which are designed to develop a favorable attitude or approved, conforming behavior. Again, this is many times at the symbolic level in the form of promised rewards (promise of good citizenship medals, chairman of student committees, and future success in the job world). Though schools use both negative and positive controls, they may emphasize one more than the other. Therefore, prototypes of custodial and humanistic orientations toward pupil control can be identified. Willower, Eidell and Hoy (1967) describe two such prototypes. The rigidly traditional school provides a highly controlled setting concerned with the maintenance of order. Students are stereotyped as undisciplined, and therefore must be controlled through punitive sanctions and the threat of such sanctions. The humanistic oriented school emphasizes the development of positive attitudes. The desire is for a democratic classroom climate which includes flexibility of rules, open communication, and student self-determination. An extensive comparative study of the psychological impact of school experience of nine year old children identified a similar school environmental dycotomy (Minuchin, Biber, Shapiro, and Zimiles, 1969). It was found that schools termed traditional and ones termed modern produced differing affects on the learning and development of children.

The chief mechanism of social control may be located along the following continuum:

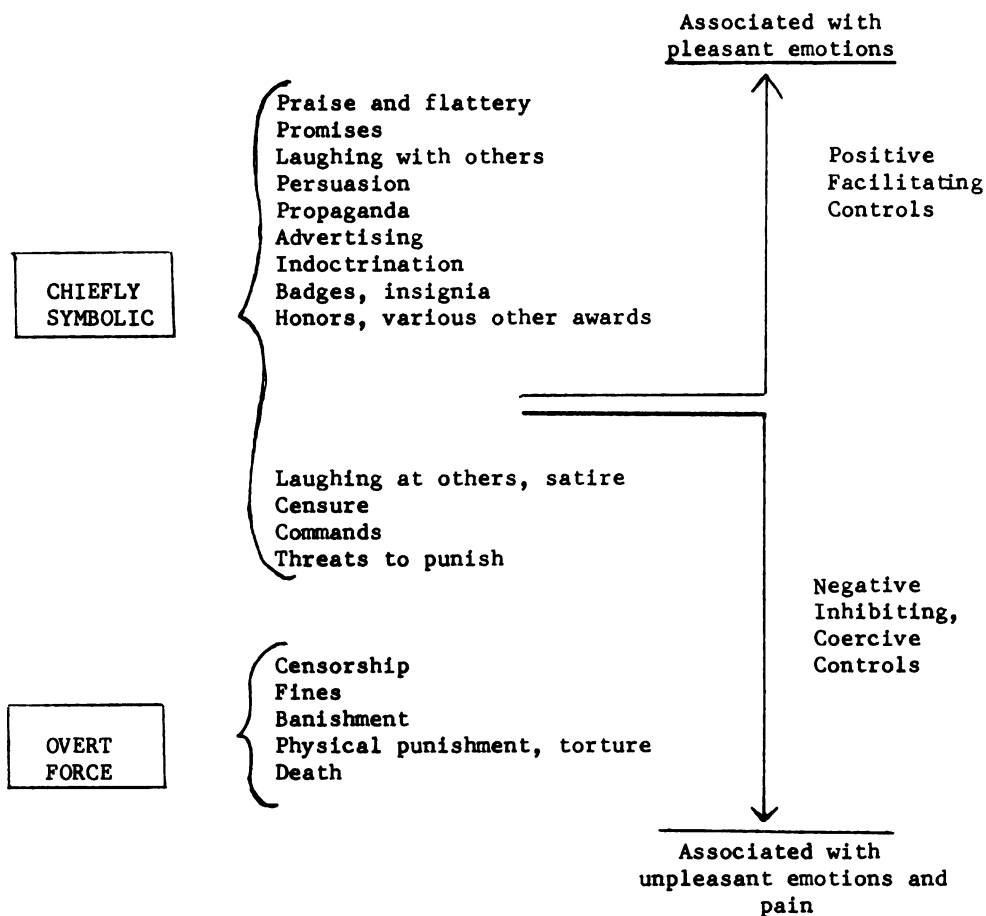


Figure 1. Classification of Chief Sanctions Applied to Social Control (Source: Earl H. Bell, "Social Foundations of Human Behavior" (New York: Harper) 1961. The above figure is an adaptation from Kimball Young and Raymond W. Mack, "Sociology and Social Life" (New York: American Book) 1959: 78.

Unfortunately, the preoccupation with control, which causes extensive use of both negative and positive control, produces an institution in which the means of control becomes the end. A main goal attainment of schools becomes keeping youngsters in line (Silberman, 1970). The result is an accumulated animus against youth (Nordstrom, Friedenberg, and Gold, 1967). The schools become guilty of deviancy production (Reiss, 1951; Wattenberg, 1953). Wattenberg's study of police records and backgrounds of juvenile delinquency recidivists, found that the home and neighborhood conditions accounted little for the recidivism rate, while school, police, and peer group relations were important variables. "In this way, the repeater is propelled toward more serious delinquency not only by the forces which started him on his way, but also by more intensified pressures in other areas of his life" (Wattenberg, 1953: 635).

c. Socialization Socialization is a first order goal of schools. The primary function is the teaching of skills and knowledge. This is complicated by the task of relating the child to society's compliance system. It appears, however, that the absorbing and learning of rules, norms, and sanctions are the areas in which the school's influence is the most pronounced (Coombs, 1968; Hess and Torney, 1967). Socialization of youth to skills and knowledge is greatly simplified when the teacher has positive support in the form of unquestioned authority. Negative support of the school and teachers is related to the rejection of the other compliance system components -- an anti-authority syndrome (Clark and Wenninger, 1964).

d. Discipline We have suggested that the school's preoccupation with control manifests itself in the continual emphasis, by school personnel, on the need for discipline in the classroom. School personnel define lack of discipline by youth as "defiance of authority" (Cicourel, 1968). Cicourel states that they will tolerate infractions of rules, but not demeanor showing defiance. Such defiance of authority is an extreme threat to the maintenance of order.

Several authors have identified the relationship between dysfunctional teacher personality characteristics and their preoccupation with pupil control. Becker (1953) in his study of sixty Chicago teachers concluded that his subjects exhibited pariah characteristics. Pupils and parents are perceived as being against teachers. Principals and other teachers must build defenses against the outsiders. From these feelings oriented toward preventing parental and child intrusion, defenses and secrecy are organized. Such characteristics of teachers develop from anxiety (or fear) of the loss of competence, which is determined by the amount of order in the classroom (Gordon, 1955; Henry in Spindler, 1963; and Heil, 1964). The definition of order makes many student actions a threat to authority. Teachers accept noise, confusion, humor, and horseplay only to a point where it challenges their authority (Gordon, 1955).

e. Teachers as compliance system agents One of the social roles of the teacher is to regulate relationships among members and to maintain acceptable standards of conduct -- such a social role is termed socio-emotional (Bales, 1953). Students are continually reminded of the

100
90
80
70
60
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20
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0

socioemotional role of teachers (Elkin, 1960; Campbell, in Goslin, 1969). Though students may co-opt, ignore, and attack the school, all school experiences revolve around the ultimate and immediate power vested in the role of teachers and administrators. Such experiences remind youth of their ultimate responsibility to the compliance system. In this socioemotional role a teacher performs as a judge (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1967). He is expected to maintain discipline, determine grades and grade advancement, decide what is right and wrong, judge cases of personal conflict between students, and individual and group violations of classroom and school rules. In some cases, school personnel act as judge and jury on clearly police matters. Goldman (1963) found that in several of the communities he studied, school authorities did not refer offenders they caught to police. Breaking windows, burglary, larceny in school, truancy, and so forth, were handled by the school. In this regard Redl and Wattenberg (1951) described the teachers' roles as that of referee, detective, or policeman. Teachers become specialists in the control of large groups of students even at the expense of their opportunity to learn (Friedenberg, 1965).

Though credentials of authority are implicit in the status of teachers, this does not mean that the subordinate youth legitimate the authority of all who fill these statuses. The credentials on which license for the socioemotional role are based, for any of the agents of the compliance system, undergo intensive scrutiny by youth, especially those youth labeled delinquent (Matza, 1964; Werthman, 1964).

That teachers are agents of the compliance system is evident by the emphasis they place on the importance of compliance to rules and

authority. The 169 teachers involved in the Hess and Torney (1965, 1967) study stressed the importance of socializing children to compliance as citizens more than any other political topic. The three items rated as more important than such subjects as reading and arithmetic by second and third-grade teachers was the law, the policeman, and obligations to conform to school rules and laws of the community. These authors felt that teachers utilize the image of policemen to introduce the child to the compliance system. Why teachers place such emphasis on compliance is explained by Foshay, Wann and Associates:

The teacher, being an agent for communication of culture to the young, is ordinarily a person who has himself successfully learned what some aspects of the culture demand. He has achieved these learnings without very much specific attention to the way he learned them; he probably managed, in the long run, actually to learn virtues by avoiding vices, to value the rewards of compliance with culture's standards after having learned to avoid its punishments. Teachers, especially have learned to value compliance with cultural demands. They probably conform with the culture as thoroughly as any identifiable group within it. It is not suggested here that they should not conform. Conformity, plus understanding, is precisely what is required (Foshay, Wann, and Associates, 1954: 48).

3. The school as a component of the socialization community

The main goal of the educational system is to prepare society's youth for adulthood; therefore, the schools are the pivotal point of the socialization community. One can appreciate the school's potential for socialization by looking at the amount of time a youngster devotes to this agency. Most of the day is spent in school, in after school extracurricular activities, and in preparing for school at home. Within this time period the focus is on preparing the young to function

as adults by giving them skills, and the knowledge society deems necessary for good citizenship and self-sufficiency. Within the school, children learn interpersonal skills, and are exposed to adult exemplars and role models. Also the school is instrumental in the development of support toward the various components of the compliance system, though in the upper grades much of the learning that takes place concerns things that legal authorities cannot do (restrictive norms), and it is here that exposure and cognitive factors appear strongest (Coombs, 1968). If the school personnel are hostile toward the existing compliance system, it is probable that students will absorb disaffective rather than positive supportive attitudes (Easton, 1965). However, the evidence shows that the school experience is on the side of developing trust and positive support for society's compliance system (Jennings and Niemi, 1968).

Durkheim, a half-century ago, identified the school as the prime socializer of youths' morals; he stated that "the school is the sole moral environment where the child can learn methodically to know and to love his country" (Durkheim, 1963: 67). American educational tradition has followed this notion. Throughout the history of public education in this country, schools have been given the prime responsibility in citizenship training (Mitchell, 1962). Schools have always attempted to develop basic allegiances to the fundamental political, economic, and social ideals of the society. The development of such allegiances is more important in the school than in any other compliance system component, for the school most closely approximates the political system and therefore is most effective in developing life long orientations

(Almond and Verba, 1965). It is evident that the school is essential for system-maintenance, for it contributes significantly to the integration of political systems (Easton, 1957b).²³

Several have identified a dysfunctional over-conformity aspect of the educational system's political socialization process. The school seems to perpetuate society's status quo -- with all its problems (Brookover and Gottlieb, 1964; Patrick, 1967). This results in outcomes that are inconsistent with the objectives of the schools, and with certain democratic ideals. Emphasis upon conformity is associated with authoritarian school climates where the active, probing child is repressed; where student inquiries into social problems are repressed; where obedience is desired at any cost (Friedenberg, 1965; Patrick, 1967). This may lead to unanticipated consequences in their adult political behavior, such as political cynicism, authoritarianism, and little tolerance for dissent and non-conformity. The problem appears to be most serious in schools whose students are largely working-class, for not only is the emphasis on over conformity, but there is no encouragement in the belief or knowledge of a citizen's ability to influence government actions through political participation (Litt, 1963). In this way, the schools are instrumental in developing powerlessness in the working class.

²³ Many authors have identified the school as a first-order socializer to the political system; among the most pertinent are: Almond and Verba, 1965; Coombs, 1968; Davis, 1965; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Douvan and Gold, in Hoffman, 1966; Dreeben, 1967; Easton, 1957b; Sirjamaki, in Hansen and Gerstl, 1967; Hemming, 1957; Hess and Easton, 1962; Hess and Torney, 1967; Jaros, 1968; Key, 1961; Patrick, 1967; Reiss, 1966; and Henry, in Spindler, 1963.

E. Society's Teachers

The backbone of society's schools are society's teachers. The success in the socialization of youth to social and political competence and diffuse support toward the compliance system is dependent upon the teachers within our schools. Society bestows upon teachers the responsibility to instill important norms and values; the fulfillment of this responsibility depends on several variables, such as teachers' belief systems and behavior (Harvey, Prather, White, and Hoffmeister, 1968). Besides this important responsibility, teachers are one of the most important factors in the mental health of our children (Lippitt and Gold, 1959). With these points in mind, this review now turns to examine the attitudes, personalities and roles of teachers.

1. Teachers' support of the compliance system and youth

It appears that teachers exhibit less positive support toward other components of the compliance system, such as police, than their charges. In Easton and Dennis' (1965) study, significantly fewer teachers identified policemen as agents of the government than did students.

Gourley (1953) and the University of Houston (1959) survey found that the least positive support expressed for the police department were those of the professions. Teacher responses were the most negative of the professions.

Level of education appears to be an important independent variable in professionals negative support of police. A recent study of public support of police violence indicates that the educational level of Dominants has explanatory power in regard to support of police aggressive behavior (Gamson and McEvoy, 1970). Young college-educated

Dominants were the most opposed to police violence. It was suggested that education influences the conceptual sophistication of the respondent. A highly educated subject can cognitively differentiate between the police and the law. Such a person who is opposed to contemporary challenging groups may give allegiance to a more abstract conception of the law. Deviants should be treated harshly but with due process; the legal system, not the police, is the proper bulwark against deviance. The researchers summarize their thoughts on the importance of education and support of police behavior in the following way:

Education...gives enough of a glimpse of this specter to sober the sympathetic attitudes toward the police that the sophisticated "law and order" supported may have. We argued earlier that the police violence index taps trust in the police, and this trust is primarily a function of privilege. For respondents with low trust in the police--blacks, for example--the education factor is largely irrelevant, because differentiating between police and the law does not make them any more trusting toward the police. Respondents with high trust in the police but low education do not have their support for police violence inhibited by awareness of the police control issue. But as education increases for high trust respondents, this additional factor becomes more salient; their inclination to support police violence is retarded by their greater awareness of the problem of controlling the police (Gamson and McEvoy, 1970: 109).

In an attitudinal study of 231 prospective teachers and 111 practicing teachers Weiser and Hayes (1966), using the Purdue Opinion Poll and youth questionnaire (Remmer and Radler, in Seidman, 1960), found that teachers preferred to give the government strong power of control and allow strong-arm methods by police. Yet few teachers agreed that "police may sometimes be right in holding persons in jail without telling them of any formal charge against them." Like Remmer and Radler's conclusion regarding the responses by youth, these authors described

teachers as having undemocratic attitudes. These results, however, are somewhat discrepant from the other studies regarding support of police.

Turning to teachers' support of youth, we find a parallel with the literature on youths' support of teachers. First, the literature is sparse, and second, what little literature there is indicates negative support toward youngsters. One of the earliest studies was Wickman's investigation, conducted in the mid-1920's, of two public schools in Minneapolis and Cleveland, and other teaching staffs in schools in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Minnesota. Teachers were dissatisfied with nearly one out of every three pupils, "...we are confronted with the fact that teachers' attitudes contain a large measure of dissatisfaction with the school work of their pupils which cannot fail to influence the attitudes of the children themselves toward school and all that the school symbolizes in their developmental life" (Wickman, 1938: 8). Teachers were most upset with infractions of classroom rules and routine, and failure to meet school work requirements.²³ The personal problems of children were little recognized. The problem child is identified as a threatening, frustrating individual. These are the children who assail the teachers' authority and integrity, and frustrate their teaching purposes. Teachers react in terms of the psychology of frustration. Indications are that this frustration is directly related to dogmatism. Willower, Eidell and Hoy

²³After thirty years, Hunter (1957) duplicated the Wickman study using 308 teachers. He found that although teachers continue to be concerned with much annoying and aggressive behavior, their understanding of causal factors and of consequences of behavior patterns had expanded and become more sophisticated.

(1967), in their study of teachers from thirteen school systems in Pennsylvania and New York, found that teachers scoring high on a dogmatism scale were more custodial in pupil control ideology (that is, advocating highly controlled school settings concerned mainly in the maintenance of order).

Evidence of negative support toward youth by teachers is presented by Lindgren and Patton (1958) who found high school and male teachers less favorably disposed toward children than elementary and female teachers. Willower (1963), found in his study of a 1,600 pupil junior high school that the older teachers were conservative and attempted to socialize young teachers toward an ideology of firmness and social distance in teacher-student relations. Students were ridiculed constantly which tended to legitimate inconsiderate treatment of students.

It is important, in understanding teachers' political self, to look at teachers' own perceptions of community negative sanctions in what and how they teach, and in political participation (Jennings and Zeigler, in Sigel, 1970; and Zeigler, 1966). Foskett (1967), in his study of 367 teachers from 34 elementary schools, found that teachers do not perceive a rigid and threatening public, but a public that possesses views different from their own. Though teachers are not threatened by the community, they define their own participation in community activities, especially ones dealing in educational matters, as inappropriate (Carson, Goldhammer and Pellegrin, 1967).

2. The values of teachers

It appears evident from this literature review that values are taught to or caught by the young through the socialization process, which shapes the behavior and personality of the individual. This transmission occurs not only from teaching, but through rewards and punishment, and other subtleties of interaction, as pointed out by Henry (in Spindler, 1963) in his research of the elementary classroom. Which values are transmitted depends upon the teachers own value system.

Many authors have stressed that teachers are the guardians and transmitters of middle-class values (Charters, in Gage, 1963; McCandless, 1961; Rich, 1960; Richie and Koller, 1964; Sexton, 1967, and Ziegler, 1966).²⁴ McCandless (1961) identified the following as typical middle-class values that teachers support: belief in God, cleanliness, thrift, intelligence, no expression of strong emotions, no expression of physical aggression, sexual restraint, correct language, temperance in the consumption of alcohol, honesty, hard work and self-discipline, doing one's duty, and learning for learning's sake. Society entrusts teachers with these values and expects them to pass them on.

²⁴ There is a controversy in the literature on this issue. After reviewing the literature dealing with the social class of teachers, Glidwell, Kantor, Smith, and Stringer, concluded that "...there is insufficient evidence to support the prevalent idea that nearly all teachers have middle-class origins, or that teachers apply middle-class standards of behavior to all children. Social-class discrepancies between teacher and pupil may, however, interfere with rapport" (Glidwell, Kantor, Smith, and Stringer, in Hoffman and Hoffman, 1966: 242).

A serious problem in our inner-city schools is the value conflict that results from incongruencies between middle and lower-class values and the emphasis on feminine non-aggressive values (women comprise three-fourths of the schools' teaching staffs).²⁵ These feminine values are in contrast with the lower-class masculine-aggressive focal concerns (Miller, 1968b).

It also appears that the teaching profession attracts people with values which reflect a desire to work with and help people. In Rosenberg, Suchman, and Goldsens' (1957) study of several occupations, 56 percent of the teachers scored high on the Rosenberg Faith in People Scale (in contrast only 40 percent of the doctors, 39 percent of the lawyers, and 36 percent of the engineers scored high on this scale).

3. Teachers as agents of the socialization community

The two socialization agents this study is interested in fall within the same categories of the socialization community (Lippitt, in Clausen, 1968). Teachers and police officers (especially patrolmen, and juvenile officers) are considered professional direct workers. These are the first order socializers who have direct interpersonal contacts with youth and their parents. These socializers are also designated formally delegated agents because they are delegated to take a socialization responsibility as representatives of some segment of society or of the total society.

As direct formally delegated socializing agents, teachers possess much power. This power is in part institutionalized and in part dependent on personality factors. Teachers have the power to influence

²⁵Zeigler (1966) points out that males who go into teaching place a low salience on masculine values, therefore it appears that schools are highly feminine oriented in values.

youth, principals, superintendents, school boards and parents. The power of teachers to discipline, advance or regress students in the system, and control much of the ideological and value content of the classroom makes them very important socialization agents (Cole and Cox, 1968; and Foshay, Wann, and Associates, 1954).

The power of the teacher in developing youths' attitudes, beliefs, values and behavior is extensively discussed in the literature.²⁶ The amount of information transmitted by teachers about the government is substantial. Ideals of citizen behavior and skills necessary to being a good citizen are taught throughout the child's school years (Hess and Easton, 1962; Hess and Torney, 1967).

Teachers are also powerful in the role of exemplars of youth. The community reinforces this exemplar role through its expectations of teachers. As Havighurst and Neugarten relate:

Although parents may smoke, drink, and gamble, they want the teacher to avoid any behavior that they think might be bad for children to imitate. In this respect parents may be following a sound principle, for the teacher, especially the young teacher, dealing with adolescents, is often a more effective model for youth than is the parent. As a consequence, the teacher is expected to practice the personal virtues of the middle class -- correct speech, good manners, modesty, prudence, honesty, responsibility, friendliness, and so on. At the same time, certain other middle-class virtues, such as competitiveness, striving for financial rewards, or independence of authority, are less likely to be valued in teacher behavior (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1967: 441-442).

Glidewell, Kantor, Smith, and Stringer (in Hoffman and Hoffman, 1966) point out that teachers' behavior is enormously potent, effecting

²⁶See, for example, Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Cole and Cox, 1968; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Easton and Dennis, 1968; Foshay, Wann, and Associates, 1954; Hess and Easton, 1962; Hess and Torney, 1967; and Zeigler, 1966.

the socioemotional climate of the classroom, the status relationships among the children, individual behavior, moral orientation, and intellectual performance. Thus the teacher influences not only the target of her action, but the witnesses as well.

The teacher is a powerful socializer because of the "learning culture" or "social system" he establishes in the classroom (Dawson and Purwitt, 1969). Such cultures or systems may be authoritarian or democratic depending on how the teacher handles his role as an authority figure. Such atmospheres effect the political outlook of students.

What actually is transmitted by teachers to children in the process of political socialization has yet to be determined. Kohlberg (1966) feels that morals are the main variables related by teachers. The teacher is constantly and unavoidably moralizing to children about rules, values, and proper behavior.

Zeigler (1966) found that his teacher subjects described themselves as "mediators of the culture." They transmitted information that would, they believed, equip students with values peculiar to a democracy.

Spindler (in Spindler, 1963) feels that since ones culture reflects many value conflicts, teachers, or socializers, convey these conflicts to children. The consequence is that many of the educational goals are defeated or obscured.

F. Society's Police

Like society's schools, society's police are crucial for system maintenance of the political system. The political system rallies

and commits human and physical resources to specific objectives and general ends (Easton, 1953; Easton, 1965a, Easton, 1965b). This system represents a set of processes through which citizen inputs, called demands, are converted into binding system outputs called authoritative decisions and actions. It is the authoritative component of the political system, referred to as the compliance system, which is directed to see that implementation and compliance to these outputs has occurred. The compliance system is formally granted capacity to direct, order, command, and compel through force, if necessary, the implementation and compliance of these outputs. Therefore obedience to the agents of the compliance system may be out of fear, but typically compliance system agents readily obtain obedience due the moral authority given them by the community:

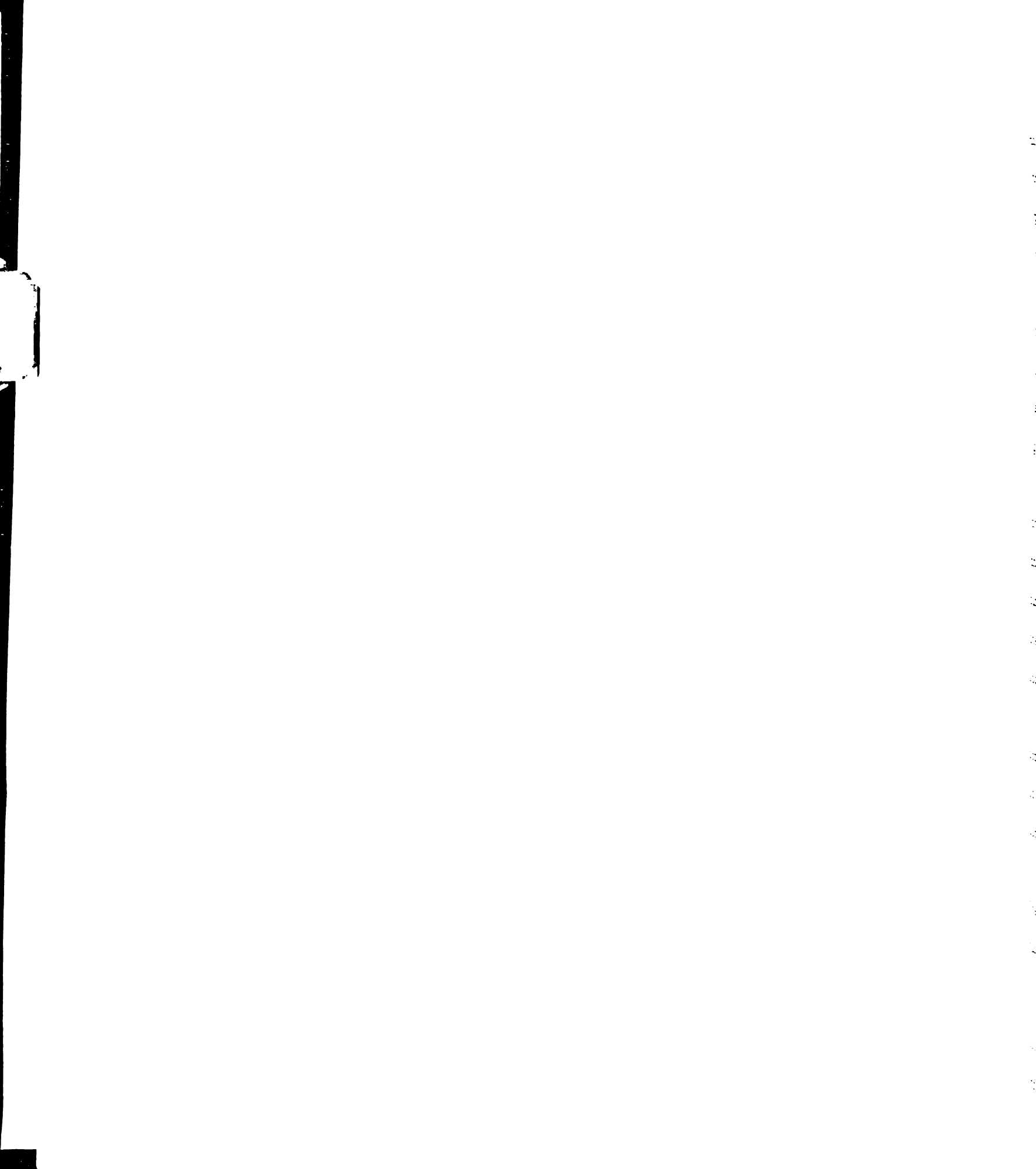
Authority has been defined as "rightful power"; power itself is not necessarily rightful. Legal power, like physical power, gives one man the ability to force another to do his will. But if this power is seen as rightful, as authority, the second man will probably comply with the former's wishes because he feels morally obliged to do so (Banton, 1964: 147).

We now focus on the main authoritative political system enforcer of outputs -- the police.

1. The police as a component of the compliance system

The sociology of police literature identifies four organizational functions of police in their position as compliance system components: the control function, the service function, the order maintenance function, and the labeling function.

a. Control function Even more for police than teachers, the social role of police is socioemotional. In this role, the police are



most concerned with behavior control. Police exercise regulatory control over the conduct of the individual citizen in the name of the people. The political system gives the philosophical basis for control in the form of governmental constitutions, statutes and ordinances, and in court decisions which interpret these legislative pronouncements. The police possess authority defined as "...the complex of institutionalized rights to control the actions of members of the society with reference to their bearing on the attainment of collective goals" (Parsons, in Friedrich, 1958: 210).

One of the goals of the socialization community is to develop their charges' egos and superegos, i.e., to enable them to govern themselves without being told by compliance system agents. Unfortunately, socialization is not perfect, therefore police must take up the slack left over from inadequate, incomplete, or unsuccessful socialization.

Social control, in the form of every citizen being an agent of control over the behavior of others, exists, but again in many instances it is unsuccessful. No political system could rely upon such social control, therefore police are maintained to effect control.

Much of the police power of control is in the form of symbols. The car with the red light and the blue uniforms are enough to prevent much disorder.

b. Service function While it is fair to say that the primary duty formally placed upon the police is to control citizens through enforcement of the law, it would be wrong to conclude that this takes

up most of their time. Data from one large city police department indicates that 70.9 percent of the "call-for-services" involved miscellaneous public services, ranging anywhere from a nuisance call to assisting a resident who has been accidentally locked out of her house; 9.9 percent of the departments calls relate to traffic matters (Misner, 1967). Therefore, out of a year's activity, 80 percent of the department's time was spent in non-criminal matters. McNamara (in Bordua, 1967) has noted that even though little time is spent in crime control functions, the mixture of the control and service does create conflict and uncertainties in police work.

c. Order-maintenance function In this large amount of time in serving citizens, police devote a good portion of their activities managing real or alleged conditions of disorder. This has been termed order-maintenance and includes such problems as quarreling families, public drunks, bothersome teen-agers, noisy cars, and tavern fights.²⁷ It is in these order-maintenance situations that difficulties between police and citizens are greatest. In many order-maintenance situations, police provide overt support to individuals (Cumming, 1968). The difficulties arise, of course, because support cannot be given to two or more individuals in conflict. The officer gives support to one person by controlling another -- in a battle of spouses, the wife is supported as the husband is taken off to spend the rest of the evening in jail.

d. Labeling function How much one is exposed to the legal agents of the compliance system, i.e., police, judges, probation officers, and so on, is dependent upon deviant status given by the police

²⁷For a further elaboration of the concept order-maintenance, see pages 29 and 30.

1

themselves. Deviant status, given by police, generalizes to form a basis upon which family, neighbors, peers, employers, teachers, and others may rely in according status to the individual. The danger is in the self-fulfilling prophecy phenomena in which, due to significant others defining a person deviant, this individual will define himself as one, and act in accordance to his status (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958). Delinquency cannot be described independently of judgements and reactions of others:

Whether the given behavior of a youth is described as delinquent, leading to his adjudication, and the attachment of the label "delinquent" to his person depends upon the perception of arresting officers, availability of biographical data, estimates of the morality of his parents, monetary claims of victims, the biases in judges, and therapeutic ideologies of probation officers and social workers (Lemert, in Clinard, 1964: 95).

Terry's (1967) study of the police records of over nine thousand juveniles in a midwest city concluded that police utilize legalistic criteria in making disposition decisions. Disposition criteria for juveniles is the same as for adults. Therefore, labeling of deviancy is predicated on such variables as previous record, seriousness of offense, demeanor, and so on, with little consideration to sociological and psychological underlying causes of behavior.

2. The police as a component of the socialization community

Few have recognized the fact that police extensively effect their own support. This socialization characteristic of police is depicted in Gorer's (1965) study of English national character. Gorer's theory is that national character of a society can be changed through the selection of the personnel for institutions that are in constant contact with citizens:

If the personnel of the institutions are selected chiefly for their approximation to a certain type of character, rather than for specific intellectual or physical skills; if persons of this type of character have not hitherto been consistently given positions of authority; and if the authority of the institution is generally felt to be benevolent, protective, or succoring; then the character exemplified by the personnel of this institution will to a certain degree become part of the ego ideal of the mass of the population. The mass of the population will then tend to mold their own behavior in conformity with this ideal, and will reward and punish their children in conformity to this adopted pattern (Gorer, 1955: 25-26).

With Sir Robert Peel's imaginative revamp of the London police system, in terms of selection of personnel and new programs, public attitudes shifted from perceptions of police as villains to that of national heroes. The formerly resentful British public, when polled recently by Gorer, overwhelmingly (75 percent) reported they had no major criticism of the police. Only 5 percent were manifestly hostile.

One result of this British experience has been the development of the English police as an ancillary aid to the value maintaining processes and as a symbolic agency of social control (Wenninger and Clark, in Klein and Myerhoff, 1967). They are visible and serve as reminders and symbols of societal expectations, but they represent passive, potential, and symbolic force. "The British constable often finds that he needs to do or say relatively little, the mere presence of a man in the blue uniform being sometimes sufficient to make people stop fighting, or to quiet down someone who was highly tensed" (Banton, 1964: 227).

Police contribute to their own support through their reactions (Clark and Gibbs, 1965) and contacts (Fortune, 1965) with youth, especially delinquent juveniles. We know that the reactions of police and

Types of contact are different in slum areas than in suburbia. In the slum, the child perceives the police as a symbol of force, punishment, and brutality. In the suburban area, the middle class child perceives the police as benevolent and helpful figures (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; and Derbyshire, 1968).

G. Society's Police Officers

Main variables in the public's support of police are police officers own attitudes and characteristics reflected to the public. An officer's hostile demeanor with a group of boys may be caused by his dislike of teen-agers.²⁸ The conflictual relationship between a Negro driver and the motorcycle patrolman may be due to the officer's prejudice toward minorities. The many stressful situations that citizens and police experience may be due to anxieties and frustrations of the officer, probably caused by the job itself. All these incidents contribute to ambivalence toward police by those citizens experiencing them. An understanding of this ambivalence requires examining police attitudes and personality.

Policing requires constant contact with people. It is in this regard that police officers, especially the patrolmen, have a common bond with professions like teaching, medicine, law, and so on. It is also this aspect of policing that makes it so crucial to society. This common bond can be identified as client guidance and welfare. A core

²⁸Dienstein states:

The fact of police attitude, or state of mind, the way in which police look at youthful offenders, is a very real condition. It is one's attitudes that determine one's behavior. How one "sees" the situation determines how one will react to that situation. The attitude of police toward offenders determines how the police will behave toward them (Dienstein, 1960b: 24).

feature of professionalization is client relationships (Bordua and Reiss, in Lazarsfeld, Sewell, and Wilensky, 1967). This relationship requires a decision about the client, the decision relates to his future. Police are empowered with a decision that involves the fate of their clients -- a decision to arrest, to releast to parents, to pull the trigger or let him run. A police officer's attitudes, beliefs, and personality are important determinants of these crucial decisions.

With these points in mind, this review now turns to literature regarding the cognitive and personality structures of police officers.

1. Police officers' support of the compliance system and youth

Several authors concluded from their studys of police that there exists a general homogeneity of police attitudes and beliefs on such topics as the police occupation, the courts and law, youth and minorities, and the public (Bayley and Mendelson, 1969; Guthrie, 1963; Watson, 1967; and Westley, 1951).

As one would expect police are very positively supportive of their own occupation. Gourley's (1953) public opinion poll of Los Angeles found that 77.7 percent of the Public Servants (mostly policemen) proclaimed that Los Angeles has one of the very best police departments in the country. The state police officers of Preiss and Ehrich's (1966) study exhibited attitudes of department loyalty, sometimes bordering on a demand for self-sacrifice and unquestioning acceptance of orders. The Denver study (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969) showed 89 percent of the officers felt policing was more important than other jobs. McNamara (in Bordua, 1967) found however, among New

York patrolmen, a large percent who were negative toward superiors because of feelings of lack of backing.

The criminal justice system comes under attack by police officers. Westley (1951) found the police of his study resentful of the law. They see it used for political ends, they see it purchased, and they feel punished for enforcing it due to undue time spent in attempts at prosecution. The officers in Goldman's (1963) study viewed the juvenile court as unfair to the police and too lenient with offenders. Reiss (1967a), found, in his study of Boston, Chicago, and Washington police, that the majority did not perceive jurists fair, just, or right in sentencing. Judges were seen as too lenient. Only 28 percent believed Probation officers do good jobs, while one-fourth wished not to comment. Bouma (1969) found that the vast majority of police officers sampled in Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Muskegan Heights, felt that recent Supreme Court decisions regarding police procedures have made their job in the inner city more difficult. Similar results were obtained in Watson and Sterling's (1969) survey of a large national sample of Police officers.

The juvenile officers of the Piliavin and Briar (1964) study exhibited negative support toward correctional agencies. Such agencies were perceived as ineffective in rehabilitating delinquents. Circoural (undated) also mentioned the police's overwhelming antagonism toward Probation officers, juvenile court judges, and juvenile hall.

The reasons for this adversary relationship between police and the judicial component of the criminal justice system is most thoroughly

analyzed by Skolnick (1966). In our society police are required to maintain order and to do so under the rule of law. Police are part of the criminal justice bureaucracy. This bureaucracy emphasizes initiative rather than disciplined adherence to rules and regulations. The function of law emphasizes the rights of individual citizens and constraints upon the initiative of police. The adversary condition centers around this tension between the operational consequences of ideas of order, efficiency, and initiative, on the one hand, and legality, on the other. Involved in this tension is the law's emphasis on legal guilt and the police emphasis on factual guilt. Criminal law protects the individual through due process, one is guilty only if all procedural criteria to safe-guard individual rights are met. Police concern is not individual justice, but social control. If all logical evidence points to the fact of guilt, one is guilty whether or not procedural criteria of criminal law are met.

The police rejection of judges and the courts is based on their perceptions of judicial system hindrances to policing the society. Pre-trial release is an irrational right given to the defendant by the judiciary who already "molly-coddle" criminals at every stage of the process. Police feel they rarely "get their day in court," for they have little informal access to the judge and no direct means of interfering with his work (as the defense attorneys can). The main cause of the judicial police conflict is identified as the police self concept of "craftsmen". Police feel as masters of their trade, experts in making judgments about the measures to be applied to apprehend criminals, as well as the ability to estimate accurately the guilt or innocence

of suspects. As craftsmen, they feel they ought to be free to employ the techniques of their trade. The judiciary should facilitate freedom to improvise, rather than restrict it. Police are resentful of the critical judiciary that measures their value by abstractions rather than the "reality" of the world they know. Skolnick perceptively summarizes these issues by stating:

...the police typically view the court with hostility for having interfered with their capacities to practice their craft. Police tend to rest their moral position on the argument that the "independence" and social distance of the appellate judiciary constitutes a type of government--by the courts--without the consent of the governed--the police. Thus, the police see the court's affirmation of principles of due process as, in effect, the creation of harsh "working conditions." From their point of view, the courts are failing to affirm democratic notions of the autonomy and freedom of the "worker." Their political superiors insist on "production" while their judicial superiors impede their capacity to "produce." Under such frustrating conditions, the appellate judiciary inevitably comes to be seen as "traitor" to its responsibility to keep the community free from criminality (Skolnick, 1966: 228-229).

Mylonas and Reckless relate another explanation for this negative support of criminal justice system by police in the following way:

If police are not recruited from a very ethical and law-abiding segment of the population, and if police do not have high status in the hierarchy of jobs in a given country, it is quite likely that they would have unfavorable scores on attitudes [toward law and legal institutions]. In fact, one should expect that the total mean scores of less advantaged police would not be too far from the total mean scores of adult prisoners (Mylonas and Reckless, 1968: 84).

The majority of the studys showed police quite harsh on youth. Reiss (1967a) found officers describing juveniles of today as defiant, rebellious, and lacking respect for law and authority. Wilson (1968) states that police officers were critical of youth for the amount of crime they produce and believed it justifiable to treat teen-agers

with suspicion, question them often, detain them for questioning if a crime has occurred in their neighborhood. Denver police (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969) were most critical of teenagers for being disrespectful of police.

Almost without exception, the police officers in Bouma's (1969) study felt the attitudes of inner-city youths to be much more negative toward the police and law enforcement than they actually were. While inner-city youth did hold more negative feelings about police fairness than other youths, the feelings were not nearly as negative as the officers thought. Inner-city youngsters had a much higher conception of police efficiency and a much stronger notion that crime does not pay than the officers felt was true. Bouma concluded that his police subjects were far too pessimistic in their perception of the amount of cooperation in law enforcement they would receive from inner-city youth.

Only Westley (1951) found police positively supportive of youth. Since youth support police in a positive way (and studies we have reviewed found this to be true), Westley feels that youngsters are one of the few sources of prestige for the police. Therefore, mutual positive support results.

In regard to police perceptions of schoolteachers, Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) found that their police subjects rated teachers as one of the most cooperative to police of all occupations.

Studies reveal that police are generally hostile toward the public. Goldman's (1963) study found over 50 percent of the officers interviewed complained of citizen uncooperation and lack of interest

in even reporting offences. Reiss (1967a) also found his subjects critical of public uncooperation. Sixty percent of the officers saw the public's behavior as getting worse in recent times. This exaggeration of the public's lack of positive support (recent public opinion polls have shown the public quite positive) is a result of selective perceptions. Police are constantly in contact with that minority of the public who are the most hostile toward the compliance system. Therefore, what they see and experience, is what they believe (Toch, 1965; Toch, 1967).

There have been many attempts at trying to explain the hostility that police officers possess toward the public they are supposed to protect and serve. Most of these describe the causal variables in terms of the "police personality" or the "police mind." These discussions picture police officers as maladjusted, that is, pariahs, cynics, authoritarian, and so forth.

There is agreement in the literature that police officers are a minority group suffering from: stereotyping, visibility, conflict in self-ideal and self-concept, abuse, misunderstanding, and so on. As a minority group they develop specific personality characteristics. It is important to understand these characteristics, for the development of pariahs and alienated officers directly effects the sagaciousness of decisions regarding clients.

Many authors identified dysfunctional police personality characteristics. Due to the danger and authority of a policeman's job, officers develop a suspicious personality which isolates them from the public, including personal friends (Dodd, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; and

Watson and Sterling, 1969). Research varifies this isolation phenomenon of police. Clark (1965) in a study of social control agencies in three Illinois cities and a sample of British police, found a large proportion of the police subjects of both countries perceiving themselves as socially isolated. Dempsey (1967) in a four city study, also found a large proportion of the officers having feelings of isolation. This fear of danger and the resulting isolation, combined with such other unfortunate characteristics described in the literature as powerlessness and self hate (Chwast, 1965), guilt behavior and self esteem insecurity (Pfiffner, 1967; and Westley, 1951), draws a not too pretty picture of our police.

Wilson (1963) theorized that police officers are suffering from a morale problem defined as a need for finding consistent and satisfactory bases for self-conception. He feels that officers perceive themselves in an occupation that isolates them and they suffer from a loss of ideal self, and anomie (called upon either to use socially unapproved behavior to attain socially approved goals or vise versa). Such groping for self-conceptions and an ideal self, would result, one expects, in a predominant concern for the obtaining of respect (Becker, 1963; Niederhoffer, 1967; Reiss, 1967; Stinchcombe, undated; Werthman and Piliavin, in Bordua, 1967; Wilson, 1963; and Wilson, in Bordua, 1967). Westley (1953) found, to his dismay, his subjects justifying the use of illegal-coercive violence in the name of the great need for respect from an ungrateful public. Goldman (1963) found most of the police officials he interviewed agreeing to the statement "defiance on the part of a boy will lead him to juvenile

court quicker than anything else."²⁹ Reiss' (1967a) study showed 59 percent of his police subjects believed that their prestige had steadily declined in recent years. The importance of respect cannot be overemphasized as a main personality variable of police officers:

Uncoerced responsiveness to police authority in the immediate situation, that is, respect - uncoerced in the immediate situation at least - is the most valuable resource available to the police. Much excessive police coercion can be attributed either to the perception that respect must be established in a situation where it has broken down or to building up a future respect credits in populations where police expect disrespect as a routine matter (Reiss and Bordua, in Bordua, 1967: 47-48).

Several have described police officers as cynics. "Faced with the duty of keeping the people in line, and believing that most people are out to break the law and do him in if possible, he always looks for the selfish motive" (Westley, 1951: 236). Toch (1965) feels police come to view society as a vicious "dog eat dog" jungle, in which only force can insure peace and harmony. Included in this paranoia is the pariah feeling, which implies "that the esteem accorded is much lower than the ostensible importance of the goals he is to serve (Wilson, 1963: 193).

Cynicism appears to be an outcome of police minority status. For officers, it is too anxiety producing to hope for acceptance in an understanding and sympathetic fashion. "It is less trying emotionally

²⁹Rosenberg and Silverstein found that above all else, the police are perceived by inner-city youths as requiring that they be treated respectfully, at least on the surface, in day-to-day confrontations. The following interview of a youngster depicts this:

(Did you ever have a friendly conversation with a cop?)
I don't even tell 'em "Hi." Mostly you gotta call a cop "officer" when you say hello. So I say, "Hello, cop," and he says, "What?" Then I say, "Officer." That guy got me embarrassed, so I never call him cop no more; only to tell him, "Hi. How you doing? Drop dead" (Rosenberg and Silverstein, 1969: 57).

to abandon hope than to risk committing oneself to change, and then finding one's hopes for greater acceptance dashed. Many policemen protect themselves by wrapping around them a cloak of cynicism" (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969: 55-56).

As one would expect, the cumulative effects of police isolation, pariah, overemphasis for respect, and cynicism results in serious morale problems. This manifests itself in police rejection of their occupation (Reiss, 1967, found that about a third of his police subjects would not advise a young man to go into police work and most would not advise their son to do so), a feeling of powerlessness over their future careers in the department (McNamara, in Bordua, 1967), and in-grouping of a secret subculture, independent of the community, in which the officer can find esteem, self-respect, and a belief in the value of his work (Chwast, 1965; Pfiffner, 1967; Westley, 1951; Westley, 1956; and Wilson in Bordua, 1967).³⁰

2. The values of police officers

The nature of police values is of paramount importance to understanding the socialization toward compliance system support processes. If police behave inappropriately due to their value system or due to misunderstanding of others' value systems, support toward the compliance system will be effected. Police experience the results every

³⁰ Pfiffner (1967) identified the following seven traits of the police subculture that reinforces in-grouping: 1) right-wing orientation, 2) didactic mode of thought i.e., see issues in moralistic, black and white terms, 3) anti-social science (and vice versa), 4) anti-social work (and vice versa) 5) charismatic leadership, 6) administrative isolation (resistance to civilian control, civilian review boards, etc.) and 7) equitation complex, i.e., resistance to change and the perseverance of tradition.

day of such inappropriateness in traffic offenders' overt hostility:

An examination of these incidents revealed that these motorists were frequently accompanied by their families. The officers in these situations failed to consider that their handling of the motorist tended to threaten his position of authority in the family and thus gave rise to hostile attempts to reestablish his position in the family or to reduce the amount of threat. Had an officer recognized he was unnecessarily threatening the man's perceived valued position as an authority figure (however fictional in fact) before his family, he might have resolved the problem by interacting with the citizen out of hearing of the family (McNamara, in Bordua, 1967: 174).

Such incidents have lasting effects not only on the motorist's attitudes toward police, but on his wife's and, most importantly, his children's perceptions as they experienced the stress situation.

It is equally important to realize that conflicts, misunderstandings, and variety of values within the socialization community effects support of the compliance system. Children are perceptive enough to identify problems and value inconsistency and incongruency between teachers and police, teachers and parents, police and probation officers, and so on (Matza, 1964). The result is disillusionment of the compliance system.

The literature has been consistent in pointing out the conservative values of police officers. Guthrie (1963) describes police as conservative and moralistic and approach problem solving from a black and white position. Skolnick concluded from his observations of a modern California police force, "a Goldwater type of conservatism was the dominant political and emotional persuasion of police" (Skolnick, 1966: 61). Out of 480 men of this department, he encountered only three who claimed to be politically liberal. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) also found Denver policemen more conservative and/or more Republican

than the community as a whole. Since age of a policeman does not correlate with political tendencies, they concluded that the police department selects conservative individuals. Since the policeman, by the nature of his calling is a defender of the status quo, he is almost required to have a "conservative personality." Watson (1967) concluded from his study of police throughout the country that, as a group, they are inclined toward social and political conservatism, but the patrolmen and detectives are more conservative than juvenile officers and command personnel. Wilson (in Bordua, 1967), in his study of the Chicago police department, found the officers unreceptive to social change. The conservatism of American police results in anti-democratic attitudes and practices. Berkley (1969), in his comparative police study, feels that in some respects, especially their reliance on the use of force and their involvement in corruption, American police resemble those of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. A large proportion of police officers are members or supporters of such right-wing groups as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. They resent and bypass legislation and judicial rulings which protect the rights of citizens by curbing police power.

Unfortunately, there has been precious little empirical examination of police value systems. On a 12-item Rokeach Value Survey, fifty policemen from a midwestern city ranked the terminal values of freedom first on the average, and equality last, indicating that freedom for these men meant lack of constraints for their personal goals, but not necessarily for others (Rokeach, 1968). Rokeach identifies the following groups as consistently exhibiting similar value system patterns

as police: the John Birch Society, conservative Republicans, and followers of Ayn Rand.

The implications of the above discussion can be seen in the following statement by Lipset:

The Birch Society apart, movements of ethnic intolerance and right-wing radicalism have tended to recruit from the more conservative segments of the lower and less-educated strata. On the whole, the less education people have, the more likely they are to be intolerant of those who differ from themselves, whether in opinions, modes of culturally and morally relevant behavior, religion, ethnic background, or race. The police, who are recruited from the conservative, less-educated groups, reflect the background from which they come (Lipset, 1969: 78).

3. Police officers as agents of the socialization community

The policeman as a visible and salient authority figure to youngsters has been established in recent studies (Easton and Dennis, 1968; and Hess and Torney, 1967). The policeman becomes a "significant other" in several respects more easily than do equivalent governmental figures. Police officers and citizens realize this, thus it is not uncommon to see officers counseling youths and their parents, making suggestions to a gang of boys, organizing a boys baseball team, lecturing to a school class and so on. Their potential as adult socializers is also realized, for police often address civic clubs, PTA's, college classes, and so on. Police are most effective, however, as socialization agents not so much in these formal, non-punitive situations, but in the everyday police-client contacts. In such contacts they become, unknowingly, exemplars of behavior.

The importance of contact as a primary socialization process is emphasized by Easton and Dennis when they state, "what is equally

pertinent is that a person may just as frequently learn to behave or orient himself in a certain way out of the depths of his own raw experiences" (Easton and Dennis, 1968: 7). In this vein, Derbyshire (1968) explains the lower socio-economic status minority third-grade children's drawings of policemen as aggressive, negative and hostile in terms of the quality and quantity of police contact experienced in their neighborhoods. As Rosenberg and Silverstein suggest:

For when agents of law and order, those visible representatives of the conventional world, are perceived as unconventional and deviant, then youth possessed of these conceptions become less than certain in distinguishing between clear-cut categories of right and wrong, good and bad (Rosenberg and Silverstein, 1969: 58).

Contact with adolescent youth is even more crucial than with younger youth. Here is the age of the car and the loitering in groups on the street corner, thus contact greatly increases. Here is the age, also, where the extreme positive support of the compliance system of childhood lessens and, for some, goes in the opposite direction. In extensive attitudinal studies of teenagers, both Portune (1965) and Bouma and Williams (1968) concluded that police contacts are a major factor in the development of the youths' image of police. Portune found that in every instance of a low Attitude-Toward-Police Scale score there had been a line-of-duty contact between a police officer and subject. This is supported by the Hartford study (McCaghy, Allen, and Colfax, 1967) where subjects with high degrees of police contact were more critical of police, while those isolated from police had more positive attitudes toward police. The problems of police

and youth contact contributes to the etiology of delinquency. Apprehending a juvenile for his delinquent behavior may be worse than not apprehending him at all. Two independent studies demonstrate that apprehension itself stimulates rather than deters further delinquency (Gold, and Williams, 1969).

Goldman (1963) and Wattenberg and Bufe (1963) in their studies of police and juvenile relationships, concluded that relatively brief contacts are highly influential on future delinquent careers:

The interaction, or exchange of gestures, between the policeman and the child apprehended in law violations may serve to increase or to decrease the probability of future excursions into delinquency. Thus the behavior of the police toward the child may be a significant determinant of the child's continued participation in delinquent conduct (Goldman, 1963: 133).

The problem of negative support for police by gang boys in the black ghetto can be attributed to the type of contacts they experience (Werthman, 1964). Contacts for Negroes are informative - more so than for Dominants (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969). Through such contacts evaluations are formed. Negroes do not leave contacts with the police feeling indifferent. On the contrary, their contacts are significant learning situations and do effect their perceptual world.

These boys believe in justice, they want to be treated with respect, and they feel that arrests should be confined to situations in which some real offense has been committed. Their experiences with policemen, however, undermine their commitment to their beliefs. In their eyes police officers lack legitimacy in their neighborhood.

Several authors have identified police officers as society's models. Gorer (1955) suggests that, in recent times the English policeman has been for his fellow citizens not only a respected object, but also a

model of the ideal masculine figure, self-controlled, a pillar of strength who is fair and impartial, and self-sacrificing. This most fortunate model, distributed throughout England, has influenced the national character to such an extent that the citizens have become more "self-policing." The potential for American policemen to become such models is recognized by German, who states "Every policeman, representing the government, is in a position to be a force for good, for by his example, he teaches the community and molds its attitudes" (German, 1967: 609).

It appears that police are models to lower socio-economic class children more so than other classes of children (Derbyshire, 1968). Impressions of the compliance system are formed through observing policemen, one of the few compliance system agents with whom such children have direct contact, "Within lower-class communities, the function of police is integrated into the child's behavioral expectations early, no doubt before he knows the role of teachers" (Derbyshire, 1968: 189).

H . Vertical Analysis: The Compliance System and Youth

System-maintenance as a function or an outcome of socialization refers to continuity or constancy across the generations (Easton and Dennis, 1968). If this continuity or constancy exists, the older generation, with few problems, replicates itself in the developing generation. This method of a system maintaining itself is termed by Easton and Dennis (1968) as the vertical or inter-generational dimension of stability.

The socialization community's goal is to see to it that this dimension progresses smoothly. The young child receives many messages, cues, instructions, and directives from the socialization agents. He imitates his adult significant others and in his need for positive reinforcement takes on their characteristics. In the early development of the child's political self, he absorbs the beliefs and values of the older generation; continuity from one generation to the next is programmed into the socialization process (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969). However, as the young child matures into adolescence this continuity breaks down. Intergenerational differences in attitudes, beliefs, norms, language, and so forth mushroom. The adolescent society takes on the characteristics of a contraculture, that is, "the creation of a series of inverse or counter values (opposed to those of the surrounding society) in the face of serious frustration or conflict" (Yinger, 1960: 627). This is the product of a rapidly changing social system. Due to the changes of technological and social innovation, an environment develops in which the younger generation is notably different from the preceding one, thus inviting adults to view youth as defiant, and youth to perceive adults as "not with it" (Sebald, 1968). There tends to develop a lack of positive support between generations. Contrary to popular belief, adults may be more rejecting of youth than vice versa (Musgrove, 1965). Yinger notes that these intergenerational conflicts may not be dysfunctional, "Value clashes between adults and adolescents may support the declaration of independence that the child finally has to make" (Yinger, 1964: 170).

A factor compounding the difficulties between youth and adults is that the control of youth has largely been entrusted to lower-status elements of the society (Friedenberg, 1969). This is a result of youth's own lower status which causes them to be powerless in commanding services and prevents them from being taken seriously. The retaliation of the youth most subject to this condition, the minority group ghetto adolescent, is manifest in a rejection of the legitimacy of the authority of their controllers. They do not accept the authority of teachers and policemen a priori, but develop a complex set of criteria for accepting or rejecting the authority of these officials -- a set of criteria unacceptable to these officials (Werthman, 1964). This review now turns to the literature centering on the vertical analysis of youth and compliance system agents.

1. Teacher and youth analysis

The criteria used by the ghetto adolescent to accept or reject the authority of a teacher are first, the extent to which a teacher is "straight" or recognizes the claims made by these youngsters for autonomy and, second, the extent to which a teacher is "fair" (Werthman, 1964). Such criteria of legitimate teacher authority are salient for all adolescents regardless of ethnicity or socio-economic status level. This is a matter of degree; the minority group ghetto youth demands more legitimacy of authority than his Dominant counterpart, due to the extent of coerciveness, powerlessness, and self-degradation experienced at the hands of compliance system agents.

Lack of mutual positive support between students and teachers develops *because* of experiences that facilitate mistrust and a history of failure

at academic tasks resulting in student prejudices against further probable failures (Lippitt, in Reiss, 1965). Several, in their studies of teachers and their students, have found that these continually interacting groups have divergent attitudes, beliefs, and values (Amos and Washington, 1960; Easton and Dennis, 1968; Gage and Suci, 1951; Goldman, 1962; Gordon, 1957; Mutimer and Rosemier, 1967; Prince, 1960; Smith and Cooper, 1965; Spindler, 1963; Sprinthall, 1964; and Strom, 1963). There is evidence that there exists vertical conflict within the educational system. Continuity from one generation to the next, in terms of teacher and youth relationships, does appear to break down.

2. Police and youth analysis

The criteria for the legitimacy of the police officer in the ghetto area is similar to that of the teachers. In describing the difficulty in becoming a "good cop" in a ghetto neighborhood, Werthman and Piliavin summarize well the criteria used by the gang boys:

Even with the best of intentions...it is not easy to be considered a "good cop." Not only must the gang boys be persuaded that a policeman understands and likes them, they must also be convinced that he shares their conception of justice and is fully prepared to enforce it. In practice, most confrontations between patrolmen and gang members thus contain the possibilities of conflict - a conflict over whose conceptions of proper behavior will prevail, a conflict over whose conception ought to prevail, and therefore a conflict over whose moral identity is to remain publicly intact. Furthermore, the fact that most policemen are not defined as "good cops" cannot be accounted for simply by the wide variety of social and personal defects commonly attributed to them. For example it may be true that the behavior of policemen is affected by a class and ethnic predisposition to prejudice towards Negroes and a psychological predisposition to danger, violence, and authoritarianism, not to mention inadequate education, training and pay. Yet there are also structural and situational contingencies associated directly with the process of law enforcement itself that make it

difficult for even the most enlightened and saintly of policemen to avoid being seen as pariahs by a large segment of the ethnic poor, contingencies that are part and parcel of the methods used by the police (Werthman and Piliavin, in Bordua, 1967: 68).

The police methods mentioned above have to do with the police officer and client relationship that is so evident in the professional aspects of policing -- methods of decision-making. Decisions that effect the lives of youngsters - arrest, release, and referral to court - are based little on the deviancy committed and much on what police refer to as attitude, but which most authors refer to as demeanor, or the posture of inappropriate disrespect (Werthman and Piliavin, in Bordua, 1967; Buckner, 1967; Cicourel, 1968; Goldman, 1963; Guthrie, 1963; Piliavin and Briar, 1964; and Werthman, 1964). Youths who give deference, are polite, respectful, and show fear and shame usually receive a reprimand and release. It should be noted, however, that youths who overdo this deference may have a higher probability of being "busted" by police. Black and Reiss (1970) found in a recent field study of juvenile and police encounters in three large cities that the probability of arrest was higher for youths who were unusually respectful and disrespectful toward police. Those who take a passive approach, that is, are nonchalant, indifferent, answer by shrugging, and those who take an active approach, that is, overtly insolent and defiant, are perceived as challenging police authority and thus most likely will be arrested, detained at the county juvenile facility, and referred to court (Werthman, 1964). A most important variable for the police in this decision-making process is the juvenile's language usage (Cicourel, 1968). Through

language, deference, guilt, upbringing, bad attitude, and arrogance are noted as evidence for the decision. The importance of demeanor is well known in the ghetto as illustrated by a statement from an 18 year old black gang member:

If you kiss their ass and say, "Yes, Sir, No Sir," and all that jazz, then they'll let you go. If you don't say that, then they gonna take you in. And if you say it funny they gonna take you in. Like "Yes Sir! No Sir!" But if you stand up and say it straight, like "Yes Sir" and "No Sir" and all that, you cool (Werthman, 1964: 129).

A police officer, in an interview, stated the same thing:

If a kid treats you with respect then you know he has some respect for adults and for the law, so you figure he's got a pretty good chance to keep out of trouble later on (Tauber, 1967: 79).

What is even more degrading to a youth who is perceived as having a "bad attitude", and thus delinquent, is that the youngster's views of motives are considered irrelevant -- he is thought of as having no rights (Cicourel, 1968; Frienderberg, 1969).

Youth of the ghetto are very much aware of their status in the eyes of the police. They realize that they are stopped and questioned or brought to the station house because of their gate, hair style, clothes and etc. In a situation where the youth feels he is being unjustly interrogated and also insulted, he must decide to give deference and thus contribute to his already damaged self-concept, or defend his honor through the active approach; most prefer the latter (Werthman and Piliavin, in Bordua, 1967). When an arrest is then made due to his insolence and not any specific crime, the youth is outraged. In his eyes, the police have illegitimate authority, there cannot be any grounds for positive support toward the police. The effects of police handling of

ghetto youth can be seen in the "Easton City" study. Ferdinand and Luchterhand (1970) found that most of those attitudes and values indicative of anti-social tendencies either failed to distinguish Dominant and black offenders or showed blacks to be less anti-social than Dominants. However, Authority Rejection alone among eight attitudinal factors showed black youngsters to be more anti-social than the Dominant youngsters. The authors concluded:

From these findings it would appear that black youngsters who come to the attention of the police are given dispositions largely in terms of their superficial attitudes and demeanors toward the police, whereas white offenders are judged by different and probably more basic criteria...since their attitudes toward public figures condition the actions such figures take toward black youngsters, these attitudes can constitute a self-fulfilling prophecy (Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970: 517-518).

It should be realized that the above illustrations of minority group gang members experiences with police were used because of the prominence and visibility of Negro youth and police problems. However, this analysis applies to Dominant youth (though to a lesser degree), other minority youth, and Negro youth of higher socio-economic status. There appears to be a general anti-adolescent prejudice among many police officers (Reiss, 1967a) and a resulting repression of youngster's rights (Friedenberg, 1969).

I. Horizontal Analysis: Interorganizational Relationships within the Compliance System

Horizontal analysis refers to a study of relationships between occupants of adult roles. Specifically it deals with attitudinal, perceptual, and value consensus and disparities between agents of the

compliance system. The concern of horizontal analysis is not with studying generations, even though it is realized that a new teacher or police officer may be closer in chronological age to a teenager than the twenty year veteran of their respective organizations. Since compliance system agents are given the responsibility of controlling and socializing the younger generation, society defines them as adults. If there are deep cleavages and frictions between these agents, the socialization process may be disrupted and the development of positive support toward the compliance system effected. Stability of the system, therefore, is influenced by the extent of homogeneity within the compliance system.

The police department and schools are two of the community's largest public bureaucracies, with common characteristics, for example, both are within the same local government jurisdiction, both are task-oriented, and both are governmental units operating under and enforcing or carrying out provisions of local and state law (Peabody, 1964). Therefore, they can be considered members of a public service organizational set (Evans, in Thompson, 1966). Within this set, there is a tendency for boundary maintenance, due to some attitudinal and ideological differences (Nelson, in Reiss, 1965). These variations may be caused by organizational and background differences, such as educational attainment or social economic status level of members. Peabody (1964) found in his study of organizational authority, that differences between perceptions of authority did occur between personnel of a police department, welfare office, and elementary school. He attributed the differences to education, female-male, training, and authority structure dimensions. Attitudinal differences regarding community liabilities between educators and police were found

to exist in Lippitt's (in Reiss, 1965) study of the socialization community of a city of 200,000. Educators stressed deviancy of social relations and lack of respect for adults, while police emphasized lack of values and immaturity of impulse control. In contrast, Dienststein's (1960a) study of teachers', police, and probation officers' views of delinquency revealed teacher and police groups more alike in their beliefs on the etiology of delinquency than teacher-probation or police-probation, despite the fact that the teacher and probation groups were similar in educational attainment, and probation and police were more alike in the factors of special study and sex. Police and teachers took more of a free will position, which holds the delinquent responsible for his deviant action and calls for punishment, while the probation officers leaned toward determinism, which stresses social and psychic causes of deviancy and calls for programs of therapy and prevention.³¹ Cicourel explained this congruency between the police and school in terms of the "ecology of games" notion discussed by Norton Long:

...in City A, school officials cooperated better with the police than with probation officers even though school personnel identified more with the better educated and more professional probation officer (and vice versa). The practical problem for the schools was that of controlling "kids", and there was not much interest in the "rehabilitation" or "adjustment" orientation and activities of probation officers if the juvenile was considered a "troublemaker" at school (Cicourel, 1968: 60).

This ideological conflict has been identified by several authors as a form of stress within the compliance system. The problem can be stated

³¹The same conclusion can be drawn in several other studies dealing with attitudes of compliance system agents (see Garabedian, in Garabedian and Gibbons, 1970; Lentz, 1969; and Nelson, in Reiss, 1965). For a detailed analysis of the classical and positive schools of criminology and their respective emphasis on the doctrines of free will and hard and soft determinism see chapter one of Matza (1964).

in terms of control vs. rehab conflict. Compliance system agents are divided by opposing belief systems: one leans toward free will doctrine and is characteristic of the thinking of those highly involved in control of behavior, such as police, prison guards, and teachers; while the other leans toward determinism doctrine and is characteristic of the thinking of those highly involved in rehabilitation of behavior, such as probation officers, social workers, and therapy oriented workers in general (Walther and McCune, in Garabedian and Gibbons, 1970; and Pfiffner, 1967). This conflict is depicted by Cicourel:

A basic dilemma of juvenile justice is the belief in individualized "treatment" so that the offender may be helped back to a "normal" life, but the professional orientation of police departments emphasizes social control and an efficient administrative operation that does not include the allocation of time for a "treatment-oriented" approach to "helping" youth (Cicourel, 1968: 65).

A major problem for the stability of the compliance system is the balance of concerns between punishment, justice, and deterrence, with efforts to help, treat, reform, and rehabilitate (Wheeler, Bonacich, Cramer, and Zola, in Wheeler, 1968). Unfortunately, there are no mediators in the compliance system for the resolution of disagreements. What results is stereotyping represented in police anti-social science theory, and "anti-intellectualism" (Watson, 1967), and the picture of cruel, punitive, brute force advocate image of police by the social workers (Miller, Baum, and McNeil, in Wheeler, 1968). For the most part, the research shows that police are rarely coercive, but spend much of their time in supportive roles (Cumming, Cumming and Edell, 1965) and behave civilly in interpersonal relations (Black and Reiss, 1967). Supportive roles are especially evident in the behavior of police youth officers (Walther and McCune in Garabedian and Gibbons, 1970). Other agents prefer to recognize

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the policeman's controlling function, which they both need and call upon. One should not be surprised at these stereotypes. Social workers must develop rapport with offenders, this includes being empathic of the client's hostility toward police. Police, of course, are empathic of each other's hostility toward the offender (Stinchcombe, undated). Also the basis of organizational legitimacy reinforces stereotyping. Rehabilitation workers are based in organizations where professional discretion is legitimated, and police are based in agencies where obedience is legitimated, therefore each has trouble understanding the other's ideology (Reiss and Bordua, in Bordua, 1967). This can be seen in the Wheeler et al. (in Wheeler, 1968) study of compliance system agents of 28 court jurisdictions around Boston, in which police chiefs and juvenile officers ranked police first in similarity of attitude, and probation officers and psychiatrists saw themselves as more similar in attitudes to members of their own group than they do any others. Very few of the agents saw themselves as having attitudes similar to police. A study of the compliance systems of three Illinois communities (Haurek and Clark, 1967) found that police avoided social workers. They suggested this was due to a clash of professional ideologies between authoritarian - punitive (free will) orientations and humanitarian-welfare (determinism) orientations. This avoidance also suggests that the rehabilitation workers hold police in low esteem. An effect of this avoidance and low esteem is a circulating of police clients within the controlling end of the compliance system. A study of police activities of the Syracuse, New York Police Department revealed two-thirds of a policeman's referrals

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were to jail, and the remaining one-third were to various legal agencies (Cumming, 1968).

It appears that ideological cleavages are more extensive between police and social work personnel than police and teachers. This may be due to the low interaction frequency between personnel of the two agencies, a factor in boundary maintenance. Reiss suggests that schools do not actively involve themselves with other organizations at the organizational level:

Even where school systems have made some effort to develop relationships with other organizations or groups, they display a preference for co-opting the representative of an organization within the school. Some schools, for example, now permit a member of the police department to be assigned to the school to work with the specialists in the school, but there are no formal relationships between the police department and the school system (Reiss, in Reiss, 1965: 5).³²

In Miller, Baum, and McNeil's (in Wheeler, 1968) study of a delinquency prevention effort in "Port City", police and schools exhibited mutual positive support, but their interaction rate was low. Clark's (1965) three Illinois cities study was somewhat in contradiction to the above study in regard to interaction rates of police and school personnel. This study revealed that police and school officials mentioning avoidance on three issues -- avoid or ignore the situation, turn to somebody else, take care of things personally -- ranged from 23 to 34 percent. These percentages are lower than those of other compliance system agents (prosecutors, social workers, etc.) claiming avoidance of police. Likewise, moral value orientations were more similar between police and school officials (except for feeling racial prejudice was not morally

³²For an analysis of the problems that have developed with the mushrooming police-school liaison programs, see Morrison (1968).

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wrong) than was so between police and the other agents.

The control vs. rehab conflict we have elaborated on has a dysfunctional effect on the child who confronts the control and rehabilitation agents of the compliance system. He finds himself in considerable conflict since each makes demands that may be incongruent (Lippitt, in Clausen, 1968; Miles in Watson; Wheeler, 1966; and Wheeler, in Wheeler, 1968). As Wheeler concludes:

A delinquent youth faced in turn by representatives of agencies that have radically different conceptions of their purposes and goals may find it hard to incorporate a clear idea of what the community sees as the source of his problems. And when he compares his fate with others who happen to live in different communities and hence are subject to differing forms of treatment as a result of different ideologies, he may be further confused in an effort to find a consistent rationale or justification for the actions taken toward him (Wheeler, in Wheeler, 1968: 319).

J. Theoretical Orientation of the Study

This study emphasizes the importance of socializing young members of society to develop diffuse support toward the compliance system. Generally, but not entirely, the socialization community which includes components of the compliance system, has been successful in gaining this positive support. Through such support young members mature to the point of complying with authoritative outputs (those decisions and actions taken by the political authorities) because it is good and necessary for the welfare of self and others to do so (Easton and Dennis, 1968). The origin of orientations toward the compliance system is fourfold: first,

the amount of positive support that the child has for government which includes laws made by the government; second, the core of respect for authority figures' power, particularly the policeman; third, the child's experiences at home, in school and community, in subordinate, compliant roles; and fourth, the normative belief that all systems of rules are fair (Hess and Torney, 1967). Stability of the compliance system depends on customary and legal regime norms (social norms, institutions and legal codes) and agencies and agents responsible to implement and protect authoritative output, receiving positive support. Socialization toward such support is most necessary for the system-maintenance of the compliance system. We now summarize the two themes that have been interwoven throughout this review: the concept of system maintenance, and the approach felt to be most adequate in explaining the socialization process toward support so important to this maintenance: the social-learning approach.

1. The theory of system-maintenance

System-maintenance of the political system, a functional-system theory (Almond, 1965) formulated by David Easton and his colleagues, looks at the question of how maturing individuals become adjusted or unadjusted to the political organization patterns of a political society, and provide conditions which reinforce or undermine the continuation and stability of the political order. Easton sees this as a pertinent question because one of the critical features of a political system is that it is open to disturbances from its environment. Thus the system

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The political system is defined broadly as a means through which the wants of the members of society are converted into binding decisions (Easton and Dennis, 1967). This system is composed of three levels, the authorities which are the day-to-day occupants of the more important political roles; the regime which is the structure of authority - the form of the political order including norms and rules of the game which determine the character of authoritative roles; and the political community which consists of a shared division of political labor among a group of people who settle their problems peaceably and in common (Easton, 1957a). In order for the open political system to persist in the face of stress, commitment or positive and diffuse support of the members of all three levels are necessary. The persistence of the system depends on the socialization community's success in producing members who positively support the political system. This support is of two types, first is the favorable disposition toward the political community, regime, and authorities because of the specific benefits or advantages associated with them; this is termed specific support. The other type is diffused, generalized sentiments which tie him firmly to these system levels even though inconveniences may result. This dycotomy may still be broken down into two other classifications. Overt support is external, observable behavior, covert support refers to a supportive frame of mind, that is, attitudes toward the political system. Easton

³³ For an excellent elaboration of the system-maintenance theme focusing on the development of support toward political authority for the stability of a democratic political system see Coombs (1968), especially Chapter 6 "Authority Orientations and the Political System".

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relates that the ability to detect accurately the existence of covert support is far more important than its actual overt support:

The members of a system may not be called upon to demonstrate their affection for their leaders or for the particular constitutional order, at least on a day-to-day basis. But the continuing activities of the leaders or authorities may well be based on the premise that if necessary, the members can be roused in visible and active defense of one or another aspect of the system. In those systems where leadership cannot anticipate and rely upon the unquestioning support of the membership, the extent to which the human or even material resources of the system can be committed is seriously curtailed (Easton, 1965b: 161).

A potential hinderence of the system lies in the loss of positive support through attitudinal cleavage between citizens, and between citizens and authorities (those we termed compliance system agents). Such cleavage might seriously effect authorities' legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The gaining of legitimacy by the citizenry is a most effective device for regulating the flow of diffuse support toward authorities and the regime. Such legitimacy implies moral authority, that is, compliance due to the authority's rightful power, and a person's willingness to comply because of a moral obligation to do so (Banton, 1964). The extent of the legitimacy of authorities in the eyes of the public is a measure of diffuse support:

...My hypothesis is that the way the members view their authorities, their structure, influence, mode of exercising power, and other characteristics, will significantly reflect the degree to which these members are ready to give or withdraw support (Easton, in Friedrich, 1958: 173).

Easton and Dennis (1968) relate that a hedge against failure of achieving positive support from youth, is the child's homogeneous outlook toward all authority figures. The findings of consensus of positive

support for a variety of authority figures rated by their large sample of elementary school children was viewed by Easton and Dennis as "... protection against failure, as it were, by the presence of a number of open doors through which the child may enter supportively into political life" (Easton and Dennis, 1968: 268).

The importance of support cannot be overemphasized. With a minimal level of diffuse support by citizens for authorities, regime, and political community, the system can function even if specific support breaks down. However, if both types of support fall below a minimal level, the system will experience stress. If the stress intensity reaches a peak, the system will be reformed or overthrown.

There appears to be a relationship between positive support toward authorities and age. Easton and Dennis (1968) found a slight decline in positive support toward police between the ages of 14 and 21. By interpolating this finding, they conclude that given the nature of today's teenage culture, regard for the police might continue to drop. The significance of this is that the larger the percentage of the population between, say, 15 and 35 years of age, the greater the proportion of the members of the political system that can be more easily detached from it, and therefore least positively supportive of the system (Easton and Dennis, 1968). The system would then be under more stress than if the population was not so young. This condition may be due to the fact that many adolescents have not had the opportunity to learn all of the things which would make them full-fledged members of society (Rose, 1960). This "incomplete socialization", a by-product of contemporary industrial society, leads us to a discussion of social learning - an approach most useful in understanding the socialization process.

2. The social-learning approach

Incomplete socialization may result because of ineffective contacts between maturing members and socializers. Such contacts are typified by misunderstanding, alienation, or social distance. The important point is that socialization takes place through person to person relationships. The opportunity for learning the necessary and appropriate attitudes, values, and behavior for adulthood will not take place if the youngster negatively supports the socializer and/or vice versa. The importance of understanding attitudes that one member of the socialization relationship holds for another is emphasized by Parsons:

In addition to what alter does in the sense of his overt discrete acts with their reward - punishment significance and to what he offers in the sense of patterns for imitation, alter's attitudes toward ego become the crucial feature of the socialization process (Parsons, 1951: 213).

In most cases, however, the contact is positive and learning takes place through one or more of these processes: transmission, reinforcement, and modeling.

a. Transmission Several theorists have described socialization as a process of replacement, i.e., a procedure in which the new generation acquires attitudes, values, and norms transmitted to them by the preceding generation. Kohlberg's (1963; 1964; 1968) discussions of moral development presents stages in the child's acquisition of rules that are laid down by parents and other authority figures. As the child develops he takes on the values of the older generation. The acquisition of these rules and other relevant attitudes and values may be accomplished by

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direct or indirect learning (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969). Direct learning may be intentional and overt, as when the police officer warns a careless teen-age driver to abide by the traffic rules. It may entail unintentional transmissions, as when a youngster acquires lack of trust in the law as he overhears his father talk about how he outwitted a patrolman out of a ticket, or as Sigel relates:

Incidental political learning...may be the by-product of observation - watching a public official accept a bribe affords a youngster a certain view of the rectitude of government officials. Observations such as these can lead to political cynicism which in turn seems to be closely tied to political apathy, alienation and the like (Sigel, 1965: 5).

Indirect learning may be intentional, as when the youngster is told that the "good boy" is an obeying boy; or unintentional, as when the youngster learns the necessity of rules as a member of his school's football team.

Easton and Hess (1962) termed the content transmitted from older to younger generations political orientations. They consist of political knowledge, attitudes, and standards of evaluation. To determine the effectiveness of political socialization, it is important to measure the consensus and cleavage between the socializers and their charges in terms of their political orientation toward the political system. This notion can be represented as follows:

Types of Political Orientations

Levels of a political system	Basic Political Orientations					
	Knowledge		Values		Attitudes	
	Socializers	Youth	Socializers	Youth	Socializers	Youth
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Throughout this review of the literature on compliance system support, many important cleavages between youngsters and their socializers have been pointed out. The process of political socialization does not appear to be totally effective.

b. Reinforcement There is a long history behind learning theory which identifies the importance of rewards and punishments that a learner receives from his significant others in acquiring cognitive, affective, and connotative orientations. The basic premise of reinforcement theory is that most of what is learned is learned in interpersonal relationships. There are a number of people, called significant others, in ones life, who are most influential socializers because of their closeness, frequency of contact, and their control over rewards and punishments. Through these persons, "self-other systems" emerge in which the youngster is oriented toward the role prescriptions and evaluations of his significant others (Brim, in Brim and Wheeler, 1966). Easton's politicization as a mechanism of support conception takes a broad reinforcement theory approach:

...the actual process of politicization at its most general level brings into operation a complex network of rewards and punishments. For adopting the correct political attitude and performing the right political acts, for conforming to the generally accepted interpretations of political goals, and for undertaking the institutionalized obligations of a member of the given system, we are variously rewarded or punished. For conforming we are made to feel worthy, wanted, and respected and often obtain material advantages such as wealth, influence, improved opportunities. For deviating beyond the permissible range, we are made to feel unworthy, rejected, dishonored, and often suffer material losses (Easton, 1957a: 398).

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c. Modeling The reinforcement theories of socialization have recently been challenged by scholars who claim that imitation and identification, play an important function in socialization. Imitation is generally defined as copying or modeling the behavior of others. There are a variety of motives that determine imitation and identification, for example, admiration and the desire for approval or status. It appears that many political acts can be attributed to this type of learning. Identification involves more than imitation because it implies that the person begins to feel like another person or group of persons which he values; as such this process often is quite unconscious. A typical statement of modeling theory is:

Whatever the source, behavior models are important in the process of socialization. Family members often are behavior models to their children. The young child may imitate the behavior of his parents and act out parent roles or the role of the family physician or the policeman at the traffic light. With the development of peer associations, behavior models may shift to peer associates. It is not unusual for a teacher to become a behavior model of many of his pupils (Cole and Cox, 1968: 118).

Through their behaviors and expressed attitudes, significant others serve as prototypes on how to respond to persons and objects. Significant other's behaviors are also closely related to the development of the child's personality structure. It is through observation and imitation of significant others that ideal selves are formed (Havighurst and Taba, 1959). Most of the research in the field of modeling has centered around the work of Bandura, Walters, and their coworkers (Bandura and Walters, 1963). In a series of laboratory studies in which children were exposed to real-life or film mediated models, and adolescents

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and college students were presented a violent movie scene, observation of aggressive social models, either in real life or in fantasy, increased the aggressiveness of the observing subjects if the model was rewarded or did not receive punishment for aggressive behavior. Bandura and Walters emphasize that people learn from observation. This is termed observational or vicarious learning. They state that the response which is made to a new situation, although novel in the repertoire of the person, is not the result of trial and error but rather of learning acquired previously, and in a vicarious manner. Youngsters learn many political behaviors in this way. They observe adult responses and the rewards and punishment that follow them. When at later times they are placed in a similar situation, they can produce the correct response without ever having practiced it before. For example, a child may see his normally gruff father respond in a polite and civil manner to a police officer with the hope that he can talk his way out of a ticket. It works, and the policeman departs leaving behind only a lecture on traffic safety. The child learned that the correct response to stimulus "policeman" is politeness and civility, and this is the type of response given when they mature to drivers and are confronted by a police officer. Such a learned response may be generalized to responses given other compliance system agents.

In a similar vein, Coombs (1968) posits that children "learn" novel responses of role models observed interacting with legal authorities. Since they will often learn more than one response for any given situation, the important question is how do children select a response from the variety in their repertoire when they become actors. Coombs suggests

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a number of factors, including attitude toward the object, commitment to the authority system, personality traits, and specific norms which prescribe behavior in a given situation, as potentially important in this response selection process.

To gain perspective of the relationship between learning theory and the present study, it is useful to present Greenstein's political socialization classifications as they relate to the investigation.

1. Who learns: Ninth grade adolescent youths from a medium sized midwest city; subjects are of different sex, ethnicity, socio-economic status level, and so forth.

2. What is learned: Politically related learning dealing with knowledge of and attitudes toward the community's compliance system.

3. The agents of political socialization: This study concentrates on examining two agents of the compliance system who are part of the socialization community - teachers and police officers. Since they are so highly involved in the learning process it appears important to determine their own dispositions which, most probably, get transmitted to their charges.

Therefore, knowledge of and attitudes toward the compliance system and the variables that effect these cognitions are obtained from teachers and police.

4. The circumstances of political socialization: These agents socialize the younger generation through the social learning processes of transmission, reinforcement, and modeling. This includes direct and indirect, intentional and unintentional socialization.

5. The effects of political learning: Developing the younger

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generation's positive specific and diffuse support toward the compliance system is a necessary function for system-maintenance of the system. Such early learning has a direct bearing on adult attitudes and behavior.

It should be pointed out that field studies of political socialization have been limited to the "formal" aspects of socialization. Attention has centered on a clear socializer-client type of relationship, i.e., the roles of the socializing agent and the client are obvious to all actors. Few studies have considered the "informal" processes of socialization.

In Brim's (1966) essay on "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," four categories of the relationships between the socializing agent and the individual are presented. These categories incorporate socialization processes involving both the formal and informal relationships. One category identifies instances where the individual being socialized has a well-presented role as a learner; another identifies instances where the learner is not formally specified, there is no well prescribed role as learner. The two other categories deal with the socialization agents or agencies that represent formal (school, army unit, etc.) or informal (family, friendship group, etc.) organizations. The following figure presents these categories as they relate to the present study:

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	Role of Learner Specified	Role of Learner Unspecified
Formal Organization	Student and Teacher Type I	Adolescent and Teacher (Model) Adolescent and Police Officer (Model) Teacher and Police Officer Type II
Informal Organization	Type III Adolescent and Family	Type IV Adolescent and Peer-Group

Figure 2. Classification of Socialization Relationships*

Type I relationship is an example of the role of teacher and student in the school. In Type II, the adolescent and teacher are present. In this, the teacher does not represent a formal role as instructor, but is an exemplar to the youngster; this may pertain outside as well as inside the school setting. The same rationale pertains to the police officer in his role as socializing model rather than control role. Teachers and police officers are included in this cell because there is a certain amount of adult socialization taking place when individuals of these positions meet. However, there is no formal teacher and learner relationship. For example, the way a police officer conducts himself in the school and the way he interviews a youngster in the presence of a teacher will effect the teacher's support toward the police. As Brim

*This chart developed from Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Socialization Through the Life-Cycle," in Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, by Orville G. Brim, Jr. and Stanton Wheeler (New York: John Wiley and Sons) 1966: 34-35, and John Charles Dempsey, Isolation of the Police Officer (unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Political Science, Colorado State University) 1967: 26-28.

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states "...even within formal organizations with specified socialization roles much of the socialization still occurs through informal processes, outside of the specified roles" (Brim, 1966: 35). Types III and IV, deal with informal organizations, the family or the peer group instead of a school system or factory. The present study is most concerned with an exploration of Types I and II socialization relationships.

3. Attitude - concept system

Throughout this review the emphasis has been on theory and research directly or indirectly involved in examining support to the political system and more specifically to the compliance system. The interest has been in the political culture or political orientations of adolescents and their adult socializers. Such concepts as "support", "political culture", and "political orientation" are psychological in nature; they refer to cognitive, affective, and connotative orientations. It is quite clear that the focus of the present study is also psychological in nature, for the main dependent variables are behavioral predispositions, or more simply, attitudes and values.

Attitudes and values are major variables of the social sciences because they sum up the past experience of individuals to account for present behavior. They have a most important effect in organizing experience and directing action. They are acquired in the socialization processes and therefore represent the end products of society's socialization community. As Halloran states:

[Attitudes] represent our major equipment for dealing with reality, reflects our style of operation, our way of coping with and dealing with problems. If we know something about an individual's social attitudes, then not only do we have a brief

summary of what has gone before in the individual's experience that may affect his behavior, but we may also be able to say something useful about his aspirations, his motivations, his striving towards his goals and to know something about why, along the way, he deals as he does with a great variety of social objects and values. In short, despite its limitations...it is a step in the right direction of reducing the complex to the simple, it helps to make sense and give meaning to individual behavior and in all probability it is the best basis for prediction yet devised (Halloran, 1967: 28).

A basic conceptual construct for this study can be termed the "attitude-concept system" (Torney, 1965). This refers to the cluster of beliefs organized around an attitude object. Attitude objects, which are focal points of these systems, may be persons (including the self), social structures (e.g., the community's compliance system), ideologies (e.g., democracy), and social processes (e.g., political efficacy). The components of attitude-concept systems are beliefs. Beliefs are probability dimensions of a concept which can be in the form of belief in or belief about an object (Fishbein and Raven, in Fishbein, 1967). They refer to the probability of the existence of an object (belief in), and the nature of that object, i.e., the manner in which it exists (belief about). The content of a belief may describe the object as true or false, correct or incorrect; evaluate it as good or bad; or advocate a course of action or a state of existence as desirable or undesirable. The first type of belief is termed a descriptive or existential belief, for example, "I believe that the greatest problems teachers have are in disciplining students" (belief in). The second kind is termed as evaluative belief, for example "I believe our police department is the best in the country" (belief about). The third is identified as a prescriptive or exhortatory belief, for example "I believe it is desirable that youngsters should obey the law" (belief about) (Rokeach, 1968).

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All beliefs, whether descriptive, evaluative, or prescriptive, are predispositions to action, and an attitude is therefore a set of inter-related predispositions to action organized around an object or situation (Rokeach, 1968).

Attitude research has been traditionally of two kinds; most studies have dealt only with content, but a few have studied the organization of types of beliefs with respect to one another. This study will be of the former type, that is, it attempts to examine the positiveness or negativeness of evaluations (evaluative beliefs) and the specific content of beliefs (descriptive beliefs).³⁴

a. Values Values are intricately related to attitudes for they are our standards, telling us what attitudes to hold and how to act. It is a standard we employ to tell us which values, attitudes, and actions of others are worth trying to influence.

Many have written about values, therefore, as with most social scientific hypothetical constructs, one finds an abundance of definitions in the literature.³⁵ This study focuses on the phenomenological approach discussed by Rokeach (1968). Through socialization everyone learns a set of beliefs about modes of behavior (instrumental values) and about end-states of existence (terminal values), that are considered to be personally and socially desirable.³⁶ The end product of an individual's

³⁴For an excellent study of structural dimensions of children's political attitude-concept systems see Torney (1965).

³⁵For a thorough presentation of the various definitions of values that have appeared in the literature see Barton (1962).

³⁶A similar conception of values has been presented by Kluckhohn and others (in Parsons and Shils, 1951). They use the term instrumental values as those values which actors and groups conceive as means to further ends, and goal values as aims and virtues which societies and individuals make for themselves. Borsodi (1965) also identifies these two types of values but lumps them into one category called telic or teleologic values.

socialization is the establishment of tens of thousands of beliefs, hundreds of attitudes, but only dozens of values. Persons differ not on whether they possess such values, but rather on how they arrange these few values. This is termed their value system, i.e., a hierarchy or rank-ordering of terminal or instrumental values along a continuum of perceived importance.³⁷

Attitudes and values are not in harmony all the time (Hollander, 1967). A value system may lead to different and even opposite attitudes in the same person. Also an attitude held by one person can arise from a different value system than that underlying the same attitude held by someone else. It is apparent that the relationship between attitudes and value systems is intricate; unfortunately, few researchers have attempted to tackle the problem of thoroughly investigating this relationship.

K. Major Research Hypotheses

The present study considers the following categories of beliefs and values dependent variables:

³⁷Kluckhohn and others (in Parsons and Shils, 1951); F. Kluckhohn and Sutker, 1966; Turner, 1954; and Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; all have defined a value system as a hierarchical ranking of values by an individual. As Wolfgang and Ferracuti state:

If a set of norms can logically be said to cluster around a value concept, a normative system develops, and if values can be arranged in hierarchical order, a value system may be described. If value systems are empirically derivable, then variances, divergences, contra-normative, and contra-value systems - in short, subcultures - can also be measured (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 116).

I. Descriptive beliefs

A. Perceptions of the teaching occupation

1. Critical problems of teachers
2. Prestige of teachers in the community
3. Influence of teachers in the community
4. Social position of teachers in the community
5. Economic position of teachers in the community
6. Selection of teachers

B. Perceptions of the police occupation

1. Critical problems of police
2. Prestige of police in the community
3. Influence of police in the community
4. Social position of police in the community
5. Economic position of police in the community
6. Selection of police officers

C. Perceptions of citizenship

1. Juvenile delinquents
2. Good citizens
3. Bad citizens
4. Meaning of citizenship

II. Evaluative beliefs

A. Support of police department and police officers

1. Police
2. Police and youth
3. Police and Negroes

B. Support of schools and teachers

1. School
2. Teachers
3. Teachers and youth
4. Teachers and Negroes

C. Support of judicial components

1. Judges
2. Courts
3. The law
4. Probation officers

D. Support of youth

1. Youth

E. Support of parents

1. Fathers
2. Parents

III. Values

A. Instrumental values

B. Terminal values

We will now present summaries of the forgoing review of theory and research and the hypotheses, resulting from this body of materials, constructed for testing:

Horizontal analysis of the compliance system showed congruency between teacher and police perceptions, moreso than between teachers and probation officers, or police officers and probation officers.

Vertical analysis showed a development of an adolescent contra-culture. This indicates perceptual differences between generations.

Many studies have pointed out the salience of ethnicity in differing perceptions, attitudes and values.

This indicated the following hypotheses:

H₁: There will be no significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics (I A-B).

H₂: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding teacher and police occupational topics (I A-B).

H₃: There will be significant differences between perceptions of police officers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding teacher and police occupational topics (I A-B).

H₄: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of Negro students versus Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding teacher and police occupational topics (I A-B).

H₅: There will be no significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of citizenship (I C).

H₆: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding citizenship (I C).

H₇: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of police officers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding citizenship (I C).

H₈: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of Negro students versus Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding citizenship (I C). Dominant students will be the most positive, teachers next in positiveness, police officers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

The literature shows that police are highly positive in support of their occupation. They are known to be most defensive to any hint that policing is not a worthwhile and respectful occupation. Evidence has been presented that showed youth as positively supportive of police. Public opinion polls found teachers the least positive toward police than any other profession.

One can expect teachers to be positively supportive of their own occupation, and police officers were found to be positive in their support of teachers. Studies indicate that adolescents had a tendency to exhibit negative attitudes towards schools and teachers.

Youth were shown to be Hobbesian in their view of the judicial system, i.e., the laws must be enforced at all cost. Teachers tend to not be so absolute as youth and do not appraise judicial components as highly as teenagers do.

Because of frustrating occupational experiences with other agents of criminal justice, police officers negatively appraise the law, court, and probation. The tendency is for police to feel that these components are unfair and too lenient.

Several studies have pointed out that the most important factor influencing people's views of the compliance system is ethnicity. Opinion polls consistently show that the minority groups, especially youngsters of such groups, possess more negativism toward police and teachers than Dominants do. Several studies reviewed indicated that minority group youth were subject to crucial decisions by compliance system agents based on unfair criteria. This results in a loss of these authorities' legitimacy.

From the above summary the following hypotheses were developed:

H₉: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of the police occupation (II A): Police will be the most positive, Dominant students next in positiveness, teachers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

H₁₀: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of the teaching occupation (II B): Teachers will be the most positive, police officers the next in positiveness, the Dominant students will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

H₁₁: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of judicial components (II C): Dominant students will be the most positive, teachers next in positiveness, police officers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

There is no indication in the literature that Dominant and minority group youth differ on attitudes toward peers. Teenagers are peer oriented, and therefore very positively supportive of each other. The few studies that have attempted to measure teachers' attitudes toward students show a negative orientation. Several authors have pointed out how negative police are toward youth.

The following hypothesis was formulated:

H₁₂: There will be no significant difference between Dominant and Negro students' support of youth, but there will be a significant difference between these students, and teachers' and police officers' support

of youth (II D): students will be positive and teachers and police will be negative.

There is little evidence in the literature of Dominant and minority group youth differences regarding attitudes toward parents. There is a sparcity of studies measuring teachers' and police officers' attitudes toward parents. Since parents are considered the general public by both occupations, studies measuring attitudes toward the public will be helpful. The literature shows that though teachers perceive the public as having different views than they do, teachers do not perceive the public as a hostile group. Teachers do not, on the whole, exhibit negative appraisals toward parents. Several studies on police, however, have found much hostility toward the public. This has been attributed to selective perceptions due to the type of public police have contact with. Teenagers are positive toward their parents, even though peer group ties have become stronger and family ties weaker.

The following hypothesis was developed from the above summary:

H₁₃: There will be no significant difference between Dominant and Negro students' support of parents, but there will be a significant difference between these students, teachers', and police officers' support of parents (II E): teachers will be most positive, students next in positiveness, and police officers most negative.

Research has shown that various combinations of instrumental and terminal values significantly differentiate several categories of peoples, for example policemen from unemployed Negroes; unemployed Dominants from unemployed Negroes; good students from poor students; fifth-graders from seventh-, ninth-, and eleventh-graders.

The literature states that youth are preoccupied with values pertaining to their peer culture such as friendship, excitement, competence, love, and etc. Teachers' values are said to be middle-class and more liberal than most groups. Several authors identify teachers as main transmitters of middle-class values - this tends to be a community expectation. Police are said to possess conservative values. Research shows that the police value system is similar to members of the John Birch society and conservative Republicans.

From the above findings the following hypothesis was developed:

H₁₄: There will be significant differences between the value systems of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers (III A-B).

CHAPTER THREE

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In the preceding chapter we reviewed the literature concerning: public support of the compliance system; socialization; youth, teachers' and police officers' attitudes and personalities; school and police as components of the compliance system and socialization community; inter-generational and inter-organizational relationships; system-maintenance and social learning approaches; and the nature of attitudes and values. Fourteen hypotheses were developed based on this review of the literature. This chapter will describe the study design used to examine these hypotheses.

The chapter begins with a description of the research design. The instruments used to measure independent and dependent variables are then discussed. A description of the subjects follows. The procedures employed to analyze the data are presented. This chapter concludes with a profile of the research community.

A. Research Design

The design for examining the presented hypotheses was nonexperimental in nature. A combination of open-ended and scale attitude instruments were used to acquire the data. A multiple triangulation procedure was employed to determine the validity of the research hypotheses (Denzin, 1970). That is, the research method relied on a combination of different types of instruments to measure the same attitude objects and the measuring of diverse groups attitudes towards the same objects. We followed Denzin's suggestion that:

...no single method is free from flaws - that no single method will adequately handle all of the problems of causal analysis - and that no single method will yield all the data necessary for a theory's test. Consequently, the researcher must combine his methods in a process termed triangulation; that is, empirical events must be examined from the vantage provided by as many methods as possible (Denzin, 1970: 3).

The research design is based on a multi-dimensional model of the socialization process (Dempsey, 1967). This model identifies a three part analytic process of socialization toward compliance system support. Column 1 presents the personal factors and behavioral experiences that need to be assessed. These independent variables greatly influence the effectiveness of the socialization process. Column 2 depicts the socialization process itself and involves the type of relationships youngsters experience with the agents of the socialization community; it also involves relationships between the adult socializers themselves. Columns 1 and 2 are crucial to the development of compliance system support depicted in column 3. Here one looks at intra- and inter-generational differences and inter-organizational differences, and in descriptive and evaluative beliefs and values. This model is graphically presented in the following figure:³⁸

³⁸It should be realized that socialization toward the compliance system involves many more variables than those identified under each column. The variables shown represent the focus of this study and are believed to be most important in understanding the socialization process toward compliance system support.

1. <u>Independent Variables</u>	2. <u>Intervening Variables</u>	3. <u>Dependent Variables</u>
A. <u>Adolescents</u>	<u>Socialization Process</u>	<u>Adolescent and Adult</u> <u>Socializer Support</u> <u>of the Compliance</u> <u>system</u>
1) Social Factors	1) Type I* a. Student and teacher	1) Descriptive Be- liefs - percep- tions of:
2) Personality Factors	2) Type II* a. Adolescent and teacher (model)	a. Teaching and police occupa- tions
3) Behavioral Factors	b. Adolescent and police officer (model)	b. Citizenship
B. <u>Adult Socializers</u>	c. Teacher and po- lice officer	2) Evaluative be- liefs support of:
1) Social Factors		a. Police Depart- ment and Police Officers
2) Personality Factors		b. Schools and Teachers
3) Occupational Factors		c. Judicial com- ponents
		d. Youth
		e. Parents
		3) Values
		a. Instrumental values
		b. Terminal values

Figure 3. Multi-dimensional model of the Socialization Process.
Source: Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle", in Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, by Orville G. Brim, Jr., and Stanton Wheeler, (New York: John Wiley) 1961: 34-35; John C. Dempsey, Isolation of the Police Officer (Fort Collins, Colorado: Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Political Science, Colorado State University) 1967: 31-34; Percy Tannenbaum and Jack McLeod, "On the Measurement of Socialization", Public Opinion Quarterly, 1967, 31: 27-38; and Stanton Wheeler, "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Studies", in Socialization after Childhood: Two Essays, by Orville G. Brim, Jr. and Stanton Wheeler, (New York: John Wiley) 1961: 111-113.

* See pages 136-138 for description of these concepts.

1. Instrumentation

The questionnaires developed for this study represent a compilation of various attitudinal and informational instruments successfully used in previous research. For comparison purposes, the attitudinal indicators are the same in the teacher, police officer, and student questionnaires. The information survey, which obtained demographic materials was more extensive in the student questionnaire. The teacher and police officer information surveys centered around occupational data. Code books for the open ended questions were developed from sampling responses from all three types of subjects. The instruments were processed through test-retest reliability checks. This consisted of comparing responses of 340 students who completed the questionnaire twice. There was a four week interval between administrations. Such checks consisted of Pearson Product Moment Correlations (r) for scale type items; frequency and percentage of subjects who for the first and second administrations of the questionnaires, gave identical responses on the open-ended items; and Spearman Rank-Order Correlation (ρ) for the value survey. The following are descriptions of the questionnaire components:

a. Critical Problem Survey Subjects were asked, "Would you please state -- in order -- what you consider to be the two most serious problems teachers have." Spaces, numbered 1 and 2, were supplied for the respondent to write in his answer. The subjects then responded to a question asking them to list, in order, the two most serious problems police have. Skolnick (1966) developed this police critical problem survey for his study of the "policeman's working personality."

1. Development of the critical problem survey codebook Thirty

ninth graders who were in a school not participating in the research program, were used to pretest the instruments of this study. Their responses were used to develop code categories to the open-ended critical problem survey. It was determined from their responses that a fairly small number of response categories could be developed by compiling subject responses into common categories. A sample of 75 questionnaires was then randomly selected from one of the schools participating in the research (the first school in which the questionnaires were administered, School 1). Adding four questionnaires completed by police officers, and eleven questionnaires completed by teachers from School 1, statements from a total of 90 respondents were sorted and compiled into common response categories. It should be emphasized that these common categories were developed after reviewing the sampled subjects' responses, and does not represent any preconceived staff notions. Common response categories to the Teachers' Critical Problem Survey stabilized at eight code areas with no change in the areas as the coding progressed. Using the sampled subject responses, eight common response categories were developed for the Police Critical Problem Survey. A final ninth code category was added due to teacher and police subjects identifying problems centering around police and court conflicts. An attempt was made to develop code categories in the two problem surveys that could be compared. (See Appendix A for the Teacher and Police Critical Problem Survey codebooks).

2. Coder reliability One coder was given the responsibility

to code the critical problem surveys. Code checking was accomplished by a second coder withdrawing every fifth student questionnaire (a 20

percent sample), and every third police and teacher questionnaire (33 percent samples), covering the first coding and independently coding the responses. Differences between the two codings were counted as errors. Coder reliability was computed by dividing total number of errors (coding discrepancies in both first and second problem choices of each survey were summed together) by the total possible coder and code-checker agreements, and then subtracting the percentage error from 100 percent. The following formula describes this procedure:

$$100\% - \frac{\sum e}{a} = P$$

where:

e = discrepancy errors

a = total possible agreements

P = coder reliability, i.e., percent agreement between coder and code checker.

The coder reliability on the student questionnaire (N = 252) for Teacher Critical Problem Survey was:

$$100\% - \frac{26}{484} = 94.6 \text{ .}$$

And for the Police Critical Problem Survey, it was:

$$100\% - \frac{34}{484} = 93.0 \text{ .}$$

The coder reliability on the teacher questionnaire (N = 60) for Teacher Critical Problem Survey was:

$$100\% - \frac{10}{120} = 91.7 \text{ .}$$

And for the Police Critical Problem Survey it was:

$$100\% - \frac{6}{120} = 95.0 \ .$$

The coder reliability on the police officer questionnaire (N = 53) for Teacher Critical Problem Survey was:

$$100\% - \frac{3}{106} = 97.8 \ .$$

And for the Police Critical Problem Survey it was:

$$100\% - \frac{5}{106} = 95.3 \ .$$

3. Instrument reliability The test-retest reliability of the Critical Problem Survey is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same content codes on the first and second administrations of the critical problem survey (N = 340)

	Teacher Critical Problem Number 1	Teacher Critical Problem Number 2	Police Critical Problem Number 1	Police Critical Problem Number 2
Frequency	144	138	102	96
Percent	42.4	41.1	30.0	28.2

The percentage of consistent responses (from 42 percent to 28 percent) points out the difficulty of developing highly reliable open-ended instruments. Because of the subjectivity of such instruments, social scientists have always had difficulty in obtaining high reliability scores. Yet, such instruments are useful because of the freedom it gives a subject in expressing his opinions.

Table 1 presents those subjects who received identical coding on both questionnaires. That is, those subjects who were coded one on Teacher Critical Problems number one the first time and were coded one on this survey the second time; those who were coded two on Teacher critical Problem number one the first time and were coded two the second time, and so on. High reliability would indicate that most subjects related the same serious problems both times they completed the questionnaire. However, such questions are difficult to answer, especially for youngsters who probably have given little thought to the issue. Answers are very dependent on ones mood at the time and recent experiences with teachers and police officers. We also know that adolescence is a time of rapid attitudinal development and change and these attitudes are effected by rapid societal changes. Attitudes toward police are especially in a state of flux due to the various profiles of police presented by mass media. All these factors contribute to the subjects lack of consistency. However, the high coder reliability indicates that we obtained a true representation of the subjects opinions, even if these feelings are somewhat shifting.

b. The Prestige Rating Scales To determine the prestige perceptions towards teachers and police, the subjects were asked to rate, from

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very high to quite low, four status variables regarding these occupations. These variables are: general prestige of the position, degree of influence in community affairs, social position in the community, and economic position in the community. The police prestige rating scale was developed by Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) in their role study of a state police agency. Responses to each status variable were coded one to six with six representing the highest rating. Reliability measures for the Teacher Prestige Rating Scale are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Correlations between first and second Prestige Rating Scale scores:
Teacher Items (N = 340)

	Prestige	Influence	Social Position	Economic Position
Product Moment Correlation	0.399*	0.308*	0.362*	0.343*

*r significant at .01 for 338 df (df = N-2)

Police Prestige Rating Scale reliabilities are presented in Table 3.

The Product Moment Correlations between the first and second administrations of the Prestige Rating Scale Scores for both Teacher and Police ratings are high enough to state that these scales are reliable. All the correlations were significant at the .01 level at 338 df.

c. The Sentence Completion Technique As a measure of language ability and personality characteristics, the Sentence Completion Technique has a long history. Rotter (in Anderson and Anderson, 1951) felt that this technique was well suited to the study of social attitudes. It has the advantage of being able to be administered to a group and

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TABLE 3

Correlations between first and second Prestige Rating Scale scores:
Police Items (N = 340)

	Prestige	Influence	Social Position	Economic Position
Product Moment Correlation	0.443*	0.408*	0.444*	0.444*

*r significant at .01 for 338 (df = N-2)

still retain many of the individualistic advantages of the projective tests. A wide range of information is produced that is relatively free from response expectations. In discussing the advantages of using the sentence completion technique Bene wrote:

Ever since the sentence completion test has been used, the assumption has been made that the record of a subject may contain not only conscious expressions of his attitudes, but also indications of his covert feelings. The subject may reveal attitudes of whose existence he knows but yet he is unaware that he is expressing them in the test situation; or he may be quite unaware of the existence of the attitudes which are manifested in his responses. Thus, the subject's responses may be expressions of his public feelings, private feelings, or unconscious feelings. Often, some of the responses contained in a record are found to be contradictory, and it is held that such contradictions probably reflect conflicts in the emotional life of the subject. These assumptions are commonly made for most projective techniques and have been discussed in an extensive literature.... If these assumptions are accepted, the sentence completion test can be regarded as a useful technique for obtaining samples of attitudes (Bene, 1957: 90).

This technique involves the construction of a list of beginning phrases which are called sentence stems, the development of a coding rationale, and interpreting the many types of responses that a single stem may

elicit. In this study, the selection of sentence stems was guided by the necessity to obtain attitudes toward the various compliance system components. This is a modification of a sentence completion instrument used by Maher and Stein (in Wheeler, 1968) in studying institutionalized delinquent boys' perceptions of the law and the community. Several situational contexts thought to facilitate understanding of the subjects' perceptions of the compliance system were added such as: police and teachers dealing with youth, and police and teachers dealing with Negroes.

The subjects were instructed to finish the sentences as quickly as possible and not to worry about spelling or style.

1. Development of the Sentence Completion Technique code-books Following procedures used by Rotter (in Anderson, 1951), Bene (1957), Costin and Eiserer (1949), and Maher with Stein (in Wheeler, 1968) in developing a sentence completion scoring manual, subjects' responses to each stem were scored in two ways. First, responses were scored in terms of the content of the topic, (for example: Judge, Court, Law, etc.). Second, responses were scored in terms of the attitude expressed (degrees of positive and negative, and neutral). These were the basic attitudes on which a response might be scored. Bene states:

To have two sets of codes has the advantage that responses can be recorded with only little loss or distortion of their original meaning, and that coding categories can be devised which can apply to responses made to any items in the test... each response is represented by a pair of symbols, one standing for the object and one for the attitude towards the object (Bene, 1957: 91).

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Through a review of responses from a sample of 68 student questionnaires from School 1, and 15 police and teacher questionnaires, several preliminary content and attitude categories were identified.

As the coders progressed into coding responses of students from all schools, and teachers and police officers, insights into attitudes and perceptions of the subjects were gained. Revisions in the coding categories were made as coding proceeded to guarantee a true representation of the subjects' thinking toward the target issues. After each revision all questionnaires coded up to that point were recoded in regard to these changes. The final count settled at 19 content categories and five attitude categories.

Attitude coding was concerned with direct (code 1 for direct negative and 5 for direct positive) and indirect (code 2 for indirect negative and 4 for indirect positive) expressions of positive or negative feelings (evaluative beliefs), the rationale for this being that direct expression of beliefs may indicate more intense feelings than do indirect expressions. A response coded neutral (code 3) indicated that the subject's statement revealed no indication of positiveness or negativeness.

In regard to content coding, it should be noted that the coders concentrated on content in the subject's response and not on the stem content. For example, if a subject responded as follows, "Most kids... like policemen," this response would be coded in content area "Police and youth", not in "Youth", and given a direct positive attitude code. (See Appendix B for the sentence completion codebook.)

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2. Special coding procedures for selected sentence stems

It was discovered, soon after the coding of sentence stems began, that the previously described coding procedures were not entirely giving a true representation of the respondents' perceptions of teacher and police interactions with Negroes, youth, and citizens. To rectify this, sentence stems .18, 22, 24, 29, and 33 were coded as follows: If the response was clearly attitudinally positive, neutral, or negative toward police or teachers, it was coded as previously described, and sub-coded 3, meaning additional coding was not necessary. In some instances, however, the respondent was clearly not antagonistic toward teachers or police, but critical of how they relate to Negroes or youth, or in police actions in arresting people. In other cases, the respondent saw these relationships as negative, problematic, and unhealthy, but did not blame the police or teachers for the problem. Such respondents felt that police are too lax and lenient in dealing with kids; in arresting people, police are not rough enough or they have to be rough. When subjects responded in such a manner, their statements were subcoded (2 if attitudinal code was 2, or 1 if attitudinal code was 1) to indicate their critical tone to the situation.

In several instances this subcoding determination was difficult to make and the coder had to review the respondent's responses to other sentence stems and attitude items (it should be noted that many times this had to be done to determine attitudinal coding of sentence stems other than those subcoded). In all, it was felt that this elaborate coding was successful in achieving a true picture of subjects' perceptions of police and teachers' interactions with Negroes, youth, and citizens. (See Appendix C for supplement sentence stem codebook.)

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Several of the sentence stems did not elicit evaluative beliefs toward a topic, as much as descriptive beliefs. Such stems could not be coded by the above procedure. These stems were separated from the others and special coding content areas developed from the subjects' own responses. These content codes were developed after reviewing and compiling responses to these particular stems of 93 School number 1 students, teachers, and police officers. The content categories were identified in the same way as the Critical Problem Survey coding categories were developed. Following are the sentence stems included in this special coding procedure:

3. Juvenile delinquents...

12. Police are chosen...

13. A good citizen...

16. Teachers are chosen... .

20. A bad citizen...

31. Citizenship means...

(See Appendix D for codebook on these stems.)

3. Coder reliability Code checking was accomplished through recoding samples of every fifth student questionnaire and every third teacher and police officer questionnaire. Coders were assigned to re-code questionnaires from student, teacher, and police respondents that they had not been assigned to originally code. In other words, the coders swapped questionnaires.

Errors were calculated as major, minor, and content. The major errors were defined as coder-code check discrepancies between content codes or attitudinal poles. For example, if the coder coded a stem,

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content code 2 (Court) and the code-checker coded it 1 (Judge) a major error was recorded. If in attitudinal coding the coder coded a stem 4 (indirect positive) while the code-checker coded it 2 (indirect negative) a major error was recorded. Discrepancies between neutral and the other attitudinal codes were also defined as major errors. Minor errors were defined as coder-code checker discrepancies in the degree of the attitudinal code. For example, if the coder coded a stem 4 (indirect positive) and the code-checker coded it 5 (direct positive), this was recorded as a minor error, since the two coders agreed in attitude direction but not in degree (i.e., they agreed that the subject gave a positive response).

4. Test-retest reliability Checks on sentence stem content code consistency are depicted in Table 4.

By and large, the subjects responded in terms of the same content for the sentence stems on both testing occasions. This indicates that the subjects were responding to the content suggested in the sentence stems. Content codes, police, youth, and school, were not as consistent content codes as the others; these content codes were more variable. Several stems elicited responses to these content areas. For example, content code police could show up in at least seven sentence stems: "Any policeman . . .", "Most police are . . .", "The police department . . .", "I like . . .", "I hate . . .". Subjects who responded to each of these in police terms the first time, tended not to respond to as many in these terms the second and vice versa. Such variability facilitated the inconsistency we see with these few content codes.

Table 5 shows the stability of the attitudes elicited by the sentence

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TABLE 4

Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same content codes on the first and second administration of the sentence stems
(N = 340)

Sentence Stem Content Areas	f	%
Judge	307	90.3
Court	296	87.1
Law	303	89.1
Police	233	68.7
Teachers	242	71.2
Police and Youth	279	82.1
Teachers and Youth	310	91.2
Police and Negroes	311	91.7
Teachers and Negroes	321	94.4
Youth	159	46.8
School	202	59.4
Father	326	95.9
Parents	309	90.9
Probation Officers	326	95.9

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TABLE 5

Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same accumulative attitude scores by content areas on the first and second administration of the sentence stems (N = 340)

Sentence Stem Content Areas	f	%
Judge	82	24.1
Court	134	39.4
Law	121	35.6
Police	36	10.6
Teachers	54	15.9
Police and Youth	74	21.8
Teachers and Youth	76	22.4
Police and Negroes	144	42.5
Teachers and Negroes	150	44.1
Youth	36	10.6
School	45	13.2
Father	136	40.6
Parents	139	40.9
Probation Officers	128	37.7

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stems on both questionnaire administrations.

Again, we find little consistency in these accumulative attitude scores by content areas due to the open-end nature of the sentence stems. The projective quality of sentence stems produce variation in responses. Note that the content areas that produced the most variations (i.e., police, youth, and school) show the least attitude consistency. The high coder reliability shows us again that we did obtain an accurate depiction of the subjects' opinions.

Sentence stems 3, 12, 13, 16, 20, and 31 were code checked the same way as the Critical Problem Surveys, that is, only discrepancies in content were recorded.

The number of major errors were summed, divided by the total possible agreements, and this figure subtracted from 100 percent to give the percentage of agreement or coder reliability.³⁹

Coder reliability, calculated for students' questionnaires major errors was 98.4 percent, for minor errors was 96.1 percent, and for content errors (stems 3, 12, 13, 16, 20, and 31) was 93.5 percent. Coder reliability, calculated for teachers' questionnaires major errors was 98 percent, for minor errors was 96 percent, and for content errors was 92.2 percent. Coder reliability, calculated for police officers' questionnaires major errors was 99.6 percent, for minor errors was 98 percent and for content errors was 99.1 percent.

39. See previously described coder reliability formula.

Since major errors include two scores for each sentence stem, i.e., a content score and attitude score, the total possible coder agreements would be 14160 (N = 236) for student questionnaires, 3600 (N = 60) for teacher questionnaires, and 3240 (N = 54) for police officer questionnaires. Minor errors only dealt with an attitude score for each stem, thus total possible agreements would be 7080 for student questionnaires, 1800 for teacher questionnaires, and 1620 for police officer questionnaires.

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Such high agreement scores between coders is not unusual. Several studies that used sentence completion on adolescent and adult subjects as an attitude measure, and scored responses the same or similarly to the present study's method, report agreements between two or three judges between 88.3 percent and 99.4, and correlation coefficients between .74 to .996 (Bene, 1957; Hargreaves, 1967; Howard, 1956; Minzey, 1967; Osterweil and Fiske, 1956; Harris and Tseng, in Seidman, 1960; Suehr, 1961; and Maher with Stein, in Wheeler, 1967). As Suehr concluded in his study of teacher responses to a sentence completion form that measures teacher morale, "...once a manual is worked out, intelligent people with school experience should consistently score near unity" (Suehr, 1961: 112).

Instrument reliability for sentence stems 3, 12, 13, 16, 20 and 31 are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Frequencies and percentages of subjects who received the same content codes on the first and second administrations of selective sentence stems (N = 340)

Sentence Stems	Juvenile Delinquency	Police Chosen	Good Citizen	Teacher Chosen	Bad Citizan	Citizenship
Frequency	138	146	149	164	118	135
Percent	40.7	43.1	44.1	48.4	34.8	39.9

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The test-retest reliability of these selected sentence stems was not particularly high; less than half the subjects received the same content codes on both administrations of the questionnaires. This appears to be a function of the subjective and projective qualities of the sentence stem instrument. Like all other projective type techniques, high consistency is difficult to achieve. Again, the high coder reliability points out that we did obtain an accurate picture of the subjects' opinions, the accuracy of our coding is not at issue.

d. Attitudes toward Criminal Justice Scale The source of items for this scale is the Rundquist-Sletto law scale (Rundquist and Sletto, 1936). The original was a 22-item Likert-type scale measuring attitudes toward laws, judges, juries, court decisions, lawyers, etc. This and other scales were developed by Rundquist and Sletto to study the relative merits of Thurstone and Likert procedures. Construction of these scales consisted of submitting a large number of items to graduate students in psychology and sociology and asking them to comment on the items, especially on their ambiguity. They were asked to indicate which items were responded to on the basis of personal experience. Criteria for item selection was, first the unambiguousness of the item; second, the extent the item was based on personal feelings without focusing upon personal problems; the third, reliability of the item. This new set of items was then administered to a large group of upper level students in sociology classes. Through an item analysis, items were chosen on the basis of their ability to discriminate the upper and lower quartiles of the total score distribution. The final set of scales were administered

to about 3,000 college and high school students, high school teachers, students in classes for the unemployed, and men on relief. The law scale obtained split-half reliabilities (corrected) of .84 and .82 for 500 males and 500 females respectively. The test-retest reliability coefficient was .78 for a sample of 70 males and 75 females. The scale has above-average content validity and the authors offer some evidence of concurrent validity. Subjects respond to each item by choosing five alternatives from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Response alternatives for positive items are weighted from five (strongly agree) to one (strongly disagree). Weights for negative items are reversed.

The items used in this study are those selected by Clark and Wenninger (1964) in their attitude toward the legal institution study of 1154 sixth through twelfth graders in four different types of communities. The responses to the Rundquist-Sletto law scale, modified to facilitate youngsters' understanding of the items, was submitted to a Guttman scale analysis. Three Guttman-type scales were derived from eleven items of the law scale. Clark and Wenninger report findings from one of these scales (this was a seven-item attitude toward the legal institution scale with a reproducibility of 91 percent).

The subjects of the present study responded to these eleven modified Rundquist-Sletto law items. These items were intercorrelated to determine which could go together to form an undimensional scale. In such a scale, items can be summed and comparisons made between populations. The student, teacher, and police data were intercorrelated separately. Items were selected by the criteria of consistency in positive correlations across the three matrixes. A very low or negative correlation in any

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matrix disqualified an item. The most difficulties occurred in the police matrix. The police intercorrelations were much different than students and teachers; the police matrix possessed many more low and negative correlations. Some compromises had to be made such as retaining any item even though it had low correlations (but still positive) with other chosen items in the police matrix and excluding some items because of their low correlations in the police matrix even though they had fairly high correlations in the student and teacher matrixes.

After examining the three matrixes, six of the eleven items were chosen to make up the scale. These items were summed and each subject received a criminal justice scale score. Scores ranged from 6 to 30. The higher the score, the more favorable the respondent's attitude toward the criminal justice system, i.e., police, judges, laws, and courts. The scale consists of the following items:

1. On the whole, policemen are honest.
2. On the whole, judges are honest.
3. A person should obey the laws no matter how much one has to go out of his way to do it.
4. In the courts a poor man has the same chance as a rich man.
6. A person should tell the truth in court, no matter what.
10. People who break the law are nearly always caught and punished.

(See Appendix E for the intercorrelation matrixes.)

Comparison of the first and second administration of this Criminal Justice Scale produced a product moment correlation of 0.644, which is significant at the .01 level at 338 df. We may state that this scale is reliable.

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e. Value Survey The value survey, developed by Rokeach (1968) directs subjects to rank in order of importance eighteen instrumental values (e.g., broadminded, clean, forgiving, responsible), and eighteen terminal values (e.g., a comfortable life, equality, freedom, salvation). In this way, data can be obtained on the relative importance that subjects attach to 36 values.

The eighteen terminal values are a distillation of a large list of values obtained from 25 to 30 graduate students in psychology, and those obtained by interviewing a representative sample of almost 100 adults in metropolitan Lansing, Michigan. Criteria of selection of values were variability, independence, and discrimination (Beech, 1966; Rokeach, undated).

The eighteen instrumental values were selected from a list of 555 personality-trait words for which positive and negative evaluative ratings have been made available by Anderson (1968). This list was taken from 18,000 trait-names compiled by Allport and Odbert (1936). Anderson's list was reduced to 200 trait names that were positively evaluated - such traits are suitable for self-descriptive purposes. The criteria for the final selection of eighteen instrumental values were: retaining only one value from a group of synonyms or near-synonyms; retaining values judged to be minimally intercorrelated; retaining values judged to be important across culture, status, and sex; and retaining values one would readily admit to without appearing to be immodest or boastful (Beech, 1966; Rokeach, undated).

Rokeach (undated) reports several reliability studies of the value survey. In test-retest procedures, using students in introductory

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psychology classes in which the interval from test to retest was anywhere from three to seven weeks, the reliabilities for Form E (the form of value survey used in this study) ranged from .10 to the high .90's for the terminal values and from about -.20 to the high .90's for the instrumental values. The median reliabilities are .74 for the terminal values and .65 for the instrumental values. Reliabilities for each value were separately obtained. Terminal value reliabilities range from .51 for "a sense of accomplishment" to .88 for "salvation." Three of the values have reliabilities in the .70's, ten in the .60's, and four in the .50's. Instrumental value reliabilities range from .45 for "responsible" to .70 for "ambitious". Nine of the reliabilities are in the .60's, and seven are in the .50's. Rokeach concludes, "It is thus seen that the 36 terminal and instrumental value reliabilities are generally quite impressive, especially when we consider the fact that they are based on subject responses to one-item tests that are one-word or one-phrase long" (Rokeach, undated: 10).

Our reliability check of the Rokeach Value Survey, using junior high school students reveals that the median of the individual Spearman rho correlations for each subject is .55 for the terminal values and .44 for the instrumental values. Median absolute change reliabilities for terminal values range from 3.59 for "family security" to 1.85 for "a world at peace". Median absolute change reliabilities for instrumental values range from 4.32 for "responsible" to 2.76 for "imaginative". We can conclude that the test-retest relationship is not random, though the stability of these values for junior high school youth is not as great as is for college youth (reliabilities for college student data are presented in Rokeach, unpublished manuscript: undated).

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f. Information survey Students were asked to write down their age, grade, father's and mother's occupation, in-school and out of school activities, and to check the appropriate space indicating sex, ethnicity, whether their parents are living, divorced, or separated, who they lived with, birth order, number of brothers and sisters, church attendance, school interests and activities, and plans for senior high school.

Teachers and police officers were asked to write down the ages of their children, father's and mother's occupations, major field(s) in college and degree (if applicable). They checked the appropriate space indicating age, marital status, sex, ethnicity, formal education, years of working experience, work assignment, and rank.

Parents occupation was used as a measure of socioeconomic status. This was determined mostly by the father's occupation. However, in cases where father's occupation was not given or was ambiguous, the mother's occupation provided the ranking.⁴⁰

The Duncan Socioeconomic Index was used to classify parental occupations (Duncan, in Reiss, 1961, a, b). This index, constructed from the 1950 census information on detailed occupations, uses education and income to measure the socioeconomic status of an occupation. The index was used to place the parental occupations into four ordinal status groupings. These four groupings were established by dividing Duncan's index, 0-99, into quartiles: I = 0-24 (low); II = 25-49 (lower-middle); III = 50-74 (higher-middle); and IV = 75-99 (high).

⁴⁰ For rationales and detailed explanations for this type of substitution see Johnson (1969) and Wallin and Waldo (1964).

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Dividing the index was dependent upon the size of the increments between individual indices assigned to Duncan's listing of 45 broad classifications of occupations.

Index scores were assigned to occupations of parents by directly looking up the most appropriate category in Duncan's list of 446 occupational titles.

Inter-coder reliability was established by having a code checker take a 20 percent random sample of the students' questionnaires and 33 percent of the teacher and police officer questionnaires, and recode parental occupations. Agreement was calculated in terms of the percentage of occupations of both parents, placed in the same category by both coder and code checker. Disagreement regarding the placing of either the father's or mother's occupation constituted an error. Out of a possible 236 errors for the students' questionnaires, eleven occurred, giving a 95.3 percent agreement; of a possible 60 errors for the teachers' questionnaires, six occurred, giving a 90 percent agreement; of a possible 53 errors for the police officers' questionnaires, five occurred, giving a 90.5 percent agreement.

The test-retest reliability procedure produced a product moment correlation of 0.545, which is significant at the .01 level at 338 df. The Duncan Socioeconomic Index appears to be reliable.

g. Pretest The student questionnaire was administered first to a class of ninth graders of a junior high school not participating in the research program. The purpose of this pretest was to check on the clarity of the questionnaire items and to determine the length of time it takes to complete the task of filling out the questionnaire. A group

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interview of the class and a review of their responses indicated that the instruments presented no problems.

h. Summary of instruments used in the study

<u>Instrument</u>	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>For Analysis of</u>
1. Critical Problem Survey	Students Teachers Police Officers	H ₁ through H ₄
2. The Prestige Rating Scales	Students Teachers Police Officers	H ₁ through H ₄
3. Sentence Completion Technique	Students Teachers Police Officers	H ₁ through H ₁₃
4. Attitudes Toward Criminal Justice Scale	Students Teachers Police Officers	H ₁₁
5. Value Survey	Students Teachers Police Officers	H ₁₄
6. Information Survey	Students Teachers Police Officers	Description of Subjects

(See Appendix F for the complete questionnaires.)

2. Subjects

The subjects of this study are ninth grade students and their teachers from three Lansing, Michigan junior high schools, and police officers of the Lansing Police Department. A group of minority ninth grade students of an inner-city junior high school were added due to the small percentage of such youngsters attending the three experimental schools.⁴¹

⁴¹Out of 1095 ninth graders that comprised the three junior high school samples only 54 (5 percent) were Negro and 49 (5 percent) were Spanish-named. The 86 Negro students of the fourth school increased the Negro student sample to 140. It is felt that this increase improved the confidence in the results of Dominant-minority group comparisons.

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An attempt was made to try to get as close as possible in obtaining data from every ninth grader and teacher of the schools, and every police officer of the department. The total number of subjects represents all the ninth graders who were present the day the questionnaires were administered in their schools, all the teachers who were present at the faculty meetings in which the questionnaires were administered, and all the police officers, of every shift, who were on duty the week and a half that the questionnaires were administered in the police department. Table 7 shows the number of subjects who completed questionnaires.

TABLE 7

Number of subjects who completed a questionnaire
(frequencies and percentages)

School	Total no. of 9th grade students	Students completing a questionnaire		Total no. Teachers completing questionnaire		
		<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
1	401	376	94	74	49	66
2	470	406	86	82	61	74
3	340	313	92	68	67	99
4	92*	86	93**			
Total	1303	1181	91	224	177	79

Police Department	Total Number of Police Officers	Police Officers Com- pleting a Questionnaire	
		<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
	188	160	86

* = Total number of Negro ninth graders of School 4

** = The percentage of the total Negro population of School 4 who completed questionnaires

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It can be seen that most of the students and teachers of the research schools and most of the police officers participated in the study.

The main concern of this study is the comparison of descriptive beliefs, evaluative beliefs, and values of Dominant students, Negro students, and the two adult groups. In order to get a clear picture of differences it was decided to exclude Puerto Rican, Spanish-named, Indian, and Oriental students. This amounted to 60 students. The analysis of the student data is therefore based on 1121 subjects.

It is interesting to note that a substantially larger percentage of teachers of School Three (99 percent) than teachers of School One (66 percent) completed questionnaires. A main reason for this difference appears to be in the principal and staff relationships. The researcher observed friction in School One. In this school the teachers were most unhappy about their principal. They openly described him as weak, as one who seldom sticks with a decision, one who does not consult with the staff on important matters, and one who does not protect the teachers from outside pressures. Many teachers viewed the research as another harrassment instigated by the principal and informed the researcher of their intention not to fill out a questionnaire. The researcher's attempts to dispel the teachers' anxieties were not successful.

School Three was just the opposite. Staff and principal relations appeared to be positive. The teachers described their principal as one of the finest in the city and one who always looked out for their welfare. The principal encouraged his staff to participate in the study. All but one, who was absent due to illness, completed the questionnaire.

a. Students Demographic information obtained from the questionnaires described the student sample of the present study as being:

1) 52 percent 14 years of age, and 40 percent 15 years of age; 2) 52 percent male and 46 percent female; 3) 84 percent Dominant; 4) 75 percent having parents who are not divorced or separated, and 22 percent having parents who are divorced or separated; 5) 26 percent low socioeconomic status, 28 percent lower-middle socioeconomic status, 20 percent higher-middle socioeconomic status, and 9 percent high socioeconomic status; 6) 34 percent who have mothers who work full-time, and 18 percent who have mothers who work part-time; 7) 37 percent weekly church goers, 19 percent one to three times a month church goers, 21 percent less than once a month church goers, and 22 percent who never attend church; 8) 4 percent only children, 27 percent oldest children, 26 percent youngest children, and 40 percent middle children.

Also, 15 percent are involved in four or more school activities, 40 percent in three or less such activities, and 45 percent are not involved in school activities. Nine percent are involved in four or more outside of school activities, 42 percent in three or less such activities, and 49 percent are not involved in outside of school activities. Forty-seven percent plan to take a college preparatory curriculum in senior high school, 12 percent plan general education, 16 percent plan business, 12 percent vocational, and 8 percent are undecided.

b. Teachers The teacher sample can be described as follows. The average teacher age is 37, and the age distribution is skewed toward younger ages with 16 percent under 25, and 21 percent between 25 and 29. Seventy-five percent are married. Forty-seven percent are male, while 51 percent are female. Ninety-six percent are Dominant, 4 percent

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Negro and one teacher is Puerto Rican. Father occupations of teachers show that the majority come from lower-middle (34 percent) and higher-middle (25 percent) socioeconomic status families. Thirty-seven percent had mothers who worked full-time, and six percent had mothers who worked part-time. All are high school graduates and all but one completed four years of college. Fifteen percent had one year of graduate training, 37 percent had two years, and 19 percent had five years. Forty-four percent had bachelors degrees, and 54 percent had master's degrees, and one teacher had a doctorate. The mean for years of experience was eight years, however, 25 percent had only one to three years of teaching experience. Most of the teachers taught either English, social science, mathematics, or science, and several were counselors.

c. Police officers The average police officer's age is 32 and, like teachers, the age distribution is skewed toward younger ages, with 18 percent under 25, 23 percent between 25 and 29, and 20 percent between 30 and 34. Eighty-eight percent of the officers are married. As one would expect, 95 percent were males, though seven policewomen completed questionnaires. Ninety-seven percent were Dominant, and there was one each of Spanish-named, and American Indian ethnicity. The majority come from low socioeconomic status (31 percent) and lower-middle socioeconomic status (33 percent) backgrounds, while 15 percent come from higher-middle socioeconomic status backgrounds. Thirty-four percent had mothers who worked full-time and two percent had mothers who worked part-time. Ninety-one percent had completed high school, four percent had equivalency certificates, and four percent had completed three years of high school.

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Fifty-four percent had had no college at all, while 16 percent had one year of college, 16 percent had two years of college, six percent had three, and eight percent had four years of college. One officer had one year of graduate school, two officers had two years of graduate training, and four officers had four years of graduate training. Nine (six percent) had associate degrees from junior colleges, eight (five percent) had bachelor degrees, and one officer had a master's degree. The mean for years of police experience was seven years. Eighteen percent had one to three years of experience, 14 percent had four to six years of experience, 15 percent had seven to ten years experience, and 17 percent had 16 to 20 years of experience. Fifty-four percent worked in the patrol division, 14 percent in the detective division, 17 percent were in traffic, and 11 percent were from the administrative staff. One hundred and six (66 percent) of the officers had the rank of patrolmen, nine percent were Sargeants, seven percent were Lieutenants, and seven percent had the rank of Detective.

3. The procedures

The data from the three junior high schools and the police department was collected in the winter and spring of 1968. The minority group data from School 4 was collected in the spring of 1969.

With the assistance of the principal, assistant principal and social studies teachers of the junior high schools involved in the research project, all ninth grade social studies classes for an entire day in each school were devoted to collecting the student data. Four trained questionnaire administrators (two faculty members from the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University and two graduate students) carried

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out the administration of the questionnaires to the students. The students received no prior knowledge of what the research was about or what type of questions would be asked of them. The only thing they were told by their teachers was that some men from Michigan State University will be in the school to get some information on what young people think about some important issues. Several of the items were related directly to the subjects' views of teachers and the school, thus it was felt that the students would be less inhibited if the teachers left the room and let the researcher assigned to the class administer the questionnaire. This procedure presented no problem in any of the schools. There was a conscious effort to have the students work in a relatively close replica of the normal classroom situation, however, it was believed that by having a neutral person administer the questionnaires, the students would feel more free to answer the items accurately. To retain this neutrality, the researchers did not attempt to discipline any student other than to channel his or her undesirable action into more productive behavior. Throughout the administration of the questionnaire, the researchers stressed anonymity and requested honesty. This was important, for as Coleman stated in his study of teenage subcultures:

It is useful to point out that the principal protections against response bias in a self-administrated questionnaire seem to lie in such guarantees, rather than in the characteristics of the administrator. A teen-ager may understate his smoking or drinking if parents or teachers could see his responses; he may overstate smoking or drinking if another teen-ager could see it. But if only strangers, whether adults or teen-agers, see it, he will likely respond more truthfully (Coleman, 1961, footnote 4: 16-17).

To improve student motivation, the researchers stressed that much has been written by adults about how teenagers feel about various things

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without actually finding out how they really do feel. They were told that here is an opportunity to really express themselves on persons and things that are close to them. It was felt that these measures did inspire students' truthfulness.

The instructions were read aloud by the administrator to classes which averaged around 27 students (slow learner classes were smaller). The students were encouraged to ask any questions about words or instructions they did not understand. The answers were passed on to the whole group. The questionnaire was completed in one class period (about 50 minutes). The slow learner groups needed an additional class period to complete the questionnaires. This presented no problem since these students have double periods for their classes.

If any student did not finish in the allotted time, he or she would be asked to put their names on an index card (around five percent of the total student group did not finish in one period). If students appeared reluctant to trust the administrator, they were given an opportunity to seal their questionnaires by stapling it around the edge. No student who did not finish in one period refused to follow this procedure.

The teachers' questionnaires were administered at each school by one of the trained researchers at regular faculty meetings or at special faculty meetings called by the principal. These meetings were held in either the school library or an auditorium. The principal would always introduce the researcher to the group. The researcher would then explain the purpose of the study, stress anonymity and request honesty. He would then review instructions to the various parts of the questionnaire. It was also stressed that here is a good opportunity for teachers

to really express themselves on issues that are important to them. The teachers were encouraged to ask any questions about the study or questionnaire, and they asked many. As expected, several teachers were absent from these meetings and a few refused to complete the questionnaire. On the whole, however, cooperation from the teachers was excellent. The teachers completed the questionnaires anywhere from 35 minutes to one and a half hours.

The police officers' questionnaires were administered by one of the trained researchers at two sessions of a command officers inservice training school (this was attended by all of the departments' officers with rank of Sargeant and above) and sixteen small group sessions attended by lower ranking officer personnel and the non-command staff. Officers were required to attend these sessions by the Chief of Police of the department. These questionnaire sessions were held throughout the day and evening for seven days so that personnel from all shifts could participate in the study. The questionnaire was administered in groups of four to thirty in the department classroom. The researcher would introduce himself to the officers and then explain the purpose of the study, stress anonymity and request honesty. He would then review instructions to the various parts of the questionnaire. The researcher stressed that here is a good opportunity for police officers to really express themselves on issues that are important to them. The officers were encouraged to ask any questions about the study or questionnaire; few officers asked any questions. It is probable that several officers did not show up for these sessions even though they were ordered to do so by their commanders. However, no officer that attended a session

refused to complete a questionnaire. The cooperation of the police officers was excellent. They completed the questionnaire anywhere from 35 minutes to an hour.

4. Methods for data analysis-testing of hypotheses

The hypotheses of this study were tested by the following procedures:

a. H₁, H₂, H₃, H₄ Data from the Critical Problem Survey, and the content analysis of the sentence stems pertaining to the selection of teachers and police were investigated through the use of frequencies, percentages, and chi square analysis. Prestige Rating Scales were examined through the use of means (for each item), analysis of variance and Duncan-Kramer Multiple Range Test. Comparisons were made between students, teachers, and police officers.

b. H₅, H₆, H₇, H₈ The content analysis of the sentence stems pertaining to juvenile delinquents, good citizens, bad citizens, and the meaning of citizenship were examined through the use of frequencies, percentages, and chi square analysis. Comparisons were made between students, teachers, and police officers.

c. H₉, H₁₀, H₁₁, H₁₂, H₁₃ The sentence completion data (excluding the sentence stems that were content analyzed) was investigated through the use of frequencies and percentages of content categories and attitudes elicited by each stem for each of the study's populations. The frequency of positive to negative beliefs elicited by each stem is a measure of support toward specific topics. To facilitate the presentation of this data for comparisons between students, teachers, and

police officers, the total number of times a particular content category was evoked by each subject was divided into his summed attitude score for this content category. For example: a subject may have been coded in the following way regarding the police content code:

<u>Sentence Stem</u>	<u>Content Code</u>	<u>Attitude Code</u>
1. I like..."policemen"	04	5
5. Any policeman... "is fair"	04	5
8. Most police are... "underpaid"	04	4
9. The police department... "is great"	04	5
33. In arresting people, police... "doing their duty"	04	4
Total times 04 was evoked = 5		$\Sigma = 23$

By dividing 5 into 23 this subject would have a content/attitude score of 4.6. It should be noted that the code pertaining to refusal to answer a stem (content coded by the stems referrant and attitudinal coded zero) was included in this score. It is realized that this somewhat pulls the score toward the negative pole. However, including "no responses" is justified on the grounds that previous research (Marcus and Maher, 1957) has shown that refusals to answer sentence completion items is significantly related to feelings of hostility about the content of the stem. Thus the pull toward the negative does not represent a bias.

Averages of these content/attitude scores for each population studied were presented and compared. Since content/attitude scores are based on varying numbers of content codes evoked, inferential statistics are not applicable. Therefore, the analysis is descriptive.

Summed scores from the Attitude Toward Criminal Justice Scale were used to facilitate analysis of hypothesis eleven (pertaining to judicial

components). This scale was examined through the use of means, analysis of variance and the Duncan-Kramer Multiple Range Test. Comparisons were made between students, teachers, and police officers.

d. H₁₄ Data from the value survey was examined through instrumental and terminal value medians and composite rank orders for the students, teachers, and police officers. Significant differences were determined by the Median Test.

B. The Research Community: A Profile of Lansing, Michigan⁴²

Lansing is a city centrally located in Michigan's lower peninsula. Economically and functionally it is a part of the midwestern industrial "heartland" of the nation. It is a manufacturing center, a regional trade and distribution center, a governmental center, and an educational center.

Lansing's population in 1966 was about 133,000 and its tributary area population is about 350,000. It is sub-dominant to the Detroit metropolitan area (with a population of approximately 4 million) to the Southeast and to Grand Rapids (with a population of approximately five hundred thousand) to the Northwest. There are other urban centers of comparable size near Lansing: these are Flint, Saginaw, Jackson, and Battle Creek. Lansing, however, is a key focal point in a new interstate highway network.

Lansing is the state capitol and Michigan State University is located in the adjoining community of East Lansing.

The major components of Lansing's economy are manufacturing, distribution, government and education. These components provide the main

⁴²This section was developed from information published by the Community Renewal Division of the Lansing Planning Department.

economic support for the area's population, providing slightly more than half of the employment and most of the basic income in the area. Total metropolitan area employment in 1965 was about 120,000.

In 1965, manufacturing provided about 30 percent (36,600 employees) of the metropolitan area jobs, and about 43.1 percent of the city's total employment. Approximately 90 percent of the metropolitan area manufacturing jobs are located in the city. Motor vehicle manufacturing, a high wage industry, provides nearly 70 percent of the total manufacturing jobs.

The state (including Michigan State University employees) employed about 18,000 people in 1965. Government is the second largest employer in the metropolitan area. In the city, government and retail trade employ about one-third as many as in manufacturing. The city's economy as a whole has been described as:

. . . a high output, highly mechanized, highly skilled, high income, national market-oriented economy. Most of the larger industries are leaders in technological advancement. Skill requirements have progressively ungraded, where there is decreasing requirements for lower skilled occupations (Community Renewal Division of Lansing Planning Department, undated: 2).

About 39 percent of the jobs are held by commuters coming to the city. Resident employment in services, government and professional occupations have increased in recent years. Most of the manufacturing jobs gained have been filled by commuters; resident employment in manufacturing has declined in recent years. City resident employment increases have not kept up with city population growth, indicating that nonparticipants in the labor force are concentrating in the city. Resident employment has

increased in the lower wage activities, while commuter employment increased in higher wage activities. This reflects the tendency of the more affluent to move to the suburbs.

Metropolitan Lansing population trends can be summarized as follows:

- Metropolitan area population increased more rapidly than the nation 22 percent compared with 18.5 percent during the 1950-60 decade.
- Central city population increased only 17 percent during the same period. Nearly 70 percent of metropolitan population gain occurred in the adjacent suburban fringe.
- Suburban population consists chiefly of middle and higher income Dominant families, both immigrants and those moving out of the central city.
- The minority group population in the central city more than doubled during the 1950-60 decade as a result of high birth rates and immigration. Minority groups comprised 6.5 percent of the city's population in 1960 compared with 3.3 percent in 1950. By 1965 minority groups comprised 9.0 percent of the city's population.
- Females increased faster than males in the 20 to 30 year age group. This is due chiefly to an emigration of males. Also, the concentration of clerical jobs in the Lansing area is a major drawing variable for younger females from the surrounding region.
- The population became younger as the age structure shifted to a greater proportion of persons under 45. The largest percentage increases were in the very young (under 15) and in the very old (70 and over) age groups.

Ninety-seven percent of the city population resides in separate households. The number of households have increased faster than population growth, indicating a high rate of household formation and some "undoubling" of multi-family households as a result of rising incomes. Small, one and two person households have increased rapidly in Lansing. Medium-sized, three and four person households have not significantly changed in number. The average size of Dominant households dropped, while the average size of minority group households has increased. About 45 percent of total city households are one and two person in size. Nearly all of the 1950-60 in medium size households occurred in the suburban areas adjacent to the city.

Population projections indicate that Metropolitan Lansing is entering a period of rapid, sustained growth and will attain a population of somewhere around 500,000 within 20 years. This is roughly the equivalent of duplicating, in the next two decades, the complete urban structure that evolved over the one hundred years prior to 1950.

In 1966, Lansing's Renewal Program surveyed the city's housing conditions. It was found that of 40,145 housing units within the city, 19,351 (48.2 percent) were rated as Good and in sound condition, while the remaining 5,929 (14.7 percent) were rated as Poor and in a deteriorated condition. Lansing's inner-city contained 67.6 percent of the deteriorated housing units which provide shelter for an estimated 12,400 people.

1. School districts of the study's four junior high schools

The following analyses describe the jurisdictions serviced by each of the schools that contributed to this study. The analyses depict the characteristics of the school districts as they appeared in 1968 and

1969, the years in which the data for this study was collected.

a. School 1 This school services the north east and north west portions of Lansing. There are about 31,400 people who reside in school 1's jurisdiction. Of these, 93 percent are Dominant, while 7.1 percent are minority group. There is a sizable Spanish-named population in this area. Thirty-five percent are 18 and under, while 7 percent are 65 and over.

There is a total of 9,560 households. Average sizes of these households ranged from 2.81 to 3.58. Median income range ranged from \$5,500 to \$9,522. Eleven percent have incomes under \$3,000 and nine percent have incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,999.

Of the 9,655 housing units in this area, the Community Renewal Program rated 40 percent good, 40 percent fair and 20 percent poor.

b. School 2 The jurisdiction of this school covers the southeast portion of the city. About 25,700 people live in this area, 99 percent are Dominant and .86 percent are minority group. Thirty-eight percent are 18 and under, nine percent are 65 and over.

There are 7,876 households in this area. The average sizes range from 2.84 to 3.92, and medium incomes range from \$5,814 to \$9,250. Thirteen percent have incomes under \$3,000 and eleven percent have incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,999.

c. School 3 This school services the eastern portion of the city. Approximately 18,000 reside in this area, 96 percent are Dominant and five percent are minority group. A portion of this area has a large number of Spanish-named residents. Thirty-three percent of the people in this

jurisdiction are 18 and under, while 13 percent are 65 and over.

In this area there are 6,064 households. The average sizes range from 2.63 to 3.05. The medium incomes range from \$3,569 to \$7,474. Nineteen percent have incomes under \$3,000 and 20 percent have incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,999.

There are 6,126 housing units in this jurisdiction. Thirty-five percent were rated good, 49 percent were rated fair, and 16 percent were rated poor.

d. School 4 This school was added to the study for the purpose of increasing the Negro ninth grader sample. The data from School 4 only includes Negro subjects. This inner city school services the area of Lansing having the largest percentage of Negro residents. School 4 services the central portion of the city as well as the most southern portion of the city. About 29,500 people live in this school jurisdiction. Seventy-three percent are Dominant and 27 percent are minority group, the majority being Negro. Forty-three percent are 18 and under and eight percent are 65 and over.

There are 8,439 households in this area. The average sizes of these households range from 2.64 to 4.62. Medium income figures vary considerably in this jurisdiction, from one section with a medium income of \$5,819, to a section with a medium income of \$10,714. Fourteen percent have incomes under \$3,000 and nine percent have incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,999.

There are 8,531 housing units in this jurisdiction. Forty-one percent were rated good, 40 percent were rated fair, and 19 percent were rated poor.

e. Total picture Looking at the total picture, we find that the combined jurisdiction of the study's three main experimental junior high schools (Schools 1, 2, and 3) service 56.3 percent of Lansing's population. With School 4 added, this includes 78 percent of the city's population. Fifty-nine percent of the Dominant population of Lansing (77 percent with School 4) and 93 percent of the minority group population (this figure includes School 4) are included in these school districts. Fifty-three percent of the 18 and under age group (78 percent with School 4) and 65.1 percent of the 65 and over age group (88 percent with School 4) reside in these jurisdictions. Sixty-seven percent of those families living on incomes under \$3,000 (91 percent with School 4) and 68 percent of those families living on incomes ranging from \$3,000 to \$4,999 (86 percent with School 4) are situated in these areas. Of the 40,145 housing units of Lansing, 59 percent are located in these school districts (80 percent with School 4). This includes 49 percent of the city's good housing (67 percent with School 4), 69 percent of the city's fair housing (92 percent with School 4), and 66 percent of the city's poor housing (94 percent with School 4).

It is felt that this study's subjects represent a good cross section of Lansing's ninth graders and junior high school teachers. For practical reasons we could not include data from all five of Lansing's junior high schools. One school was excluded because the students and teachers were used to pre-test the questionnaire. The Dominant students and teachers of School 4 could not be included due to the lack of time and resources. However, we are confident that our findings represent the general picture of attitudes and perceptions of Lansing's ninth graders and their teachers.

2. A comparison of Lansing, Michigan with other medium sized cities

In using a one-community case study it is within the researcher's boundry of propriety to compare the research community with other communities of similar population size. This is useful in determining the generalizability of the findings, a major concern of all social science research. To accomplish this, Lansing was compared to four other similar sized cities: Another mid-western city, Peoria, Illinois; an eastern city, Waterbury, Connecticut; a western city, Santa Ana, California; and a southern city, Little Rock, Arkansas. All the information for this analysis was obtained from the 1960 United States Bureau of Census reports. Table 8 presents the comparison analysis.

One can find several variations between these cities. Lansing substantially increased in population since the 1950 census, while Peoria decreased in population. As one would expect from the great migration to the west coast, Santa Ana drastically increased in population with less than half of its population being native to California. These shifts can be seen in the decrease in households in Peoria, and an increase in Lansing, and over a 100 percent increase in Santa Ana. The percent of minority group households is substantially greater in Peoria and much greater in the southern city, Little Rock. Minority households in Santa Ana are significantly less than Lansing.

Regarding racial composition, minorities are substantially greater in Little Rock, and significantly less in Santa Ana.

Age grouping of youth are, on the whole, similar between the communities. However, Little Rock shows significantly less portions of Dominant males and females than the other communities and significantly

TABLE 8*

The demographics of five similar sized cities: Lansing, Mich.; Peoria, Ill.; Waterbury, Conn.; Santa Ana, Calif.; and Little Rock, Ark.

	Lansing Mich.	Peoria Ill.	Waterbury Conn.	Santa Ana Calif.	Little Rock Ark.
A. <u>Population</u>					
1. <u>Total</u>	107,807	103,162	107,130	100,350	107,813
2. % increase over preceding census	17.0	-7.8	2.5	120.4	5.5
3. % residing in state of birth	74.6	72.3	78.6	38.0	74.9
B. <u>Households</u>					
1. <u>Total</u>	33,558	33,642	32,884	31,186	34,865
2. % increase 1950 to 1960	17.9	-0.6	10.9	105.8	12.5
3. Population per household	3.17	2.97	3.21	3.18	2.96
4. % minority group	5.3	9.5	6.7	2.7	23.5
C. <u>Sex</u>					
1. % Male	48.4	48.2	48.1	48.2	46.1
2. % Female	51.5	51.0	52.1	51.8	54.1
D. <u>Race</u>					
1. % Dominant	93.5	90.5	93.3	97.3	76.5
2. % Minority group	6.5	9.5	6.7	2.7	23.5
3. % Negro	6.2	9.5	6.6	1.8	23.5
E. <u>Age</u>					
1. % under 5	12.1	10.5	10.3	12.8	10.1
2. % 5 to 14	19.3	17.3	17.5	20.1	17.1
3. % 15 to 24	13.3	14.4	12.0	13.3	13.5
4. % under 18 yrs. old	36.1	31.8	32.5	37.0	32.2
a. Total pop. under 18 yrs.	38,887	32,756	34,769	37,088	33,647
b. % male	51.3	50.3	50.7	50.7	49.8
c. % female	48.7	49.7	49.3	49.3	50.2
d. % Dominant male	47.0	43.4	46.1	47.8	35.1
e. % Dominant female	44.9	42.6	44.7	1.4	14.7
f. % minority group male	4.3	6.9	4.7	1.5	14.7
g. % minority group female	3.8	7.1	4.5		

TABLE 8
(Continued)

	Lansing Mich.	Peoria Ill.	Waterbury Conn.	Santa Ana Calif.	Little Rock Ark.
5. % 65 yrs and over	9.0	11.7	11.3	9.5	11.0
6. Median age	28.9	31.9	33.8	28.0	33.0
7. Median age male	27.8	30.2	32.9	26.7	31.3
8. Median age female	30.0	33.5	34.7	29.2	34.4
9. Median age Dominant male	28.3	31.3	34.0	26.8	33.0
10. Median age Dominant female	30.6	35.2	35.8	29.5	35.9
11. Median age minority male	21.0	19.3	21.1	23.9	24.7
12. Median age minority female	22.3	20.9	22.9	24.6	28.9
F. Education					
1. Total enrollment 5 to 34 yrs.	27,518	24,015	24,122	24,498	23,619
a. % elementary (1-8)	61.2	61.4	66.3	64.2	63.7
b. % high school (9-12)	21.1	19.3	22.6	24.0	24.6
c. % in college	8.0	12.4	4.1	5.8	8.9
2. % in school: 14 to 17 yrs.	92.5	84.1	86.6	87.0	87.3
3. Median school yrs. completed: persons 25 yrs. and older	11.9	10.5	9.6	11.9	12.1
4. % completed 4 yrs. high school or more	49.4	40.0	34.7	48.9	53.2
G. Labor Force					
1. Total males (14 and older)	35,582	35,933	37,171	32,354	35,841
a. % in labor force	80.1	77.3	79.1	79.3	75.7
b. % employed	76.1	73.3	74.2	69.3	73.1
c. % unemployed	4.1	4.1	4.4	3.8	2.4
2. Total females (14 and over)	39,714	39,945	41,648	36,560	44,370
a. % in labor force	40.5	37.4	42.1	35.3	43.3
b. % employed	39.2	36.1	38.2	33.1	41.6
c. % unemployed	1.4	1.6	4.1	2.3	1.6
3. % married women, husband present	33.5	30.7	36.5	31.9	40.3
4. % married women with own children under 6	21.7	19.8	21.3	19.4	31.0
5. % male 18 to 24 yrs. old	85.0	71.2	85.7	85.5	78.0
6. % male 65 yrs. and older	28.0	30.6	26.2	28.3	35.3

TABLE 8
(Continued)

	Lansing Mich.	Peoria Ill.	Waterbury Conn.	Santa Ana Calif.	Little Rock Ark.
7. % in manufacturing industries	27.1	32.0	51.7	21.9	15.0
8. % in white collar jobs	48.0	44.1	36.7	45.1	51.5
H. Occupations					
1. Total employed	42,562	40,612	43,471	34,466	44,541
2. % professional-technical	12.1	11.1	9.5	11.5	13.7
3. % farmers- farm manager	.06	.06	0.0	.53	.05
4. % manager- official-propr's	7.4	8.1	6.1	9.3	11.8
5. % clerical	20.3	17.1	15.1	16.1	17.1
6. % craftsmen-foremen	14.1	12.5	17.6	15.6	3.1
7. % sales worker	5.3	9.1	6.4	8.9	8.9
8. % operatives	5.6	17.1	28.8	16.0	12.9
9. % private household workers	6.0	2.1	1.1	2.1	4.8
10. % service workers	7.3	12.1	7.1	9.1	10.8
11. % farm laborers	2.5	5.4	.06	1.1	.09
12. % laborers	.5	1.2	4.0	6.1	3.9
13. % occupation not reported	5.6	6.8	4.8	4.3	4.2
I. Income					
1. Median income (dollars)	6,477	5,961	6,535	6,304	5,234
2. % families with income under \$3,000	12.2	16.2	10.9	15.3	24.8
3. % families with income \$10,000 and over	17.0	15.5	17.5	16.9	14.6

* Figures for this table are based on information presented under the heading "urban places" in the U.S. census reports. Urban places are defined as: "The count of urban places in 1960 includes all incorporated and unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more and the towns, townships, and counties classified as urban towns in the New England States, townships in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and counties in any state which did not include a dependent incorporated municipality and had either a population of 25,000 or more or a population of 2,500 to 25,000 and a density of 1,500 persons or more per square mile are classified as urban."

more minority group males and females. Peoria also has substantially more minority group members under 18 years of age, while Santa Ana has less. Waterbury's portions are similar to Lansing's.

The median ages of Peoria, Waterbury, and Little Rock are significantly greater than Lansing's. Santa Ana's median age is quite similar to Lansing's. Median age of minority group members are substantially greater in Little Rock than in Lansing.

Educational comparisons show that Peoria has a significantly larger percent of the population in college than does Lansing, while Waterbury has significantly less in college than Lansing. Lansing has a higher percentage of youth between 14 to 17 years old in school than the other cities. Waterbury has a lower proportion of the population who completed four years of high school or more, than Lansing, while Little Rock has a greater proportion of those completing four years of high school or more.

Lansing, has a slightly higher percent of males in the labor force than Peoria, Waterbury or Santa Ana, and substantially more than Little Rock. Santa Ana has a significantly lower proportion of its males employed than Lansing. Unemployment of males can be seen to be substantially less, percentage wise, in Little Rock than the other three cities. In regard to the females, Santa Ana has a lower proportion in the labor force than Lansing. Female employment is proportionately less in Santa Ana than the other cities. Female unemployment is substantially greater in Waterbury and Santa Ana than in Lansing. There is a significantly larger percentage of employed married women in the labor force in Little Rock than in the other communities. There are significantly less young

male adults in the labor force in Peoria and Little Rock than in Lansing. There is a substantially greater number of elderly in the labor force in Little Rock than in Lansing.

The make-up of employment type shows a significantly higher proportion of the employed working in manufacturing industries in Peoria and Waterbury than Lansing, while a significantly smaller number are in manufacturing in Little Rock. In regard to white collar jobs, there is a substantially lower proportion of those so employed in Waterbury than in the other communities.

A break up of occupation categories shows Lansing significantly greater in the percentage of those employed in clerical work and private household work than the other cities, while a lower proportion are employed in sales work, operatives, and labor. Little Rock shows a substantially larger proportion of workers as managers and officials, and a lower percentage are craftsmen and foremen than is true of the other communities.

The median incomes of Peoria and Little Rock are significantly lower than the median incomes of Lansing. Significantly more families fall in the under \$3,000 income bracket in Peoria, Santa Ana, and Little Rock than in Lansing. Significantly fewer families are in the \$10,000 and over income bracket in Little Rock than was so in Lansing.

Our conclusion must be that there are enough differences between Lansing and the other communities to caution us in generalizing our findings. It appears we must be particularly careful in generalizing findings to the southern city, for Little Rock showed the most

significant differences from Lansing. Waterbury exhibited the least number of differences from Lansing. The extent to which the present study's findings can be generalized can only be determined, in the long run, by repetitive attitudinal studies of youth, teachers, and police of other communities. Comparative community studies are greatly needed to substantiate social survey findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter is devoted to a presentation of the findings in this study. Our task will be the testing of hypotheses by comparing frequencies, percentages, means, and rank orders.

A. The Testing of Hypotheses

The analysis of data will attempt to determine the acceptability of hypotheses presented in Chapter Two.

1. Analysis of descriptive beliefs: hypotheses relating to perceptions of teaching and police occupations

H₁: There will be no significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics.

Perceptions toward teaching and police occupations were determined by the following instruments: the Critical Problem Survey, the sentence stems dealing with the selection of teachers and police, and the Prestige Rating Scales.

a. Perceptions of the teaching occupation by teachers and police officers Examining the teacher and police officers responses of the most critical problems facing teachers (Tables 9 and 10), one finds no significant differences.⁴³

⁴³ Significant tests in this study are considered cautious indications of differences. This research is quasi-inferential, therefore the subjects were not chosen randomly, and more important, they were not independently selected. We attempted to obtain the total ninth grade populations in the junior high schools studied, as well as the total staffs of these schools, and the total personnel of the police department. Through this approach it was hoped that random errors could be

The teachers and police officers do not greatly differ in their perceptions of the most critical teacher problems. The officers emphasized teachers' problems in maintaining discipline due to the extent of unruly students, the problems of developing effective teaching styles, and occupational problems such as salaries, clerical responsibilities, and so on.

A chi-square test indicates no significant difference between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of the second most critical problems faced by teachers. Again, discipline problems, style of teaching, and occupational problems were emphasized by the two groups. A significant proportion of police officers (15.6 percent) perceived community problems in the form of noncooperative parents, school vandalism, and pupil backgrounds, as serious problems facing teachers.

A chi-square test shows that teachers and police differ significantly in their perceptions of the selection of teachers (Table 11). A larger percent of teachers (22 percent) than police (3.7 percent) felt that

⁴³(Continued)

minimized. The analysis of data is based mostly on descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies, percentages, and means in order to avoid the misuses of inferential statistics (see Selvin, 1957 and Morrison and Henkel, 1968).

Many tables showing the frequencies and percentages of nominal data responses are presented in this study. Where applicable the chi-square statistic is used to give us some indication that the responses of the groups are or are not significantly different. However, the main interpretations of these tables depends on investigating the differences between groups, examining within-group percentages. The use of such a phrase as "a significantly larger (or smaller) proportion of group x than group y ..." does not necessarily refer to a significant statistical difference. Such statements refer to levels of differences between percentages of responses that sensibly indicate real differences between groups. In working with this data we felt that some comparably small differences between proportions represented real and important differences. The decision was to choose a liberal criterion in studying differences between percentages. Where there appears statistically significant differences, a percentage divergence as little as seven percent may be interpreted as a substantial difference.

TABLE 9

Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by teachers as identified by teachers and police officers

	No Response	Discipline Problems	Educational Problems	Community Problems	Style of Teaching	Teacher Psychological Problems	Occupational Problems	Totals
Teachers								
No.	(7)	(73)	(9)	(12)	(41)	(6)	(29)	(177)
%	4.0	41.2	5.1	6.8	23.2	3.4	16.4	100
Police								
No.	(15)	(58)	(7)	(13)	(27)	(3)	(37)	(160)
%	9.4	36.2	4.4	8.1	16.9	1.9	23.1	100

$\chi^2 = 8.12$, $p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 d.f. = 16.81).

TABLE 10

Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by teachers as identified by teachers and police officers

	No Response	Discipline Problems	Educational Problems	Community Problems	Style of Teaching	Teacher Psychological Problems	Occupational Problems	Totals
No.	(17)	(37)	(15)	(15)	(41)	(14)	(38)	(177)
%	9.6	20.9	8.5	8.5	23.2	7.3	21.5	100
No.	(23)	(28)	(6)	(25)	(26)	(10)	(42)	(160)
%	14.4	17.5	3.7	15.6	16.2	5.6	26.3	100

$\chi^2 = 11.95, p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 d.f. = 16.81).

TABLE 11

Frequencies and percentages of selection of teachers' responses (sentence stem: Teachers are chosen...) comparing teachers and police officers

	No Response	Specific Standards	Little or No standards	Appli- cants	Personal Character- istics	Adminis- trators	To be a Service to Community	Totals
Teachers	No. (29)	(55)	(39)	(7)	(24)	(11)	(12)	(177)
%	16.4	31.1	22.0	4.0	13.6	6.2	6.8	100
Police	No. (40)	(51)	(6)	(7)	(22)	(2)	(32)	(160)
%	25.0	31.9	3.7	4.4	13.7	1.2	20.0	100

$\chi^2 = 39.33, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 d.f. = 16.81).

teachers are hired flipantly, that is, haphazardly, unfairly, and so on. A larger proportion of police officers (25 percent) than teachers (16.4 percent) did not respond to this sentence stem or stated they did not know, and more police (20 percent) than teachers (6.8 percent) indicated that teachers are chosen to service the community by teaching, helping, and leading youth. The highest proportion of teachers and police officers (about 31 percent of each group) did feel that teachers are selected by specific standards. They are selected because of their credentials and qualifications, academic standing and so on.

Table 12 shows the difference between means analysis (F-ratios) of the Teacher Prestige Rating Scales.

The analyses of variance of teacher prestige, influence, social position, and economic position indicate that the differences between the group means on all four variables were significant. A study of the Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests (Table 13) indicates if the difference between means of the teacher and police officer groups are significant.⁴⁴

⁴⁴The multiple range test was developed by Duncan (1955) to determine significant differences between pairs of means of a set of k means found to differ significantly according to the F-test. In Duncan's test for an equal number of n's, the difference between any two ranked means is significant if the difference exceeds a shortest significant range.

This shortest significant range is obtained by multiplying the standard error of a mean by a given value obtained from a table of significant studentized ranges for either .10, .05, .01, .005, or .001 levels (see Edwards, 1960, Tables Xa through Xe: 372-376).

Kramer (1956) extended the multiple range test to group means with unequal n's (this will be referred to as the Duncan-Kramer multiple range test). The following are the procedures of this test: 1) Rank in order the set of k means; 2) Find the error term (square root of the mean square within groups); 3) Find the significant studentized ranges for the multiple range test (in the present study the .01 level was used for $df = \infty$); 4) Find the appropriate significant range factors by multiplying the significant studentized ranges by the error terms; 5) Test all pairs of means using the formula -- $\bar{x}_x - \bar{x}_y \sqrt{\frac{2n_x n_y}{n_x + n_y}} \bar{x}_m$ diff. 6) In order for the m diff. to be significant ($\bar{x}_x - \bar{x}_y$) must exceed the appropriate significant range factors.

TABLE 12

Means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance of rating scores (high to low) on the teacher prestige rating scales comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

		Dominant Students	Negro Students	Teachers	Police
Prestige	n*	971	138	176	157
	m**	4.12	4.13	4.03	4.36
	SD	0.96	1.14	0.90	1.01
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F Prob.
	Between Groups	3	10.51	3.50	3.64 < .05
	Within Groups	1438	1384.67	0.96	
	Total	1441	1395.17		
Influence	n*	968	137	177	157
	m**	4.02	3.90	3.68	3.85
	SD	1.13	1.33	1.04	1.34
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F Prob.
	Between Groups	3	18.81	6.27	4.65 < .01
	Within Groups	1435	1935.18	1.35	
	Total	1438	1953.98		
Social Position	n*	966	134	177	157
	m**	4.05	4.04	3.71	4.12
	SD	1.11	1.26	0.96	1.19
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F Prob.
	Between Groups	3	19.45	6.48	5.20 < .01
	Within Groups	1430	1784.15	1.25	
	Total	1433	1803.60		
Economic Position	n*	966	134	177	156
	m**	3.77	3.92	3.11	3.42
	SD	1.19	1.33	1.00	1.25
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F Prob.
	Between Groups	3	83.50	27.83	19.68 < .01
	Within Groups	1429	2021.03	1.41	
	Total	1432	2104.53		

*Subjects who did not respond to the item were deleted from the analysis.

**The highest score equals 6, while the lowest equals 1.

TABLE 13

The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests and mean differences comparing means on the teacher prestige rating scales of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

		Dominant Students	Negro Students	Police	Significant Ranges at .01
Prestige	Teachers	1.55	1.24	4.25*	R ₂ = 3.56
	M=4.03	(.09)	(.10)	(.33)	
	Dominant Students		.16	3.94*	R ₃ = 3.72
	M=4.12		(.01)	(.24)	
	Negro students			2.79	R ₄ = 3.82
				(.23)	
		Police	Negro Students	Dominant Students	Significant Ranges at .01
Influence	Teachers	2.18	2.72	5.88*	R ₂ = 4.18
	M=3.68	(.17)	(.22)	(.34)	
	Police		.60	2.79	R ₃ = 4.37
	M=3.85		(.05)	(.17)	
	Negro Students			1.85	R ₄ = 4.48
				(.12)	
		Negro Students	Dominant Students	Police	Significant Ranges at .01
Social Position	Teachers	4.07*	5.87*	5.28*	R ₂ = 4.04
	M=3.71	(.33)	(.34)	(.41)	
	Negro students		.15	.96	R ₃ = 4.21
	M=4.04		(.01)	(.08)	
	Dominant Students			1.15	R ₄ = 4.32
				(.07)	
		Police	Dominant Students	Negro Students	Significant Ranges at .01
Economic Position	Teachers	3.99	11.41*	10.02*	R ₂ = 4.29
	M=3.11	(.31)	(.66)	(.81)	
	Police		5.74*	6.00*	R ₃ = 4.48
	M=3.42		(.35)	(.50)	
	Dominant Students			2.30	R ₄ = 4.60
				(.15)	

*Significant at .01 level.

There is lack of consistency across the four scales. Teachers and police officers differed significantly in their responses to teacher prestige ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_t = 4.25 > R_4$) and teacher social position ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_t = 5.28 > R_4$), while they did not significantly differ in regard to teacher influence ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_t = 2.18 < R_2$) and teacher economic position ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_t = 3.99 < R_2$). Examination of the means shows that teachers rate their occupation lower on all four scales than the police officer rating.

b. Perceptions of the police occupation: teachers and police officers Teachers' and police officers' responses regarding the most critical problem faced by police differed significantly (Table 14).

Significant proportions of teachers identified as the most critical issues police face, community problems (49.2 percent) such as uncooperation and lack of public concern, disrespect, the lack of witness cooperation, public relations, poor image of authority, and so on, and enforcement problems (11.9 percent) as apprehension of criminals, traffic control, drunks, and so forth. Though a substantial number of Police officers also identified community problems (39 percent), more Police than teachers (26.9 percent compared to 8.5 percent) mentioned occupational problems like low pay, danger of the work, irregular hours, department morale problems, and so forth. Fewer police officers than teachers (5 percent compared to 11.9 percent) identified enforcement of the laws and crime control as being critical police problems.

There is also a significant difference between the two groups responses regarding the second most critical problem faced by police (Table 15).

TABLE 14

Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by police as identified by teachers and police officers

		No Response	Juven- iles	Delin- quency	Community Problems	Enforce- ment	Riots, Dem- onstrations, Race Prob.	Occupational Problems	Legal Binds	Totals
Teachers										
No.	(18)	(7)	(8)	(87)	(21)	(4)	(15)	(17)	0.77	
%	10.2	4.0	4.5	49.2	11.9	2.3	8.5	9.6		100
Police										
No.	(2)	(7)	(7)	(63)	(8)	(9)	(43)	(21)		(160)
%	1.2	4.4	4.4	39.4	5.0	5.6	26.9	13.1		100

$\chi^2 = 37.03$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 7 d.f. = 18.48).

TABLE 15

Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by police as identified by teachers and police officers

	No Response	Juven- iles	Delin- quency	Community Problem	Enforce- ment	Riots, Demonst. Racial Probs.	Police Psycho- logical Problem	Occupational Probs.	Legal Binds	Totals
Teachers										
No.	(36)	(4)	(4)	(56)	(15)	(3)	(8)	(34)	(17)	(177)
%	20.3	2.3	2.3	31.6	8.5	1.7	4.5	19.2	9.6	100
Police										
No.	(8)	(5)	(1)	(43)	(9)	(8)	(4)	(46)	(36)	(160)
%	5.0	3.1	0.6	26.9	5.6	5.0	2.5	28.7	22.5	100

$\chi^2 = 35.00$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 8 d.f. = 20.09).

A large proportion of both teachers (31.6 percent) and police officers (26.9 percent) identified the urgency of community problems. However, more teachers than police did not respond to or stated they could not identify a second critical police problem. Again, more police officers than teachers (28.7 percent of police compared to 19.2 percent of teachers) identified occupational problems, also a larger percent of police than teachers (22 percent compared to 9.6 percent) mentioned legal binds such as Supreme Court decisions and court restrictions on law enforcement as being critical police problems.

There were many differences between police and teacher perceptions of police officer selection (Table 16). A chi-square test found these differences to be significant.

A larger percent of teacher (15.8 percent) than police officers (8.7 percent) did not respond to this sentence stem or stated they did not know. Though more teachers than police identified specific standards of police selection such as selection of the best applicants and by rigid tests; a significantly larger proportion of teachers (19.8 percent compared to 8.7 percent) felt that police are selected by no or few standards. A significantly larger proportion of police officers than teachers (22.5 compared to 2.8 percent) stated that police are chosen to be a service to the community in the form of protectors, exemplars, problem solvers, and so forth. Also more of the police than teacher sample (10 percent compared to .6 percent) mentioned the "dirty-work" aspect of policing, that is, police are chosen to be scapegoats, to do dirty jobs, to do the dirty work of politicians, and so on.

TABLE 16

Frequencies and percentages of selection of police responses (sentence stem:
Police are chosen...) comparing teachers and police officers

	No Response	Specific Standard	Little or no Standards	Appli- cants	Personal Charac- teristic	Municipal Adminis- tration	To be a Service to Community	To do the Dirty Work for Community	Other Totals
Teachers									
No.	(28)	(50)	(35)	(16)	(32)	(7)	(5)	(1)	(3) (177)
%	15.8	28.2	19.8	9.0	18.1	4.0	2.8	0.6	1.7 100
Police									
No.	(14)	(37)	(14)	(12)	(23)	(4)	(36)	(16)	(4) (160)
%	8.7	23.1	8.7	7.5	14.4	2.5	22.5	10.0	2.5 100

$\chi^2 = 50.54$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 8 d.f. = 20.09).

The analysis of variances (F-ratios) of the Police Prestige Rating Scales means are presented in Table 17.

This analysis shows significant differences between group means on all four variables. The very high F-ratios are accounted for by the large mean squares between groups. Most of the variance can be accounted for by variability between Negro students, Dominant students, teachers, and police officers and not by variability within these groups. Table 18 shows which pairs of means are significantly different.

We see that on three out of four variables, the differences between teacher and police means are not significant. The exception occurs on police economic position where all the groups rated police low, but police officers rated their financial rewards even lower than the other groups did. Note that both teachers and police officers rate the police occupation low on all four variables. Except for police prestige, the police officers rated their occupation lower than the teachers ratings of the police occupation.

c. Summary: teacher and police officer perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics We found that teachers and police do not greatly differ in their perceptions of the two most critical problems that teachers face. Both groups emphasized the problems of discipline, teaching styles, and occupational problems. These two groups did significantly differ in regard to their perceptions of teacher selection. A significant percentage of the teachers mentioned

TABLE 17

Means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance of rating scores (high to low) on the police prestige rating scales comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

		Dominant Students	Negro Students	Teachers	Police	
Prestige	n*	970	133	177	159	
	m**	4.42	4.17	3.19	3.32	
	SD	1.34	1.53	1.06	1.18	
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F	Prob.
	Between Groups	3	341.38	113.79	66.07	< .01
	Within Groups	1435	2471.36	1.72		
	Total	1438	2812.74			
Influence	n*	971	134	176	159	
	m**	4.57	4.28	3.16	3.05	
	SD	1.34	1.49	1.05	1.20	
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F	Prob.
	Between Groups	3	535.95	178.65	104.61	< .01
	Within Groups	1436	2453.39	1.71		
	Total	1439	2988.34			
Social Position	n*	970	133	177	159	
	m**	4.42	4.17	3.19	3.32	
	SD	1.34	1.53	1.06	1.18	
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F	Prob.
	Between Groups	3	341.38	113.79	66.07	< .01
	Within Groups	1435	2471.36	1.72		
	Total	1438	2812.74			
Economic Position	n*	971	134	176	159	
	m**	4.57	4.28	3.16	3.05	
	SD	1.34	1.49	1.05	1.20	
	Source	df	s.s.	m.s.	F	Prob.
	Between Groups	3	535.95	178.65	104.61	< .01
	Within Groups	1436	2453.39	1.71		
	Total	1439	2988.34			

*Subjects who did not respond to the item were deleted from analysis.

**Highest score equals 6, while the lowest equals 1.

TABLE 18

The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests and mean differences comparing means on the police prestige rating scales of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

		Police	Negro Students	Dominant Students	Significant Ranges at .01
Prestige	Teachers	1.68	19.08*	21.27*	$R_2 = 4.76$
	M = 3.19	(.13)	(.98)	(1.23)	
	Police		10.23*	18.17*	$R_3 = 4.97$
	M = 3.32		(.85)	(1.10)	
Negro Students				3.82	$R_4 = 5.10$
	M = 4.17			(.25)	
Dominant Students					
M = 4.42					
		Teachers	Negro Students	Dominant Students	Significant Ranges at .01
Influence	Police				$R_2 = 4.73$
	M = 3.05	1.42	14.81*	25.11*	
	Teachers	(.11)	(1.23)	(1.52)	$R_3 = 4.94$
	M = 3.16		13.81*	24.34*	
Negro Students			(1.12)	(1.41)	$R_4 = 5.07$
	M = 4.28			4.45	
Dominant Students				(.29)	
M = 4.57					
		Teachers	Negro Students	Dominant Students	Significant Ranges at .01
Social Position	Police				$R_2 = 4.40$
	M = 2.85	1.43	13.24*	22.47*	
	Teachers	(.11)	(1.10)	(1.36)	$R_3 = 4.59$
	M = 2.96		12.25*	21.61*	
Negro students			(.99)	(1.25)	$R_4 = 4.71$
	M = 3.95			3.99	
Dominant Students				(.26)	
M = 4.21					
		Teachers	Negro Students	Dominant Students	Significant Ranges at .01
Economic Position	Police				$R_2 = 4.14$
	M = 2.18	7.24*	19.92*	28.20*	
	Teachers	(.56)	(1.66)	(1.71)	$R_3 = 4.33$
	M = 2.74		13.56*	19.88*	
Negro Students			(1.10)	(1.15)	$R_4 = 4.44$
	M = 3.84			.77	
Dominant Students				(.05)	
M = 3.89					

*Significant at .01 level.

no or few selection standards, while a substantial proportion of the police officers did not respond to this stem and another large percentage indicated that teachers are chosen to be a service to the community. Large percentages of both groups did mention specific standards of teacher selections.

Police and teachers differed significantly in their perception of teacher prestige and social position, but did not significantly differ in regard to teacher influence and economic position. Teachers rated their occupation lower on these variables than the police group did.

Unlike perceptions of teacher critical problems, we found significant differences between teacher and police perceptions of police critical problems. Substantial percentages of teachers mentioned community and enforcement problems. Many of the police officers also mentioned community problems, however, more police than teachers identified occupational problems and legal binds. More teachers than police did not respond to these questions.

There were significant differences between police and teachers perceptions of police selection. More teachers than police officers did not respond to this sentence stem. A substantial proportion of teachers felt police were chosen by specific standards; however, another fairly large group felt there were no or few police selection standards. A larger percentage of police than teachers felt police are chosen to be a service to the community and also to be the "dirty-workers" of the community.

No significant differences were found between the two groups' ratings on police prestige, influence, and social position. Police and teachers did differ significantly on police economic position with police officers rating their occupation very low on this variable.

We cannot accept H_1 as completely correct, for the findings only partially support it. With the exception of teacher selection, prestige and social position, perceptions of the teaching occupation did not significantly differ between teachers and police officers. However, regarding perceptions of the police occupation, while teachers and police did not differ significantly in their responses on the prestige, influence, and social position rating scales, there were significant differences regarding perception of police critical problems, police selection and police economic position.

H_2 : There will be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

a. Perceptions of the teaching occupation: teachers and students

The largest percentage of teachers (41.2 percent) and students (41.9 percent of the Dominant and 30.7 percent of Negro students) mentioned the discipline difficulties teachers have as the most critical teacher problem (Table 19). The students, however, emphasized personal characteristics of teachers as the most critical problems. Many (16.2 of the Dominant and 14.2 percent of the Negro students) saw teachers as having psychological problems such as being scared, having bad tempers,

TABLE 19

Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by teachers as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	No Response	Discipline Problems	Education Problems	Community Problems	Style of Teaching	Teacher Psych. Problems	Teacher Unfair- ness	Occupational Problems	Totals
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(45)	(412)	(62)	(4)	(147)	(159)	(92)	(60)	(981)
%	4.5	41.9	6.3	0.4	19.9	16.2	9.3	6.1	100
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(21)	(43)	(9)	(0)	(22)	(20)	(14)	(11)	(140)
%	15.0	30.7	6.4	0.0	15.7	14.2	10.0	7.8	100
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(7)	(73)	(9)	(12)	(41)	(6)	(0)	(29)	(177)
%	4.0	41.2	5.1	6.8	23.2	3.4	0.0	16.4	100
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(15)	(58)	(7)	(13)	(27)	(3)	(0)	(37)	(160)
%	9.4	36.2	4.4	8.1	16.9	1.9	0.0	23.1	100

$\chi^2 = 228.18$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 21 df = 38.93). The large chi-squares on all the following tables that compare the responses of the four sets of subjects is partly the result of the substantially larger N in the Dominant group than in the other groups (see Blalock, 1960: 225). Comparing within-group percentage differences between the groups will be the main source of data interpretation.

taking troubles out on students, too much concern for respect, dogmatic, and so on. A fairly large group of students (about 10 percent of both Dominant and Negro students) saw teachers as unfair, that is, those who hit kids, have favorites, grade unfairly, giving unreasonable amount of work, being too strict or too lenient, etc. Only six teachers mentioned psychological problems and none mentioned unfairness. Teachers were significantly more concerned with such occupational variables as their style of teaching (23.2 percent), salaries, overload of students, lack of time for preparation, and so on (16.4 percent).

Regarding the second most critical problem teachers face (Table 20) a fairly large proportion of students and teachers again mentioned discipline problems. More of the Dominant students this time mentioned style of teaching (21.6 percent) and occupational problems (17 percent). A larger percentage of students than teachers mentioned teacher psychological problems (13.5 percent of the Dominant students, 19.2 percent of the Negro students compared to 7.3 percent of the teachers) and unfairness (11 and 6.4 percent for Dominant and Negro students and .6 percent of the teachers), while a larger proportion of teachers than students mentioned style of teaching (21.6 percent and 13.5 percent of Dominant and Negro students compared to 23.2 percent of the teachers) and occupational problems (17 percent and 7.1 percent of the Dominant and Negro students and 21.5 percent of the teachers).

In regard to the choosing of teachers (Table 21), we see that significantly more teachers than students mentioned specific selection standards (21.8 percent of the Dominant, 9.2 percent of Negro students

TABLE 20

Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by teachers as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	No Response	Discipline Problems	Education Problems	Community Problems	Style of Teaching	Teacher Psych. Problems	Teacher Unfair- ness	Occupa- tional Problems	Totals
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(129)	(166)	(52)	(14)	(212)	(133)	(108)	(167)	(981)
%	13.1	16.9	5.3	1.4	21.6	13.5	11.0	17.0	100
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(44)	(19)	(5)	(7)	(19)	(27)	(9)	(10)	(140)
%	31.4	13.5	3.5	5.0	13.5	19.2	6.4	7.1	100
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(17)	(37)	(15)	(15)	(41)	(13)	(1)	(38)	(177)
%	9.6	20.9	8.5	8.5	23.2	7.3	0.6	21.5	100
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(23)	(28)	(6)	(25)	(26)	(10)	(0)	(42)	(160)
%	14.4	17.5	3.7	15.6	16.2	5.6	0.0	26.3	100

$\chi^2 = 195.39, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 21 df = 38.93).

TABLE 21

Frequencies and percentages of selection of teachers' responses (sentence stems; Teachers are chosen,...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

No Response	Specific Standards	Little or no Standards	Appli- cants	Personal Character- istics	Adminis- trators	To be a service so Community	Totals
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(162)	(214)	(122)	(15)	(134)	(97)	(981)
%	16.5	21.8	12.4	1.5	13.6	9.8	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(45)	(13)	(15)	(4)	(19)	(18)	(140)
%	32.1	9.2	10.7	2.8	18.5	12.8	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(29)	(55)	(39)	(7)	(24)	(11)	(177)
%	16.4	31.1	22.0	4.0	13.6	6.2	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(40)	(51)	(6)	(7)	(22)	(2)	(160)
%	25.0	31.9	3.7	4.4	13.7	1.2	100

$\chi^2 = 112.30, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 18 df = 34.80).

and 31.1 percent of the teachers) as well as little or no standards (12.4 percent and 9.2 percent of the Dominant and Negro students compared to 22 percent of the teachers), while significantly more students than teachers stated that teachers are selected to service the community (24 percent of the Dominant students, 18.5 percent of the Negro students and 6.8 percent of the teachers).

We learned in the previous section that the means of the four groups of subjects differed significantly on the teacher prestige scales (Table 14, page 209). Are these significant differences just between the means of teachers and students? An examination of Table 15 (page 210) indicates again lack of consistency in the results of the teacher prestige scales. Five of the 8 comparisons show significant differences. There are no significant differences between teachers and students in teacher prestige ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{DS} = 1.55 < R_2$, and $\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{NS} = 1.24 < R_3$). Negro students and teachers do not differ significantly on teacher influence ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{N.S.} = 2.72 < R_3$), while Dominant students and teachers do differ significantly on this variable ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{DS} = 5.88 > R_4$). Significant differences occur on social position ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{DS} = 5.87 > R_3$ and $\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{NS} = 4.07 > R_2$), and economic position ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{DS} = 11.41 > R_3$, and $\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{NS} = 10.02 > R_4$).

b. Perceptions of the police occupation: teachers and students

An examination of Table 22 shows several significant differences between teachers' and students' perceptions of the most critical police problem.

TABLE 22

Frequencies and percentages of the number one critical problem faced by police as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

No Response	Juven- iles	Delin- quency	Commun. Problem	Enforce- ment	Riots, Demon. RaceProb.	Police Psych. Problem	Police Unfair- ness	Occupa- tional Problems	Legal binds	Totals
<u>Dominant students:</u>										
No. (75)	(132)	(125)	(89)	(215)	(99)	(70)	(69)	(86)	(21)	(981)
% 7.6	13.4	12.7	9.0	21.9	10.0	7.1	7.0	8.7	2.1	100
<u>Negro students:</u>										
No. (24)	(5)	(8)	(7)	(30)	(18)	(11)	(18)	(19)	(0)	(140)
% 17.1	3.5	5.7	5.0	21.4	12.8	7.8	12.8	13.5	0.0	100
<u>Teachers:</u>										
No. (18)	(7)	(8)	(87)	(21)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(10)	(17)	(177)
% 10.2	4.0	4.5	49.2	11.9	2.3	1.1	1.7	5.6	9.6	100
<u>Police:</u>										
No. (2)	(7)	(7)	(63)	(8)	(9)	(0)	(0)	(43)	(21)	(160)
% 1.2	4.4	4.4	39.4	5.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	26.9	13.1	100

$\chi^2 = 464.91$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 27 df = 46.96).

Larger proportions of students than teachers fell in most of the categories. Significantly more of the Dominant students than teachers identified juveniles and juvenile delinquents (13.4 and 12.7 percent vs. 4 and 4.5 percent) as critical police problems. A greater proportion of students than teachers mentioned the problems of enforcement (21.9 percent and 21.4 percent for students vs. 11.9 percent for teachers), riots, demonstrations, and racial problems such as civil rights movement, the problems of the ghetto, and such (10 percent and 12.8 percent vs. 2.3 percent); police psychological problems, such as show off characteristics, laziness, prejudice, fear, defensiveness, etc. (7.1 percent and 7.8 percent vs. 1.1 percent); and police unfairness as bullying, over-reactions to problems, too strict or too lenient, and so on (7 and 12.8 percent vs. 1.7 percent). The most significant difference occurs in the community problem category. About half of the teachers mentioned this as the area of most critical police problems, while less than 10 percent of the youths did so.

More students than teachers again identified enforcement, riots, demonstrations and racial problems (7.2 percent Dominant, 7.8 percent Negro students, vs. 1.7 percent of the teachers) and police unfairness (6.6 percent and 8.5 percent vs. no teacher responding to this category) when asked to state the second most critical police problem (Table 23). As before, a much larger percentage of teachers than students stated critical police problems in terms of community issues (9.5 and 5.7 of the student samples compared to 31.6 percent of the teachers). Notice the large proportions of subjects in all three groups (20.9 and 33.5 percent of the students and 20.3 percent of the teachers) who did

TABLE 23

Frequencies and percentages of the number two critical problem faced by police as identified by Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

No	Juven- Response iles	Delin- quency	Commun. Problem	Enforce- ment	Riots, Demon.	RaceProb.	Police Psych. Problem	Police Unfair- ness	Occupa- tional Problems	Legal binds	Totals
<u>Dominant students:</u>											
No.	(206)	(60)	(78)	(94)	(224)	(71)	(55)	(65)	(108)	(20)	(981)
%	20.9	6.1	7.9	9.5	22.8	7.2	5.6	6.6	11.0	2.0	100
<u>Negro students:</u>											
No.	(47)	(5)	(6)	(8)	(27)	(11)	(4)	(12)	(20)	(0)	(140)
%	33.5	3.5	4.2	5.7	19.2	7.8	2.8	8.5	14.2	0.0	100
<u>Teachers:</u>											
No.	(36)	(4)	(4)	(56)	(15)	(3)	(8)	(0)	(34)	(17)	(177)
%	20.3	2.3	2.3	31.6	8.5	1.7	4.5	0.0	19.2	9.6	100
<u>Police:</u>											
No.	(8)	(5)	(1)	(43)	(9)	(8)	(4)	(0)	(46)	(36)	(160)
%	5.0	3.1	0.6	26.9	5.6	5.0	2.5	0.0	28.7	22.5	100

$\chi^2 = 343.60$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 27 df = 46.96).

not answer or stated that they could not answer this question. A sign of lack of awareness of the difficult job of policing our society.

Examination of responses to the sentence stem "Police are chosen..." (Table 24) shows that the most significant difference between teachers and students occurs in the category, "To Be a Service to the Community," (23.5 percent of the Dominant, 14.2 percent of the Negro students compared to only 2.8 percent of the teachers). A larger percentage of students than teachers responded to this sentence stem in terms of a rationale for having police than in terms of police department selection procedures.

The police prestige scales produced highly significant F ratios (Table 17, page 214). An analysis of difference between pairs of means show students (both Dominant and Negro) and teachers differ significantly on all four variables (Table 18, page 215). The multiple range scores of mean difference between teachers and students were large, ranging from 12.08 to 24.34 and therefore substantially greater than their respective significant ranges.

c. Summary: teachers' and students' perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics We find substantial differences between teacher and student perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics.

Teachers and students appear to agree that discipline--trying to control youngsters--is the most critical problem teachers face. A substantial percentage of students saw teachers' main problems as personality maladjustments of the teachers themselves, and the unfairness

TABLE 24

Frequencies and percentages of selection of police responses (sentence stem: Police are chosen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

No Response	Specific Standards	Little or no Standards	Appli- cants	Personal charac- teristics	Municipal Adminis- tration	To be a serv- ice to Com- munity	Do dirty Work for Community	Other	Totals
Dominant students:									
No.	(139)	(233)	(30)	(142)	(82)	(231)	(19)	(13)	(981)
%	14.1	23.7	3.0	14.4	8.3	23.5	1.9	1.3	100
Negro students:									
No.	(37)	(19)	(8)	(18)	(14)	(20)	(3)	(3)	(140)
%	26.4	13.5	5.7	12.8	10.0	14.2	2.1	2.1	100
Teachers:									
No.	(28)	(50)	(16)	(32)	(7)	(5)	(1)	(3)	(177)
%	15.8	28.2	9.0	18.1	4.0	2.8	0.6	1.7	100
Police:									
No.	(14)	(37)	(12)	(23)	(4)	(36)	(16)	(4)	(160)
%	8.7	23.1	7.5	14.4	2.5	22.5	10.0	2.5	100

$\chi^2 = 148.58, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 24 df = 42.98).

of teacher actions. Teachers saw their most critical problems in the form of their style of teaching and occupational problems.

Substantially larger proportions of teachers than students perceived teachers as selected by specific standards. Another large proportion of teachers felt that teachers are chosen by few or no standards at all. A larger percentage of students than teachers stated that teachers are chosen to serve the community.

Most of the comparisons between teachers and students on the teacher prestige rating scales show significant differences between the group means.

Substantial differences between teachers and students were numerous in regard to perceptions toward the police occupation.

A larger percentage of Dominant students than teachers identified juveniles and delinquents as police critical problems, and greater proportions of both student groups mentioned as critical police issues, problems of enforcement, riots and racial problems, psychological problems of police officers, and the unfairness of police officers. A much larger percentage of teachers than students thought police community problems were the most critical police problems.

One significant difference occurred on police selection. A substantially larger percentage of students than teachers felt that police (like teachers) are chosen to serve the community.

There are significant differences between the teachers and students in regard to police prestige, influence, social position, and economic position.

The above evidence suggests that H_2 appears to be correct. There

are significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and the two student groups regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

H₃: There will be significant differences between perceptions of police officers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

a. Perceptions of the teaching occupation: police officers and students The police officer and student analysis (Table 19, page 218) shows the police as concerned as the other groups over teacher discipline problems (36.2 percent of the police responded in this category). Many more students mentioned teacher psychological problems (16.2 percent for Dominant and 14.2 percent for Negro students, compared to only 1.9 percent of the police). None of the police officers mentioned teacher unfairness as the number one critical problem while about 10 percent of both student samples did.

About eight percent of the police officers mentioned community problems as critical teacher problems while only four students mentioned this issue. Significantly more police officers (23.1 percent) than students (6.1 and 7.8 percent) mentioned teacher occupational problems as the most critical problems teachers face.

Regarding the second teacher critical problem, substantial numbers of police officers and students again mentioned discipline problems (Table 20, page 220). Significantly more police officers (15.6 percent) than students (1.4 percent for Dominant and 5 percent for Negro students) mentioned community problems. Again, more students stated teachers had

psychological problems than stated by police officers (13.5 and 19.2 percent compared to 5.6 percent). Teacher unfairness was significantly more a student than police officer's response (11 and 6.4 percent compared to no police response). Police identified teacher occupational problems significantly more times than students (17 percent for Dominants, 7.1 percent for Negro students, and 26.3 percent for police).

We find in Table 21 (page 221) that more police officers felt that teachers were chosen from specific standards (31.9 percent) than was thought by students (21.8 and 9.2 percent). Few of the police officers felt that no standards existed in choosing teachers (3.7 percent) and only two officers stated that administrators choose teachers. However, 12.4 percent of the Dominants and 10.7 percent of the Negro students felt few or no selection standards are used, and nearly 10 percent of the Dominants and nearly 13 percent of the Negro students stated that administrators choose teachers.

Similar to the teacher and student findings on the teacher prestige scales we find lack of consistency across the scales on police officer and student differences. Five out of eight comparisons of mean pairs show no significant differences (Table 13, page 207). There were no significant differences between police officers and Negro students on teacher prestige ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{N.S.} = .16 < R_2$). No significant differences between both student groups and police officers occurred on teacher influence ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{D.S.} = 2.79 < R_3$, and $\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{N.S.} = .60 < R_2$), social position ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{D.S.} = 1.15 < R_2$, and $\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{N.S.} = .96 < R_3$).

Significant differences occurred between Dominant students and police officers on teacher prestige ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{DS} = 3.94 > R_3$) and between both student groups and police officers on teacher economic position ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{DS} = 5.74 > R_2$ and $\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{NS} = 6.00 > R_3$).

b. Perceptions of the police occupation: police officers and students Several of the significant differences found in studying teacher and student responses to the most critical problem police face can be seen in the police officer and student analysis of this question (Table 22, page 223). Dominant students identified juveniles (13.4 percent) and delinquency (12.7 percent) as the most critical police problem, while only 4.4 percent of the police mentioned these issues. Again the major differences occurred in perceptions of police community problems, with only 9 percent of the Dominant, 5 percent of the Negro students and 39.4 percent of the police officers mentioning such issues. Significantly larger proportion of students than police officers mentioned enforcement problems (about 21 percent of each student group compared to 5 percent of the police sample). Larger percentages of the student groups than police sample identified police's personal characteristics as critical problems. Psychological problems were mentioned by about 7 percent of each student group while only 2 police officers mentioned these problems. Police unfairness was identified by 7 percent of the Dominant and 12.8 percent of the Negro students, while no police officer stated the unfairness of police as a major problem. Substantially larger proportions of police than students mentioned police occupational problems (13.7 percent of the police and

2.1 percent of the Dominant and none of the Negro students). Few students mentioned the legal binds police find themselves in (2.1 percent of the Dominant and none of the Negro students) while a substantial proportion of the police officers (13.1 percent) mentioned these issues.

Perceptions of the second most critical police problem produced several significant differences between police and students (Table 23, page 225). More youths than police did not respond to this question (20.9 percent and 33.5 percent of the students compared to 5 percent of the police). Only one police officer identified delinquency as a critical problem, while this was mentioned by 7.9 percent of the Dominant and 4.2 percent of the Negro students. A larger proportion of students than police identified enforcement problems (22.8 percent and 19.2 percent compared to only 5.6 percent) and police unfairness (6.6 percent and 8.5 percent compared to none of the police officers). Significantly larger proportions of police than students fell into the following categories: community problems (26.9 percent of the police compared to 9.5 percent of the Dominant students and 5.7 percent of the Negro students) occupational problems (28.7 percent of the police compared to 11 percent of the Dominant and 14.2 percent of the Negro students), and legal binds (22.5 percent of the police compared to 2 percent of the Dominant and none of the Negro students).

Not as many significant differences occurred between police officers and students' perceptions of police selection (Table 24, page 227). Proportionately more students than police officers did not respond to this sentence stem (14.1 percent and 26.4 percent compared to 8.7 percent). Noticeable differences in percentages occurred in the

"police selected by municipal administrators" category (8.3 percent of the Dominant, 10 percent of the Negroes and only 2.5 percent of the police) and the "dirty-workers in community" category (1.9 percent of the Dominants, 2.1 percent of the Negroes compared to 10 percent of the police).

Looking at the findings of the police prestige scale, we can conclude that police officers and Dominant and Negro students differ significantly on perceptions toward police prestige, influence, social position, and economic position (Table 18, page 215). Because the police group rated their occupation so much lower than the student groups ratings, the multiple range scores of mean differences were quite large, ranging from 10.23 to 28.20.

c. Summary: police officers' and students' perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics Many significant differences occurred between police officers' and students' views of teaching and Police occupations.

Again discipline problems of teachers were identified by many Police officers and students on the number one (and two) critical teacher problem. A significantly larger percentage of students than police officers mentioned teacher psychological problems and teacher unfairness. Larger proportions of police than students cited community problems and occupational problems as critical teacher hardships.

A larger percentage of police officers than students felt that teachers were chosen by specific standards, while a substantial number of students felt that no or few standards were used.

The teacher prestige scales were inconsistent, with five out of eight mean comparisons showing no significant differences between the means of police officers and students.

In regard to the most critical problems police face, a significantly larger proportion of Dominant students than police identified juveniles and delinquents, and substantially larger percentages of both student groups than police mentioned enforcement problems and police unfairness. A larger percentage of police than students stated community problems, occupational problems, and legal binds.

A greater proportion of students than police stated that police officers are selected by municipal administrators, while a larger percentage of police felt police are chosen to be the dirty workers of society.

The police officers and students differed substantially on all four variables of the police prestige scales.

The findings suggest (with the possible exception of the teacher prestige data) that H_3 is correct. There are significant differences between the perceptions of police officers and students regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

H_4 : There will be significant differences between the perceptions of Negro students versus Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

One of the most noticeable differences between the Negro student group and the other groups of subjects is the extent of no response/

don't know. Such no responsiveness of the Negro sample ranges, in Tables 19 through 24, from 15 percent to 33.5 percent. Dominant students no responsiveness ranged from 4.5 percent to 20.9 percent, teachers range from 4 percent to 20.3 percent, and police officers range from 1.2 percent to 25 percent. It is evident that significantly larger proportions of Negro students fell into this category. This may be a sign of hostile feelings toward teaching and police occupations (see Marcus and Maher, 1957).

a. Perceptions of the teaching occupation: Negro students, Dominant students, teachers, and police officers Several significant differences between the Negro students and the other groups can be identified in regard to teacher occupational topics.

In looking at responses to the number one critical teacher problem (Table 19, page 218), we find a significantly smaller proportion of Negro students, than Dominant students, teachers, and police officers mentioning discipline problems (30.7 percent of the Negro group, compared to 41.9 percent of the Dominant, 41.2 percent of the teachers, and 36.2 percent of the police).

Most of the significant differences occurred between Negro students and teachers and police. Smaller percentages of Negro students than teachers and police mentioned teacher occupational problems (7.8 percent compared to 16.4 percent, teachers, and 23.1 percent, police) and community problems (none of the Negro students, compared to 6.8 percent of the teachers, and 8.1 percent of the police). Substantially

larger proportions of Negro students than teachers and police officers identified teacher psychological problems (14.2 percent of the Negro group, compared to 3.4 percent of the teacher, and 1.9 percent of the police), and teacher unfairness (10 percent compared to none of the teachers or police officers).

Significant differences occurred on the second critical teacher problem (Table 20, page 220). A smaller proportion of Negro students than Dominant students, and teachers mentioned style of teaching (13.5 percent, compared to Dominant students 21.6 percent, and teachers 23.2 percent). A lesser percentage of Negro students than the other three groups stated occupational problems (7.1 percent compared to 17 percent Dominants, 21.5 percent teachers, and 26.3 percent police). A larger proportion of teachers than Negro students identified discipline problems (20.9 percent compared to 13.5 percent). A larger proportion of the police group than Negro students mentioned community problems (15.6 percent compared to 5 percent). Again, a larger percentage of Negro students than both teachers and police officers stated teacher psychological problems (19.2 percent compared to 7.3 percent and 5.6 percent) and teacher unfairness (6.4 percent compared to only one teacher and no police officers). Significantly larger percentages of teachers and police than Negro students mentioned occupational problems (21.5 percent and 26.3 percent compared to only 7.1 percent).

In regard to teacher selection (Table 21, page 221), we see a significantly lower proportion of Negro students than the other three

groups stating teachers are chosen by specific standards (9.2 percent of Negro students compared to 21.8 percent of the Dominant students, 31.1 percent of the teachers, and 31.9 percent of the police). A larger proportion of teachers than Negro students mentioned little or no standards of teacher selection (22 percent compared to 10.7 percent), and a greater percentage of Negro students than teachers stated selection by administrators (12.8 percent compared to 6.8 percent). A smaller percentage of police officers than Negro students mentioned little or no standards (3.7 percent compared to 10.7 percent) and selection by administrators (1.2 percent compared to 12.8 percent).

An analysis of the teacher prestige scales (Table 13, page 207) reveals only 3 out of 12 significant differences between mean pairs. They occur on social position, between teachers and Negro students ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{NS} = 4.07 > R_2$), and on economic position, between teachers and Negro students ($\bar{x}_T - \bar{x}_{NS} = 10.02 > R_4$) and police officers and Negro students ($\bar{x}_p - \bar{x}_{NS} = 6.00 > R_3$).

b. Perceptions of the police occupation: Negro students, Dominant students, teachers, and police officers An analysis of responses toward the number one critical police problem finds several significant differences between Negro students and the other three groups (Table 22, page 223). Dominant and Negro students differed noticeably on two of the categories: juveniles and delinquency. A smaller percentage of Negro students fell into these categories (on juveniles, 3.5 percent compared to 13.4 percent, and on delinquency 5.7 percent compared to 12.7 percent). It should be noted also that

nearly six percent more of the Negro students than Dominant students identified police unfairness as a critical problem.

A smaller proportion of Negro students than teachers and police officers mentioned community problems (5 percent compared to 49.2 percent and 39.4 percent), while larger proportions of Negro students identified enforcement problems (21.4 percent compared to 11.9 percent and 5 percent), riots, demonstrations, and racial problems (12.8 percent compared to 2.3 percent and 5.6 percent), psychological problems (7.8 percent compared to only two teachers and no police officers), and police unfairness (12.8 percent compared to only three teachers and no police officers). On occupational problems, a substantially larger percentage of Negro students than teachers fell into this category (13.5 percent compared to 5.6 percent), while a substantially larger percentage of police officers than Negro students mentioned this issue (29.6 percent compared to 13.5 percent). No Negro students mentioned police legal binds, while 9.6 percent of the teachers and 13.1 percent of the police officers stated these problems.

An evaluation of responses to the second most critical police problem (Table 23, page 225) shows larger percentages of Negro students than teachers and police officers mentioning enforcement (19.2 percent compared to 8.5 percent and 5.6 percent), riots, demonstrations, and racial problems (7.8 percent compared to 1.7 percent and 5 percent), and police unfairness (8.5 percent compared to no teachers and police officers). Substantially larger proportions of teachers and police officers stated community problems (31.6 percent and 26.9 percent

compared to 5.7 percent), occupational problems (19.2 percent and 28.7 percent compared to 14.2 percent), and legal binds (9.6 percent and 22.5 percent compared to no Negro students).

Significant differences occurred on perceptions of police selection (Table 24, page 227). Dominant students, teachers, and police officers had higher percentages of respondents stating specific standards (23.7 percent, 28.2 percent, and 23.1 percent respectively) than Negro students (13.5 percent). Significantly larger percentages of Dominant students and police officers than Negro students felt police were chosen to be a service to the community (23.5 percent and 22.5 percent compared to 14.2 percent -- only 2.8 percent of the teachers fell into this category). A higher proportion of Negro students than teachers and police officers mentioned selection by municipal administration (10 percent compared to 4 percent and 2.5 percent). A larger proportion of police officers than Negro students felt that police are chosen to do the dirty-work for the community (10 percent compared to 2.1 percent).

The multiple range tests for mean differences of the police prestige scales (Table 18), show eight out of 12 of the comparisons as highly significantly different. Note that none of the Negro and Dominant student comparisons of means are significantly different.

c. Summary: Negro students', Dominant students', teachers', and Police officers' perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics
The analysis of responses of the four groups toward teacher and police occupational topics indicated several significant differences between

Negro students and the other groups. First it was pointed out that a larger proportion of Negro subjects failed to respond to the several questions on teacher and police occupational topics.

A smaller percentage of Negro students than Dominant students, teachers, and police mentioned discipline and style of teaching as critical teacher problems. Larger proportions of teachers and police than Negro students mentioned occupational and community problems. Larger percentages of Negro students stated teacher psychological problems and teacher unfairness.

A larger proportion of Dominant students, teachers, and police officers than Negro students felt teachers are chosen by specific standards. A greater percentage of teachers than Negro students mentioned little or no standards and a larger proportion of Negro students than teachers stated selection by administrators. A significantly greater percentage of Negro students than police mentioned little or no standards of teacher selection and selection by administrators.

Most of the comparisons of the means between the Negro students and the other three groups on teacher prestige, influence, social, and economic positions produced no significant differences. No significant differences occurred between Dominant and Negro student comparisons.

Perceptions toward the police occupation were shown to be significantly different between the groups. A smaller percentage of Negro students than Dominant students stated juveniles and delinquency as critical police problems, and a larger percentage of Negro students than Dominant students mentioned as critical, police unfairness. A

smaller proportion of Negro students than teachers and police officers mentioned community problems and police legal binds. Larger percentages of Negro students than police and teachers stated enforcement problems, riots - demonstrations - racial problems, psychological problems, and police unfairness. A substantially larger percentage of Negro students than teachers mentioned police occupational problems, while a larger percentage of police officers than Negro students mentioned such problems.

In regard to police selection, a smaller proportion of Negro students than the other three groups stated specific standards. A larger percentage of Dominant students and police than Negro students felt police are chosen to be a service to the community. A significantly larger percentage of Negro students than teachers and police officers mentioned selection by municipal administrators. A larger proportion of police officers than Negro students stated police are selected to be dirty-workers.

All the comparisons of means by the multiple range test on the Police prestige scales showed significant differences except mean differences between Dominant and Negro students.

For the most part, the evidence supports H_4 . However, most of the significant differences, occurred between Negro students and teachers and police officers. It appears that generational differences are more powerful than racial differences. There are significant differences between the groups, but it is between the adults (teachers and police) and the students (Negro and Dominant). The Negro and Dominant students responded predominately in similar ways.

H₅: There will be no significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of citizenship.

a. Perceptions of citizenship: teachers and police officers

Four variables were used to measure subjects' perceptions toward citizenship. They are views on: 1) juvenile delinquents, 2) good citizens, 3) bad citizens, and 4) the meaning of citizenship.

The subjects responded to the sentence stem "Juvenile delinquents". Table 25 shows the results of the teachers and police response.

A chi-square test indicates no over-all statistically significant difference between the two groups' perceptions of juvenile delinquents. A majority of teachers and police officers took a sympathetic stance. Though several (especially police officers) identified delinquents as social problems, that is, major crime factors, problem children, poor citizens, and so on (19.2 percent of the teachers and 26.9 percent of the police), a substantial proportion felt such children are basically good. Their behavior is due to their youth, they have to be pitied, helped, loved, and they can be corrected (31.1 percent of the teachers and 26.2 percent of the police). A significant percent of both groups stated delinquents are the results of social problems - they are society's victims, misunderstood, and poorly supervised (19.8 percent of the teachers and 18.8 percent of the police).

Responses to the sentence stem, "A good citizen..." are presented in Table 26.

We see that the chi-square does not reach statistical significance. The majority of both groups felt that good citizens are involved in the community, that is, are active and example setters (35 percent of the

TABLE 25

*Frequencies and percentages of responses toward juvenile delinquents (sentence stem:
Juvenile delinquents,...) comparing teachers and police officers*

No Response		Results of social Problems	Basic- ally good	Negative personal- ity charac- teristics	Many of them	They are social problems	Few of them	Not treated severely enough	Other	Total
<u>Teachers:</u>										
No.	(6)	(35)	(55)	(13)	(14)	(34)	(5)	(11)	(4)	(177)
%	3.4	19.8	31.1	7.3	7.9	19.2	2.8	6.2	2.3	100
<u>Police:</u>										
No.	(5)	(30)	(42)	(3)	(16)	(43)	(4)	(16)	(1)	(160)
%	3.1	18.8	26.2	1.9	10.0	26.9	2.5	10.0	0.6	100

$\chi^2 = 11.47, p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 8 df = 20.09).

TABLE 26

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward good citizens (sentence stem: A good citizen...) comparing teachers and police officers

	No Response	Involved in Community	Respects Laws	Patriotic	Deserves Publicity	Is soc- IALIZED	Few in number	Other	Total
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(10)	(62)	(69)	(4)	(5)	(19)	(6)	(2)	(177)
%	5.6	35.0	39.0	2.3	2.8	10.7	3.4	1.1	100
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(9)	(36)	(54)	(5)	(11)	(22)	(19)	(4)	(160)
%	5.6	22.5	33.7	3.1	6.9	10.7	11.9	2.5	100

$\chi^2 = 16.26, p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 7 df = 18.48).

teachers and 22.5 percent of the police), and they respect laws and obey ordinances, report rule breaking, pay taxes, help police and so on (39 percent and 33.7 percent). Note that a substantially larger percentage of teachers than police (a difference of 12.5 percent) stated involvement in the community, while a larger proportion of police felt that there are few good citizens in our communities (11.9 percent of the police compared to 3.4 percent of the teachers).

Table 27 presents responses to the sentence stem "A bad citizen...".

Again the chi-square analysis indicates that the differences in the way the two groups responded are not statistically significant. The largest proportions of teachers and police officers felt bad citizens are detrimental to the community in terms of their lack of respect for society and community, their irresponsibility, their tendency to always look for trouble, and so on (23.7 percent of the teachers and 22.5 percent of the police). Also assigned to the bad citizen group are those who do not respect laws and violate them (criminals), and those who hinder police (22 percent and 23.1 percent). A substantial percentage of teachers (14.7 percent) mentioned that such citizens are inconsiderate of others, that is, hurt others, are self-centered, are prejudiced and so on.

Responses to "Citizenship means..." are presented in Table 28.

As before, the chi-square shows no statistically significant difference between the two groups. The majority of teachers and police officers defined citizenship in terms of contributing to the community, that is, taking responsibilities in the community, leadership,

TABLE 27

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward bad citizens (sentence stem: A bad citizen...) comparing teachers and police officers

No Response	Detri- mental to Community	Disre- spects laws	Unpatri- otic	Inconsid- erate of others	Many Can be social- ized	Apathy	Needs punitive Force	Other	Total
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No. (14)	(42)	(39)	(7)	(26)	(5)	(16)	(6)	(11)	(177)
% 7.9	23.7	22.0	4.0	14.7	2.8	9.0	3.4	6.2	6.8 100
<u>Police:</u>									
No. (11)	(36)	(37)	(6)	(11)	(7)	(18)	(6)	(16)	(160)
% 6.9	22.5	23.1	3.7	6.9	4.4	11.2	3.7	10.0	7.5 100

$\chi^2 = 7.87, p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 9 df = 21.67).

TABLE 28

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward citizenship (sentence stem: Citizenship means...) comparing teachers and police officers

	No Response	Contribut- ing to Community	Obeying Laws	Patriot- ism	Consid- erate of Others	Nothing/ Ambiguous	Behavior and Equality Freedom	Other	Total
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(16)	(82)	(21)	(23)	(18)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(177)
%	9.0	46.3	11.9	13.0	10.2	1.7	5.1	2.3	100
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(17)	(48)	(22)	(33)	(14)	(8)	(7)	(4)	(160)
%	10.6	30.0	13.7	20.6	8.7	5.0	4.4	2.5	100

$\chi^2 = 16.80, p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 8 df = 20.09).

participation in community activities, and honesty (46.3 percent of the teachers and 30 percent of the police); in terms of obeying laws, respecting laws and property rights (11.9 percent and 13.7 percent); and in terms of patriotism, that is, loyalty to the country, voting, loving the flag and so on (13 percent and 20.6 percent). Note that there are substantial differences in these responses. Sixteen percent more teachers than police defined citizenship in terms of community contribution, while nearly eight percent more of the police officers mentioned patriotism.

b. Summary: teachers' and police officers' perceptions of citizenship The analysis of citizenship sentence stems indicates no statistically significant differences between teachers and police officers responses. The fifth hypothesis of no significant differences between teacher and police perceptions of citizenship appears to be correct.

The two groups were not harsh on delinquents, many stating that such children are basically good and in need of help. They are products of our society. There was agreement by a substantial proportion of teachers and police that a good citizen is involved in the community and law abiding. A bad citizen, according to a large percentage of both groups is detrimental to the community and does not respect law and order. A large percentage of teachers and police defined citizenship in terms of contributing (especially teachers) and supporting the community, obeying the laws, and being patriotic (especially police officers).

H₆: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding citizenship.

a. Perceptions of citizenship: teachers and students Many

significant differences can be identified between teachers' and students' perceptions of juvenile delinquents (Table 29).

Though a sizable proportion of the students felt delinquents are basically good, that is, just attention getters who are misbehaving and can be corrected (21.4 percent of the Dominant students and 19.2 percent of the Negro students), they (particularly Dominant students) were more severe on them than teachers or police officers were. About twenty percent of the Dominant and ten percent of the Negro students, compared to only seven percent of the teachers described delinquents in terms of negative personality characteristics, that is, such youths are mouthy, brats, punks, stupid, insane, mean, etc. A significantly larger percent of students than teachers felt that delinquents are social problems (over 30 percent of both Dominant and Negro students compared to 19 percent of the teachers). A sizeable proportion of teachers felt delinquents are the result of social problems (19.8 percent of the teachers compared to 9 percent of the Dominant students and 11.4 percent of the Negro students) and are basically good (31.1 percent compared to 21.4 percent and 19.2 percent).

Table 30 (views on good citizens) indicates that a significantly larger percentage of teachers than students felt good citizens are involved in the community (35 percent of the teachers, compared to 23

TABLE 29

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward juvenile delinquents (sentence stem: Juvenile delinquents...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	No Response	Result of Social Problems	Basic- ally good	Negative personal. character, them	Many of Social Problems	They Are Not Treat. severely enough	Identity as Juv. Delinq.	Other	Total
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(38)	(89)	(210)	(201)	(28)	(326)	(37)	(20)	(32)
%	3.8	9.0	21.4	20.4	2.8	33.2	3.7	2.0	3.2
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(19)	(16)	(27)	(14)	(1)	(45)	(7)	(7)	(4)
%	13.5	11.4	19.2	10.0	0.7	32.1	5.0	5.0	2.8
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(6)	(35)	(55)	(13)	(14)	(34)	(11)	(0)	(9)
%	3.4	19.8	31.1	7.3	7.9	19.2	6.2	0.0	5.0
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(5)	(30)	(42)	(3)	(16)	(43)	(16)	(0)	(5)
%	3.1	18.8	26.2	1.9	10.0	26.9	10.0	0.0	3.1

$\chi^2 = 161.96, p < .01$ (significance level for 24 df = 42.98).

TABLE 30

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward good citizens (sentence stem: A good citizen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	No Response	Involved in Community	Respects Laws	Patri- otic	Not Perfect	Deserves Public- ity	Is so- cialized	Few in Number	Personal Refer- ence	Other Total
<u>Dominant students:</u>										
No.	(85)	(226)	(364)	(86)	(35)	(30)	(76)	(28)	(22)	(981)
%	6.6	23.0	37.1	8.7	3.5	3.0	7.7	2.8	2.2	4.6
<u>Negro students:</u>										
No.	(18)	(38)	(39)	(8)	(8)	(1)	(15)	(2)	(5)	(140)
%	12.8	27.1	27.8	5.7	5.7	0.7	10.7	1.4	3.5	4.2
<u>Teachers:</u>										
No.	(10)	(62)	(69)	(4)	(1)	(5)	(19)	(6)	(0)	(177)
%	5.6	35.0	39.0	2.3	0.6	2.8	10.7	3.4	0.0	0.6
<u>Police:</u>										
No.	(9)	(36)	(54)	(5)	(2)	(11)	(22)	(19)	(0)	(160)
%	5.6	22.5	33.7	3.1	1.2	6.9	13.7	11.9	0.0	1.2

$\chi^2 = 114.27, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 27 df = 46.96).

percent of the Dominant and 27.1 percent of the Negro students).

In regard to perceptions toward bad citizens, few of the response comparisons revealed significant differences (Table 31). One comparison does show, however, a considerably larger proportion of teachers than students indicating bad citizens are inconsiderate of others (14.7 percent compared to 4.6 percent and 2.8 percent).

Several significant differences between teachers and students can be identified when looking at the meaning of citizenship (Table 32).

A significantly larger percentage of teachers than students revealed that citizenship means contributing to the community (46.3 percent of the teachers compared to 14.5 percent of the Dominant and 5.7 percent of the Negro students). A substantially larger proportion of Dominant students than teachers mentioned patriotism (23 percent compared to 13 percent). A significantly larger proportion of students than teachers stated that citizenship means behavior, that is, good behavior and language (26.6 percent and 32.1 percent compared to 5.1 percent). Several students answered this sentence stem in terms of the grade in citizenship that teachers give.

b. Summary: teachers' and students' perceptions of citizenship In looking at teachers' and students' perception of citizenship we find the student groups harsher than teachers in their views of juvenile delinquents. Substantial proportions of students described delinquents in terms of negative personality traits and as social problems. A larger proportion of teachers than students felt delinquents are basically good youngsters.

TABLE 31

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward bad citizens (sentence stem: A bad citizen...) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

No Response	Detri- ment to Commun- ity	Disre- spect Laws	Unpatri- otic	Incon- siderate of others	Many Social- ized	Person- ality of bad cit- izen	Apathy Need Puni- tive Force	Other Total			
<u>Dominant students:</u>											
No. 8.7	(235) 23.9	(281) 28.6	(50) 5.0	(46) 4.6	(21) 2.1	(18) 1.8	(51) 5.1	(48) 4.8	(84) 8.5	(60) 6.1	(981) 100
<u>Negro students:</u>											
No. 27.8	(25) 17.8	(33) 23.5	(4) 2.8	(4) 2.8	(1) 0.7	(3) 2.1	(13) 9.2	(4) 2.8	(8) 5.7	(6) 4.2	(140) 100
<u>Teachers:</u>											
No. 7.9	(42) 23.7	(39) 22.0	(7) 4.0	(26) 14.7	(5) 2.8	(16) 9.0	(2) 1.1	(6) 3.4	(11) 6.2	(9) 5.0	(177) 100
<u>Police:</u>											
No. 6.9	(36) 22.5	(37) 23.1	(6) 3.7	(11) 6.9	(7) 4.4	(18) 11.2	(1) 0.6	(6) 3.7	(16) 10.0	(11) 6.8	(160) 100

$\chi^2 = 156.20, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 30 df = 50.89).

TABLE 32

Frequencies and percentages of responses toward citizenship (sentence stem: Citizenship means....) comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

Response		Contributing to Community	Obedying Laws	Patriotism	Considerate of Others	Nothing/Ambiguous	Behavior	Equality and Freedom	Other	Totals
<u>Dominant students:</u>										
No.	(136)	(143)	(69)	(226)	(40)	(40)	(261)	(22)	(42)	(981)
%	13.8	14.5	7.0	23.0	4.0	4.0	26.6	2.2	4.2	100
<u>Negro students:</u>										
No.	(29)	(8)	(7)	(15)	(5)	(21)	(45)	(1)	(9)	(140)
%	20.7	5.7	5.0	10.7	3.5	15.0	32.1	0.7	6.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>										
No.	(16)	(82)	(21)	(23)	(18)	(3)	(9)	(4)	(1)	(177)
%	9.0	46.3	11.9	19.0	10.2	1.7	5.1	2.3	0.6	100
<u>Police:</u>										
No.	(17)	(48)	(22)	(33)	(14)	(8)	(7)	(7)	(4)	(160)
%	10.6	30.0	13.7	20.6	8.7	5.0	4.4	4.4	2.5	100

$\chi^2 = 488.12, p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 24 df = 42.98).

A larger proportion of teachers than students felt good citizens are involved in community activity.

Only one significant difference between the groups could be found in perceptions toward bad citizens. A larger percentage of teachers than students felt bad citizens are inconsiderate of others.

Several significant differences occurred in regard to the meaning of citizenship. A significantly larger proportion of teachers than students felt citizenship means contributing to the community. A larger percentage of Dominant students than teachers stated patriotism was an indication of citizenship. A sizeable proportion of students described citizenship in terms of good behavior.

In all, it appears that there are significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students in regard to the term citizenship. H_6 appears to be correct.

H_7 : There will be significant differences between the perceptions of police officers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding citizenship.

a. Perceptions of citizenship: police officers and students

Similar to teacher and student analysis of perceptions toward juvenile delinquents, police officers are also less severe in their views than students though substantial proportions of the police officers (26.9 percent) saw such youths as social problems (Table 29, page 250). A significantly greater proportion of the police than students viewed

juvenile delinquents as the results of social problems (18.8 percent of the police compared to 9 percent of the Dominant and 11.4 percent of its Negro students), and a substantially smaller percentage of police described such youth in terms of negative personality traits (1.9 percent compared to 20.4 and 10 percent). A significantly larger percentage of police than students did feel that there were many juvenile delinquents in the community and it was a growing problem (10 percent compared to 2.8 percent and 0.7 percent).

Fewer significant differences occurred on perceptions of a good citizen (Table 30, page 251), and perceptions of a bad citizen (Table 31, page 253).

A significantly larger percentage of police officers than students stated that good citizens are few and hard to find (11.9 percent compared to 2.8 and 1.4 percents). In regard to bad citizens, a larger proportion of police officers than students felt that such citizens can be socialized to become proper citizens, that is, they may come from detrimental backgrounds and they need understanding and help (11.2 percent compared to 1.8 and 2.1 percents).

In contrast to the above, a study of the meaning of citizenship reveals several significant differences between police officers and students (Table 32, page 254). Larger proportions of police defined citizenship in terms of contributing to the community (30 percent compared to 14.5 percent and 5.7 percent), and obeying the laws (13.7 percent compared to 7 percent and 5 percent). A sizeably larger percentage of students viewed citizenship in terms of good behavior (26.6 percent and 32.1 percent compared to 4.4 percent).

b. Summary: police officers' and students' perceptions of citizenship Police officers and students do vary in their perceptions of citizenship, especially in regard to feelings toward juvenile delinquents and the concept of citizenship.

Police were less severe than students in their statements on juvenile delinquents. Police saw such youngsters as social problems, yet they are basically good kids that are the victims of society's problems. A substantial proportion of students also felt that delinquents are basically good, but many (especially Dominant students) described them in terms of negative personality traits. A greater proportion of police than students felt there were large numbers of delinquents around.

A larger proportion of police felt that good citizens are hard to find. Police, in larger proportions than students, felt that bad citizens can be changed for the good.

Police and students differed on the meaning of citizenship. Larger proportions of police defined citizenship in terms of community contributions and obeying the laws, while a greater percentage of students saw this concept in terms of good behavior.

The above analysis of differences points to the fact that H_7 is correct, there are significant differences between police' and students' perceptions of citizenship.

H_8 : There will be significant differences between the perception of Negro students versus Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding citizenship.

In studying Tables 29 through 32 we find, as we found in the previous tables, significantly larger percentages of Negro students than

the other groups who did not respond or stated they do not know. The no response percentages for Negro students range from 12.8 to 32.8. At least twice as many, and in several cases more than three times as many Negro subjects than the other groups fell in the no response category.

a. Perceptions of citizenship: Negro students, Dominant students, teachers, and police officers The perceptions toward citizenship were significantly different between the Negro sample and Dominant students, teachers and police officers.

An examination of Table 29 (page 250), shows that Negro students were not as severe as Dominant students in their use of negative personality traits in describing juvenile delinquents (10 percent of the Negro students compared to 20.4 percent of the Dominant students). The Negro students, however, were not as sympathetic toward delinquents as teachers and police officers. Significantly smaller percentages of Negro students than teachers and police stated delinquents were the results of social problems (11.4 percent of the Negro students compared to 19.8 percent of the teachers and 18.8 percent of the police), and were basically good kids (19.2 percent compared to 31.1 and 26.2 percents). Significantly greater proportion of Negro students than teachers felt that delinquents were a social problem (32.1 percent compared to 19.2 percent). Only one Negro student stated there were many delinquents - that delinquency was a growing problem, while nearly eight percent of the teachers and 10 percent of the police thought so. Significantly larger percent of Negro students than police officers

described delinquents in negative personality terms (10 percent compared to 1.9 percent).

The responses to "a good citizen" (Table 30, page 251) indicate a significantly larger proportion of Dominant than Negro students responding in terms of those who respect laws (37.1 percent compared to 27.8 percent). Significantly greater percentages of teachers than Negro students stated that a good citizen was one who was involved in the community (27.1 percent compared to 35 percent) and who respects the laws (27.8 percent compared to 39 percent). Considerably larger proportion of police officers than Negro students felt that good citizens deserve publicity, they are people who should be respected (6.9 percent compared to only one Negro student), and stated that such citizens are few in number (11.9 percent compared to 1.4 percent).

Substantial proportions of all the groups (17.8 to 28.6 percent) identified bad citizens as detrimental to the community and as ones who disrespect laws (Table 31, page 253). A significantly smaller percentage of Negro students than teachers felt such citizens were inconsiderate of others (2.8 percent compared to 14.7 percent). A smaller proportion of Negro students than teachers and police officers stated they can be socialized, that is, changed for the better (2.1 percent compared to 9 percent and 11.2 percent).

A substantially larger percentage of Negro students than teachers and police gave responses in terms of personal identity, that is, a bad citizen is "like me," or "my friend", or "good" (9.2 percent compared to only two teachers and one police officer).

Responses to the meaning of the term citizenship showed the most variations (Table 32, page 254). Significantly greater percentages of Dominant students, teachers and police officers than Negro students defined this concept in terms of contributing to the community (14.5 percent Dominant students, 46.3 percent teachers, 30 percent police compared to only 5.7 percent Negro students). Patriotism was identified by a significantly larger percentage of Dominant students and police than Negro students (23 percent, 20.6 percent, compared to 10.7 percent). A substantially larger proportion of Negro students than the other groups felt citizenship was an ambiguous term or meant nothing (15 percent compared to 4 percent of the Dominant students, 1.7 percent of the teachers and 5 percent of the police).

A significantly smaller percentage of the Negro sample than teachers and police defined citizenship in terms of obeying laws (5 percent compared to 11.9 and 13.7 percents), while a larger proportion of the Negro students felt that the term means good behavior (32.1 percent compared to 5.1 and 4.4 percents).

b. Summary: Negro students, Dominant students, teachers, and police officers perceptions of citizenship The evidence indicates that perceptions toward citizenship varies significantly between Negro students and the other groups. Again, we saw that a significantly larger percentage of Negro subjects did not respond to the sentence stems pertaining to citizenship.

Negro students were not as harsh as Dominant students on delinquents, but not as sympathetic as the teachers and police. Proportionally less

Negro students than Dominant students described delinquents in negative personality terms, but there were also smaller percentages of Negro students than teachers and police that stated that delinquents are the result of society's problems and basically good kids. Greater proportion of Negro students also felt that juvenile delinquents were social problems. Significantly larger proportions of teachers and police than Negro students felt that delinquency was a growing problem. A larger percent of Negro students than police described delinquents in negative personality terms.

A larger proportion of Dominant students than Negro students described a good citizen as one who respects the laws. A larger percentage of teachers than Negro students stated community involvement and respect for the law indicated good citizenship, while a larger proportion of police felt that such a citizen needed publicity and that there were few such people.

Bad citizens were described by a larger percent of teachers than Negro students as inconsiderate and a greater proportion of both teachers and police felt they can be socialized for the better. Substantially larger proportion of Negro students gave responses that were in terms of personal identity as a bad citizen.

Many differences could be seen in the meaning of citizenship. A larger proportion of the three groups than Negro students felt that citizenship means contributing to the community and patriotism. This concept, to a large proportion of the Negro students seemed ambiguous. A significantly smaller percentage of the Negro students than teachers and police defined the term as obeying laws, while a greater proportion

of these students felt the term meant good behavior.

There does seem to be evidence that there are significant differences between Negro students and the other groups in perceptions toward citizenship - H_8 appears to be valid. Again, most of the significant differences occurred between Negro students and the adult groups, not between the two student groups. This suggests again the importance of generational divergences.

2. Analysis of evaluative beliefs: hypotheses relating to support of:

- 1) police officers and police department, 2) teachers and schools,
3) judicial components, 4) youth, and 5) parents

Projective techniques, like sentence stem completions, produce data that is more complicated to analyze than objective attitude scales. Therefore, in an attempt to simplify the analysis of the sentence completion data, several progressive steps of data analysis will be taken. This section's hypotheses will be investigated by the subsequent steps. The direction and strength of attitudes of pertinent sentence stems to the hypotheses will be examined. The next step is a refinement of the proceeding step in which we look at these stems just in terms of degree of support. The final step involves an analysis of the content/attitude scores of the topics pertaining to the hypotheses. An analysis of topic "judicial components" will include examining responses to the Attitude Toward Criminal Justice Scale.

H_9 : There will be a significant difference between Dominant students, teachers, and police officers support of the police occupation: Police will be the most positive, Dominant students next in positiveness, teachers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

The analysis of this hypothesis will proceed by examining the previously identified police related items (stem numbers 5, 8, 9, 18, 23, 24, and 33). Table 33 presents the distribution of direct positive to direct negative responses evoked by these police content stems.

In looking at the four content category 4 (police) stems (stems 5, 8, 9, and 33), we see that Dominant students, teachers, and police officers tend to positively support the police occupation. Dominant students are less positive in support than teachers and police officers. The Negro students were consistently the least positive in their statements. Examination of direct positive responses shows the percentage of Negro students responding favorably to the stems substantially less than the other groups, while their direct negative responses were significantly higher. In comparing the indirect positive columns of stems 8, "Most police are ..." and 33, "In arresting people, police...", we find both student groups substantially more positive than teachers and police officers in regard to the general police stem (stem 8), but more critical than the adults in regard to the specific police procedure of arrest (stem 33). It is interesting to note that of the four stems, the most criticism by police officers themselves appears on stem 9 dealing with the police department (indirect positive equals 16.9 percent and direct positive equals 18.1 percent). This may be an indication of a police morale problem. A significant proportion of the police officers were critical of the police arrest process. Stem 33 shows 33.2 percent of the police falling in indirect and direct negative categories. The sub-codes indicate that

TABLE 33

Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by police content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Direct Pos- itive	Indi- rect Pos.	Neutral	Indi- rect Neg.	Direct Nega- tive	No re- sponse	Total
<u>STEM 5</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(281)	(343)	(71)	(115)	(121)	(50)	(981)
%	28.6	35.0	7.2	11.7	12.3	5.1	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(7)	(42)	(14)	(24)	(27)	(26)	(140)
%	5.0	30.0	10.0	17.1	19.3	18.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(54)	(74)	(8)	(22)	(8)	(11)	(177)
%	30.5	41.8	4.5	12.4	4.5	6.2	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(57)	(71)	(8)	(9)	(7)	(8)	(160)
%	35.6	44.4	5.0	5.6	4.4	5.0	100
<u>STEM 8</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(339)	(355)	(36)	(65)	(168)	(18)	(981)
%	34.6	36.2	3.7	6.6	17.1	1.8	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(17)	(51)	(5)	(14)	(40)	(13)	(140)
%	12.1	36.4	3.6	10.0	28.6	9.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(98)	(39)	(10)	(8)	(15)	(7)	(177)
%	55.4	22.0	5.7	4.5	8.5	4.0	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(103)	(37)	(0)	(5)	(9)	(6)	(160)
%	64.4	23.1	0.0	3.1	5.6	3.8	100
<u>STEM 9</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(287)	(197)	(207)	(93)	(118)	(79)	(981)
%	29.2	20.1	21.1	9.5	12.0	8.0	100

TABLE 33 (Continued)

	Direct Pos- itive	Indi- rect Pos.	Neutral	Indi- rect Neg.	Direct Nega- tive	Nore- sponse	Total		
<u>STEM 9 (Continued)</u>									
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(12)	(35)	(30)	(12)	(27)	(24)	(140)		
%	8.6	25.0	21.4	8.6	19.3	17.1	100		
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(54)	(46)	(20)	(25)	(13)	(19)	(177)		
%	30.5	26.0	11.3	14.1	7.3	10.7	100		
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(41)	(44)	(12)	(27)	(29)	(7)	(160)		
%	25.6	27.5	7.5	16.9	18.1	4.4	100		
<u>STEM 23</u>									
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(175)	(257)	(153)	(124)	(160)	(112)	(981)		
%	17.8	26.2	15.6	12.6	16.3	11.4	100		
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(8)	(31)	(12)	(12)	(24)	(53)	(140)		
%	5.7	22.1	8.6	8.6	17.1	37.9	100		
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(40)	(76)	(19)	(20)	(4)	(18)	(177)		
%	22.6	42.9	10.7	11.3	2.3	10.2	100		
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(39)	(66)	(19)	(12)	(16)	(8)	(160)		
%	24.4	41.2	11.9	7.5	10.0	5.0	100		
	++	+	N	-	-- No Resp.	Sub-Codes 1* 2**	Total		
<u>STEM 24</u>									
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(169)	(233)	(26)	(246)	(260)	(47)	(3)	(64)	(981)
%	17.2	23.8	2.7	25.1	26.5	4.8	0.3	6.5	100
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(7)	(31)	(9)	(22)	(41)	(30)	(0)	(3)	(140)
%	5.0	22.1	6.5	15.7	29.3	21.4	0.0	2.1	100
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(38)	(45)	(4)	(54)	(21)	(15)	(2)	(31)	(177)
%	21.5	25.4	2.3	30.5	11.9	8.5	1.1	17.5	100

TABLE 33 (Continued)

	++	+	N	-	--	No Resp.	Sub-Codes 1* 2**	Total
<u>STEM 24 (Continued)</u>								
<u>Police:</u>								
No.	(45)	(29)	(3)	(52)	(20)	(11)	(5)	(35) (160)
%	28.1	18.1	1.9	32.5	12.5	6.9	3.1	21.9 100
<u>STEM 18</u>								
<u>Dominant students:</u>								
No.	(143)	(151)	(24)	(325)	(299)	(39)	(25)	(174) (981)
%	14.6	15.4	2.5	33.1	30.5	4.0	2.5	17.7 100
<u>Negro students:</u>								
No.	(3)	(16)	(7)	(23)	(72)	(19)	(1)	(2) (140)
%	2.1	11.4	5.0	16.4	51.4	13.6	0.7	1.4 100
<u>Teachers:</u>								
No.	(32)	(28)	(6)	(87)	(18)	(6)	(3)	(41) (177)
%	18.1	15.8	3.4	49.1	10.2	3.4	1.7	23.2 100
<u>Police:</u>								
No.	(36)	(29)	(5)	(74)	(13)	(3)	(6)	(65) (160)
%	22.5	18.1	3.1	46.3	8.1	1.9	3.8	40.6 100
<u>STEM 33</u>								
<u>Dominant students:</u>								
No.	(105)	(238)	(91)	(250)	(189)	(108)	(1)	(48) (981)
%	10.7	24.3	9.3	25.5	19.3	11.0	0.1	4.9 100
<u>Negro students:</u>								
No.	(2)	(21)	(13)	(29)	(30)	(45)	(0)	(2) (140)
%	1.4	15.0	9.3	20.7	21.4	32.1	0.0	1.4 100
<u>Teachers:</u>								
No.	(23)	(92)	(8)	(35)	(7)	(12)	(1)	(6) (177)
%	13.0	52.0	4.5	19.8	4.0	6.8	0.6	3.4 100
<u>Police:</u>								
No.	(23)	(70)	(5)	(31)	(22)	(9)	(6)	(21) (160)
%	14.0	43.8	3.1	19.4	13.8	5.6	3.8	13.1 100

* = Frequencies and percentages of those responding direct negative who were sub-coded.

** = Frequencies and percentages of those responding indirect negative who were sub-coded.

a majority of the police officers felt that the problem lies in not enough "tough" police and too many citizens resisting police efforts.

The police and youth content stems (stems 23 and 24) show that the Negro students were significantly less strongly favorable toward policemen who specialize in youth work (only 5.7 percent of the Negro students were coded direct positive on stem 23 compared to 17.8 percent of the Dominant students, 22.6 percent of the teachers, and 24.4 percent of the police), and of the way police handle youngsters (only 5 percent of the Negro students were coded direct positive on stem 24 compared to 17.2 percent of the Dominant students, 21.5 percent of the teachers, and 28.1 percent of the police). Both student groups were substantially strongly critical of police juvenile officers (16.3 percent of the Dominant students and 17.1 percent of the Negro students responded in direct negative terms compared to 2.3 percent of the teachers and 10 percent of the police), and in police handling of youths (26.5 percent of the Dominant students and 29.3 percent of the Negro students responded in direct negative terms to stem 24 compared to 11.9 percent of the teachers and 12.5 percent of the police). Substantial proportions of teachers and police officers were critical of police and youth interaction (30.5 percent of the teachers and 32.5 percent of the police were coded indirect negative on stem 24). However, most of these subjects, as seen by the sub-coding, support police but feel they are too lenient on youngsters, or that the problem results from youths' harrassment of police.

The respondents of all four groups were critical of police and

Negro interaction (Stem 18). We see the lack of support by Negroes in the way police deal with Negroes by the fact that only three Negro students felt that police deal with Negroes in a most positive manner (compared to 14.6 percent of the Dominant students, 18.1 percent of the teachers, and 22.5 percent of the police coded direct positive). Over 50 percent of the Negro subjects answered in direct negative terms. Over 45 percent of both teachers and police officers were coded as indirect negative, but most of these responses (as revealed by the sub-coding) placed the blame on police "softness," hampering of police by civil rights agencies, and black belligerence toward police.

Note the substantially larger proportion of Negro students than the other groups who choose not to answer these sentence stems (no response of these subjects range from 9.3 percent to 32.1 percent). We may speculate that this is further indication of antagonism toward the topics these stems represent.

By collapsing the two positive and two negative attitude categories of the police related stems, we can facilitate the analysis of data in terms of looking at the correctness of the hypothesis (Table 34).

The chi-square analyses indicates that there is statistically significant differences in responses to the seven sentence stems (all significant at the .01 level of confidence). We see that a significantly larger proportion of police officers and teachers than Negro students answered in positive terms toward the police occupation in all seven sentence stems; they were significantly more positive than Dominant students in only three stems, 5, 23, and 33. A substantially

TABLE 34

Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by police content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 5</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(624)	(236)	(121)	(981)
%	63.6	24.1	12.3	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(49)	(51)	(40)	(140)
%	35.0	36.4	28.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(128)	(30)	(19)	(177)
%	72.3	16.9	10.7	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(128)	(16)	(16)	(160)
%	80.0	10.0	10.0	100
<u>STEM 8</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(694)	(233)	(54)	(981)
%	70.7	23.8	5.5	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(68)	(54)	(18)	(140)
%	48.6	38.6	12.9	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(137)	(23)	(17)	(177)
%	77.4	13.0	9.6	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(140)	(14)	(6)	(160)
%	87.5	8.7	3.7	100
<u>STEM 9</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(484)	(211)	(286)	(981)
%	49.3	21.5	29.2	100

Stem 5. $\chi^2 = 80.14$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df = 16.81).

Stem 8. $\chi^2 = 69.38$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df = 16.81).

TABLE 34 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 9 (Continued)</u>				
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(47)	(39)	(54)	(140)
%	33.6	27.9	38.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(100)	(38)	(39)	(177)
%	56.5	21.5	22.0	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(85)	(56)	(19)	(160)
%	53.1	35.0	11.9	100
<u>STEM 33</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(343)	(439)	(199)	(981)
%	35.0	44.8	20.3	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(23)	(59)	(58)	(140)
%	16.4	42.1	41.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(115)	(42)	(20)	(177)
%	65.0	23.7	11.3	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(93)	(53)	(14)	(160)
%	58.1	33.1	8.7	100
<u>STEM 23</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(432)	(284)	(265)	(981)
%	44.0	29.0	27.0	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(39)	(36)	(65)	(140)
%	27.9	25.7	46.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(116)	(24)	(37)	(177)
%	65.5	13.6	20.9	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(105)	(28)	(27)	(160)
%	65.6	17.5	16.9	100
Stem 9. $X^2 = 44.93$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.				
Stem 33. $X^2 = 135.24$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.				
Stem 23. $X^2 = 83.61$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.				

TABLE 34 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 24</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(402)	(506)	(73)	(981)
%	41.0	51.6	7.4	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(38)	(63)	(38)	(140)
%	27.1	45.0	27.9	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(83)	(75)	(19)	(177)
%	46.9	42.4	10.7	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(74)	(72)	(14)	(160)
%	46.2	45.0	8.7	100
<u>STEM 18</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(294)	(624)	(63)	(981)
%	30.0	63.6	6.4	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(19)	(95)	(26)	(140)
%	13.6	67.9	18.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(60)	(105)	(12)	(177)
%	33.9	59.3	6.8	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(65)	(87)	(8)	(160)
%	40.6	54.4	5.0	100

Stem 24. $\chi^2 = 64.72$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

Stem 18. $\chi^2 = 48.24$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

lower percentage of Negro students than Dominant students were coded in positive terms on all seven stems. The police officers are proportionally significantly more positive than teachers on only three stems, 5. "Any policeman..." (80 percent compared to 72.3 percent), 8. "Most police are..." (87.5 percent compared to 77.4 percent) and 18. "In dealing with Negroes, police are..." (40.6 percent compared to 33.9 percent). We see that a substantial percentage of police officers were critical of their police department (on stem 9, 34 percent of the police responded negatively), of police and youth interaction (45 percent of the police answered negatively on stem 24), and in police dealing with Negroes (54.4 percent of the police responded negatively to stem 8). Teachers were most critical of police in their dealing with youngsters (42.4 percent of the teachers responded negatively on stem 24), and in their dealing with Negroes (59.3 percent responded negatively to stem 18). Approximately half the students of both groups responded in negative terms to police arresting citizens (stem 33), police dealing with youth (stem 24), and police dealing with Negroes (stem 8).

We see that approximately half the subjects of the four groups responded in negative terms to the stems dealing with police and youth (stem 24), and police and Negroes (stem 18).

To further refine our data for interpretation each subject's summed attitude score was divided by the number of times content categories were coded. The scores of each group were summed and divided by the number of the groups' subjects. The resulting content/attitude quotients are presented in Table 35.

TABLE 35

Police content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	4 Police	6 Police and Youth	8 Police and Negroes
Dominant students	3.18	2.72	2.36
Negro students	2.22	1.85	1.54
Teachers	3.60	3.19	2.71
Police	3.78	3.29	2.79

Hypothesis nine is partially supported. There are significant differences between the groups (as the chi-squares indicate in Table 37), the police officers are most positive and the Negro students most negative in support of the police occupation. However, teachers are not negative, and are more positive than Dominant students.

H₁₀: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers support of the teaching occupation: Teachers will be the most positive, police officers the next in positiveness, the Dominant students will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

The distribution of direct positive to direct negative responses evoked by school and teacher content stems is presented in Table 36.

In studying the three content category 13 (School) stems (stems 4, 6, and 27) we find the percentage of Negro students significantly

TABLE 36

Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by school and teacher content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Direct Posi- tive	Indirect Positive	Neutral	Indirect Negative	Direct Nega- tive	No Re- sponse	Total
STEM 4							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(218)	(328)	(84)	(110)	(214)	(27)	(981)
%	22.2	33.4	8.6	11.2	21.8	2.8	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(16)	(54)	(10)	(14)	(37)	(9)	(140)
%	11.4	38.6	7.1	10.0	26.4	6.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(32)	(65)	(6)	(42)	(23)	(9)	(177)
%	18.1	36.7	5.3	23.7	13.0	5.1	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(45)	(53)	(13)	(17)	(22)	(10)	(160)
%	28.1	33.1	8.1	10.6	13.8	6.2	100
STEM 6							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(213)	(272)	(106)	(171)	(158)	(61)	(981)
%	21.7	27.7	10.8	17.4	16.1	6.2	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(22)	(34)	(20)	(24)	(17)	(23)	(140)
%	15.7	24.3	14.3	17.1	12.1	16.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(26)	(59)	(14)	(42)	(13)	(23)	(177)
%	14.7	33.3	7.9	23.7	7.3	13.0	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(28)	(57)	(9)	(26)	(11)	(29)	(160)
%	17.5	35.6	5.6	16.2	6.9	18.1	100
STEM 27							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(174)	(230)	(67)	(197)	(270)	(43)	(981)
%	17.7	23.5	6.8	20.1	27.5	4.4	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(13)	(36)	(13)	(20)	(25)	(33)	(140)
%	9.3	25.7	9.3	14.3	17.9	23.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(53)	(51)	(14)	(39)	(6)	(14)	(177)
%	29.9	28.8	7.9	22.0	3.4	7.9	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(70)	(31)	(10)	(26)	(10)	(13)	(160)
%	43.8	19.4	6.3	16.3	6.3	8.1	100

TABLE 36 (Continued)

	Direct Posi- tive	Indirect Positive	Neutral	Indirect Negative	Direct Nega- tive	No Re- sponse	Total
STEM 11							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(255)	(360)	(27)	(92)	(226)	(21)	(981)
%	26.0	36.7	2.8	9.4	23.0	2.1	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(21)	(55)	(8)	(14)	(36)	(6)	(140)
%	15.0	39.3	5.7	10.0	25.7	4.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(83)	(48)	(3)	(19)	(18)	(6)	(177)
%	46.9	27.1	1.7	10.7	10.2	3.4	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(63)	(47)	(7)	(19)	(18)	(6)	(160)
%	39.4	29.4	4.4	11.9	11.3	3.8	100
STEM 14							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(186)	(296)	(97)	(174)	(158)	(70)	(98)
%	19.0	60.7	9.9	17.7	16.1	7.1	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(12)	(47)	(6)	(22)	(25)	(28)	(140)
%	8.6	33.6	4.3	15.7	17.9	20.0	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(46)	(77)	(8)	(18)	(9)	(19)	(177)
%	26.0	43.5	4.5	10.2	5.1	10.7	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(29)	(68)	(9)	(24)	(10)	(20)	(160)
%	18.1	42.5	5.6	15.0	6.3	12.5	100

TABLE 36 (Continued)

	++	+	N	--	-	No Resp.	Sub- 1	Codes 2	Total
STEM 29									
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(151)	(283)	(38)	(230)	(211)	(68)	(1)	(48)	(981)
%	15.4	28.9	3.9	23.5	21.5	6.9	0.1	4.9	100
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(10)	(27)	(11)	(21)	(28)	(43)	(0)	(2)	(177)
%	7.1	19.3	7.9	15.0	20.0	30.7	0.0	1.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(46)	(36)	(12)	(60)	(6)	(17)	(0)	(24)	(177)
%	26.0	20.3	6.8	33.9	3.4	9.6	0.0	13.6	100
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(45)	(23)	(8)	(59)	(12)	(13)	(0)	(41)	(160)
%	28.1	14.4	5.0	36.9	7.5	8.1	0.0	25.6	100
STEM 22									
<u>Dominant students:</u>									
No.	(321)	(257)	(38)	(202)	(114)	(49)	(11)	(114)	(981)
%	32.8	26.2	3.9	20.6	11.6	5.0	1.1	11.6	100
<u>Negro students:</u>									
No.	(13)	(30)	(9)	(28)	(32)	(28)	(2)	(4)	(140)
%	9.3	21.4	6.4	20.0	22.9	20.0	1.4	2.9	100
<u>Teachers:</u>									
No.	(56)	(44)	(6)	(52)	(10)	(10)	(1)	(24)	(177)
%	31.6	24.9	3.4	28.8	5.7	5.7	0.6	13.6	100
<u>Police:</u>									
No.	(42)	(19)	(18)	(53)	(7)	(21)	(3)	(50)	(160)
%	26.3	11.9	11.3	33.1	4.4	13.1	1.9	31.3	100

less directly positive than the other groups on the school item (stem 4) and studying (stem 27). On these same stems a substantially larger proportion of police officers than the other groups are directly positive. We also find the Dominant students significantly less directly positive toward studying than the adult groups. Stem 6. "In school ...", shows a greater proportion of Dominant students than the other groups directly positive (21 percent compared to 15.7, 14.7, and 17.5 percent of the other groups), while at the same time they are significantly more directly negative than teachers and police officers (16.1 percent of the Dominant students compared to 7.3 and 6.9 percent of teachers and police). We find over 20 percent of the teachers responding in an indirect negative manner on these three stems. This is significantly greater in proportion to the other groups on stem 4 (11.2 percent of the Dominant students, 10 percent of the Negro students, and 10.6 percent of the police), and substantially greater than Negro student response on Stem 27 (14.3 percent of the Negro students). Substantially larger proportions of both student groups gave direct negative answers to "the school" (21.8 percent of the Dominant students, 26.4 percent of the Negro students, and only about 13 percent of each adult group), and "studying" (27.5 percent of the Dominant students, 17.9 percent of the Negro students, compared to 3.4 percent of the teachers and 6.3 percent of the police). A significantly greater percentage of Dominant students than teachers and police responded direct negative to stem 6. "In school ..." (16.1 percent of the Dominant students, compared to 7.3 percent of the teachers and 6.9 percent of the police).

In regard to content 5. "Teachers", we find teachers and police officers responding in significantly larger proportions than students in terms of direct positive on stem 11. "Most teachers are ..." and stem 14. "Teachers...". Both student groups had greater proportions of subjects responding in indirect positive terms on stem 11, while on stem 14, significantly greater percentage of Dominant students than Negro students, teachers, and police responded indirect positive. The two student groups responded in greater degree than the adult groups in a direct negative manner towards teachers on both stems.

The attitudes elicited from stem 29. "In dealing with kids, teachers are..." indicate few Negro students compared to the other groups are very positive in their belief of teachers handling students well. A significantly larger proportion of Dominant students than the other groups were indirectly positive in their attitudes of teachers interactions with youth (28.9 percent of the Dominant students compared to 19.3 percent of the Negro students, 20.3 percent of the teachers and only 14.4 percent of the police). We see over 30 percent of the teacher sample and police sample, compared to 23.5 percent of the Dominant and 15 percent of the Negro students responded in indirect negative terms, while about 20 percent of each student group compared to only six teachers and 12 policemen answered in direct negative terms. The sub-coding indicates that most of the police officers who answered indirect negative were positive toward teachers, but critical in their leniency on children.

We find less than 10 percent of the Negro students responding in a direct positive manner to stem 22 relating to teachers dealing with Negroes (compared to 32.8 percent of the Dominant students, 31.6 percent of the teachers, and 26.3 percent of the police). Only 11.9 percent of the police officers, compared to over 20 percent of each of the other groups answered in indirect positive terms. Negative responses again show significantly greater percentage of teachers and police than students responding in indirect negative terms (28.8 percent of the teachers and 33.1 percent of the police compared to 20 percent of each student group), and substantially larger proportions of students than adult groups answering in direct negative terms (11.6 percent of the Dominant students and 22.9 percent of the Negro students compared to less than 6 percent of each adult group). The sub-codes point out that about half of the teachers and most of the police officers felt teachers are too lax, scared, and hindered in dealing with the Negro student body.

Again, we should note that on five out of the seven school and teacher content sentence stems (stems 6, 14, 22, 27, and 29), a substantial proportion of Negro students did not write an answer to the items.

Table 37 presents the collapsed positive and negative attitude categories.

Except for stem 4, the four groups' responses to the school and teacher sentence stems are, according to the chi-square analyses, significantly different. In examining the school content items (stems 4, 6, and 27) we see that, by-in-large, the subjects were positive in their support of school. The one exception, as we would expect, is the

TABLE 37

Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by school and teacher content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>Stem 4</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(546)	(324)	(111)	(981)
%	55.7	33.0	11.3	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(70)	(51)	(19)	(140)
%	50.0	36.4	13.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(97)	(65)	(15)	(177)
%	54.8	36.7	8.5	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(98)	(39)	(23)	(160)
%	61.2	24.4	14.4	100
<u>STEM 6</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(485)	(329)	(167)	(981)
%	49.4	33.5	17.0	140
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(56)	(41)	(43)	(140)
%	40.0	29.3	30.7	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(85)	(55)	(37)	(177)
%	48.0	31.1	20.9	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(85)	(37)	(38)	(160)
%	53.1	23.1	23.7	100

Stem 4. $X^2 = 9.70$, $p > .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df = 16.81).

Stem 6. $X^2 = 21.72$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df = 16.81).

TABLE 37 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 27</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(404)	(467)	(110)	(981)
%	41.2	47.6	11.2	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(49)	(45)	(46)	(140)
%	35.0	32.1	32.9	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(104)	(45)	(28)	(177)
%	58.8	25.4	15.8	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(101)	(36)	(23)	(160)
%	63.1	22.5	14.4	100
<u>STEM 11</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(615)	(318)	(48)	(981)
%	62.7	32.4	4.9	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(76)	(50)	(14)	(140)
%	54.3	35.7	10.0	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(131)	(37)	(9)	(177)
%	74.0	20.9	5.1	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(110)	(37)	(13)	(160)
%	68.8	23.1	8.1	100

Stem 27. $\chi^2 = 103.26$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

Stem 11. $\chi^2 = 23.69$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

TABLE 37 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 14</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(482)	(332)	(167)	(981)
%	49.1	33.8	17.0	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(59)	(47)	(34)	(140)
%	42.1	33.6	24.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(123)	(27)	(27)	(177)
%	69.5	15.3	15.3	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(97)	(34)	(29)	(160)
%	60.6	21.2	18.1	100
<u>STEM 29</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(434)	(441)	(160)	(981)
%	44.2	45.0	10.8	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(37)	(49)	(54)	(140)
%	26.4	35.0	38.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(82)	(66)	(29)	(177)
%	46.3	37.3	16.4	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(68)	(71)	(21)	(160)
%	42.5	44.4	13.1	100

Stem 14. $\chi^2 = 43.30$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

Stem 29. $\chi^2 = 80.42$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

TABLE 37 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 22</u>				
<u>Dominant:</u>				
No.	(578)	(316)	(87)	(981)
%	58.9	32.2	8.9	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(43)	(60)	(37)	(140)
%	30.7	42.9	26.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(100)	(61)	(16)	(177)
%	56.5	34.5	9.0	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(61)	(60)	(39)	(160)
%	38.1	37.5	24.4	100

Stem 22. $\chi^2 = 83.70$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

students' distaste for studying (stem 27). The police officers were the most positive of the four groups. Over half of the policemen responded in positive terms to these three sentence stems. They are most positive toward studying, the stem that produced the most negative reaction from students. About 50 percent of the teachers also responded in positive terms. Smaller percentages of the student groups fell into the positive categories, with Negro subjects having the least number of positive statements. The Dominant students had the largest proportion of subjects responding negatively to studying (47.6 percent).

With the exception of Negro students on stem 14, approximately 50 percent or more of each group related positive support for teachers. The largest proportion of positive responses were stated by the teachers

themselves, and the smallest percent of such responses were recorded by the Negro sample. Both student groups had significantly larger proportions than teachers and police officers of negative responses to stem 11 (32.4 percent for Dominant students, 35.7 percent for Negro students compared to 20.9 percent for teachers and 23.1 percent for police), and stem 14 (33.8 percent for Dominant students, 33.6 percent for Negro students compared to 15.3 percent for teachers and 21.2 percent for police).

Quite a different picture appears when we examine attitudes toward teachers dealing with youths (stem 29) and Negroes (stem 22). Fewer positive statements were evoked from the sentence dealing with teachers handling students than was so on previous stems. The largest proportion of subjects responding positively are the teachers (46.3 percent) and the least are the Negro students (26.4 percent). The largest percentage of negative responses were produced by the Dominant students (45 percent).

Both the police officers and Negro students are critical of teachers dealing with Negroes. Only 30 percent of the Negro students felt that teachers handle Negroes well and fairly, while over 42.9 percent were critical in their statements. Thirty-eight percent of the police officers reacted in positive terms to stem 22, while nearly as many, 37.5 percent, were critical of the teacher and Negro relationship. A significantly greater proportion of Dominant students (58.9 percent) and teachers (56.5 percent) than Negro students (30.7 percent) and police (38.1 percent) fell in the positive response category.

The school and teacher content/attitude quotients are presented in Table 38.

TABLE 38

School and teacher content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	13 (School)	5 (Teachers)	7 (Teachers and Youth)	9 (Teachers and Negroes)
Dominant students	2.97	3.08	2.70	3.28
Negro students	2.54	2.63	1.89	2.16
Teachers	3.13	3.66	2.98	3.28
Police	3.24	3.44	2.76	2.83

The school (content 13) content/attitude quotient and teacher (contents 5, 7, and 9) quotients rank order differ. The police officers are the most positive toward school and teachers next in favorableness. Teachers are most positive in the teacher content areas, and police next in positiveness. Dominant students are tied with teachers in positiveness on content 9. "teachers and Negroes", but are ranked in third place on content 13. "school", content 5. "teachers," and content 7. "teachers and youth". The Negro students have the lowest quotient scores on all four content areas. In examining attitudes, school and teacher content areas need to be looked at separately. We see in looking at the three teacher content areas (content 5, 7, and 9) that hypothesis 10 appears correct. In regard to the teaching occupation teachers are most positive, police officers are next in favorableness, the Dominant students next, and the Negro students last. The chi-square (Table 37) indicates that these differences are statistically significant.

H₁₁: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers support of judicial components: Dominant students will be the most positive, teachers next in positiveness, police officers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

Table 38 presents the distribution of direct positive to direct negative responses elicited by the judicial component stems (stems 2, 15, 17, and 28).

We find response variation between these stems. The only consistent finding is in Negro students' direct positive responses across these stems; these students had the smallest proportion of direct positive responses.

On stem 2. "A judge . . .", both student groups had significantly smaller percentages of direct positive responses (33.1 percent for Dominant students and 15.7 for Negro students compared to 45.2 percent for teachers and 42.5 percent for police). While a significantly larger proportion of Negro students responded in indirect positive terms (45 percent), they also responded in a significantly larger proportion than Dominant students and teachers in direct negative terms (19.3 percent compared to 9.8 and 3.4 percents). A significantly larger proportion of police officers also answered direct negative (16.9 percent).

We see that a significantly larger proportion of Negro students than teachers and police officers responded in an indirect positive manner to stem 17. "The law. . ." (27.1 percent of the Negro students compared to 17 percent of the teachers and 16.3 percent of the police). Teachers responded in significantly greater proportion than the other

TABLE 39

Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by judicial component content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Direct Pos.	Ind. Pos.	Neutral	Ind. Negative	Direct Neg.	No Response	Total
STEM 2							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(325)	(344)	(129)	(54)	(96)	(33)	(981)
%	33.1	35.1	13.2	5.5	9.8	3.4	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(22)	(63)	(10)	(8)	(27)	(10)	(141)
%	15.7	45.0	7.1	5.7	19.3	7.1	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(80)	(56)	(11)	(16)	(6)	(8)	(177)
%	45.2	31.6	6.2	9.0	3.4	4.5	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(68)	(35)	(6)	(14)	(27)	(10)	(160)
%	42.5	21.9	3.8	8.8	16.9	6.3	100
STEM 17							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(405)	(217)	(52)	(131)	(116)	(60)	(981)
%	41.3	22.1	5.3	13.4	11.8	6.1	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(25)	(38)	(13)	(13)	(20)	(31)	(140)
%	17.9	27.1	9.3	9.3	14.3	22.1	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(67)	(30)	(7)	(48)	(12)	(13)	(177)
%	37.9	17.0	4.0	27.1	6.8	7.3	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(60)	(26)	(7)	(27)	(27)	(13)	(160)
%	37.5	16.3	4.4	16.9	16.9	8.1	100
STEM 15							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(113)	(191)	(265)	(171)	(107)	(134)	(981)
%	11.5	19.5	27.0	17.4	10.9	13.7	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(5)	(22)	(43)	(11)	(19)	(40)	(140)
%	3.6	15.7	30.7	7.9	13.6	28.6	100

TABLE 39 (Continued)

	Direct Pos.	Ind. Pos.	Neutral	Ind. Negative	Direct Neg.	No Response	Total
<u>STEM 15 (Continued)</u>							
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(22)	(40)	(26)	(35)	(20)	(34)	(177)
%	12.4	22.6	14.7	19.8	11.3	19.2	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(29)	(23)	(24)	(35)	(32)	(17)	(160)
%	18.1	14.4	15.0	21.9	20.0	10.6	100
<u>STEM 28</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(170)	(242)	(181)	(92)	(136)	(160)	(981)
%	17.3	24.7	18.5	9.4	18.9	16.3	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(10)	(30)	(23)	(6)	(19)	(52)	(140)
%	7.1	21.4	16.4	4.3	13.6	37.1	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(43)	(75)	(13)	(15)	(6)	(25)	(177)
%	24.3	42.4	7.3	8.5	3.4	14.1	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(41)	(31)	(17)	(36)	(18)	(17)	(160)
%	25.6	19.4	10.6	22.5	11.3	10.6	100

groups indirectly negative, though only twelve were direct in negativity.

Stem 15, "In court . . ." produced higher proportions of neutral responses from the four groups than the other stems (particularly from the students). A significantly smaller percentage of Negro students than the other groups related indirect negative responses (7.9 percent compared to 17.4, 19.8, and 21.9 percent). Policemen had a significantly larger proportion of subjects that responded in direct negative terms (20 percent of the police compared to 10.9 percent of the Dominant students, 13.6 percent of the Negro students, and 11.3 percent of the

teachers).

A substantially larger proportion of teachers and police officers than students responded in direct positive terms to probation officers (24.3 percent of the teachers, 25.6 percent of the police compared to 17.3 percent of the Dominant students and 7.1 percent of the Negro students). A significantly larger percentage of the teachers answered in indirect positive terms (42.4 percent) and few (3.4 percent) were directly negative. A significantly larger proportion of police officers than students and teachers were indirectly negative towards probation officers (22.5 percent police compared to 9.4 percent Dominant students, 4.3 percent Negro students, and 8.5 percent teachers).

Again one should note the substantially higher absence of response by Negro students on the law stem (22.1 percent), court stem (28.6 percent) and probation officer stem (37.1 percent).

The collapsed positive and negative categories of attitudes toward judicial components appear in Table 40.

The stems dealing with the judge and the law produced more positive responses than the court and probation officer stems. Over 60 percent of each group answered in positive terms toward the concept "judge", and, except for Negro subjects, over 50 percent responded in positive terms toward the concept "law". We see that a substantial proportion of the police group responded negatively on all four stems (stem 2, 25.6 percent negative police response, stem 15, 41.9 percent, stem 17, 33.7 percent and stem 28, 33.7 percent). In regard to the judge stem, Negro students have a significantly larger proportion of negative

TABLE 40

Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by the judicial component content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
STEM 2				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(669)	(150)	(162)	(981)
%	68.2	15.3	16.5	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(85)	(35)	(20)	(140)
%	60.7	25.0	14.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(136)	(22)	(19)	(177)
%	76.8	12.4	10.7	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(103)	(41)	(15)	(160)
%	64.4	25.6	10.0	100
STEM 17				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(622)	(247)	(112)	(981)
%	63.4	25.2	11.4	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(63)	(33)	(44)	(140)
%	45.0	23.6	31.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(97)	(60)	(20)	(177)
%	54.8	33.9	11.3	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(86)	(54)	(20)	(160)
%	53.7	33.7	12.5	100

Stem 2. $\chi^2 = 25.95$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df=16.81).

Stem 17. $\chi^2 = 54.02$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df=16.81).

TABLE 40 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 15</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(304)	(278)	(399)	(981)
%	31.0	28.3	40.7	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(27)	(30)	(83)	(140)
%	19.3	21.4	59.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(62)	(55)	(60)	(177)
%	35.0	31.1	33.9	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(52)	(67)	(41)	(160)
%	32.5	41.9	25.6	100
<u>STEM 28</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(412)	(228)	(341)	(981)
%	42.0	23.2	34.8	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(40)	(25)	(75)	(140)
%	28.6	17.9	53.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(118)	(21)	(38)	(177)
%	66.7	11.9	21.5	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(72)	(54)	(34)	(160)
%	45.0	33.7	21.2	100

Stem 15. $\chi^2 = 42.29$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

Stem 28. $\chi^2 = 80.78$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

statements (25 percent) than Dominant students (15.3 percent) and teachers (12.4 percent). In looking at Negro students' responses toward court (stem 15) and probation officers (stem 28), we find proportionally less responding in positive or negative terms. The reason appears in the neutral and no response category where nearly 60 percent of these students fell for the court stem and over 50 percent fell for the probation officer stem. Teachers related significantly larger percentages of positive responses than the other groups toward judge (76.8 percent teachers compared to 68.2 percent Dominant students, 60.7 percent Negro students, and 64.4 percent police) and probation officers (66.7 percent teachers compared to 42 percent Dominant students, 28.6 percent Negro students, and 45 percent police). However, a significantly greater proportion of teachers (as well as Police) than students were negative toward the law (33.9 percent of the teachers compared to 25.2 percent of the Dominant students and 23.6 of the Negro students).

The chi-squares do indicate that the group responses differ statistically significantly on the four judicial component sentence stems.

Table 41 presents the judicial component content/attitude quotients.

The Negro samples lowest content/attitude quotients on the four content areas is the only consistent finding.

The responses to the concepts court and law formed the same pattern. Dominant students are the most positive, teachers are next in positiveness, police officers are next, and Negro students are last. The two stems relating to persons involved in the judicial process, judges and probation officers, show that teachers perceive them most positively.

TABLE 41

Judicial component content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	1 (Judge)	2 (Court)	3 (Law)	17 (Probation Officers)
Dominant students	3.63	2.49	3.42	2.69
Negro students	3.08	1.91	2.58	1.93
Teachers	3.90	2.30	3.25	3.30
Police	3.44	2.19	3.12	2.88

The Dominant students are next in positive support toward judges, and the police group is next in positive support toward probation officers. The police officers are third in degree of positiveness toward judges, and Dominant students are third in favorableness toward probation officers. Again, Negro students are the least positive toward judges and probation officers.

A Likert-type scale, the Attitude Toward Criminal Justice Scale, was used to facilitate interpretation of the sentence stem data and to aid in the analysis of hypothesis 11. This scale consists of six strongly agree to strongly disagree items. These were summed, the highest possible score is 30 (most in agreement with the statements) and the lowest is 6 (most in disagreement with the statements). These items represent attitudes toward the fairness of the criminal justice system and a persons obligation to assist the legal process. The means

of the summed scores, standard deviations, and analysis of variance is presented in Table 42.

The analysis of variance of the criminal justice scale indicates that there is a significant difference between the means of the groups. The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests are shown in Table 43.

The only mean comparisons of differences that did not prove to be significant is between Dominant students and police ($\bar{x}_{DS} - \bar{x}_P = 11.44 > R_2$). The police officers show the most favorable attitudes toward criminal justice, Dominant students the next in positiveness, teachers next, and Negro students are the most negative.

The judicial content data tells us that hypothesis 11 needs to be modified. We found that there are definite significant differences between the four groups. The sentence stem information indicates that one should not lump the four categories together when investigating attitudes toward judicial process and criminal justice. Hypothesis 11 appears correct in regard to legal entities of criminal justice. That is, when it comes to attitudes toward the courts and law, Dominant students are the most positively supportive, teachers are next, police officers are next, and Negro students are least. However, the pattern somewhat changes when we consider persons in charge of the legal procedure, like judges and probation officers.

Police officers appear to have ambivalent feelings toward judicial components. The Criminal Justice Scale indicates that they believe in the integrity of judges, the need for obeying laws, and the fairness of the courts to citizens. They are negative in feelings regarding the hinderances to their efficiency by the judicial process. That is, they

TABLE 42

Means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance of scores on the criminal justice scale comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Dominant Students	Negro Students	Teachers	Police
n*	971	137	177	160
M**	22.58	19.58	21.47	23.27
SD	4.04	4.16	3.66	3.01

Source	df	s.s.	ms.s	F	Prob.
Between Groups	3	1356.25	452.08	29.52	< .01
Within Groups	1441	22065.87	15.31		
Total	1444	23422.12			

*Subjects who did not respond to any of the items were deleted from the analysis.

**The highest score equals 30, while the lowest equals 6.

TABLE 43

The Duncan-Kramer multiple range tests and mean differences comparing means on the criminal justice scale of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Teachers	Dominant students	Police	Significant Ranges at the .01 level
Negro students M = 19.58	23.45* (1.89)	46.47* (3.00)	44.91* (3.69)	$R_2 = 14.08$
Teachers M = 21.47		19.19* (1.11)	23.33* (1.80)	$R_3 = 14.70$
Dominant students M = 22.58			11.44 (.69)	$R_4 = 15.09$
Police (M = 23.27)				

*Significant at .01 level.

are critical of the mass of ambiguous laws, the unenforceable laws, court decisions that are critical of police actions, and judges who are more sympathetic to citizens than police.

A most important finding is the consistency of the Negro samples negativism toward the judicial components on both sets of instruments, the sentence stems and the criminal justice scale.

In conclusion, the eleventh hypothesis is correct when we are dealing with support toward legal concepts of court and law. New hypotheses have to be developed in studying legal occupations as judges and probation officers. Such hypotheses must take into account police ambivalence and the consistent lack of positive support by Negro subjects.

H_{12} : There will be no significant difference between Dominant and Negro students support of youth, but there will be a significant difference between these students, and teachers and police officers support of youth: students will be positive and teachers and police will be negative.

The distribution of direct positive to direct negative answers evoked by the stems pertaining to youth (7. "Teenagers. . .", 10. "Most kids. . .", and for the student only, 21. "My friends. . .") are presented in Table 44.

In examining the positive responses we find that there are some significant differences between Dominant and Negro students. Dominant students had substantially larger proportions than Negro students of direct positive responses toward teenagers (38.1 percent compared to 18.6 percent), most kids (30.7 percent compared to 19.3 percent) and

TABLE 44

Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by youth content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	++	+	N	-	--	No Resp.	Total
<u>STEM 7</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(373)	(273)	(163)	(97)	(48)	(26)	(981)
%	38.1	27.8	16.6	9.9	4.9	2.7	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(26)	(50)	(25)	(15)	(9)	(15)	(140)
%	18.6	35.7	17.9	10.7	6.4	10.7	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(58)	(52)	(18)	(34)	(8)	(7)	(177)
%	32.8	29.4	10.2	19.2	4.5	4.0	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(35)	(48)	(25)	(29)	(19)	(4)	(160)
%	21.9	30.0	15.6	18.1	11.9	2.5	100
<u>STEM 10</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(301)	(247)	(124)	(125)	(146)	(38)	(981)
%	30.0	25.2	12.6	12.7	14.9	3.9	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(27)	(35)	(26)	(16)	(23)	(13)	(140)
%	19.3	25.0	18.6	11.4	16.4	9.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(94)	(41)	(10)	(19)	(8)	(5)	(177)
%	53.1	23.2	5.7	10.7	4.5	2.8	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(93)	(31)	(6)	(10)	(14)	(6)	(160)
%	58.1	19.4	3.8	6.3	8.8	3.8	100
<u>STEM 21</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(514)	(245)	(88)	(49)	(29)	(56)	(981)
%	52.4	25.0	9.0	5.0	3.0	5.7	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(46)	(38)	(18)	(3)	(5)	(30)	(140)
%	32.9	27.1	17.1	2.1	3.6	21.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(79)	(34)	(23)	(8)	(6)	(27)	(177)
%	44.6	19.2	13.0	4.5	3.4	15.3	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(65)	(41)	(14)	(15)	(4)	(21)	(160)
%	40.6	25.6	8.8	9.4	2.5	13.1	100

friends (52.4 percent compared to 32.9 percent). Notice also that a substantially larger proportion of Negro students than Dominant students had indirect positive responses on the teenagers stem (35.7 percent compared to 27.8 percent).

On the teenager stem (stem 7) teachers were proportionally more directly positive (32.8 percent) than Negro students. A significantly lower percentage of police officers (21.9 percent) than Dominant students and teachers responded in direct positive terms. On this stem a substantially larger proportion of the adult groups than student groups answered in indirect negative terms (19.2 percent of the teachers, 18.1 percent of the police compared to 9.9 percent of the Dominant students and 10.7 percent of the Negro students), and a greater percentage of police officers than other groups responded in a direct negative manner (11.9 percent police compared to 4.5 percent teachers, 4.9 percent Dominant students and 6.4 percent Negro students).

Studying stem 10, "Most kids . . .", we find over half of the teachers and police officers responding direct positive, while only 31 percent of the Dominant students, and 19.3 percent of the Negro students responded in such terms. A substantially larger percentage of students of both groups answered in neutral and direct negative terms. The discrepancy between stem 7, "Teenagers. . ." and stem 10, "Most kids. . .", may be due to a difference in interpretation of the stems. In examining the protocols we found that the word "kids" was interpreted by several of the students as meaning young children, not those of their own age. Many of the adults also interpreted this word in the same way. It appears

that the adults were critical of adolescents and more favorable toward preadolescent children. The junior high school students were somewhat favorable toward their peer group (teenagers) and more critical of younger children.

Table 45 displays the collapsed positive and negative attitude categories toward youth.

The chi-squares indicate that there are significant differences between the groups. We see again, proportionally fewer Negro students falling in the positive category and a larger percentage falling in the category of neutral and no response. Over 50 percent of each group responded in positive terms toward teenagers, however, teachers and police officers had significantly more negative statements than students (23.7 percent of the teachers, 30 percent of the police compared to 14.8 percent of the Dominant students and 17.1 percent of the Negro students).

Substantially larger percentages of teachers and police officers than students responded in positive terms to stem 10, "Most kids. . ." (over 75 percent of the adult groups compared to 55.9 percent of the Dominant students and 44.3 percent of the Negro students), while significantly greater proportions of students answered in negative terms (over 27 percent of both student groups compared to 15 percent of both adult groups). As we would expect, well over half the students responded positively to the stem relating to their peer group friends (stem 21).

Table 46 presents the youth (content 11) content/attitude quotients.

TABLE 45

Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by youth content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
STEM 7				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(647)	(145)	(189)	(981)
%	66.0	14.8	19.3	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(76)	(24)	(40)	(140)
%	54.3	17.1	28.6	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(110)	(42)	(25)	(177)
%	62.1	23.7	14.1	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(83)	(48)	(29)	(160)
%	51.9	30.0	18.1	100
STEM 10				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(548)	(271)	(162)	(981)
%	55.9	27.6	16.5	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(62)	(39)	(39)	(140)
%	44.3	27.9	27.9	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(135)	(27)	(15)	(177)
%	76.3	15.3	8.5	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(124)	(27)	(12)	(160)
%	77.5	15.0	7.5	100

Stem 7. $\chi^2 = 36.94$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df=16.81).

Stem 10. $\chi^2 = 67.51$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df=16.81).

TABLE 45 (Continued)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 21</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(759)	(78)	(144)	(981)
%	77.4	8.0	14.7	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(84)	(8)	(48)	(140)
%	60.0	5.7	34.3	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(113)	(14)	(50)	(177)
%	63.8	7.9	28.2	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(106)	(19)	(35)	(160)
%	66.2	11.9	21.9	100

Stem 21. $\chi^2 = 48.18$, $p < .01$ for 6 df.

TABLE 46

Youth content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	11 (Youth)
Dominant students	3.80
Negro students	3.25
Teachers	3.72
Police	3.64

The results indicate that we cannot accept hypothesis 12 as correct. Though there appears to be significant differences between the groups (Table 45, page 302, chi-square analysis), the quotient scores indicate that the four types of subjects are positive toward youth, therefore, the differences are in terms of degree of this positive support. We find that there are significant differences between the Dominant and Negro students with the Negro sample being the least positive of the four groups. We see that the teachers and police officers are not predominantly negative toward youth. In sum, the data indicates that the Dominant students are the most positive toward youth, followed closely by the teachers, next by the police officers, and in last place are the Negro students.

H₁₃: There will be no significant difference between Dominant and Negro students support of parents, but there will be a significant difference between these students, teachers, and police officers support of parents: teachers will be most positive, students next in positiveness, and police officers most negative.

Table 47 presents the distribution of direct positive to direct negative responses evoked by the two parents content stems.

In both the father stem (stem 25) and parents stem (stem 26) one finds substantially lower percentages of Negro students than the other groups responding direct positive, and significantly larger percentages answering in indirect positive terms and not responding at all.

In investigating the parents stem we find teachers in a significantly larger proportion than the others answering in a direct positive

TABLE 47

Frequencies and percentages of support elicited by parents' content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	++	+	N	-	--	No Resp.	Total
<u>STEM 25</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(462)	(204)	(133)	(66)	(61)	(55)	(981)
%	47.1	20.8	13.6	6.7	6.2	5.6	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(39)	(41)	(19)	(5)	(6)	(30)	(140)
%	27.9	29.3	13.6	3.6	4.3	21.4	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(92)	(35)	(12)	(18)	(3)	(17)	(177)
%	52.0	19.8	6.8	10.2	1.7	9.6	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(82)	(34)	(13)	(11)	(4)	(16)	(160)
%	51.3	21.3	8.1	6.9	2.5	10.0	100
<u>STEM 26</u>							
<u>Dominant students:</u>							
No.	(319)	(251)	(36)	(159)	(185)	(31)	(981)
%	32.5	25.6	3.7	16.2	18.9	3.2	100
<u>Negro students:</u>							
No.	(20)	(41)	(6)	(11)	(23)	(29)	(140)
%	21.4	29.3	4.3	7.9	16.4	20.7	100
<u>Teachers:</u>							
No.	(79)	(25)	(4)	(33)	(26)	(10)	(177)
%	44.6	14.1	2.3	18.6	14.7	5.7	100
<u>Police:</u>							
No.	(54)	(23)	(6)	(26)	(39)	(12)	(160)
%	33.8	14.4	3.8	16.3	24.4	7.5	100

manner (44.6 percent of the teachers compared to 32.5 percent of the Dominant students, 21.4 percent of the Negro students and 33.8 percent of the police). Over 25 percent of both student groups responded indirect positive compared to only 14 percent of each adult group. Looking at the negative responses to the parents stem one sees a significantly lower percentage of Negro students than the other groups responding indirect negative (7.9 percent Negro students compared to 16.2 percent Dominant students, 18.6 percent teachers, and 16.3 percent police) and a substantially larger percentage of policemen (24.4 percent) than Negro students (16.4 percent) and teachers (14.7 percent) answering in direct terms.

The collapsed attitude categories are shown in Table 48.

The chi-squares indicate that there are significant differences between the groups' attitudes toward father and parents.

We see that a majority of the subjects of the four groups were positive in their support of father and, with the exception of the police, of parents. A significantly smaller proportion of Negro students than the other groups responded in positive terms on the father stem (47.1 percent Negro students compared to 67.9 percent Dominant students, 71.8 percent teachers, and 72.5 percent police), and, except for the police, on the parents stem (50.7 percent Negro students compared to 58.1 percent Dominant students and 58.8 percent teachers). A significantly smaller proportion of police officers (48.1 percent) than Dominant students and teachers responded in positive terms. A substantial proportion of police officers (40.6 percent) responded negatively toward parents.

TABLE 48

Frequencies and percentages of collapsed categories of positive support, negative support, neutral and no responses elicited by parents' content stems comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	Positive	Negative	Neutral and No Response	Total
<u>STEM 25</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(666)	(127)	(188)	(981)
%	67.9	12.9	19.2	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(80)	(11)	(49)	(140)
%	57.1	7.9	35.0	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(127)	(21)	(29)	(177)
%	71.8	11.9	16.4	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(116)	(15)	(29)	(160)
%	72.5	9.4	18.1	100
<u>STEM 26</u>				
<u>Dominant students:</u>				
No.	(570)	(344)	(67)	(981)
%	58.1	35.1	6.8	100
<u>Negro students:</u>				
No.	(71)	(34)	(35)	(140)
%	50.7	24.3	25.0	100
<u>Teachers:</u>				
No.	(104)	(59)	(14)	(177)
%	58.8	33.3	7.9	100
<u>Police:</u>				
No.	(77)	(65)	(18)	(160)
%	48.1	40.6	11.2	100

Stem 25. $X^2 = 24.23$, $P < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df=16.81).

Stem 26. $X^2 = 54.65$, $p < .01$ (significance level for .01 at 6 df=16.81).

The parents (contents 15 and 16) content/attitude quotients are presented in Table 49.

TABLE 49

Parents' content/attitude quotients comparing Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

	(15) Father	(16) Parents
Dominant students	3.78	3.22
Negro students	3.09	2.61
Teachers	3.82	3.29
Police	3.78	2.79

Again we find that the hypothesis has to be modified. The data on attitudes towards parents show that there are significant differences between Dominant and Negro students, Dominants being significantly more positive in support than Negro students.

We see that all the groups are positive in support of fathers. Teachers are most positive, Dominant students and police officers are tied for second most positive, and Negro students are last in favorableness. The groups are less positive towards parents in general than towards fathers. Teachers are the most favorable toward parents, Dominant students are next in positive support, then comes police officers, and last are Negro students.

In investigating attitudes toward parents it appears that the specific concepts of father and general concept of parents must be separated. For example, though Negro students and police officers are predominately supportive of fathers, they are much less so toward parents in general.

Summary of the findings regarding the hypotheses relating to support of:
1) police officers and police department, 2) teachers and schools, 3)
judicial components, 4) youth, and 5) parents:

The hypothesis relating to support of the police occupation (H_9) is partially correct. There are significant differences between the groups regarding support of police. The police officers are most positive and Negro students most negative, however, teachers are not negative toward police, they are more positive than Dominant students.

"Support toward the teaching occupation" hypothesis (H_{10}) appears correct. There are significance differences between the groups on stems dealing specifically with teachers. Teachers are most positive toward the teaching occupation, police are next, Dominant students follow, and Negro students are last. The only non-significant chi-square occurred on a stem dealing with schools (stem 4, The school. . .). When attitudes toward school and studying were examined we found that police are the most positive in support, followed by teachers, then Dominant students, and last by Negro students. Attitudes towards teachers and schools have to be investigated separately, as indicated by the differences of the groups in the order of support given these two topics.

The hypothesis dealing with support of judicial components (H_{11}) has to be modified. We find that there are significant differences

between the groups. Hypothesis eleven appears correct when considering attitudes toward our courts and laws. In regard to these topics, Dominant students are the most positive in attitude, teachers are next, police follow, and Negro students are last. Attitudes toward judicial roles, like judges and probation officers, showed that teachers are most positive in support, followed by Dominant students and police, and the least positive are the Negro students.

The police appear ambivalent in their attitudes toward judicial components. They feel judges are honest, laws need to be obeyed, the courts are fair to citizens, but they are critical of the binds the laws and courts put them in while trying to carry out their duties.

The sentence stems and criminal justice scale show that the Negro students are the most negative toward judicial components.

The hypothesis relating to support of youth (H_{12}) does not appear to be correct. The four groups are positive toward youth, the differences are in terms of the degree of this positiveness. Negro students are significantly less positive toward youth than their Dominant student peers. Teachers and police are far from being hostile toward youth. Dominant students are the most favorable toward youth, teachers are next, police follow, and Negro students are least favorable.

The parents' hypothesis (H_{13}) needs to be modified. We found that there are significant differences between Dominant and Negro students positive support of parents, Dominant students are more favorable than Negro students. The topic father received positive support from all four groups. The subjects were less positive in support of parents in general. Teachers are the most favorable, Dominant students are next, police are next, and Negro students are least positive. Attitudes toward

the specific topic of father and the general topic of parents must be studied separately.

A most significant outcome of the investigation of the above hypotheses is the large proportion of Negro subjects who did not answer the sentence stems and the finding that these students are consistently the least positive in support toward all the content areas.

3. Analysis of values: hypothesis relating to the values of students, teachers, and police officers

Social scientists agree that values are major variables in the understanding of human behavior. Differences in culture, social class, generations, occupations, sex, religion and politics can be interpreted as questions concerning differences in underlying values and value systems; differences, for example, in deviant versus non-deviant behavior, competitive versus cooperative behavior are amenable to analysis in terms of value differences. Similarly investigations of change as a result of maturation, education, or therapy can be looked at in terms of development and change in values and value systems.

We have adopted Rokeach's (1968, and in Abcarion, 1970) interpretation that values transcend specific objects and specific situations; values have to do with modes of conduct (instrumental values) and end-states of existence (terminal values). Values are crucial to our everyday existence, they are standards or criteria that serve very important purposes in our lives: they are standards that tell us how to act or what to want; standards that tell us what attitudes to hold; standards we employ to justify, to morally judge, and to compare ourselves with others. Also a value is a standard we employ to cue us to which

values, attitudes, and actions of others are worth and not worth trying to influence.

From the prior review of literature and theory dealing with vertical analysis of teachers and police relationships with youth, and the horizontal analysis of teacher and police interrelationships, the following hypothesis was formalized.

H₁₄: There will be significant differences between the value systems of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers.

The terminal and instrumental value data for Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers are presented below. The median rankings and the rank ordering of these medians from one to 18 (composite rank order) for all values are shown. Tests of significance were obtained by the Median Test (Siegel, 1956). It should be noted, however, that significance levels reached are at least partly determined by sample size. Therefore, in interpreting the data we will pay attention to directions of difference as well as level of significance. The results pertaining to terminal values are presented in Table 50.

The findings pertaining to instrumental values are shown in Table 51.

Twelve of the 18 terminal values and eleven of the 18 instrumental values show significant differences between the four groups.

We should first note that the value systems of the groups are, in certain respects, similar to one another, this probably reflects general American values held in common by all groups. Dominant students, Negro students, teachers and policemen placed relatively high value on such

TABLE 50

Terminal value medians and composite rank orders for Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

Value	Group: Dom.Stu. N = 981		Negro Stu. 140		Teachers 177		Police 160		Median Test Chi-Sq. p* =
	Med. Rnk.		Med. Rnk.		Med. Rnk.		Med. Rnk.		
A COMFORTABLE LIFE									
(a prosperous life)	8.98	(9)	6.41	(4)	13.31	(14)	8.56	(8)	38.79 0.00
AN EXCITING LIFE									
(a stimulating, active life)	10.12	(10)	10.90	(11)	14.53	(17)	13.20	(15)	43.62 0.00
A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT									
(lasting contribution)	10.16	(11)	10.28	(10)	5.79	(4)	7.53	(5)	49.40 0.00
A WORLD AT PEACE									
(free of war and conflict)	3.11	(1)	3.65	(1)	5.30	(1)	5.38	(3)	29.44 0.00
A WORLD OF BEAUTY									
(beauty of nature and the arts)	12.51	(15)	11.75	(13)	13.78	(15)	16.00	(18)	51.24 0.00
EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)	7.81	(4)	6.39	(3)	7.29	(6)	11.36	(14)	20.90 0.00
FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)	8.65	(6)	8.00	(6)	5.32	(2)	2.89	(1)	114.99 0.00
FREEDOM (independence, free choice)	4.10	(2)	4.19	(2)	6.19	(5)	5.25	(2)	32.41 0.00
HAPPINESS (contentedness)	7.84	(5)	7.36	(5)	8.78	(9)	7.75	(6)	5.01 0.17
INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)	12.70	(17)	12.30	(15)	7.68	(8)	11.08	(12)	57.71 0.00
MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	8.83	(7)	9.70	(9)	9.69	(11)	10.00	(10)	4.65 0.20
NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)	11.15	(13)	13.00	(17)	11.38	(12)	11.20	(13)	9.71 0.02
PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	12.36	(14)	11.83	(14)	15.50	(18)	13.72	(16)	48.19 0.00

*Chi-square probabilities were computed for each value by the computer. Therefore, a p = 0.00 should be interpreted as stating that: the probability that a chi-square of this magnitude occurring by chance is nearly zero.

TABLE 50 (Continued)

Value	Group: N =	Dom. Stu. 981	Negro Stu. 140	Teachers 177	Police 160	Median Test
		Med. Rnk.	Med. Rnk.	Med. Rnk.	Med. Rnk.	Chi-Sq. p* =
SALVATION (saved, eternal life)		12.56 (16)	12.30 (16)	13.00 (13)	10.67 (11)	2.58 0.46
SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)		10.46 (12)	11.28 (12)	5.64 (3)	6.82 (4)	120.76 0.00
SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)		14.08 (18)	13.50 (18)	14.15 (16)	14.36 (17)	1.14 0.77
TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)		7.16 (3)	8.33 (7)	9.19 (10)	9.09 (9)	30.42 0.00
WISDOM (a mature understand- ing of life)		8.87 (8)	9.28 (8)	7.57 (7)	8.00 (7)	9.01 0.03

TABLE 51

Instrumental value medians and composite rank orders for Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers

Value	Group: Dom.Stu. N = 981			Negro Stu. 140			Teachers 177			Police 160			Median Test
	Med.	Rnk.	Med.	Rnk.	Med.	Rnk.	Med.	Rnk.	Med.	Rnk.	Med.	Chi-Sq.	p =
AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)	7.21	(3)	7.50	(4)	8.50	(6)	6.25	(3)	4.92	0.18			
BROADMINDED (open-minded)	10.38	(13)	9.79	(12)	6.90	(3)	8.40	(7)	25.60	0.00			
CAPABLE (competent, effective)	11.56	(14)	10.70	(14)	8.90	(8)	7.68	(5)	67.46	0.00			
CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)	8.51	(6)	8.90	(7)	11.64	(13)	12.50	(17)	68.13	0.00			
CLEAN (neat, tidy)	7.31	(4)	6.36	(3)	13.91	(17)	8.38	(6)	69.90	0.00			
COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)	9.65	(10)	9.93	(13)	10.09	(12)	8.95	(8)	1.83	0.61			
FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)	8.65	(7)	9.50	(11)	9.38	(9)	10.14	(10)	5.87	0.12			
HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)	8.85	(9)	8.00	(5)	8.33	(5)	11.00	(11)	11.16	0.01			
HONEST (sincere, truthful)	4.62	(1)	6.33	(2)	3.38	(1)	2.45	(1)	29.81	0.00			
IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)	13.34	(17)	12.88	(17)	11.64	(14)	14.50	(18)	14.80	0.00			
INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	9.72	(11)	9.10	(9)	9.45	(10)	11.63	(14)	5.77	0.12			
INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)	12.06	(15)	11.88	(16)	10.00	(11)	11.17	(12)	9.79	0.02			
LOGICAL (consistent, rational)	13.51	(18)	13.81	(18)	11.65	(15)	10.04	(9)	39.55	0.00			
LOVING (affectionate, tender)	6.73	(2)	5.50	(1)	8.57	(7)	11.77	(15)	45.00	0.00			
OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)	12.59	(16)	11.33	(15)	14.80	(18)	11.86	(16)	21.51	0.00			
POLITE (courteous, well-mannered)	9.82	(12)	9.07	(8)	12.75	(16)	11.30	(13)	31.71	0.00			
RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)	7.66	(5)	8.00	(6)	4.45	(2)	5.00	(2)	53.88	0.00			
SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)	8.84	(8)	9.38	(10)	8.15	(4)	6.38	(4)	7.02	0.07			

end-goals as a world at peace (this is probably a reflection of everyone's anxiety over the war in the far east and tensions of the middle east), freedom, and being honest, and all placed relatively low value on social recognition, being imaginative, and being obedient. The groups did not differ statistically significantly on six of the 18 terminal values--happiness, mature love, national security, salvation, social recognition, and wisdom. On instrumental values (Table 51) we find that the groups do not differ statistically significantly on seven of the 18 values--ambitious, courageous, forgiving, helpful, independent, intellectual, and self-controlled.

In studying the difference between the two student groups we find that only three terminal and three instrumental values significantly differentiate the two groups. Negro students regard a comfortable life as more important than Dominant students, while Dominant students consider national security and true friendship as more important than Negro students do. Forgiving is considered of greater value by Dominant students than Negro students, while Negro students feel being helpful and polite are of greater value than Dominant students.

Only three terminal values proved to significantly differentiate teachers and police officers, but half the instrumental values show significant differences between these groups. Police officers felt a comfortable life was more important than teachers, while equality and inner harmony were ranked higher in importance by teachers than policemen.

Teachers ranked the following six instrumental values significantly higher in importance than police officers--broadminded, cheerful, helpful, imaginative, independent, and loving. Clean, courageous, and logical were considered of more value to police officers than teachers.

We see that the adult groups and student groups do have distinctively different value systems. In regard to terminal values, students value an exciting life more than teachers and police, while the adults regard more important than the adolescents a sense of accomplishment, family security, inner harmony, and self-respect. The study of instrumental values shows us that the students value, more than teachers and police officers, being cheerful and loving, while teachers and police rank higher in importance being broadminded, capable, intellectual, responsible, and self-controlled.

Comparing each group against the others we find the following significant terminal value differences.

One significant difference occurs between Dominant students and the others. True friendship is ranked higher--third--by Dominant students than by Negro students who ranked it seventh, teachers who ranked it tenth, and police officers who ranked it ninth.

Two values significantly differentiated Negro students from the rest. A comfortable life was ranked higher by Negro students (fourth) than by Dominant students (ninth), teachers (fourteenth) and police (eighth). These students ranked national security lower than the rest (seventeenth by Negro students compared to thirteenth by Dominant students, twelfth by teachers, and thirteenth by police).

Teachers rank a comfortable life significantly lower than the other groups. Inner harmony was considered more important by teachers (who ranked it eighth), than Dominant students (seventeenth), Negro students (fifteenth) and police officers (twelfth).

Equality separates police officers from the other groups. Police ranked it fourteenth, while Dominant students ranked it fourth, Negro students ranked it third, and teachers ranked it sixth. Policemen place more value on salvation (they ranked it eleventh) than the two student groups (both ranked it sixteenth).

Turning to instrumental values, we find the following significant differences.

Negro students placed a higher value on being polite (they ranked it eighth) than Dominant students (twelfth), teachers (sixteenth), and police officers (thirteenth).

Clean was ranked significantly lower by teachers, who ranked it seventeenth, than Dominant students, who ranked it fourth, Negro students, who ranked it third, and police, who ranked it sixth.

Police officers placed the value logical higher (ninth) than the students (both groups ranked it eighteenth) and teachers (fifteenth). They placed a lower worth on the value loving (fifteenth) than Dominant students (second), Negro students (first), and teachers (seventh).

The above evidence substantially indicates that hypothesis 14 is correct. There are significant differences between value systems of the four groups. However, it should be noted that there are fewer differences in values between Dominant and Negro students than between these students and teachers and police officers. We see that there are five significant differences between the student and adult groups on terminal values and seven significant differences between students and adults on instrumental values. A total of only six significant differences in terminal and instrumental values occurs between the Dominant

and Negro students. This, most probably, is a true indication of intergenerational differences. Intra-generational differences, probably a reflection in occupational differences, are seen in the nine significant instrumental value differences between teachers and policemen.

B. Synthesis of the Testing of Hypotheses

To assist in the comprehension of the study's findings, the working hypotheses will be presented, followed by their acceptability determined from the analysis of data, and, for hypotheses found not to be acceptable or only partially correct, revised hypotheses, formulated from the findings, will be set forth.

H₁: There will be no significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of teacher and police occupational topics.

Acceptability: The first hypothesis was found to be only partially supported.

Revised hypothesis: There will be more significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions on police occupational topics than between teachers' and police officers' perceptions on teacher occupational topics.

H₂: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

Acceptability: The second hypothesis appears to be correct.

H₃: There will be significant differences between perceptions of police officers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

Acceptability: This hypothesis appears to be correct.

- H₄: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of Negro students versus Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding teacher and police occupational topics.

Acceptability: The fourth hypothesis appears to be supported.

- H₅: There will be no significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of citizenship.

Acceptability: The fifth hypothesis is correct -- there were no statistically significant differences between these adult groups.

- H₆: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding citizenship.

Acceptability: This hypothesis appears to be correct.

- H₇: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of police officers and students (Dominant and Negro) regarding citizenship.

Acceptability: Police and students do vary in their perceptions of citizenship--hypothesis seven is correct.

- H₈: There will be significant differences between the perceptions of Negro students versus Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding citizenship.

Acceptability: Hypothesis eight appears correct.

- H₉: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers support of the police occupation: Police will be positive, Dominant students next in positiveness, teachers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

Acceptability: We found hypothesis nine to be only partially correct.

Revised Hypothesis: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers support of the police occupation: Police will be most positive, teachers next in positiveness, Dominant students will follow in positiveness, and Negro students will be negative.

H₁₀: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of the teaching occupation: Teachers will be the most positive, police officers the next in positiveness, the Dominant students will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

Acceptability: The three teacher content category findings indicated that hypothesis ten was correct. When it came to the findings of the school content categories we found that the groups shifted in positiveness--police were more positive than teachers.

Revised Hypothesis: H_{10A}- There will be a significant, difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of the teaching occupation: Teachers will be the most positive, police officers the next in positiveness, the Dominant students will follow in positiveness, and Negro students will be negative.

H_{10B} - There will be a significant difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of schools: Police officers will be the most positive, teachers the next in positiveness, the Dominant students will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

H₁₁: There will be a significant difference between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of judicial components: Dominant students will be the most positive, teachers next in positiveness, police officers will be negative, and Negro students will be the most negative.

Acceptability: This hypothesis appears correct in regard to legal entities of criminal justice such as courts and laws; however, it appears incorrect in regard to legal personnel such as judges and probation officers.

Revises Hypothesis: H_{11A}- There will be significant differences between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of the courts and law: Dominant students will be the most positive, teachers next in positiveness, police officers will follow in positiveness, and Negro students will be negative.

H_{11B}- There will be significant differences between Dominant students', Negro students', teachers', and police officers' support of judges and probation officers: Teachers will be the most positive, Dominant students next in positiveness, police officers will follow in positiveness, and Negro students will be negative.

H₁₂: There will be no significant difference between Dominant and Negro students' support of youth, but there will be a significant difference between these students', and teachers' and police officers' support of youth: students will be positive and teachers and police will be negative.

Acceptability: This hypothesis was found not to be correct.

Revised Hypothesis: There will be no significant difference between Dominant students', teachers', and police officers' support of youth, but there will be a significant difference between these groups and Negro students' support of youth: Dominant students, teachers, and police officers will be positive and Negro students will be significantly less positive.

H₁₃: There will be no significant differences between Dominant and Negro students' support of parents, but there will be a significant difference between these students', teachers', and police officers' support of parents: teachers will be most positive, students next in positiveness, and police officers most negative.

Acceptability: There were significant differences between Dominant and Negro students, the Dominants being significantly more positive in support than the Negro students. We found that all the groups were positive in support of father. The groups were less positive toward the general concept of parents than toward the specific concept of father. We concluded that the hypothesis was not correct and needed modification.

Revised Hypothesis: H_{13A}- There will be no significant differences between Dominant students', teachers', and police officers' support of the specific concept of father, but there will be a significant difference between these groups and Negro students support of the specific concept

of father: Dominant students, teachers, and police officers will be positive and Negro students will be significantly less positive.

H_{13B} - There will be no significant difference between teachers' and Dominant students' support of the general concept of parents, but there will be a significant difference between these two groups and police officers' and Negro students': Teachers and Dominant students will be positive, police officers will be negative, and Negro students will be most negative.

H₁₄: There will be significant differences between the value systems of Dominant students, Negro students, teachers, and police officers.

Acceptability: A comparison of the four groups' rankings of terminal and instrumental values established that hypothesis 14 is correct.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The preceding chapter presented the results of data gathered from several attitude instruments administered to Dominant and Negro ninth graders of three Lansing, Michigan junior high schools and their teachers, Negro ninth grade students of a Lansing inner-city junior high school, and Lansing police officers. The analysis of data was directed toward investigating fourteen hypotheses pertaining to beliefs regarding components of the compliance system and beliefs toward youth.

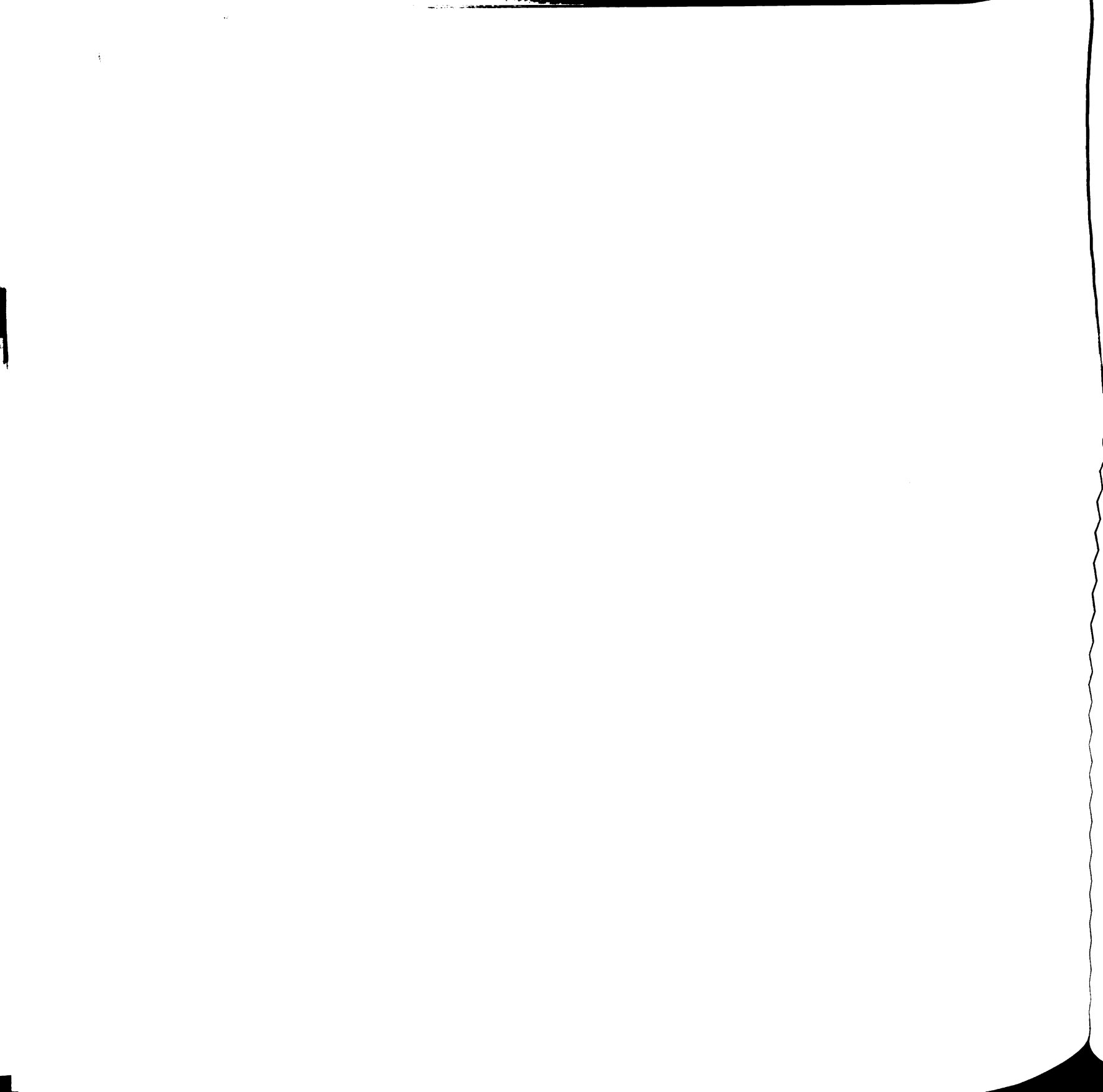
We turn now to a discussion of some of the most interesting findings and will attempt to relate these to our literature review and general theoretical orientation of system-maintenance.

A. Descriptive Beliefs

1. Perceptions of the teaching occupation

Our horizontal analysis of teachers' and police officers' descriptive beliefs shows a mixture of consensus and non-consensus on issues pertaining to both the teaching and police occupations. These two groups were in agreement that major difficulties in teaching have to do with teaching effectiveness. Teachers are hindered in effectiveness because of the constant need for disciplining noisy, fighting, show-off, and disrespectful youngsters. They must improve their teaching by preparing their lessons better, communicating the subject matter in a better manner to students, and decrease their tendency to bore the students.

The concern over discipline and order in the school by teachers is not an unusual finding. Wickman (1938) found in the mid-1920's in his



study of thirteen public schools in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Minnesota, that the problems that most engaged teachers' attention related to the school situation, namely, infractions of classroom rules and routine, and failure to meet school work requirements. Wickman was concerned over this findings, for the personal problems of the child seemed to be subordinated to the problems encountered in teaching and in classroom management. Those personal problems that were expressed in overt and directly annoying behavior were more firmly registered in the minds of teachers than were the inner emotional conflicts of children. Some thirty years later, Smith discussed this problem and its relationship to juvenile delinquency:

A frequent source of difficulty in the schoolroom is the need for preserving "order" at all costs. Under constant pressure from parents and administrators, teachers are often induced to by-pass psychologically approved methods learned in college to save time in gaining control of the situations when trouble arises. Some doubtless regard obedience to authority as something almost sacred and the rebellious pupil as an outcast. Others are temperamentally unfitted for teaching at the outset. Instead of meeting aggressive behavior with kindness, they further aggravate the emotional disturbances of children who have been browbeaten at home by resorting to scolding, ridicule, or the use of force. It is significant that numerous institutionalized delinquents, while probably rationalizing to some extent, blame unfriendly teachers, lacking in sympathy and understanding, for much of their trouble (Smith, 1952: 86).

Similarly, Clark (1951) and Kaplan (1952) in their studies of elementary school teachers, found preoccupation by their subjects with discipline. Discipline, in the teacher's eyes, was needed because of the extensiveness of pupil behavior that violates teachers' personal standards or challenges their classroom authority. Gordon's (1957) study of Wabash High found teachers faced with a major role dilemma in

the performance of their official tasks. This dilemma centered around maintenance of classroom order--the alternatives of student compliance to affectively neutral official teacher authority or the use by teachers of affective reinforcement.

We saw that the concern over discipline was not limited to the adults of the study, many of the young subjects also identified discipline as a crucial teacher problem. Again, this is not a unique finding.

In Sister Theophane and Rasor's (1956) study of 400 junior high school pupils' identifications of traits of a good teacher, good discipline was ranked very high by the subjects. In Taylor's (1962) study of 800 primary and secondary school children's evaluations of good teacher characteristics, discipline--the ability to be firm and keep order, together with fairness about punishment--was ranked highly by the subjects.

McBride's (1964) study of over 2,000 third to ninth graders and Eames' (1965) study of high schoolers, revealed youngsters' awareness of and concern with the disciplinary and restrictive facets of the classroom. These students called for limits to be set in the school. There was resentment against classroom disturbers and antagonism toward teachers who could not maintain order. We can see this same concern by our student subjects in the present study. Typical responses to the teacher critical problem survey were:

"Keeping kids in hand that act up."

"Control of the class."

"Keeping kids in line."

"Running the class in an orderly manner--keeping students quiet, etc."

"Pupil discipline--attitude."

"Trouble with students fighting in class."

"Discipline--children in classes today are too loud."

"Kids back talking teachers."

"Can't make the kids mind most of the time."

The need and concern for discipline in the schools is recognized by adults and youth alike. The problem is complex, involving youngsters' behavior that is perceived as challenging teachers' authority and also involving the concept of "keeping order." Discipline therefore becomes a matter of externally applied measures of control and is a means to an end. Many of our subjects stated that discipline in the form of quietness and order is necessary for learning to take place. It appears that the difficulty in maintaining discipline to keep students quiet, lies in the direct approach sometimes taken to this objective--an approach which seems to raise quiet to the level of an end rather than a means to an end. Perhaps the most effective approach is not to get youngsters quiet and teach, but rather to teach to get them quiet in order to go on teaching.

The emphasis on discipline indicates that our schools are rigidly traditional (Willower, Eidell and Hoy, 1967). That is, schools with highly controlled settings are concerned with order maintenance, and have staffs and students who define youth as undisciplined and in need of punitive sanction. Such unfortunate schools are described by Sexton in the following way:

In a word, it is the "discipline" problem in schools, one of the most serious and continuing problems of education--more extreme in the schools perhaps than in any other organization, including

military and penal institutions. The student is taught (a) that in a democracy he is his own authority, (b) that the essential element of intellectual emancipation is the questioning of all authority. Yet he is denied any genuine authority in the conduct of institutions that govern his life. There is considerable doubt, says Etzioni, "whether the higher in rank can serve as leaders for the lower ranks in coercive organizations. Officials, it seems, must either reduce the coerciveness of the organization or give up hope of effective formal leadership" (Sexton, 1967:68).

The dissatisfaction of all the groups in teacher and youth relations, pointed out in our presentation of data regarding H_{10} , may be a reflection of the rigidly traditional atmosphere of schools. When discipline is seen as a paramount issue, teacher and student relations are bound to seem as poor.⁴⁵

The vertical analysis described significant differences between adult and student perceptions toward the teaching occupation. The younger subjects were more critical than the older ones of teachers' psychological problems, that is, bad tempers, dogmatism, etc., and teacher unfairness. Teachers and police officers were concerned over teaching effectiveness--the style of teaching, the hinderances of the community, the hinderances of the teaching occupation itself. These findings are consistent with other findings. Studies that have measured students' perceptions of their teachers have repeatedly found the best teachers described in terms of psychological references and in terms of fairness--as cooperative, democratic, patient, impartial and fair; one who likes students, appreciates students' point of views; and one who has a sense of humor (Eames, 1965; Patton and DeSena, 1966; Sister Theophance and Rasor, Smith and Cooper, 1965; and Witty, 1947). In a review of this literature of pupil conceptions of teacher Weintraub concluded:

Invariably students state in various ways that they want to be understood, that they want one with a sense of humor, and they

⁴⁵For a critical analysis of the dysfunctional results of the discipline phenomena in the American school system see Silberman, 1970.

want a teacher who can teach.... Over and over again in the literature, the cry of students seems to be to have a teacher recognize each as a unique individual rather than as a number (Weintraub, 1967: 443).

By combining the discussion of differences described in the prior section on vertical analyses (Chapter 2, pages 115-116), and the vertical analysis of the present study, we may state with confidence that the divergences of descriptive beliefs of the teaching occupation pointed out in the previous chapter can be attributed to generational differences.

There were some significant differences between teachers' and police officers' perceptions of how teachers were chosen. Many of the teachers were critical of the way their fellow workers entered the system, an indication of a morale problem. Many of the policemen appeared unaware of the selection criteria. Forty of the officers did not respond or stated they did not know and another thirty-two answered not in terms of specific criteria, but in general (and many times ambiguous) terms of serving the community. With thirty-six percent of the teachers not responding to the "police are chosen" stem or feeling that the police department is limited in selection standards, it appears that some insights by the two types of compliance system agents into each others occupation are needed to facilitate working relationships.

There is a lack of congruency between teachers and the other groups expectation of teachers' service to the community. Much larger proportions of police and students than teachers responses were coded in the "To be a Service to the Community" category on the teacher selection sentence stem. Carson, Goldhammer, and Pellegrin's (1967) study of the personnel of the schools in three Oregon communities indicates a reason for this incongruency. Their data provided strong evidence that

experiences and aspirations concerning community service in the form of participation in activities is quite limited for most teachers.⁴⁶ First, teachers indicated that they did not believe it was appropriate for them to participate widely in activities either in education or other areas of community life. Second, they had not participated extensively in these activities. Third, teachers did not aspire toward a powerful role in decision-making in most education questions, or, for that matter, in other spheres of community life. Their own personal experiences as decision-makers were consistent with their low aspirations, for their role in decision-making was quite limited in matters that extended beyond the borders of the individual classroom. Though teachers do not feel it appropriate to participate in any area of community activity, this is not generalized to their beliefs in the benefits of community participation by the citizens of the community. Many teachers of our study defined good citizens as those involved in the community, and citizenship as contributing to the community. They responded in considerably higher proportions in these terms than did their students or the police officers.

Status⁴⁷ has been shown to be instrumental to job satisfaction.

⁴⁶Jennings and Zeigler (in Sigel, 1970) found, interviewing 286 public school teachers, beliefs in freely expressing themselves on political topics in their classes and, by their actions, to the community somewhat varied by region of country, metropolitanism, years taught, undergraduate major, and education level.

⁴⁷Status is defined as relative position within a hierarchy. By a hierarchy we mean a number of individuals ordered on an inferiority-superiority scale with respect to the comparative degree to which they possess or embody some socially approved or generally desired attribute or characteristic (Benoit-Smullyan, 1944: 151).

"From country to country, we observe a clear positive correlation between the over-all status of occupations and the experience of satisfaction in them" (Inkeles, 1960: 12). There exist several status attributes identified and studied by social scientists, the most popular are: rewards, both economic and psychological; prestige, admiration, given deference, imitated, and centers of attraction; power, the capacity to make or participate in decisions which require others to act in ways in which they could not act in the absence of such decisions (Beniot-Smullyan, 1944; Parsons and Shils, 1951; Pellegrin and Bates, 1959).

The prestige Rating Scales attempt to measure these status attributes.⁴⁸ The teachers' dissatisfaction with their status can be seen by their consistently ranking their occupation on these status attributes, lower than the other three groups. This dissatisfaction appears greatest in their social position in the community, where teachers significantly ranked their occupation lower than did the students and police officers, and in economic position where they ranked their occupation significantly lower than did the student groups.

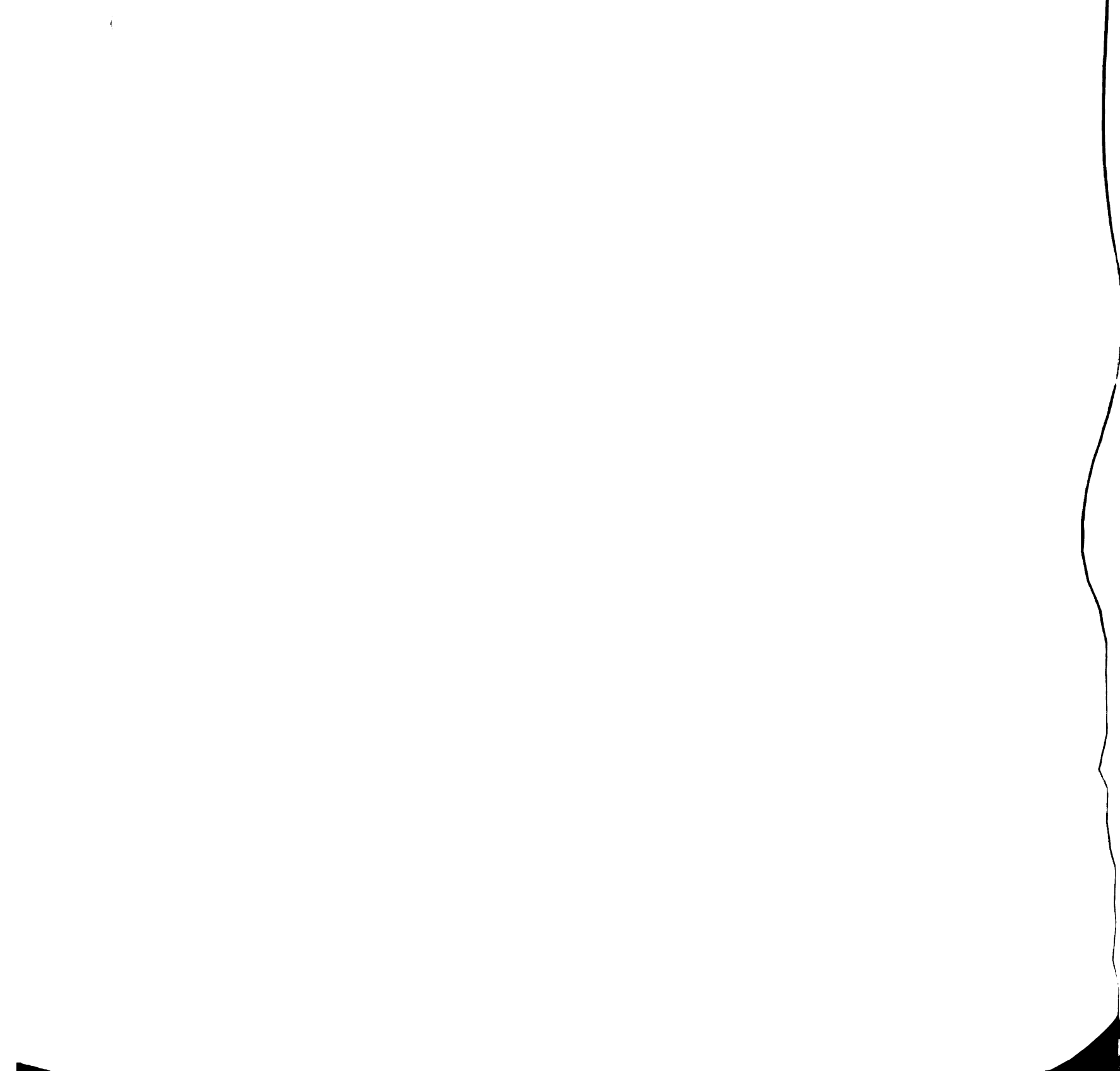
We may speculate that our teacher subjects' lower perceptions of their occupational status is a reflection of the ascribed status given by the community. Several studies of occupational status rankings have found that teachers, as a group have been awarded somewhat less social status than other professions (Hodge, Siegal, and Rossi, 1964; North and Hatt, 1949; Rettig and Pasamanick, 1959; and Warner, Meeker, and Eels, 1960). As two educators state:

⁴⁸ Prestige Rating Scales (a) general prestige and (c) social position pertain to the prestige attribute, (b) influence pertains to power, and (d) economic position pertains to rewards.

When judged in terms of level of education required, or in terms of income earned, teaching does not compare favorably with other occupations. In these ways, the society may be said to hold an image of the teacher that is not commensurate with teachers' claims to full professional status and recognition (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1967: 433).

Getzels and Guba (1955) elaborate on ways communities down-grade their teachers. In their study of teachers, drawn from four school systems in two states, the following role conflicts were identified. First was the socio-economic role. Many strains of the teachers were traced to the fact they were underpaid. They were expected to maintain standards of tastes and living which were out of reach in terms of their salaries. Second was the citizen role. It was found that although the teachers resided in the community, their citizenship was only second class, since the expectations placed upon them in their role as teachers restricted the degrees of freedom of their role as citizens. Third was the expert or professional role. The authors found that though teachers were expected to be professional people in a special field of competence, they were expected to submit to others (school administrators, mayors, city council members, school board members, and so on) at crucial points in their own field of expertness. Relating to the third conflict, the Oregon school districts study revealed:

The power structure in the field of education and in the other areas of community activities studied was identified through the collection of nominations data and the analysis of issues in each community. In not a single case was a teacher discovered to rank among the most influential people in education in the community. At the levels in the power structure where policy formulation occurs, no teachers were found. Rather, positions at these levels are monopolized by individuals in the top administrative positions of the educational system, present and former members of the school board, and other persons who earn their livelihoods outside of the field of education (Carson, Goldhammer, and Pellegrin, 1967: 25).



The preceding points are factors that most probably contributed to our findings that teachers seem to suffer somewhat from an "inferiority complex" with respect to their status. Surely this affects the job satisfaction of the teachers in the present study as it has other public school teachers (see Rettig and Pasamanick, 1960). And it most certainly contributes to the alienation of teachers.

It is interesting to note that though the community seems to assign teachers to a lower status, our junior high school students did not generally do so. Students attributed higher social and economic positions to the teaching occupation than did the teacher and police subjects. Youths are idealistic; what produces the reduction of this idealism toward teachers as they mature should be an important concern of future research.

2. Perceptions of the police occupation

We identified several significant differences between our teacher and police subjects regarding their descriptive beliefs regarding the police occupation. More police officers were concerned with occupational problems and legal binds, while significant proportions of teachers appeared to not be cognizant of the troubles of police, for many did not answer or stated they did not know. Just as teachers were critical of the way the school system selects their peers, many were critical of how the police department selects its employees. Our teachers are concerned with the quality of people entering public bureaucracies. Possibly, this is a result of exposure to higher education where educational administration classes stress the need for better selection procedures for our institutions and teachers' professional orientation

where accreditation is always a main issue. It is interesting to note that in regard to their own selection, a significantly large proportion of police officers (and only a few teachers) answered in universalistic terms--they were selected to serve the community. Several officers were also critical of their role, stating that they have to serve the community in ways that make them "dirty-workers".

The low status of the police occupation was quite evident when looking at the police prestige rating scales. Both adult groups rated police low on the four status variables, but the police officers rated their economic status significantly lower than the teachers' rating of police. The fact that so many of our police subjects appear most unhappy about occupational factors, are critical of their job as community servants, and feel they are in an occupation with little prestige, influence, social position and economic rewards surely reflects police officers' cynicism, lack of job satisfaction, and as we will presently see, their preoccupation with respect. Our findings support learning theory in that they emphasize that those with little hope for success feel powerless. The consequences are serious for there develops a loss of interest in and difficulty in learning control-relevant information (Seeman, 1966; 1967).

Both the teachers and police officers were cognizant of those other than law enforcement problems that are critical to the efficiency of policing the community. High proportions of both groups felt that the critical problems policemen face lie in crucial community problems, such as poverty, discrimination in housing and employment, and violence in our society.

The community's abuse of police, such as the public's uncooperation and lack of concern, lack of respect for law and order, and the unfair press, were also cited as critical problems for police. Such responses were much more prevalent than answers stating that police problems lie in apprehending criminals, solving crime, and controlling drug addicts and drunks, and so on.⁴⁹ Our findings represent an accurate picture of police work. Policemen are considerably more involved in responding to community concerns such as rendering assistance to citizens and giving support for personal or interpersonal problems, than in activities of criminal nature. Estimates of these non-criminal functions of police departments range from 50 to 90 percent of the department's daily activity (Cumming, Cumming, and Edwell, 1956; Gourley, 1953; and Misner, 1967). Our adult subjects appeared to be quite aware of and concerned over the problems acquired in the service function police perform. Our young subjects were not nearly as aware of this police function. These subjects responded more in the stereotypic way--they saw the police as involved mostly in crime control problems. Most adolescents have not been exposed to the police occupation to be aware of the many functions that police perform. Probably, their images of police reflect the "cops and robbers" depiction extensively related by the mass media.

In examining the "community problem" category of the police critical problem survey, we were impressed by the frequency of police officers'

⁴⁹Peabody's (1964) study of superior-subordinate relationships in three public service organizations pertains to our findings regarding teacher police officer perceptions of police problems. He was surprised to find that his police subjects singled out skill in human relations, i.e., the proper way of dealing with citizens, more frequently than any other basis of authority. They even placed greater emphasis on such skills than did the social worker or teacher subjects.

responses dealing with "respect"--peoples lack of respect for laws, for justice, for the courts, and most of all, for police.⁵⁰ Some typical police officer responses to the police critical problem survey are:

"Defense"

"Public mistrust of the police, even though policemen are honest and trying to treat all persons fair"

"Lack of respect for law by people"

"Attitudes of people toward police"

"Back-talk we get from the public"

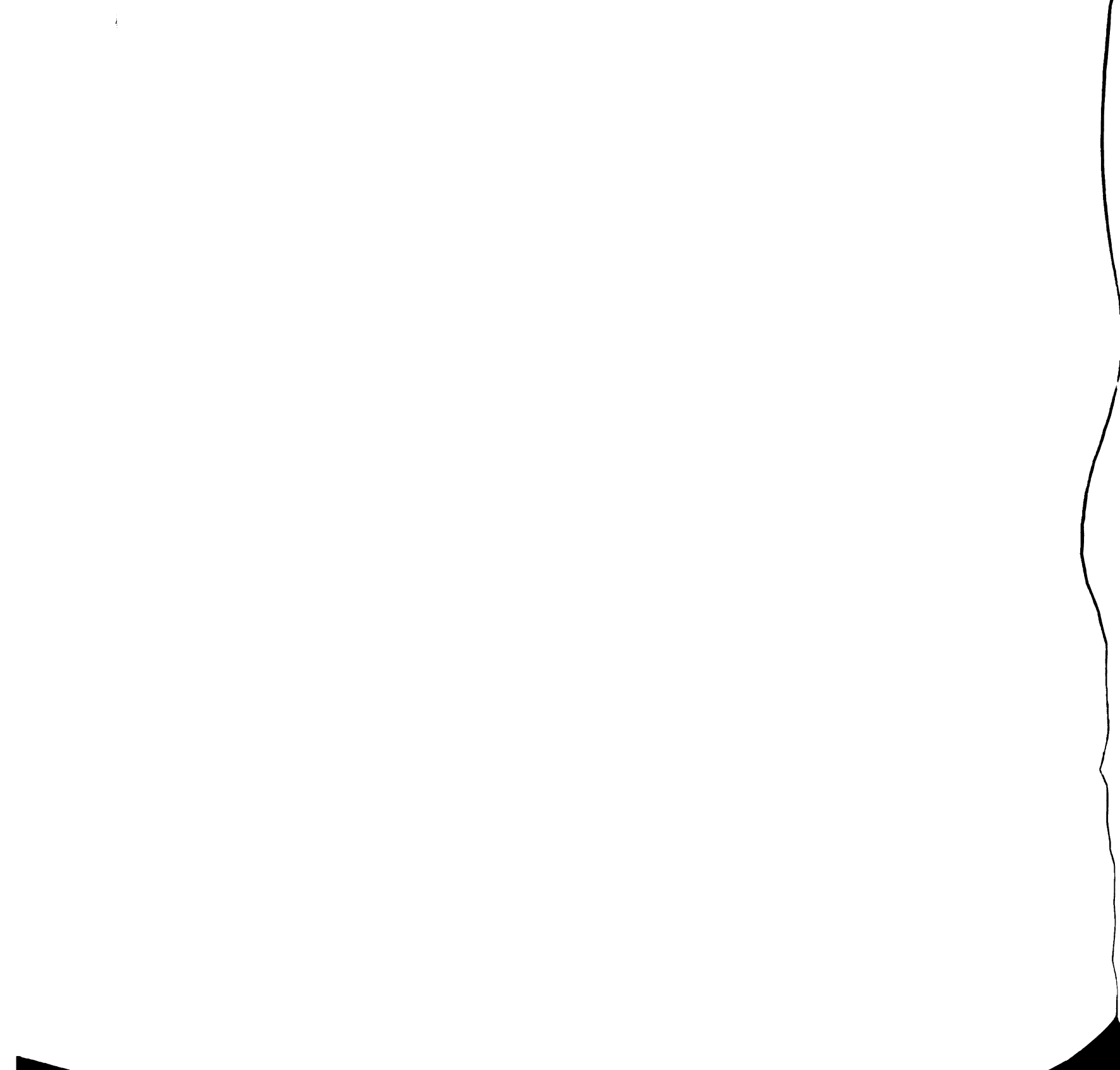
"Smart-alecky kids - those that call us pigs need their heads knocked"

"Failure to get backing from political establishment and the public"

"People just don't have any regard for our laws, courts and police".

Similar findings as ours are prevalent. Several researchers have asked the same or similar questions regarding police critical problems in Oakland, California (Skolnick, 1966), New York City (Niederhoffer, 1967), Chicago (Wilson, in Wheeler, 1968), Boston, Washington, D.C., and Chicago (Reiss, 1967a), Denver (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969), and numerous unidentified cities (Watson, 1967). All reported the same results -- the lack of public respect for police officers is one of the main things that officers dislike about police work. Public recognition appears to be a most important variable for police officers. One theory of why this is so was developed in the central state police study of role theory:

⁵⁰ Note the discussion on the over-concern for "respect" by police and its detrimental effects that several authors have identified in a prior chapter, pages 104-107.



The fact that the job can be seen as easily affording high prestige (low blockage) yet at the same time requiring "pull" --an "illegitimate" means of organizational advancement had become, or was, less important than the end of public recognition (Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966: 91).

It is probable that this central state police phenomena exists in police departments throughout the country. Therefore, the great concern for respect represents a strain toward social status and thus job satisfaction and reward. Our data suggests that though the police subjects of this study may be responding in a form of "reaction formation" by replacing public recognition for organizational recognition, they perceive this quest for social status as being unsuccessful. The police ranked their occupation lower than the other groups on these status attitudes: influence, social position, and economic position. Prestige was also ranked low by the police officers, but teachers ranked the police occupation even lower. Economic position was ranked significantly lower by the police subjects than by the three other groups--a realistic perception of the state of police salaries in our country (Lipset, 1969). Again, this type of response by police officers has been found in several other studies of the police occupation. Banton (1964) attributed this perception of low status (prestige) as a contributing factor in the social isolation of policemen in our country, and Niederhoffer feels that the police response to their own prestige is a reflection of public attitudes. The public bases their status ranking of the police occupation on the lowest ranking member of the department, who happen also to be the most visible representative of the police force. Therefore:

...the whole occupation symbolized by the proletarian cop at the base of the occupational pyramid is accorded the low prestige that is the lot of the working class in America (Niederhoffer, 1967: 21).

Bordua (1968) attributes the loss of personal commitment and poor occupational morale of our country's police to low prestige and low pay. Bayley and Mendelson (1969) feel that the conditions of the police livelihood are at variance with their subjective evaluation of their social station, causing confusion of police officers' determination of their socio-economic status. Police opinion surveys conducted in New York City (McNamara, in Bordua, 1967) and Chicago, Boston, and Washington, D.C. (Reiss, 1967a) confirm these concerns over police pessimism about their occupation. It is interesting to note that two studies of state police organizations contradict these findings. Investigations found state troopers more than satisfied with their social status (Guernsey, 1966; and Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966). It is commonly known that state police officers are perceived by the public as higher in status than local police, that their pay is better than other law enforcement agencies, and that morale and esprit de corps appears much higher than other agencies. These are factors that contribute greatly to job satisfaction. Unfortunately, the greater majority of police in our country are of the local variety, thus do not reap these benefits.

The above findings should give us pause. For if we agree that police officers are agents of the socialization community in that they are visible and salient figures to the young (see pages 110-113), their preoccupation with "respect" and their perceptions of their own low social status has detrimental effects on developing and maintaining positive support toward the compliance system. "Respect" at any price, even if it means "knocking heads" can only bring hostility from the victims and observers of such police behavior. And this is surely what



is happening to our black youth (and many college students) who do not perceive the police as their legitimate protectors and thus are short on the "proper" deference when confronted by police officers.

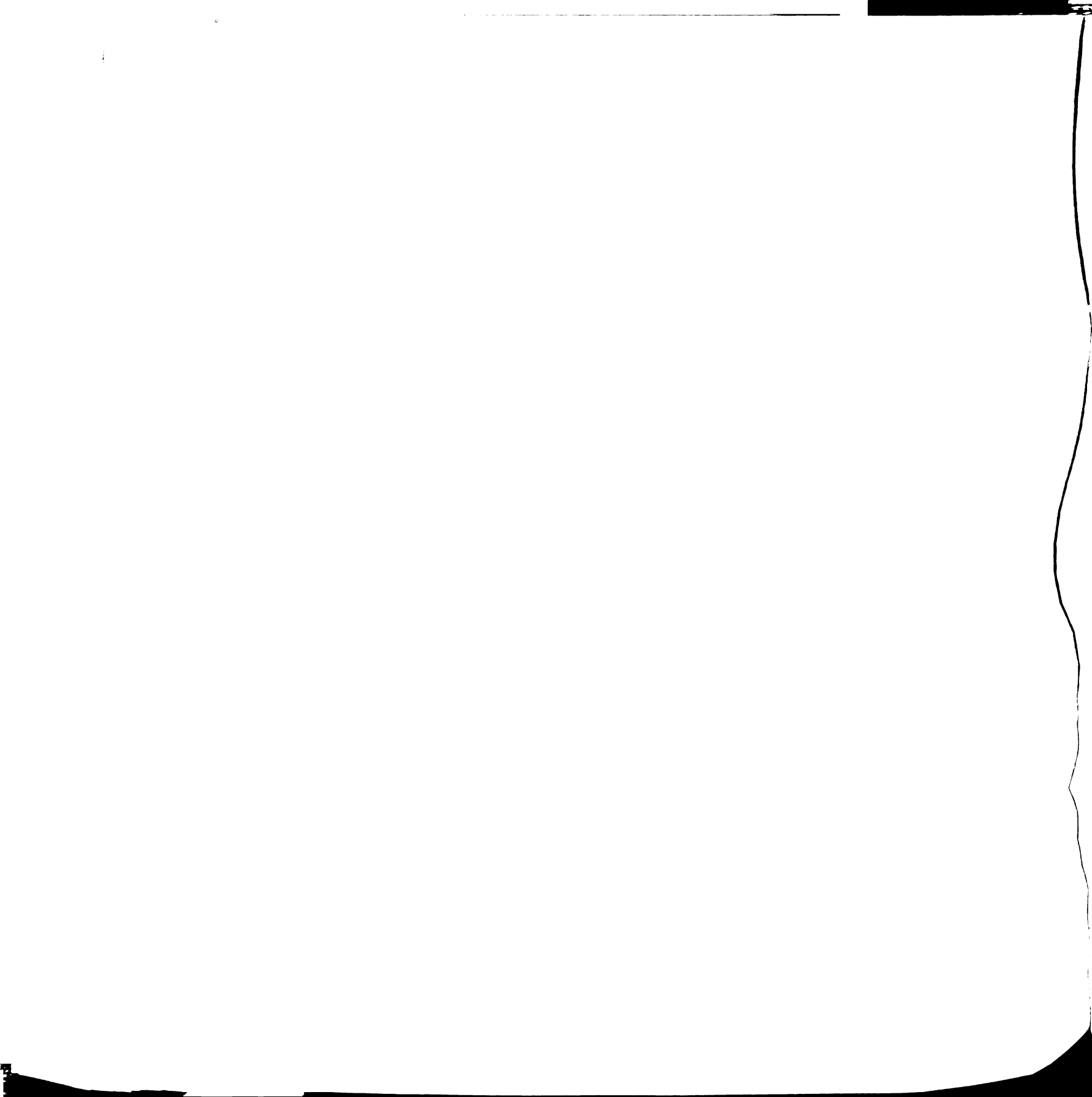
Since teachers are professional direct workers of the socialization community (see page 90), their low status ratings of the police occupation is of interest to us. Perceptions and attitudes regarding police that filter from teachers to students--by direct or indirect processes--may be pessimistic in nature. For example, teachers may discourage their brightest and most favorite pupils from considering law enforcement as a career, not on the grounds that such a function is unnecessary, but that "there are better things in life than being a cop."

Our vertical analysis of the adult and youth groups pointed out several significant differences on perceptions toward the police occupation. Substantially larger proportions of students identified critical problems that pertain to juvenile behavior (no doubt due to their awareness of the rebelliousness of youth and the difficulties in police and youth interrelationships), and law enforcement. Racial problems--mostly in the form of riots--were more predominant in the students than teacher responses. Possibly this is the effect on the young of the mass media coverage of riots. The students were more critical of police than the adults. Larger proportions of students answered not in terms of problems that police have, but the problems they are. Several youngsters described the police as unfair--police are bullies, too strict, don't listen to us, and so on. This then is the police problem in their eyes. This finding is consistent with other studies of youths' attitudes of police (Bouma, 1969; Portune, 1968). Our young subjects were not,

however, critical of the police social status. Both Dominant and Negro students rated the police occupation significantly higher on prestige, influence, social position, and economic position. Youngsters, at least of junior high school age, appear not to reflect entirely the beliefs of their adult socializers on the topic of police. The idealism of youth is evident again. Our student subjects perceived policemen as having more prestige and influence than teachers, and are just about equal in economic position as teachers in the community. Quite a different picture than we saw of the descriptive beliefs of our teacher and police officer subjects.

3. Perceptions of citizenship

How do agents of the socialization community perceive citizenship? How close are the socializers and their charges in perceptions of citizenship? These are important questions in understanding the development of support toward the compliance system. A prime obligation given the socialization community is the development of citizenship responsibility. Such responsibility is necessary for the efficiency of the compliance system. Only through the willingness of people to carry out the duties of a "good citizen", however those duties are defined by society, can inputs be effectively converted by the political system decisions. By acquiring knowledge about citizenship and the willingness to carry out citizenship duties, one develops a competent political self. We know that citizenship related concepts such as good citizens, bad citizens, crime and delinquency, and so on, are ambiguous. Therefore, their connotations differ from person to person. This causes a strain on the political system, for there develops incompatible values between one



socializer and another, and socializers and their charges, regarding the proper behavior and responsibilities of citizens. For example, we stated that the socialization community is supposed to develop citizen responsibility. The willingness of students to participate in organized picket lines and strike against the school would, to some, reflect the achievement of the socialization community in developing citizenship responsibility. However, most would consider a picket or a strike, by our public school pupils, as threatening and irresponsible behavior of youngsters--surely not the type of behavior one would expect of good citizens. One can see that we are all confronted by the questions of what ends are in view for the development of citizen responsibility, and what course of action are to be taken to achieve these ends.

As hypothesized (H_5) there are few significant differences between our compliance system agents' perceptions of citizenship. Teachers' and police officers' views were compatible on the various citizenship concepts. Instead of finding a clash between coercive and rehabilitation thinking (Phiffner, 1967), we find teachers and policemen both leaning toward the rehab end of the continuum, they appear to view juvenile delinquents in terms of humanistic predilections; they are tolerant of youngsters foibles. Counter to the stereotype of the unbending, moralistic "police mind", many of our police subjects were deterministic in their thinking, that is, more officers perceived juvenile delinquents in pathological than moralistic terms, attributed etiology to the social milieu rather than to the individual, and were more rehabilitative than restrictive (Miller, 1958a). Police officers appear to be more sophisticated in the sociology and psychology of delinquency than commonly

believed. No doubt this is the result of the improved training of policemen that has come about in recent years. Unlike our findings, Piliavin and Briar (1964) found that police define delinquents by negative personal characteristics, such variables had higher priority than the offense committed. Phiffner (1967) found policemen to be free-will advocates, and Nelson (in Reiss, 1965) felt that the police belief system is a moralistic judgement that delinquents are willful and should be treated sternly. Such free-will advocacy can be seen in the following statement from the International Association of Chiefs of Police study of juvenile delinquency and youth crime:

Juveniles are not exempt from the enforcement of the law. They must be held to answer for their wrongs against society. Tender years, immaturity, irresponsibility are not excuses for theft, vandalism or violence. The fact that one is an adult does not permit police to use more force in arresting him. Nor does the fact that one is a juvenile, per se, require the use of less. What is unnecessary or excessive force is determined by the totality of the circumstances--of which age is but one factor (O'Conner and Watson, 1964: 33).

Similar to the findings of Dienststein (1960a) and Lentz (1969), our finding shows teachers and police officers socially oriented in their beliefs regarding delinquency. They perceive delinquent behavior primarily as a social disorder disruptive to, yet caused by, the milieu. Juvenile delinquents are seen as kids who suffer from parental neglect, who are just like any other child but is the victim of an unfortunate background. The police officers of Westley's (1951) study were also fond of children and sympathetic with the delinquent. However, they were cynical--the "rise in delinquency" was blamed not on the milieu, but on the courts. The leniency of the court created a situation in which

the kids would sass the policeman back. This appears to be a wide spread complaint among police, our police subjects included, as will be pointed out in a future section on beliefs toward judicial components.

The social orientation of police officers toward the causes of delinquency is most evident in the Pittsburgh area police study. The police officers were very cynical, but here the cynicism was directed more at the community than the courts.

Juvenile delinquency was considered by the police to be a result of "the way we live." Parents, movies, and books shared the blame. The police pointed out that "people don't care, they curse, they're boisterous on the street, they're a bad example for children. They see their elders do it and think they're smart." "Shows, pictures of naked women, comic books, and books" were given their portion of criticism. "Kids see more now than they used to--they see more drunks--see more women smoke and drink--and they get disgusted." The process of delinquent conduct was also said to begin in the school where teachers are forbidden by law "to discipline children properly, and they lose respect for all authority." The pressure of authority has been lessened in school, in the home and in the church. "They don't learn the proper thing in home, the church, in school." The community thus is considered responsible for a good deal, even all by some police, of the misbehavior of juveniles. The community appeared to the police as not only frequently uninterested in helping to control the delinquent, but also responsible for the development of delinquent conduct patterns (Goldman, 1963: 116-117).

Many police officers feel that the parents, corrupt store owners and even lawmakers should be the ones prosecuted, not the children who commit delinquent acts. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Lentz (1969) found that district attorneys, newspaper editors, school administrators, and policemen were less inclined than the general public to advocate a policy of strict legalism in handling juvenile delinquents. This is similar to our findings. We found our "general public", the junior high school students, more severe on their delinquent peers than were teachers (H₆) or police officers (H₇).

The socialization community appears successful in instilling in youth the "badness" of those who run afoul of the law. For the most part, this is a deterrent of delinquency. We see this in some typical responses of our young subjects to the sentence stem Juvenile delinquents ... "are stupid," "are creeps," "should be prosecuted", "are kids who don't care who they hurt, even if it is themselves, they try to have fun in the only way they believe they can have fun," "that a terrible thing to be," "are young troublemakers who try to play it cool", "are social dropouts, estimated low in my opinion," "are kids who make this world a mess," "a stupid spoil brat with MONEY and wants a little excitement," "get rid of them NO GOOD!" "be lock up and stay lock up."

The teachers and police were pretty much in agreement regarding thoughts on good and bad citizens, and the meaning of the term citizenship (H₅). Many perceived a good citizen as an active person who is involved in the community and who is law abiding.⁵¹ As expected, they see the bad citizen as opposite the good one, that is, he is one who is harmful to the community, does not respect the community, is irresponsible, and flouts the law. A sizeable portion of teachers mentioned the psychological effects of bad citizens--they hurt people's feelings, they are prejudiced, and etc. This is a sign of the sensitivity of teachers to human relationships, as well as their liberalness. Again, the importance of usefulness to the community and law abidingness appeared as important concepts for these two groups, as seen in the substantial

⁵¹We found a substantial proportion of both adult and student groups mentioned the citizen-as-participant factor of a good citizen. This is consistent with Almond and Verba's (1965) finding that a larger number of United States respondents than those of the four other countries believed that the individual should be an active participant in the affairs of his community.

number who responded in these categories to the meaning of citizenship. We can see the conservative status quo bent of the police officers in their greater identification, than teachers, of patriotism in defining citizenship. Love of country, respect for the flag, getting out and voting, volunteering for war, were typical police patriotic responses. A sign of police pessimism can be seen in the substantially larger proportion of officers than the others, who felt that a good citizen is a rarity and when you do find one, he deserves publicity. This can obviously be related to our discussion of police emphasis on the need for respect.

Like their teachers and the policemen of their community, a large percentage of the junior high school subjects viewed good citizens as active in their community, and respectful of the laws, bad citizens are harmful to the country and disrespectful of the laws. We see that our subjects, both young and older, conceptualize good citizens in two ways: first, as obedient citizens, a syndrome of responses indicating passivity, obedience, and loyalty, and secondly, as assertive citizens, responses that indicate activism and participation. A national survey of high school students found similar findings (Jennings and Niemi, 1968).

Our data shows that the subjects see good citizens as those who are involved in an interrelationship between themselves and the political system. This interrelationship can be called either reciprocal (Gouldner, 1960) or the process of social exchange (Blau, 1964). Our subjects believe that good citizens obey laws; in return the compliance system will protect them. Political socialization is a process by which reciprocal relationships are developed (Hess and Torney, 1967). The large proportion

of students (especially Dominant students) who identified a good citizen as one who respects the law may reflect the school's effectiveness in socializing children in the rewards of obedience.

By ninth grade many youngsters are well socialized to the value of involvement and law and order. Hess and Torney found that by eighth grade, "The belief that citizens should be interested is socialized, even though the motivation for this interest and the channels through which it can be expressed in action are not clearly defined" (Hess and Torney, 1967: 68). Tapp (1970) indicates that the results of a cross-cultural legal socialization study of about 5,000 middle-school children revealed that most of the subjects saw the functions of laws and rules as the same: they regarded both as special norms that guide behavior and require obedience.

We see more differences between adults and youths on the meaning of citizenship than on the previous concepts discussed. Most significantly, many students answered in particularistic terms. They related citizenship to their school experiences--to citizenship grades in classes, to their actions and language in school. For example, Citizenship means ... "how well you behave," "trying to keep quiet in school," "how you act in school," "not cussing near a teacher," "conduct," "being good all the time," "behaving at school," "citizenship grades," "1, 2, or 3" (this pertains to the citizenship grade students receive from teachers). For many of our youngsters concepts of citizenship that relate to the political system were not as salient as concepts that related to the school--or personal conduct. For other students citizenship is something that pertains to the local level, that is, to one's

neighborhood or city.⁵² It may be that many of our students have not matured to the point where their political selves incorporate universalistic conceptions. It is important for the socialization community to recognize the differential development of adolescents. It may be well to consider new and imaginative socialization techniques for slower developers.

We find that many of our Dominant students did respond to citizenship in broader than local community terms. Over twenty percent of the Dominant students' responses were coded in the patriotism category. We see that a significantly lower percentage of the teachers responded in this manner (only 13 percent) while the largest proportion of teachers responded in terms of "contributing to the community" (46 percent). We may speculate that the local orientation of teachers contributes to the local orientation of many of their students. It appears that patriotic duties as a meaning of citizenship for Dominant students at least, is

⁵²It is interesting to note the inconsistency between our findings and the national political socialization survey (Hess, 1969; Hess and Torney, 1967). In this study the respondents answered more in terms of patriotic duties than our students. These authors tell us that 65 percent of the eighth graders defined a good citizen as one who "is interested in the way the country is run" and "votes and gets others to vote." In our study, patriotic duties were mentioned, in regard to good citizens, by only nine percent of the Dominant students and six percent of the Negro students. In regard to the meaning of citizenship, patriotic duties were mentioned by 23 percent of the Dominant students and 11 percent of the Negro students. Our findings are also somewhat in contradiction to centre-periphery theory of cognitive development suggested in the works of Piaget. This theory suggests that children first become cognizant of the local community in the early elementary school years and they expand their consciousness outwards to embrace the national community in the later elementary school years (see Flavell, 1965; and Greenberg, 1969).

developed before youngsters enter the school system by significant others, other than school teachers (parents, friends, peers, etc.). Patriotic duties, as well as assertive and obedient responsibilities are not salient definitions of citizenship for Negroes. This important point will be elaborated on in a forth-coming section of this chapter.

It is interesting to note that larger proportions of subjects did not respond or stated they "Don't know" on the meaning of citizenship sentence stem than the other citizenship stems. We see that 14 percent of the Dominant students, 21 percent of the Negro students, and about 10 percent of each adult group fell in this category. We can only venture a guess that this represents lack of information or unfamiliarity with the concept, confusion over the concept, or rejection of the concept of citizenship. Further research is needed to understand this no response/don't know phenomena.

The data regarding perceptions of citizenship, with the possible exception of the findings from the citizenship meaning sentence stem, indicates that most of the ninth grades of the present study had incorporated into their political selves the importance of assertive and obedient citizenship. This is logical, for, as examining traditional curriculum materials will confirm, civic education in our schools emphasizes these aspects of citizenship. Helping other people, being trustworthy, joining civic groups, volunteering for civic projects, obeying the rules of the home, church, school and community are prominent concepts in the primary grades and are part of the process of inculcating youngsters with the Protestant ethic. Our findings probably represent

a faithful reproduction of the civic education students have been exposed to throughout all their elementary school years. It is felt, however, that these are "true" beliefs of our subjects. Why the concepts of assertive and obedient responsibilities did not appear in larger proportions in the student response to "citizenship means" is an inconsistency that is difficult to resolve. We can speculate that the students' interpretation of this sentence stem to mean citizenship in particularistic terms (as discussed earlier), is a main variable that accounts for this finding. It would do well for socialization agents to facilitate youth's understanding and broadening of this important concept of citizenship.

B. Evaluative Beliefs

1. Support of police department and police officers

Consistent with public opinion polls and studies measuring youth's attitudes toward police, the findings show that our adult and adolescent subjects, for the most part, positively support the police. This is much less for our Negro subjects, an important finding that will be discussed in a section specifically dealing with Negro subjects' perceptions of the compliance system. We cannot be complacent, however, with these findings and claim victory for the efforts of the socialization community in developing compliance system support. We see that over 20 percent of each student group responded in negative terms on each of the seven police content sentence stems. The proportion of negativism is substantially greater on items that deal with specific police action. Over 50 percent were critical of the way police handle young people

and Negroes; over 40 percent were critical of police handling arrests. Substantially fewer students were positive toward police juvenile officers than police in general. The neutral and don't know responses, and no response increased on this item, a sign of either hostility toward the item or feelings by the subjects that they were unfamiliar with such specialized policemen and therefore had no opinion. An implication of these findings, as pointed out by Maher and Stein (in Wheeler, 1968) is that juvenile officers are prima facie perceived as trustworthy and thus lack of positive support develops because youngsters who are in contact with such police officers feel this trust becomes abused.

It is interesting to compare the results obtained from the junior high school students of the present study with those obtained from institutionalized delinquents. In an examination of delinquent's perceptions of the law and the community, Maher and Stein (in Wheeler, 1968) administered many of the same sentence stems as used in the present study to a group of 14 to 16 year old boys being held at a reception center. The comparisons reveal the following: the delinquents were proportionately less positive and slightly more negative than the Dominant students and slightly more positive and significantly less negative than our Negro students towards policemen. Toward the police department, the delinquents were significantly lower in proportion in positiveness and slightly lower in negativeness than the Dominant students. Our Negro students were slightly more positive in proportion and significantly more negative than delinquents. The delinquents and our Dominant students had about the same proportion of positive responses

toward the police juvenile officer, but the students had a significantly greater proportion of negative responses toward this type of officer. The Negro subjects had significantly lower proportions of positive responses and a significantly greater percentage of negative responses toward juvenile officers. On all three sentence stems, with the exception of the extent of Negro students' neutrals and no responses toward the juvenile officer, the delinquents had significantly greater proportions of neutral and no responses.

It seems that as the sentence stems related more sensitively to the subject's own personal feelings about his perceptions of policemen in action, negative attitudes increased. That is, the closer the item approached situations which the subjects perceived to be real to them, the greater the possibility that they would view the police operation negatively.

The substantial number of youngsters who are unwilling to give positive support to police should be a concern to the socialization community. If this 20 percent and above of our students is a correct representation of hostile ninth graders of the research city, then this is more than enough to be a strain on the compliance system. Of course, if this is a reflection of the general adolescent community of the research city, then we can speculate that the department is hindered in its police functions. It appears that the socialization community is not totally effective in developing positive support toward police.

Interestingly, the increase of negativism in regard to specific police action is apparent with our adult subjects. This may be a reflection of the adult community of our research city since similar

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findings were found in the three city study of public perceptions of their community's criminal justice system:

On the whole citizens are reasonably positive in their attitudes toward the police. They nonetheless report specific attitudes that indicate they think the police in their city could be better, that they do not think of them as free from misconduct, and that they do not believe many police officers behave in a professional manner toward citizens. Negroes are less positive toward police than are whites, but there is a substantial minority within both groups that would opt for a more professional police, if some of the measures are taken as indicators of professionalization of the police (Reiss, 1967b: 113).

Surely the lack of positive support shown by the teachers and police officers on the specific police action items, combined with our findings of low police status evaluations by these adult subjects, are indicators that there is some negative socialization occurring toward police support. Such socialization must be facilitated by the fact that the most important models to our adolescents, the young male teachers and police officers, are the most critical of police. With such large percentages of youngsters feeling the police are unfair in arrests, in handling their peers, and in handling Negroes, along with our previous finding of the many students who identified police unfairness as a critical police problem, it appears that relations between police and youth of the research city need to be explored and improved. These findings are consistent with the results of studies of police and youth relations of other cities (Bouma, 1969; and Portune, 1968).

The police role in this negative socialization occurs in their approach to youth. Gold and Williams (1969) have presented evidence in support of the notion that current practices in the official handling

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of those who commit delinquent acts may actually serve to increase delinquent behavior. We find in normal contacts with youngsters that police officers often adopt an attitude of skepticism. It is the detectives who do much of the interrogating of juveniles. These facts may be responsible for the feelings of youngsters that police are unfair, that they accuse youth of innocent things. It is police practice to inquire about several incidents that have occurred when questioning a juvenile concerning a certain incident. The goal of the police is to try to clear the books of unsolved cases. The officers are persistent in small details. Such police procedures in handling youngsters needs to be challenged. We know that youngsters of junior high school age are most sensitive to sarcasm, how deeply they resent it, and how quickly they will respond to genuine interest in them as individuals. A new approach, based on building a sincere trust relationship, with no degradation of the youngster's self will surely facilitate the breakdown of the adversary relationship that now exists between many of our policemen and youth. The importance of developing this trust relationship to our concern in the development of youth's diffuse support for the compliance system and social control was indicated in the Tapp and Levine study:

The impact of punitive figures may be diminished because of their enforcement techniques. Apparently trust, fairness, credibility, and affiliation as distinct from punitive power are important aspects for accepting the legitimacy of the authority system. Such characteristics influence the likelihood of obedience and may be even more crucial than power characteristics in obtaining compliance. Moreover, an authority system cannot assure tight surveillance over every individual. Emphasizing the trust-affiliative characteristics of the authority figures, increasing the consensual or participatory nature of encounters with the authority systems, and creating

a sense of civic responsibility for maintaining order appear to be more powerful than the threat of sanctions or the risk of legal penalty in internalizing compliance. Ultimately, the model of the persuasive socializer may achieve greater success than the coercive one (Tapp and Levine, 1970: 580-581).

Many police and community relations studies have substantiated the difficulties in the interpersonal relationships between police and Negroes (see Chapter 2, pages 36-44). These difficulties are quite manifest to the public. The awareness of unhealthy police and Negro relations was evident with our subjects. The largest proportions of negative responses to the seven police content stems for each group, appears on the sentence stem "In dealing with Negroes, police are...". The percentages of negative responses ranged from 68 percent of the Negro students to 54 percent of the police officers. The problems of police and minority groups, of course, place a strain on the compliance system, but there is another crucial strain in the conflict of views about these difficulties of the various publics in the community. Most of our younger subjects and their teachers who responded in negative terms to this sentence stem were critical of the police in their part of this. A majority of our young subjects who responded negatively to this sentence stem expressed concern over the extreme coercive behavior of policemen in handling Negroes. No doubt, mass media coverage of police action in the civil rights movement of the South and of riots and demonstrators is one of the main variables in the development of youths' images of police behaviors--youngsters are indeed impressionable. The teachers who answered in negative terms were also critical of the police in their part of this police and community relations problem, but not nearly as extreme in their views of police brutality as their students. We should also be cognizant, however, of the frightening number (though

still minorities) of Dominant students and teachers who felt that the problem in police and Negro interactions lies in police being too lenient, police not shooting them or clubbing them. The 20 percent of the Dominant students and the 25 percent of the teachers who were sub-coded on the police and Negro content sentence stem is the largest sub-coding percentage of any of the police or teacher specific action sentence stems. The problems of race relations are quite evident in our research city.

Following are some typical statements taken from the questionnaires of students and teachers who were critical of the way police deal with Negroes. In the words of our students: In dealing with Negroes, police are ... "more forceful than they should be to us soul people," "wrong, very wrong and trouble won't stop until they change their methods," "too rough and they don't give them a chance at all. They just start clubbing them", "terribly rough and prejudice," "often lost in their own feelings," "too mean because some of them just hate the ground which a negro stands on," "brutal, especially in the South and in other Negro communities," "very violent," "always against them," "unfair! I am white and I think they should give them better opportunities!" In the teachers' words: In dealing with Negroes, police are... "not fair enough in Lansing," "sometimes hampered by racism," "tempted to allow prejudice to interfere," "unfair," "ultra-sensitive because of personal guilt feelings," "often biased," "sometimes too harsh," "against impossible odds of negro prejudice against them and their own prejudices".

In contrast to the students and teachers, the majority of police officers who responded in negative terms blamed the blacks in their

treatment of police, or the public for accusing them of causing the problem in race relations, or the city government for hampering their efforts in controlling blacks. Few felt that they were unfair in any way in their dealings with the black community; a view directly opposite of the perceptions of the Negro subjects. Some typical statements from police officers are: In dealing with Negroes, police are... "in Lansing are very fair and I'm getting sick of hearing 'If i wasn't a nigger I wouldn't be getting this ticket!'" "the enemy," "always wrong in the eyes of the public," "damned if they arrest any for looting or shot one, and then they are also damned if they don't. In many towns they are expected to set back and watch the law being broken and do nothing," "forced by social pressure to be extra lenient," "hampered by politics," "inclined to ignore because police chose to avoid the insults and accusations of so called human relations commissions," "afraid of political repercussions," "subject to extreme profanity and danger," "made to look like monsters," "handicapped because he is supposed to know the good ones from the bad ones. For instance, during a riot a leading citizen--the mayor--asked the commanding officer not to shoot the good negroes." Many of the policemen of our research city are angry. They feel they are caught in the middle of the race problem and are not receiving any help. Marginal, alienated and cynical men are appropriate labels for many of the police officers of this study. We can therefore expect such officers to be "hard" in their treatment of blacks, such as been found to be true in other police studies (Bayley and Mendelsohn 1969; Bouma, 1969; and Westley, 1951). Bouma found that one of four

policemen in three Michigan cities felt that one has to be "tougher when dealing with Negroes since they are more likely to be trouble-makers", while five percent were not sure. He pertinently concluded:

Importantly, only a small minority of police officers associate themselves with the "get tough" approach in the handling of non-whites. It is just as important, however, to recognize that this small minority does exist and that it does not take more than a few repressive-type officers to provide the spark of dissension capable of igniting a disturbance in the inner city. It is only slightly comforting to know that analyses of urban riots and disturbances have shown that it was only a small percentage of the police who acted in an unprofessional and overly-repressive manner. That is all it takes to start trouble. It is also true that only a small minority of inner-city residents are actively involved in the urban riots. It is obvious that statistical minorities are crucially important here and that it is hazardous and misleading to report that only a small number do this or that. Clearly, there is nothing only about it (Bouma, 1969: 101-102).

It is evident there needs to be improved police and community relationships in our research city. Hopefully, the realization by the younger generation of these unhealthy situations will produce the needed changes in the future.

We can conclude by stating that though the public, younger and older generations, generally positively support the police and that the necessity of a police force is realized, there is much dissatisfaction over some crucial police and community relations variables. These include police and youth relationships, police and Negro relationships, and police actions in arresting people. The idealistic character of youngsters is not present, they are more sober and realistic on these issues. Our adult subjects were even more positive in their statements about police in general and specific police actions than our students.

2. Support of schools and teachers

The measurement of attitudes towards schools and school personnel has been neglected. Of the few studies that have attempted to gather youths' perceptions toward these topics, most have concluded that the younger generation has no great love for their schools. The studies have been inconsistent in their findings of youths' attitudes towards their teachers. Some found youngsters positively supportive, while others found youngsters very anti-teacher. There has been very little comparative work done examining the attitudes of respondents towards several compliance system components. It is hoped that the present study will help fill in this gap. The findings of the present research show that our subjects, both young and old, were slightly more positive toward the school than toward the police department. For example, positive responses of the four groups ranged from 61 percent for police, to 50 percent for the Negro student, on "The school...", while positive responses on "The police department..." ranged from 57 percent for the teachers and 34 percent for the Negro students. Except for the Negro sample, positive responses were less positive toward teachers than toward policemen. Interestingly, the Negro students were more positive and less negative toward teachers than toward police officers. More important than the proportion of positive responses is the extent of negative responses. We see that the negative responses toward schools and teachers were generally more extensive than toward police. Negative responses on the general school sentence stems ("The school...", "In school...", and "Studying...") and the general teacher sentence stems

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("Teachers...", and "Most teachers are...") run over 30 percent for the students, and ranged for the adult groups from over 15 to 37 percent. Again, we can compare delinquents' responses with our young subjects' responses. The Maher and Stein (in Wheeler, 1968) study and the present study used the following sentence stems, "In school...", "Studying...", and "Teachers...". We find that the delinquents were significantly less positive proportionately than Dominant students, but also significantly less negative in proportion to Dominant students on the two school content items. In regard to Negro subjects' responses delinquents were significantly less positive in proportion and about the same in negative responses toward school, and significantly less positive in proportion and significantly less negative in proportion toward studying. Both student groups had significantly less proportions of positive responses than delinquents and significantly greater negative responses than delinquents towards teachers. Again, the delinquent group had significantly larger proportions of neutrals and no responses than our student groups.

In examining the responses of the students on the school content sentence stems we were impressed with the extent these subjects related statements that referred to the boredom they experienced in school. Some typical responses from our young subjects are: The school... "I go to is a bore", "is very boring to me", "should have more activities going on," "is necessary I guess but dull, routine and very rigid," "is boring and what we learn could be compressed into about one hour a day," "is dumb," "is a place where people get bored." In school... "my life is wasting away," "you rot," "I think of what I could be doing at home," "is a bore," "I find myself bored," "you get bored," "there isn't

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nothing to do." Studying... "bores me," "takes up time and in many cases is useless anyway," "I hate," "isn't a way of learning anymore, it is simply a learning of facts for a test, not learning for the benefit of the child," "is a mere waste of time," "is boring," "it helps but it is so boring!" "is dumb," "is hard, boring," "is a drag".

Since so much dissatisfaction with school is due to the drab monotony of regimented, uninspiring classroom endeavors, and boredom according to Smith (1952), is a friend of chronic truancy, there can be no doubt that drastic and imaginative new programming is needed in our school systems. Surely there is a positive correlation between the problem of discipline we discussed earlier and school room boredom. After all, misbehavior does take some of the drabness out of one's school day.

Boredom will always remain the greatest enemy of school discipline. If we remember that children are bored, not only when they don't happen to be interested in the subject or when the teacher doesn't make it interesting, but also when working conditions are out of focus with their basic needs, then we can realize what a great contribution to discipline problems boredom really is (Redl, 1944: 53).

The police officers' evaluative beliefs of the school were quite different than the beliefs of the students. These responses revealed a high value for education and indication of the Protestant ethic--work hard in school and you'll receive your just rewards. The school was seen by the police as a necessary instrument in the building of children's morals. Some typical police responses are: The school... "a real beginning for children just as the home," "is the guidelines by which our children learn the values of respect, honesty, good judgement, and education," "should be a place of learning in values, responsibilities, morals, good citizenship, self control, discipline, respect for authority, creative development, etc., in addition to academic matters," "is our

only hope for better understanding of things that are in our environment," "offers all a chance". In school... "you can best stay out of trouble and get a good education," "is the best time in ones life". Studying... "is education," "anything is the best answer," "promotes learning, learning promotes leaders, leaders we need if they have learned to be fair, kind, and honest," "helps," "is often a necessary drugery."

We noticed a paranoiac quality of several police officers' responses toward the school. These subjects viewed the school as one of the last savers of our children's morals, yet the schools have failed miserably at this crucial task.

As mentioned in regard to negative responses toward police, we also stress that we should be concerned over the substantial minority of subjects who perceive the schools and teachers in negative terms. Again, this is more than enough to put a strain on the compliance system, of course, especially on the educational system of the research city. Not only does it appear that the socialization community is not totally effective in developing positive support for police, it is less than totally effective in developing positive support for schools and teachers. Unfortunately, there has been less thought given to developing effective socialization techniques for support toward schools than for police.

Two studies that looked at youths' attitudes came up with findings similar to ours. Johnson and Stanley (1955), found no significant differences in attitudes towards authority between their delinquent and non-delinquent subjects, but both groups expressed significantly greater hostility toward female (teachers) than male (policemen) authority figures. Bouma (1969) found that just over half of his student subjects

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thought that teachers and principals were "pretty nice guys," while 70 percent of them thought of the police that way. Twenty-three percent of the students rejected the idea that teachers are pretty nice. It should be noted that the descriptive beliefs regarding the teacher and police occupations of both Bouma's subjects and our students were higher for the prior than latter occupation. The ambivalence is evident. Though youngsters think that being a teacher is a better job than being a policeman, teachers in general are not quite as positively supported as police in general.

It is of interest to note that there are indications of morale problems within the police department and schools. The highest proportions of negative teacher and police officer responses on the general police and school content sentence stems occurred on the ones that referred specifically to their respective organizations. Thirty-five percent of the police officers responded in a negative manner to "The police department...", and 37 percent of the teachers responded negatively to "The school...".

Though there appears to be less positiveness and more negativeness toward the general topic of teachers than the general topic of police (except for the Negro group), the opposite seems to be true in regard to specific teacher actions when compared to specific police actions. Generally, our subjects were not as critical of the teachers' handling of youth and Negroes as they were of police officers'. The police subjects were generally as critical of teacher relationships with youngsters as police relationships with the younger generation. Again, their dissatisfaction was based on the problems the younger generation presents to

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adults and the fact that teachers are too lenient with kids. Policemen appear angry; they see compliance system components as being taken advantage of by young people and they feel that it is about time to use the "big stick" to alleviate the problem.

The biggest differences occurred between our subjects' perceptions of how compliance system agents deal with Negroes. In comparing responses on the two sentence stems pertaining to police and teacher dealings with Negroes, we find some large percentage differences. Twenty-nine percent more Dominant students responded in positive terms to teacher than police handling of Negroes, while 31 percent fewer responded in negative terms to teachers than police handling of Negroes. For Negro students it was plus 17 percent on positive terms and minus 25 percent on negative terms. For teachers it was plus 23 percent positive and minus 25 percent negative. For police officers there were about three percent less who responded in positive terms to teachers than police handling of Negroes, but also 17 percent less responded in negative terms to teachers than police handling of Negroes. The big difference occurred on the neutral/no response category where 19 percent more of the police subjects fell on the teacher and Negro sentence stem than police and Negro stem. It appears that 21 of the police officers were noncommittal on their views of teachers' handling of Negroes, while only three officers did not respond to the police and Negro stem. The police sample was consistent in their negative responses with the teacher and Negro stem as they were with other specific action stems. Of the 60 officers who responded negatively, 53 felt that the blacks were to blame for the problem or that the teachers were too soft on them.

Bouma (1969) was also interested in junior high school students' perceptions of minority groups' treatment by the compliance system. The students were asked whether school personnel treated Dominant and Negro students alike. Less than half of the students thought so. Similar to our findings, considerably fewer Negro than Dominant students felt that teachers' discrimination was not present. Unlike our findings, however, perceived racial discrimination by teachers was almost identical to perceived discrimination by the police. While 45 percent of the youngsters thought teachers treated Dominant and Negro students alike, 44 percent of them felt the police acted that way.

Though teacher and black youth difficulties are not as manifest as police and black youth problems, there still is a substantial minority of our subjects who perceive the prior situation as unhealthy (over 30 percent of each group answered in a negative manner to the teacher and Negro sentence stem). The strain is there, and like the previous finding regarding perceptions of police and Negro relationships, most of the students and their teachers who responded in negative terms were critical of the teaching profession in their part of this school and community relations problem, while most of the police officers who answered negatively blamed the black youth or teachers' softness in handling blacks.

The difficulties between teachers and their students in general were more manifest than problems between teachers and their Negro students (the reader will recall that this is opposite to our findings on the Police content sentence stems). The largest proportion of negative responses of the seven teacher content stems, for each group, appears on "In dealing with kids, teachers are..." (it should be noted that a substantial percentage of the subjects responded also negatively to police

handling of youngsters). The percentages of negative responses ranged from 45 percent for Dominant students to 35 percent for Negro students. Many of the Negro students were non-committal, the largest portion, 39 percent, were neutral or did not respond. Bouma (1969) found similar results as ours. His junior high school subjects expressed markedly negative feelings about the way teachers treated different categories of students, though his findings were dissimilar in that these students perceived school personnel as being less fair than were the police. The problem of discipline discussed earlier is surely a reflection of this teacher and student strain in the school system.

We can conclude that, in general, school and teachers are positively supported and that their necessity is realized. Large proportions of students described studying in negative terms, while large proportions of their socializers perceived the positive aspects of studying. The conflict in generational views is evident on this concept. Our subjects were most concerned over teacher and student relations, large percentages of each group described this relationship in negative terms. We saw that a significantly larger proportion of police officers and Negro students, than Dominant students and teachers, described teacher and Negro relations in negative terms. This is an indication that race is a more salient variable for policemen and Negroes than Dominants and teachers.

An important question is, why is it that though the general topic of teachers is perceived in a less favorable light than the general topic of police, the subjects still perceived teachers' handling of youngsters and minority groups to be better than police handling of such groups? One can conjecture that the reasons lie in the different roles

played by the two occupations. In most instances police confrontations with youth are negative. The child has caused some type of trouble and the policeman determines if he is the guilty one and then he must decide what action to take against the child. On the other hand teachers and youth have many positive, nonthreatening, affectionate relationships. Another difference may be in the image the mass media emphasizes about the two occupations--teachers in a helpful, passive light, and police in a coercive, aggressive light. Another may be, of course, that policemen are more prejudiced toward youth and minorities than teachers and thus respond to these groups in an objectionable manner. A likely reason lies in the difference in personal values of those who became teachers and police officers. In their discussion of the types of people who choose to be public school teachers, Brookover and Gottlieb stated:

For those who choose teaching as a profession, specific value patterns can be identified. The individual who enters the teaching field tends to express values which reflect a desire to work with people and to make the world a better place in which to live. With these more altruistic orientations come an expressed rejection of material wealth and comfort. This "help other" attitude should not be interpreted, of course, as being characteristic of all teachers at all times. As Lieberman notes, there are many reasons people either select or reject a specific type of occupation, and a blanket generalization lacks empirical validity. Nevertheless, evidence cited here lends support to the proposition that those with the teacher affiliation, regardless of academic level, are more likely to hold the "help other" attitude than those who choose occupations which are not people centered (Brookover and Gottlieb, 1964: 307-308).

The issue of values will be elaborated on in a future section discussing the value differences of our subjects. It is hoped that future research that combines an interest in both police and community relations, and school and community relations, will be able to supply more answers to the above question.

3. Support of judicial components

Our subjects varied quite a bit in their support of judge, court, law, and probation officers. The most positive support went to the concept of judge. Over 60 percent of each group responded in a positive manner on the sentence stem "A judge is...". Teachers especially looked on favorably toward judges, 77 percent answered positively. The least to receive positive support were the courts. The group with the largest proportion of negative responses was the one that is in most contact with the courts--42 percent of the police subjects responded in negative terms to "In court...". Except for the teachers, probation officers also did not receive a large amount of positive support (67 percent of the teachers were positive in their responses toward probation officers). Again a substantially large percentage of police officers (34 percent) answered negatively and again this happens to be the group most in contact with probation officers. Except for the Negro sample, the majority of the groups gave positive responses to the law content sentence stem. However, a substantial minority of each group responded in negative terms. Larger proportions of each adult group than student group responded negatively to "The law...".

We are again concerned over the extent of negative responses related toward these important components of the compliance system. Part of the many difficulties causing inadequate judicial systems such as the overload of cases, unqualified judges, overworked and underpaid court workers, inequalities of sentencing, corruption, and so forth, must be a result of this lack of positive support and apathy. What is most disconcerting is the extent of hostility of our socializers toward judicial components.

Surely the discontent of many teachers and police officers, though this dissatisfaction may be justified, facilitates the incomplete socialization of some of the younger generation. There is great potential for the socialization community to effect youths' beliefs, for large percentages of our students had not formed opinions toward the judicial components--they answered in neutral terms or not at all. The youngsters have not had enough exposure to judges, courts, and probation officers to form firm evaluative beliefs toward them. This is a fault in our socialization processes toward compliance system support.

In comparing our young subjects' attitudes toward judicial components with the results of the Harris (1968) poll of public reaction of crime and corrections, we find our youngsters are not as positively supportive as the nationally sampled teenagers. Harris reported 91 percent of a group of 200 teenagers stated they had a lot or some confidence in judges (compared to our 68 percent positive for Dominant students and 61 percent for Negro students). The same can be said in comparing attitudes towards probation officers. The Harris poll found 90 percent of the teenagers had a lot or some confidence in probation officers and very few stated they were not sure (compared to our low 42 percent positive for Dominant students and 29 percent positive for Negro students, and 35 percent and 54 percent neutral or no response for Dominant and Negro students respectively). It appears that there may be some specific variables in our research city not generally evident in other places, (for instance, general attitudes of the community, mass media presentations of the city's judicial workings, inefficiency of the courts, and so on), producing negative socialization toward judicial components.

Hopefully, this can be examined more thoroughly in future research.

While attitudes toward judges and probation officers of the youngsters of the present study may be atypical, their non-commitment and negativism towards the courts appear more wide spread. It may be that anti-court sentiments are more common in our communities than we would like to think. Reiss (1967b) found, in his study of public perception of criminal justice, that one in five people felt they were insufficiently informed to make judgements about the courts. Nonetheless, 46 percent of the citizens sampled were negative toward the courts. More than half were in a pro-police-anti-court position. Of all interviewed, 40 percent believed that the rules favored the offender too much and 30 percent did not think that the courts were effective. The following sentence stems were used in the Maher and Stein (in Wheeler, 1968) study of delinquent boys and the present study: "A judge is ...", "In court...", "The law...", and "Probation officers...". Percentage comparisons reveal that the delinquent group had much lower proportions of positive responses than both student groups on all four judicial content sentence stems. Our student groups had significantly larger percentages of negative responses than the delinquent group on the judge stem, but a much larger proportion of delinquents answered neutral or no response. The delinquents had a significantly greater proportion of negative responses than the student groups on the court stem, slightly larger percentage of negatives on the law stem, and significantly less in proportion of negatives on the probation officer stem. Except for the Negro subjects' neutral and no responses on the court and probation officer stems, larger proportions of delinquents than students fell into these

noncommittal categories. We see that the Judge is seen more by the delinquents than our youngsters as an impersonal and uninterested figure, the court is much more a target of hostility for the delinquent group than our youth groups, the law receives much less positive support from delinquents than our students, and probation officers receive much more positive support from the delinquents than our students. Delinquents, of course, had many more negative experiences with Judges, in courts, and "with the law," than our young subjects, while they have had many more opportunities to experience assisting and trusting probation officers.

It appears that Dominant students are not quite as severe, at least at about 14 years of age, as the adult public. We see, in inspecting the Criminal Justice Scale results, that they generally felt that the criminal justice system is fair to citizens and that it is one's obligation to assist the court by being truthful. They were more sure of this than their teachers. The Negro subjects were significantly less convinced of this than other types of groups.

The law is seen in a predominately positive light by our students. Dominant students' beliefs were more definite toward the law than the other judicial component concepts. The fewest students fell into the neutral and no response category (only 11 percent) for the law stem than the other judicial stems. The Negro students did not have such absolute beliefs, 31 percent fell into the neutral and no response category. Law is one of the first concepts to be instilled in a child's political self--at least for the Dominant child. Of the various kinds

of political or other functions that the youngster most readily associates with government, the making of laws is very prominent (Easton and Dennis, 1965). Though the majority of the students were favorably disposed, a substantial minority were critical of the law (25 percent of the Dominant students and 24 percent of the Negro students). Coombs (1968), Hess and Torney (1967) and Tapp and Levine (1970) found that upper grade elementary school pupils were not nearly as idealistic about the law as lower grade children. Older youngsters saw the compliance system in less absolute terms, recognizing the possibility that laws may be defective and sometimes unfair, even though they must be obeyed.

Tapp and Levine's (1970) study of the legal socialization of American Dominant and black pre-adolescents revealed that older children were less likely to believe that all rules are fair, and that breaking rules is permissible if the rule is less important than the reason for breaking it. They state:

Children even at these younger age levels recognized that the law is not infallible and absolute in its sovereignty, but that there are just and legitimate reasons for transgressions. Their judgments indicated that developmentally they have moved beyond the stage of believing that rules and laws are fixed and unchangeable (Tapp and Levine, 1970: 573-576).

Consistent with these findings, most of the ninth graders of the present study, who answered in negative terms, were flexible in their interpretation and did not see the law as always fair. In their words: The law... "isn't always fair," "is unfair," "some of these law is not fair to the poor people," "is used to enforce people--sometimes it is not fair at all," "is the people who cuts off our freedoms," "is not fair in many cases. They think of the people as a whole, not as an individual, "is

to hard in some cases," "is made by white" (a Negro respondent), "is just for the majority," "is not always good," "is to make people feel how low they are," "should be changed in some ways."

In looking at the teacher responses we find that substantially larger proportions of these subjects than their students answered positively toward judges and probation officers, but significantly fewer in proportion answered positive toward the law. Teachers were significantly more negative, in proportion, than their students toward the law, while a larger proportion of students than their teachers were negative toward probation officers. Comparisons between teachers' and their students' responses on the court and law content sentence stems and the criminal justice scale are consistent with Hess and Torney's (1967) comparisons of political views of teachers and pupils. Teachers express less absolute trust and were more disbelievers in the fairness of the criminal justice system than their students. Some typical negative teacher statements are: In court... "there are too many cases," "the person of low income finds costs prohibitive of receiving justice against the rich," "things go too slowly," "not all is presented," "justice for all does not prevail," "Many people who are guilty get off due to technicalities in court or arrest procedures." The law... "has too many ways of getting around things," "is not the same for all socio-economic levels," "is not always morally correct," "perhaps has changed too much," "protects the rights of criminals more than the rights of their victims," "sometimes is unequal; why should politicians have more law freedom than the average citizen or Negro?", "could be more strict on juvenile offenders; then there would be fewer offenders," "is not God," "is just for some".

Possibly, there are those agents of the compliance system, due to their cynicism, who contribute to the establishment of the lack of positive support for the judicial system by some of the younger generation. The realization by these socializers that not all is equitable within the criminal justice system may facilitate the negativeness and confusion of some of their charges. This is a most important issue for future research in the process of political socialization.

In comparing teachers' and police officers' responses, we see that considerably more teachers were positive and less were negative on the judicial content areas of judge, probation officers and court. Substantial proportions of both groups were negative toward the law (34 percent of each group). We see an ordering in diffuse support toward the judicial system. In general, Dominant students, of junior high school age, are most positive supportive, next are their teachers, who are not quite so idealistic, probably a quality of most adults. The police officers are next and as we shall see they are cynical in their views of the judiciary. Negro students were the least positive in their support, yet they were not the most negative, predominately they did not commit themselves to either side.

When we compare our teachers' responses to the adult general public survey by Harris (1968), we find them considerably less confident in judges and probation officers than the polled public (about 90 percent of the respondents of the Harris poll stated they had much or some confidence in these public officials). This is another piece of evidence that some specific variables in our research city are causing a strain in judiciary and public relations and producing some negative socialization toward judicial components.

The cynical, anti-judiciary policeman identified by so many writers of the American police system, exists in this study's research city. Our police sample produced proportionally more negative response than the other groups on the four judicial content sentence stems (the percentage of negative police responses are: 26 percent on judge, 34 percent on law, 34 percent on probation officer, and 42 percent on court). In examining the police officers' responses to the judicial component sentence stems and the criminal justice scale we found that these subjects agreed that one must assist the courts by being truthful, must obey the laws no matter what, and that judges and courts are fair to citizens, but they feel that the judicial system is most unfair to police officers' attempts to bring "the guilty to justice". Policemen cannot understand why the judicial system is so fair in their treatment of the public, while this consideration and fairness is not extended to them. This frustration adds fuel to their anger. In his study of over 100 policemen, Goldman found "only 2 percent replied that the court was fair to the police, and that if the policeman had a logical reason for referral, he would be upheld by the judge" (Goldman, 1963: 103). The police officers of the present study responded as follows: A judge is ... "easy on accused, critical of victims and police," "too confident in his ability," "lax," "not fair," "too politically inclined," "sidestepping his duties by not imposing fair punishment in some cases, leading to the same people repeating, and new ones trying". In court... "too much time wasted in Lansing Municipal Court by the judges trying to steer clear of the long cases," "procedures may need to be modernized to fit present-day needs. Sentences now appear to be inconsistent," "judges are unfair to society, too much pampering," "is a circus," "the guilty have it made," "juries

are led and misled by attorneys and actual guilt seems of only second importance," "the defendant is given all the breaks," "too many 'deals' are made," "you might as well give up," "policemen are the ones on trial," "witnesses are too often brow beaten," "too many shyster tactics". The law... "not equal," "many times is made for too few," "is not enforced equally," "is good, if it is not twisted with each case just for the freedom of that small minority of people who break it."

Many have discussed the "warfare" between the judiciary and the police. Wilson (1968) describes the problem in terms of the conflict between the individualistic, rule-oriented perspective of the courtroom and the situational, order-maintenance perspective of the patrolman. In similar terms, one can describe the conflict as that between two models of the criminal process: the due process model of the court which views the criminal process as conforming to the rule of law and the determining of legal guilt versus the crime control model which emphasizes efficiency through rational administration or the determining of factual guilt (Cicourel, 1968; Packer, 1968; and Skolnick, 1966). The policeman senses this conflict without quite understanding it and this contributes to his uneasiness at having his judgement tested in a courtroom. Several authors attribute the police and judicial problem to: the differences in perceptions of justice, the police view of the dismissal of charges as rejection of their expertise, the constant battle of boundary maintenance in determining guilt and innocence and deserving from undeserving (both policemen and judges define themselves as "craftsmen" in determining justice), the tendency of judges to blame police for "not knowing the law", judges working more closely with like-minded and congenial lawyers than

with police officers, and the creation by the courts of harsh working conditions for police, that is, the failure to facilitate the autonomy of the working policeman (Reiss and Bordua, in Bordua, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; and Wilson, 1968).

To the judge, the police officer "doesn't know the law" and, worse, doesn't understand the need to decide quickly. Because the judge must decide quickly, he reduces the chance of injustice by relying on dismissals and suspended sentences. To the patrolman, however, it appears that he and not the defendant is on trial (Wilson, 1968: 52).

Most importantly, there appears to be a universal perception by policemen that the judiciary's leniency to criminals and juvenile delinquents is damaging to the very fabric of our society. It is felt that due to this leniency deterrence of crime is just about impossible. Studies have shown that police officers do not perceive jurists as being fair, just, or right in their sentencing and disposition behavior (Goldman, 1963; Reiss, 1967a; Skolnick, 1966; and Wilson, 1968).

The police cynicism toward the judiciary is quite evident. A police officer sees his experience with the court as an unjust and tiresome chore. He puts in over-time at the court with no additional pay. Not only does he feel that "his day in court" is forfeited, but he feels he is being tried because of the defense attorney's interrogations. The defense attorney, of course, tries to make a fool of him. The officer is frustrated in his attempt to make an arrest stick because of the political scheming of the courts, and the fix. He may feel that the only way in which the guilty are going to be punished is by the police themselves. The police officer's experiences with the judiciary are crucial to his psychological well-being. If the arrestee is declared innocent, the court looks upon the police officer as incompetent, a direct

reflection on his self-esteem. The self-esteem may be further damaged if a false arrest charge is brought against him. But his self-concept is greatly enhanced when he obtains a conviction. He has now accomplished something, a boost to his competent self. Reiss and Bordua (in Bordua, 1967) hint at the effects of the judiciary on the police self-concept in their defining the role reversal policemen experience. In the police officers normal everyday experiences with the public his authority is paramount in interpersonal interactions. But in contact with higher status judges, prosecutors, and lawyers, police are stripped of the authority position in the interaction--the role situations are reversed:

This status reversal plus the generalized lower prestige of police when taken together with the institutionalized distrust of police built into the trial process creates a situation where the police not only feel themselves balked by the courts but perhaps, even more fundamentally, feel themselves dishonored (Reiss and Bordua, in Bordua, 1967: 39).

The unhappy contacts police officers have with the courts has an effect on their perceptions of the law. These experiences show them that the law is not inviolable. It is used to further political ends, one can purchase the law, and one can be punished for enforcing it because of the time spent in attempts at prosecution. The police officers tend to lose respect for the law. In time, policemen develop beliefs that are in conflict with the presumptions of criminal law. Instead of feeling that a man is innocent until proven guilty, police officers maintain an administrative presumption of regularity--a presumption of guilt (Skolnick, 1966).

Probation officers are also a part of this anti-judiciary syndrome. Reiss (1967a) found only 28 percent of his police subjects believed probation officers did a very good or pretty good job in dealing with

offenders, though one-fourth of the officers did not believe they were in a position to make an evaluation of the work of probation officers. Over 20 percent saw them doing a very bad job. Police unhappiness with probation officers appears to stem, in part, from the fact that they have been unable to control disposition of the case; today's probationers are not infrequently tomorrow's work (Reiss and Bordua, in Bordua, 1967).

It is apparent that there exists detrimental conflicts between police and the rest of the criminal justice system. Due to this, cynical and unhappy policemen have developed. These problems are quite manifest in our society--both young and old are aware of them. This, of course, puts a great strain on the compliance system. Surely, the type of attitudes police officers have of the criminal justice system, along with their anger, makes it doubtful that they are effective socializers in producing positive support toward the compliance system.

4. Support of youth

We have discussed the descriptive and evaluative beliefs of junior high school students in an attempt to determine the extent of this groups' positive support of the compliance system. Also, we discussed the congruence and incongruence of beliefs between these young subjects and two of their prime socializers, teachers and police officers. We now concern ourselves with evaluative beliefs toward the younger generation. To be effective in socializing youth toward positive compliance system support, youngsters must feel that the socializers are supportive of them. It is legitimate to assume that the ways teachers and policemen approach youngsters is itself a powerful socialization variable. Surely if they are sarcastic toward, abrupt toward, and directly or indirectly rejecting

of the younger generation, we can expect negative socialization toward the compliance system. The importance of both the older and the younger generations' images of youth is related in the following paragraph:

On the general public, the influence of visibility in channelling the formation of images of youth is likely to operate unchecked. But this general public includes, paradoxically, the adolescents themselves. Not only the average adult's impression of today's youth will be heavily biased towards teenage violence, teenage sexual license, teenage fashion, newsworthy adolescent feats of all kinds, but also the self-image of the teenagers themselves. Thus in some instances the effects of visibility may well be to make the mythical stereotype based on it come true, owing to acceptance of a version of this stereotype by the very objects of the stereotyped perception. Whether or not these are elements of a self-fulfilling prophecy in the way in which the adult world concentrates on the most visible section of youth, so that today's myth may play its part in producing tomorrow's reality, we can readily agree... that the danger of focussing attention on minorities is that the problems will be exacerbated by the very publicity given to them (Jahoda and Warren, 1965: 148).

We first examine our young subjects' own evaluation of their generation. The students were most positive in support of their peer group--a majority answered in positive terms toward teenagers and their friends. Harris and Sing Chutseng (in Seidman, 1960), also using the sentence completion technique, found their adolescent subjects relating predominately positive attitudes to peer group stems. Our Negro subjects responded proportionately less positively toward youth. We also see that they were, as with the other content stems, more noncommittal than their Dominant group peers. Fortunately, we may conclude that youngsters, at least at the junior high grade level, are not as cynical toward their age peer group as adult groups are to their occupational peer groups. This is also true of institutionalized delinquents. One youth content sentence stem, "My friends...", was used in both Maher and Stein's (in Wheeler, 1968) study of delinquents and the present study. Most of the delinquent boys, Dominant and Negro students, responded in positive

terms to their peer group friends.

Although a substantial minority of teachers responded negatively toward teenagers (24 percent), the majority were positive in their beliefs of youngsters. It appears that many teachers are concerned and frustrated over the wildness, rebelliousness, and disrespect shown by their students (teachers' great concern over discipline discussed earlier), yet, for the most part, they still have faith in the younger generation. In the words of teachers: Teenagers... "are young adults with the same desire and feelings", "are O.K.", "are great," "are wonderful, for the most part," "should be treated as young adults by school and home," "are interesting," "are fun to work with". Most kids ... "are good," "are good clean kids trying to find their way," "want help, understanding, affection, and to attain a realistic goal with tangible rewards," "are nice," "are great!", "are good; its when they stop receiving 'benefits' (love, attention, etc.) from others that they decide they can go in opposite direction," "try to meet requirements set forth by their adult leaders," "are interested in doing their best," "are basically good," "are not in serious trouble," "are trying to adjust to life in a meaningful way," "want to do the right thing".

This, by the way, is not consistent with the few other studies pertaining to this subject which conclude that the threatening of teachers' authority by their students causes a large proportion of hostile teachers (Hunter, 1957; Lindgren and Patton, 1958; Wickman, 1938; Willower, 1963; and Willower, Eidell, and Hoy, 1967). Our teachers are generally positive toward the younger generation, why their students are not more positive in their support of teachers is an important question that

should be studied in depth. Possibly, the hostile minority of the teachers combined with the substantial number who appear themselves to be anti-teachers, is a cause of students' lesser support of their teachers. It appears, however, that the rejecting teacher is not the predominant model youngsters have to contend with. Those youth who are anti-compliance system are probably not acting in response to their teachers' attitudes towards them.

The effects of policemen's attitudes toward youngsters on these students' perceptions of police cannot be disputed. Studies have emphasized that relatively brief contacts with degrading and rejecting police officers can produce long lasting, if not life-long, hostility toward police (Bouma, 1969; Portune, 1965; and Wattenberg and Bufe, 1963). Wattenberg and Bufe (1963) studied Youth Bureau police officers in Detroit in which effectiveness was measured by comparing officers serving the same precincts as to the percentage of non-repeaters among boys for whom they were the first police contact. Highly significant differences were found among officers. The attribute which mostly differentiated an effective from ineffective youth officer was attitudes towards young people.

Our findings show that a majority of the police officers were positive in their support of youth. However, we also see a disturbing 30 percent who responded in negative terms towards teenagers. No doubt, the fact that teens are a major problem to police is a factor in police attitudes. Unfortunately, the proportion of officers displaying rejecting behavior toward youth could cause much damage to the development of the younger generations' compliance system support. Some negative responses from police officers are: Teenagers... "are loud," "are a pain,"

"should get haircuts," "should take it upon themselves to provide entertainment," "have low respect for elders or people of authority," "just don't understand--they think they know it all," "a little too much of wanting rights but not responsibilities," "have too much freedom and money". Most kids... "do not respect police," "think the police are the enemy," "have poor attitudes towards elders," "have too much time on their hands and make no attempt to use it constructively," "are noisy," "have very little respect for the law".

It appears that the police of other cities possess this rejection and lack of trust of youth, as substantiated by the three Michigan cities project (Bouma, 1969). This study found that a substantial percentage of the police officers overestimated the junior high school subjects' (particularly from the inner-city) beliefs regarding the extent of: police unfairness, criminals not caught, and uncooperativeness. The cynical tint of the police officers was revealed by the finding that only half of the Grand Rapids police felt that the youths who participated in a police recreation program were more likely to have favorable attitudes toward police. Three out of ten of the police disagreed and 19 percent were undecided. Bouma was surprised, for he states:

If anything, one might have expected the police to be overly eager to claim success for a department-sponsored program. Instead we have another illustration of the police tending to be more negative in their evaluation than the situation warranted (Bouma, 1969; 126).

The findings of sizable numbers of rejecting and untrusting policemen should be taken into consideration when trying to determine the whys and wherefores of the substantial minority of our young subjects who did not exhibit positive compliance system support. For the most part,

the youngsters of our research city are not exposed to a mass of anti-youth police officers. This, no doubt, is a factor in the large proportions of youngsters who did support the compliance system.

5. Support of parents

This study has mostly dealt with attitudes toward formal compliance system agents, that is, governmental representatives delegated the authority to enforce their demands for the purpose of obtaining and maintaining order within the society (order and protection, of course, are prime "wants" of the citizens that the political system must deal with). Just as important, however, is the determination of support toward prime informal compliance system agents, parents. Though parents are not considered official governmental representatives, they are delegated authority by the political system to enforce demands on their off-spring for purposes of an orderly society. The importance of attitudes toward parents in regard to compliance system support is substantiated by Hess (1963), who found a connection between a child's view of his family and his views of non-family authority figures. For example, Hess found that:

In the United States the highly benign, even nurturant image of the President is congruent with the image of the paternal role which, in the United States, greatly overlaps that of the mother in expressive and nurturant components. This tendency to ascribe to the father qualities which are expressive rather than instrumental way be related to the child's emphasis on benevolence in the image of the President (Hess, 1963: 556).

Parents are most important members of the socialization community because of their modeling effects as significant others:

High degrees of parental warmth have been found to be related to nondelinquency, to responsibility, and in some instances to indicators of "guilt" or "conscience." In experimental situations where the amount of nurturance offered by an experimenter to a

child subject is varied, it has been found that children will more often imitate a nurturant model than a non-nurturant one, a circumstance suggesting that one of the factors underlying the greater success of warm parents in inculcating moral norms is that their children are more likely to learn from them through modeling. In addition, warmth promotes the socialization process because, as Becker puts it, warmth "makes the parent important to the child and obviates the need for more severe forms of discipline to gain compliance." The child who feels strong positive attachment and little fear toward his parents will want to stay in their presence (and hence the opportunities for teaching and modeling will be increased) and will also be motivated to gain their approval and avoid their disapproval. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the use of withdrawal of love as a technique of discipline appears to be most effective in a context of high warmth (Maccoby, in Clausen, 1968: 248-249).

We now turn our discussion to responses obtained on two parental content sentence stems, one dealing with father and the other with the general topic of parents.

The father content sentence revealed that most of our subjects were positive toward the male parent. An indepth analysis of the correlations between images of father, delinquent behavior, and support of formal compliance system agents is beyond the scope of this study; however, it is felt that such an analysis is of crucial importance to the understanding of political socialization. Hopefully, future research will look into this area of concern. Some of the research pertaining to this area has shown interesting contradictions. While the Gluecks (1950) report that non-delinquents, more than delinquents, feel that their father is an object worthy of emulation, Hess (1963) claims, from his cross-national comparisons of attitudes toward political authority of United States and German adolescents, that boys who see their own father as dominant in the family have less positive images of non-family authority and behave in a less conforming way in the school.

In comparing the delinquent boys' responses (Maher and Stein, in Wheeler, 1968) to our junior high school students responses on the sentence stem "A father is...", we find that the Dominant students had a significantly larger proportion of those responding in positive and negative terms, while the delinquent sample had a significantly larger percentage of neutral and no responses. The percentages of positive, negative, and neutral/no response were just about the same for the delinquent group and our Negro students. In general, we can state that the majority of subjects in each group were positive in their support toward fathers.

Of interest is the large proportion of the police officers who were positive toward the concept father (73 percent were positive, only 15 officers answered in a negative manner), while, at the same time, the police group was the least positive and most negative on the "Most parents ..." sentence stem. Policemen are not sympathetic toward the parents they encounter, for they see them as the main etiological variable in the rise of crime and delinquency. To police officers, it is the lack of parental responsibility and supervision, even more than alienation, deprivation, and socio-economic class inequalities, that results in children going astray (Goldman, 1963; Portune, 1965; and Wilson in Wheeler, 1968). Goldman summarized his interview findings of police views of parents in the following paragraph:

Neglect of children by parents, whether because of ignorance, alcoholism, or lack of interest, is considered by the police to be the most important "cause" of juvenile delinquency. Parents were accused by police of shirking their responsibilities, spending their time at taverns and at Bingo games while the children roam around unsupervised. It was felt by 55 percent of the police interviewed that problem children in such irresponsible homes must be referred to the juvenile court for proper guidance and

control and, if necessary, be placed in a more suitable home environment. Such action was considered in terms of its benefit to the child. Neglectful parents should be made to pay for their children's delinquencies," make them feel it in their pocketbooks." In many cases the police felt that the parents, rather than the boy, should be corrected. Only 9 percent of the police interviewed felt that irresponsible parents did not indicate the necessity for official supervision of the child offender (Goldman, 1963: 122-123).

Both Goldman (1963) and Wilson (in Wheeler, 1968) pointed out that most referrals to juvenile court by police are predicated on the parent's adequacy.

With such a differential in the extent of police support of fathers compared to parents, one might speculate that this is the result of the "male ego." The police occupation is predominately masculine, we would expect a defense of the male parent. But parents refers to the female parent also, and, to the officers, mothers are mostly to blame for the child's delinquencies. After all, it is the mother's responsibility to supervise the children while father is hard at work supporting the family.

An interesting psychiatric interpretation by Pierce (1962) of the symbolic quality of police and citizen relations appears insightful in explaining this seemingly incongruence in police attitudes. He related that police officers have father or patristic power. To be effective policemen, officers must be compulsively inclined, paying meticulous attention to detail. They must be conservative and sober in aims and objectives. Policemen, therefore, are timebound, and function in organizational settings which are authority-centered and militaristic. In the police "mind", a stable society is predicated on a strong father who can protect and keep order. An officer becomes annoyed whenever the powers of the strong father are threatened by pressures of maternal indulgence.

The public symbolizes mother, maternal, or matristic qualities of the state. These qualities are hysterical in contrast to the compulsion of police. As such, the public is individual-centered and supportive of independent assertion. Their approach to problems is more individually subjective, more impressionistic, more impulse-ridden--an approach quite different than policemen take. In the public's "mind", a stable society is predicated on Society being like a kindly mother who is indulgent of each individual child's welfare. A citizen becomes irritated whenever the permissive, hysteric, matristic aspect of the state is threatened by the restrictive, compulsive, patristic "father" police. In Pierce's words, the core conflicts of police officers and citizens are the following:

...the policeman's core conflict involves the expression of aggression following someone's failure to do what father requires
the citizen's core conflict involves the expression of dependency following failure of father to allow maternal comforts (Pierce, 1962: 112).

The importance of youth's perceptions of their parents in the socialization of their "proper" behavior has been substantiated by studies that have found that children who perceive their parents as rejecting are more prone to delinquent behavior (Dentler and Monroe, 1961a; Dentler and Monroe, 1961b; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; and Nye, 1958). We see that the majority of our younger subjects responded in positive terms to the sentence stem "Most parents...". Both Harris and Sing Cha Tseng (in Seidman, 1960), and Musgrove (1965), using the sentence completion technique with teenagers, found that most of their subjects exhibited positive statements on parent content stems:

When we infer attitudes from sentence completions, we find no evidence for hostility to parents in early or mid-adolescence.

Such feeling, if it occurs in young people, either does not find expression in sentence completions or is so variously placed in the teen years and of such short duration that it cannot appear in cross-sectional data. The percentages of boys and girls giving negative responses to either parent are very similar and uniformly small (Harris and Sing Chu Tseng, in Seidman, 1960: 615).

The cross-cultural legal socialization study of Tapp and Levine (1970) indicated that authority figures with whom children share a closer relationship are most effective in inducing obedience. The young subjects generally ranked mother first and father second in responding to the question "Who can make you obey?"

We find that in the case of the parent content sentence stem, as in most other content areas we have discussed, a substantial minority responded in a negative manner (35 percent of the Dominant students, 24 percent of the Negro students, 33 percent of the teachers, and 41 percent of the police officers). As we would expect, the youngsters who stated negative responses exhibited the continual struggle of the young for recognition and independence. In their eyes parents do not understand them, are overprotective, do not give kids a chance, and so on. They stated: Most parents... "try to protect their kids too much by not letting them experience on their own. They try to make us believe what they do is for the good of all," "don't talk to kids enough," "believe their children to be doing worse things than they really are," "don't really understand their children's generation," "don't want to live in the world that the kids have to live in," "are too 'who cares' type".

The critical teachers mostly agreed with their students that parents lack understanding of the younger generation. They also felt that

parents are neglectful. Some teacher statements are: Most parents ... "do not realize what their children are really like," "don't work enough for home and community," "are too busy earning a living to spend enough time with their children," "show parental love by materialistic means," "don't keep good enough track of their kids," "boss kids without courtesy and are overly pessimistic, vindictive, or disinterested."

The critical police officers emphasized parental neglect, as we would expect, and several stated that parents do not understand their children. Police officers state: Most parents... "don't know where the children are," "should keep better track of children," "are too easy going," "are on the go to take care of their family," "over protective and self-centered," "are not parents because they lack understanding of their own child's needs," "don't know what their children are thinking or feeling; they forget being children themselves".

It appears safe to conclude from our findings and other studies of youngsters' attitudes, that the younger generation generally positively support parents; they are supported more than the formal compliance system agents. We should keep in mind, however, that many teenagers do feel hemmed in and that they are not allowed to develop their independence. Such frustrations do inflict strains on families and may cause a generalized rejecting of authority figures by some youth. This is another crucial area where research is needed for understanding the socialization process.

The many negative responses of policemen towards parents is still another indication of the unfortunate cynicism of the police.

C. Values

The many differences found between the student, teacher, and police officer groups on terminal and instrumental values suggests that these groups are characterized by different value systems (H_{14}). Each group may be subculturally distinct, but it should be remembered that the least significant differences in value ranking occurred between the two student groups, many more divergences can be detected between these groups of young subjects and the adult groups. We also saw that a significant number of differences occurred between the teacher and police groups. This indicates that there are intergenerational value structure differences between the younger generation and compliance system agents, as well as intra-generational differences between groups of agents within the compliance system.

In examining the value systems, we found that Dominant students were more hedonistic (an exciting life) and humanistic (a world at peace, freedom, equality) than the other groups. We found, as the literature on youth emphasizes, that our young subjects were peer oriented (true friendship). They place a higher value on cheerfulness than the others, while they are less concerned with their psychological consistency (inner harmony) and with the security of the family. They place lower importance, than the other groups, in competence⁵³ or self-actualization values (Maslow, 1954).

The Negro students placed more importance, than the other groups,

⁵³Competence values are instrumental values which "refer to preferred modes of behavior which, when violated, lead to shame about competence rather than to guilt about wrong-doing; their focus is personal rather than interpersonal" (Rokeach, 1969: 6).

on values that have to do with achievement (a comfortable life), aesthetic ideal (a world of beauty), humanism (a world at peace, equality, freedom), hedonism (pleasure), and moral⁵⁴ or other-directed or conforming to traditional values (clean, helpful, loving, obedient, polite). They place less importance on the values that have to do with psychological well-being (a sense of accomplishment, self-respect) some of the moral values (honest, responsible, self-controlled), and the competence value of logical.

It appears that the youngsters, both Dominant and Negro, value immediate gratification more than adults, note the lower ranking than adults of self-controlled. Many authors have identified this quality of the younger generation.

It is interesting to note that our Dominant and Negro students ranked family security sixth, while the adults ranked it first (the police officers) and second (the teachers). A world at peace, equality, and freedom are ranked higher within the adolescent value system than family security. These refer to characteristics of the collectivity, as opposed to individualistically oriented values, and, no doubt, reflects the emphasis and realization of our younger generation: that a necessary prerequisite for the security of the family is social reform.

Our teachers placed a higher value than the others on psychological well being (a sense of accomplishment, inner harmony, self-respect), wisdom, and competence values (broadminded, imaginative, intellectual)

⁵⁴ Moral values are instrumental values which "refer mainly to those modes of behavior which when violated, arouse pangs of conscience or feelings of guilt or wrongdoing; they have an interpersonal focus" (Rokeach, 1969: 6).

and responsibility. We would expect such values having to do with cognitive variables to be more important to teachers than non-teachers. They place lower importance on achievement (a comfortable life), hedonistic values (an exciting life, pleasure), freedom, religion (salvation), peer group orientation (true friendship), the competence value of ambitious, the moral values of clean, obedient, polite, and the value of courageous. It is surprising that ambitious is not ranked higher by teachers, it would seem that hard-working and aspiring qualities would be very important qualities they would wish to instill in their students. It is disconcerting that standing up for one's beliefs should be ranked so low by teachers, this quality should be highly valued by socializers and instilled into our younger generation. It is also surprising that, in light of our discussion regarding teacher concern over discipline, that obedient and polite were ranked at the lowest end of the continuum. Though teachers insist on orderly classrooms, order, in and of itself, is not highly valued--a sign of teacher ambivalence. It is important to note the many conflicts between teacher and student value systems, that is, values teachers placed higher than others while students placed them lower and vice versa. Such conflicts between teachers and Dominant students occurred on inner harmony, an exciting life, freedom, true friendship, broadminded and intellectual. Conflicts between teachers and Negro students' value systems occurred in a sense of accomplishment, self-respect, a comfortable life, pleasure, responsible, clean, obedient, and polite. We stress that such conflicts in value systems not only hinder the socialization process, but produce the tensions we see in our schools. Surely it would help if teachers

and students could gain some insights into each others value systems. It appears that teachers and their students do not understand each other.

The value data indicates that the literature on the teaching occupation is correct in stating that those who are attracted to teaching are mostly ones whose values reflect a desire to work with and help others, in other words, they tend to be altruistic. At least this appears so when comparing teacher and police value systems, for the instrumental values of being cheerful, forgiving, helpful, and loving are ranked higher by the former than the latter.

On examination of the police value system one finds the officers more security oriented (family security) and religious (salvation) than the others. The competence values that are ranked higher by policemen than the other groups were ambitious, capable, and logical and the moral values ranked higher were being honest and self-controlled. Courageous is placed higher in the police than in the teacher and student value systems. Of less importance to police officers than the other groups were the humanistic values of a world at peace (though it was still ranked high in third place) and equality, the aesthetic value of a world of beauty, moral values of forgiving, helpful, and loving, competence values of being imaginative and independent, and the value of being cheerful. The value structure produced by our police subjects concerns us. If policemen are professionals due to their crucial decision making function regarding peoples' existence and future, then we must ask: what does it mean to have such officials making these crucial life and death decisions who value ambition, courage, logicalness, and self-control

while they devalue equality, and being cheerful, forgiving, helpful, and loving? Is this another sign of cynical police officers? These are questions most important to the quality of policing our communities.

We should also take note of the conflicts between the value systems of the police officers and the youth of their community. Four conflicts occurred between the officers and Dominant students (on family security, a world at peace, capable, cheerful) and seven occurred between police and Negro students (on a world of beauty, equality, honest, logical, self-controlled, helpful, loving). Again, we can see that such value conflicts are conducive to tension between the police and youth. The problems in police and minority group relations can, of course, be viewed from this value conflict perspective. One would think that conflicts in the importance of equality, honesty, self-control, helpfulness, and loving would be important causes in the troubled interpersonal relationships between police officers and Negroes.

In comparing value systems, we find that teachers and police officers appraise, for the most part, competence or self-actualization values higher than the students. Considering this and the finding that such psychologically oriented values like a sense of accomplishment, inner harmony, and self-respect are ranked higher by adults than youths, we conclude that our teachers and policemen are more concerned with values that affect "self", (personal variables) than values that deal with the norms and regulations guiding peoples' interactions, that is, interpersonal variables. Possibly their interests in their own personal and psychological well-being overshadows their concern for occupational well-being.

Examining teacher and police value systems reveals several significant value ranking divergences. This appears to be not only an indication of inter-occupational differences, but also differences between the socio-economic status and educational level of our adult subjects. We find that a comfortable life, clean, a sense of accomplishment, and logical sharply distinguishes the two groups. These same variables sharply distinguished subjects by income and education levels in a recent study of value systems of differing socio-economic status and ethnic groups of a national sample (Rokeach and Parker, 1970).

The structure of the police value system tells us that the officers were more concerned with personal values and less concerned with social values. These personal values concern competence and self-actualization needs. We saw that our police sample ranked a sense of accomplishment, capable, and logical high in their value system. However, such value strivings by police exists side-by-side with an unsympathetic orientation toward people in general (recall the relatively low ranking by police of cheerful, forgiving, helpful, loving). The instrumental values that police officers appraised higher than the other groups (ambitious, capable, courageous, honest, logical, self-controlled), along with the value they placed on a comfortable life and clean, indicates that police officers are, indeed, as described in Pierce's (1962) psychiatric analysis, compulsively inclined, pay meticulous attention to detail, and are conservative and sober in aims and objections.

In regard to this police conservatism, we find that the four groups ranked freedom high in their value systems, but they diverged most sharply from one another in their ranking of equality. Rokeach (1968)

tells us that more than any of the 36 values, the equality rankings order respondents most clearly along a liberalism-conservatism dimension. The disturbing finding of the low placement of equality by police officers (ranked fourteenth by police compared to sixth by the teachers, fourth by the Dominant students and third by the Negro students) identifies the conservative bent of police. This ranking resembled those obtained from Goldwater conservatives and Wallace supporters in the campaign of 1968 (Rokeach, undated). This finding not only supports the observations of Berkley (1969), Lipset (1969) and Walsh (1970) that policemen were attracted in large numbers to the Wallace Campaign in 1968, but also identifies that particular value that best accounts for such an attraction. As stated in a recent study of value system conflicts between the public and police:

It is this discrepancy in value for equality that we regard as the most significant component of the value gap between police and policed. And given the especially large discrepancy in value for equality between police and blacks it is hardly surprising that black residents of the ghetto will view policemen as enemies who are there to preserve "law and order," that is, to preserve the conservative value pattern of a white power structure (Rokeach, Miller, and Snyder, forthcoming article).

We should note, in passing, that the students' and teachers' rankings of freedom and equality (they ranked both values high) place them in the same category, on Rokeach's (1968) two-dimensional model for describing political orientations, with liberal democrats, socialists, and humanists--this is felt to be an encouraging findings.

We are concerned over finding such a large discrepancy between police officers and the other subjects on the value loving (the Dominant and Negro students ranked it second and first respectively and teachers

ranked it seventh compared to the police ranking of fifteenth). A crucial factor in police and citizen uneasiness is the type of interactions that result from such encounters. In a recent study of such transactions it was found that policemen mostly behaved in a rational bureaucratic manner (Black and Reiss, 1967). Police conduct toward citizens was characterized as routinized, impersonal, or businesslike. Few encounters could be described as human relations oriented where, for example, humor, interest in the citizen, or similar interrelational tactics were present. A typical encounter between a citizen and a police officer is one characterized by civility. The need is for compassionate policemen--individuals who have the ability to be affectionate and can relate this to those who are in need of assistance or are in trouble. Our youth are asking for tenderness. They seek relationships based on individual identity, trust, and genuine affection; relationships which appear to be inconsistent with the police value system. The efficient, sterile, abrupt contacts they experience facilitate the social distance between police and youth. The police officers can bridge the generation gap with "love".

The value gap involving the discrepancy between patterns, and more seriously, incongruent patterns, between police and youth, has serious consequences on the socialization of youngsters toward compliance system support. In general, the younger generation is pressing diligently toward social reform--for a world of peace (an end to the Asian war), for freedom and equality (an end to racism)--a value system that is incongruent with the police value pattern. The police will not view

such strivings with sympathy or even tolerance. The struggle between youths' reform and police status quo produces negative socialization--the police themselves cause diminished positive support of youth.

We can conclude by stating that our study of youths, teachers, and police value systems show that there are different and incongruent value patterns between the groups. This appears to be a clue to understanding why the socialization community has been unsuccessful in producing positive support of the compliance systems by a substantial proportion of youngsters. This is particularly true with black youngsters, a topic we now turn to.

D. Negroes' Support of the Compliance System

The attitudinal divergencies between the Negro students and the other groups have been quite evident throughout this study. There are significant differences between Dominant and Negro students, but most of the substantial differences occurred between the Negro and adult groups, especially between the black youths and the police officers.

The sparse literature on the political socialization of various ethnic groups strongly suggests that Dominant and Negro groups are socialized to different affective orientations toward the compliance system. The literature does emphasize the extensive hostility minority groups exhibit against the symbols of the majority's repressive force: the schools, police, judicial system, and so on. Many Negro youngsters possess such hostility. Such children are subject to greater problems of self-respect and identity and show more negative attitudes toward life than their Dominant counterparts (Sebald, 1968). The adolescent

symptoms of confusion, frustration, anxiety, and anger towards authority can be observed to a more intense degree among Negro teenagers. The crucial aspects of this response to the political system by black youngsters was described by Marvick:

For many Negroes, although not for all, "coming to terms" with a political world is almost irreversible. Basic life premises are involved. Some kinds of adult activity are so difficult once foresworn, as to be impossible to undertake later in life. Some sets of events are so remote that they do not really touch one's daily life, however relevant, as news developments about public policy or group demonstrations, they may seem to the observer. Politics is the "art of the possible". And in school, on the job, in dealings with police or government officials, learning the art of the possible is not an abstract problem. Instead, it is a practical question of getting along with a specific teacher, a particular foreman, a well-known sheriff, a certain postal clerk or building inspector (Marvick, 1965: 117-118).

The studies of black youth indicate that their learning of this "art of the possible" is not entirely successful due to the lack of legitimacy given to compliance system components. The present study's findings contribute to this conclusion, like many other investigations we found Negro respondents more anti-compliance system than Dominant respondents.

In examining our data, we were struck by the extent that the Negro students did not respond to the questionnaire items. In examining all the items measuring descriptive and evaluative beliefs we found only four where less than 10 percent of the Negro students did not respond, most produced 20 to 40 percent no responses.⁵⁵ It is felt that this is a legitimate category to include in our analysis, for they may indicate

⁵⁵This does not include the scaled instruments where "No responses" were excluded from the analysis.

"the state of mind of the respondent, his knowledge, or his attitudes" (Zeisel, 1968: 42). Such no response indicates either hostility toward the concept (Marcus and Maher, 1957); extensiveness, that is, inability to express an opinion due to confusion or lack of knowledge about the topic, or anxiety in making an evaluation (Torney, 1965); or noncommitment, that is, lack of ego involvement for the content topic (Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall, 1965). Since there is a lack of research on the meaning of the no response for open-ended projective attitude instruments, and it is also beyond the scope of this study to further delve into this issue, we cannot determine which of these variables, or combination of variables, accounts for such high non-responsiveness. We wish, however, to remind the reader that the only study we are aware of that did look into the problem of no response on incomplete sentence stems found that refusal to answer was significantly related to feelings of hostility about the content of the stem (Marcus and Maher, 1957). It seems reasonable to assume that with the substantial number of Negro students responding in negative terms to our sentence stems and the Negro sample's lower mean than the other means on the Criminal Justice Scale, that a good share of these no responses represent hostility toward the stem contents.

The lack of positive support toward the compliance system is seen in the responses we did obtain from our black subjects. We discovered that there were significant differences between Negro students and the other groups' perceptions of the teaching and policing occupations (H_4). Our minority group subjects accused both teachers and police of being inflicted with psychological problems and, more serious, of being unjust.

Consistent with these perceptions were the negative evaluations of these compliance system agents. Proportionally fewer Negroes than others responded in direct positive terms to most of the sentence stems, while substantial numbers responded in direct negative terms on nearly every stem. In every case the Negro students were more negative than their Dominant peers. Consistently, in congruence with the hypotheses regarding support of police (H_9), schools and teachers (H_{10}), judicial components (H_{11}), youth (H_{12}), and parents (H_{13}), our Negro groups' content/attitude scores and mean on the Criminal Justice Scale were the lowest--the lower the score the least exhibiting of positive support.

Our black subjects were also critical of the unfairness of schools and teachers. A comparatively small proportion of these students answered in positive terms to the stem dealing with teachers' handling of their peers, and nearly half perceived teachers' handling of their Negro peers in negative terms. Bouma (1969) found similar results--only one out of five black students felt teachers and principals treated Negro and Dominant students alike, while about half of the Dominant students felt this way. This is reflected in Tapp and Levine's (1970) study of pre-adolescent's descriptive beliefs of rules and laws. The data showed the only differentiation between Dominant and black youngsters that occurred on the question "Who can make you follow a rule?" dealt with teachers. Significantly more Dominants than blacks favored this figure. Whether their accusations are realistic is not the issue. In the eyes of the blacks the teachers are unfair, and such feelings lead to serious psychological inhibitions of Negro youth toward education. Indifference or antischool attitudes are reflected in the Negro teenagers' high

dropout rates. These rates are estimated to be twice as high for Negro than Dominant teenagers. Coleman (1966) surveyed a national cross-section of citizens in a study of the extent of educational opportunities for various ethnic groups and reported that 10 percent of all Negroes related that one or more children in their family had dropped out of high school. Of course, the correlations between dropping out of school and delinquency, as well as unfair treatment by faculty and delinquency, have been identified by others (see Smith, 1952). The lack of positive support of teachers by their Negro students is quite evident. Teachers are not positive role models to black youth, if anything, they appear to be negative models. An obvious factor in this problem, is the fact that only seven teachers in the research schools were black. Thus, the unfairness is evident, not only in the way teachers actually handle these students, but in the lack of opportunity for black youth to interact with black adult models who have "made it" in the Dominant establishment.

Hostility toward police seems even more prevalent than toward teachers among minority group youngsters. Our findings are not surprising--they lend more data to the mounting evidence that blacks are negative toward police, they are substantially more negative than the Dominant majority (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Bouma, 1969; Clark and Wenninger, 1964; Derbyshire, 1968; Ennis, 1967; Gourley, 1953; Harris, 1968; Kepart, 1957; Marvick, 1965; McCaghy, Allen, and Colfax, 1967; Mihanovich, 1967; Portune, 1965; Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967; Tapp and Levine, 1970; University of Houston, 1959; Werthman, 1964;

Werthman and Piliavin, in Bordua, 1967; and Westley, 1951). Consistent with the literature on black attitudes, we found substantial proportions of Negro youngsters (from 26 to 68 percent) answering in negative terms to police in general, and specifically to police actions. Police unfairness is the main issue with our Negro respondents. A substantial proportion mentioned this as a critical police problem and, as we would expect, the largest proportion of negatives occurred in "In dealing with Negroes, police are..." (68 percent of the black sample answered in negative terms to this item). Again, the finding is consistent with Bouma's (1969) junior high school study.

We found that many of the police subjects also perceived unfairness in police and Negro interactions. It will be remembered, that in their eyes the unfairness is on the part of the blacks and the public. What is the cause of the tension between the blacks and the "blues" that so seriously effects the compliance system? One may, as many have, blame it on the large contingent of prejudiced policemen in our departments, police facilitate their own demise in the black community (Banton, 1964; Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Black and Reiss, 1967; Bouma, 1969; Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970; Goldman, 1963; Kepart, 1957; Piliavin and Briar, 1964; Skolnick, 1966; Watson, 1967; Wilson, in Bordua, 1967; and Wilson, 1968). When such police officers interact with Negroes they react in ways that result in their own loss of legitimacy:

...a police officer's interrogation...presumes that a male Negro is a basic source of trouble in the community, a generic source of trouble to all agencies of social control, an offender who cannot be trusted, and someone viewed as a prime suspect whenever there are crimes without suspects. Interviews I have observed between officers and lower-income Negro males typically involves

direct accusations about the youth's dishonesty, his general style of life, and his defiance and disrespect of authority, as revealed by his posture, speech mannerisms, demeanor, dress patterns, lack of remorse, seemingly unconcerned view about the consequences of his acts, what could happen to him, and so on. Whether or not police action is viewed as a degradation ceremony for the youth cannot be demonstrated with the present material, but my impression was that the police made little effort to conceal their contempt for the male Negro whom they felt was a "pathological liar," constantly violating the law, unconcerned about property and person, and a continual "danger" to the "decent people" of the community. For the police, much less the probation officer, it is difficult to establish much of a trust relationship with Negro males...because there is little to which either can really become committed so as to enable both to respect and trust each other. The same problem exists with school teachers and Negro and Mexican-American juveniles (Cicourel, 1968: 215-216).

Of course, the details of such an encounter is communicated from the victim to his friends. Over time, most every black youngster experiences or can relate incidents of such treatment of peers.

The tensions that exist between black youth and police can be conceptualized in terms of the symbolic victim. The symbolic victim is the Negro; the Negro sees himself victimized by the police, which he sometimes is, and often perceives his life in the community as one of tension and chaos. Police officers, on the other hand, see the Negro in a generalized role and often assume behavior which is not necessarily the case--he is the symbolic assailant (Skolnick, 1966). These feelings, regardless of the facts, feed one another. We see that Negro and police relations use the symbolic victim to explain behavior and in so doing perpetuate the status quo; change, unfortunately, appears to be impossible.

It is evident that our Negro students do not, for the most part, support police in a positive way. Like teachers, police officers are not positive role models, they appear to be negative models to black

youth--as a matter of fact, they facilitate their own lack of positive support from the black community. Also, similar to the teacher situation, the Negro youngsters have no chance to interact with a "brother" who happens to be a police officer--there are no black policemen in the research city's department. The danger of this is described below:

At no time did I get the impression that police officers felt the same involvement in the rights and wrongs of life in the Negro district as they did in the white district...when Negro urban neighborhoods are policed by Negroes the moral consensus makes possible cooperation and mutual control (Banton, 1964: 172-173, 175).

Supporting Banton's claims is the finding that in spite of the fact that black first-offender delinquents present less intensive anti-social attitudes and behavior patterns than Dominant delinquents, they receive more severe dispositions from the police of Easton than Dominant delinquents accused of the same offense (Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970). It seems that greater sensitivity on the part of police officers to the nature of black experience would result in a more equitable handling of their cases.

It should be noted that policemen reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority people toward minorities. This can be seen in the substantial proportions of Dominant students (20 percent) and teachers (25 percent) who placed the blame only on the blacks and criticized the police for being overly lenient. As one Dominant youngster responded: In dealing with Negroes, police are... "a bunch of lazy bums that can't shoot." Surely this 20 percent of the students is an image of their parents' stand on the issue.

The analysis of the Negro subjects' perceptions of citizenship indicates that they were aware of society's criteria of a "good citizen".

Most related, as did the majority of the others, that such a citizen is assertive (involved in the community) and obedient (respects laws). Langton and Jennings (1968) measured perceptions toward the concept "good citizen" of a large sample of high school seniors. Similar to our findings, most of these students mentioned assertive behavior (participation). Unlike our findings loyalty to the country was also a predominant response. Within these two categories of responses there was distinct ethnic differences. Most of the Negro responses focused on loyalty, while most of the Dominant students' responses focused on political participation.

Our Negro subjects' responses toward the term "bad citizen" were not as congruent with responses of the other subjects. Though a substantial number felt that such a person lacks obedience toward laws (as many Dominant students, teachers, and police officers did), only 25 Negro subjects felt they were really detrimental to the community (over 20 percent of each of the other groups felt this way), a substantial nine percent identified themselves as bad citizens, and 28 percent did not respond. It appears that such a citizen is not perceived as as much an ogre as the others felt. The black youngsters had learned what is needed in our society to be rewarded as a good citizen, but they did not generally perceive the bad citizen antipodal to good citizens. We speculate that some conflictual socialization occurs between the Dominant society's emphasis and the black subcultures' notion of what it really means to be a bad citizen. This appears to be causing the Negro youngsters to possess some ambivalence toward this concept.

The meaning of the term citizenship produced the most divergencies in responses between the Negro subjects and the other groups. It appears that citizenship has little salience for our Negro students, a majority (68 percent) either did not respond, felt it meant nothing, or that it just meant behaving in school (getting citizenship grades). Substantially fewer in proportion to the other groups, chose to define this concept in terms of assertive behavior, obedient behavior, or patriotic behavior, that is, honoring our flag, voting, volunteering for the army, etc. (this is consistent with our finding that Negro subjects ranked the value of national security significantly lower than the other groups). These conclusions are predictable. Our black youngsters exist in an exclusionary society--among the many exclusions they experience, participation in the community's political power structure is most obvious. Norms and roles for political performance are learned in a Negro subculture (Marvick, 1965). This is creating new types of political action, as well as creating tensions and frustrations in the process of initiating this action. Therefore, the community, in terms of the city or neighborhood is non-existent for blacks. There is no community for them to participate in and receive the rewards of a "good citizen". In such a situation, assertive behavior, in the form of contributing to the community as a part of citizenship, does not make any sense. The same can be argued as a cause of blacks' lack of identification of patriotism. Little reciprocal or exchange relationships occurs between "country" and the Negro citizens. Country is perceived as not being worthy of blacks' patriotic responses. In all, it appears that the concept of citizenship is irrelevant--especially

compared to the much more salient concept of "black power".

Our findings relate to Greenberg's (1969) Philadelphia study of youths' perception of the political community. He found, controlling for socio-economic class, that black children have a tendency to be less proud of America than Dominant children; this is especially true of ninth graders (the grade of our students). Most revealing was the fact that black youngsters who see inequality in race relations were the least proud of America. This leads to a most disturbing conclusion:

One could hypothesize that the most perceptive Negroes are those most disaffected. As the trends toward greater political self-consciousness and sophistication among Negroes are enhanced by mass protest activity, better education, and access to mass media, one would expect, other things being equal, that disaffection for the American political community will grow (Greenberg, 1969: 491-492).

Turning to our Negro students' responses toward judicial components, we are struck by the large neutral and no response that the judicial content sentence stems produced. For example, 59 percent of the Negro subjects were coded either neutral or no response on the court content stem and 54 percent were so coded on the probation officers' content stem. The reasons for such lack of response is obscure, we do not know if this connotes hostility, extensiveness, or uncommitment. If this is a sign of confusion, lack of knowledge, or noncommitment, then the judicial system is a prime candidate for obtaining positive support from the black youngsters. This may mean a lack of ego involvement of these topics, therefore the potential for attitude development and change would be maximized (Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall, 1965). This is something the socialization community should be aware of. Though much more research is needed in order to make a definite statement, comparisons

of the means obtained from the Attitude Toward Criminal Justice Scale indicates that blacks are not trusting of the judicial system. The Negro group is the least to believe that the criminal justice system is fair and that one should be obliged to assist the legal process (H_{11}). Clark and Wenninger's (1964) research using the same scale items as the present study, discovered similar results. The Negro criticism of an unfair legal system is predictable. There have been many occasions in which the judiciary has been iniquitous to minority groups, especially poor Negroes, the Spanish-named, and etc., a fact visible to many minority group youngsters. A black or a brown citizen has very little real opportunity to defend himself upon entering the criminal justice system. He cannot afford proper representation, and the public defender system does not provide it either. Most likely, bail is out of reach, he loses time from his job and must explain to his employer that he could not show up for work because he was arrested. He may lose his job, the fault lies squarely, in his eyes, on the unjust criminal justice system. Surely, such incidents affect his children's visions of this system. It should be noted, however, that the juvenile court system may be perceived as fairer than adult courts by minority groups. The Ferdinand and Luchterhand (1970) study of "Easton" found that the Juvenile Court (in contrast to the police officers) displayed little or no discrimination toward black delinquents in adjudicating juvenile cases.

The hypotheses dealing with support of youth (H_{12}) and parents (H_{13}) predicting no significant differences between Dominant and Negro students turned out to be incorrect. It appears that the Dominant youths were more sure of their feelings and therefore were more direct in

their claims of positive support for their peers and parents. The Negro students were more indirect in their positive support, and, as before, many chose not to state their feelings at all. The youth and parents content/attitude scores show the youth groups as polarized, that is, Dominant students have the highest score and Negro students have the lowest score. It is alarming that these black youths were not more enthusiastic toward their peers and parents. What is the cause of our black youngsters' extreme suspicion and apathy, so extreme that it includes friends and relatives? Are our black youths inflicted with extensive psychological damage? Is this the frightening consequences of a racist society? This study cannot answer these questions, we again plead for further research on this crucial problem.

The many attitudinal differences that we have discussed may be symptoms of divergent value systems. We did find significant differences between the value rankings of our black subjects and the other groups, especially between these youngsters and the adult samples (H_{14}). We found our Negro subjects valueing a comfortable life, family security, and happiness, as well as their human rights of freedom and equality. These are middle class values that we all strive for. Most of us are confident of obtaining these goals, but most blacks have reason not to be so confident. This, of course, is the theme of anomie so well presented by Merton (1957). Surely this effects the Negroes' world view and thus facilitates the lack of trust in society's compliance system. A world of peace is a prime value of Negroes and Dominants, unfortunately, both Dominant and Negro have in common the fear that this most important value will not be met. We note that the values of being helpful, polite,

and obedient were ranked higher by the Negro sample than by the others. Perhaps, this is the result of parental socialization. Many of the black parents, recent migrants from the South, have been socialized in what Claude Brown (1965) refers to as the "down home" world view, that is, obsequious values forced upon the blacks living in the closed society of the South. This is reflected by Brown upon his return to Harlem, "I learned some things down South too...I even learned how to say 'yasm' and 'yas suh'" (Brown, 1965: 48). A Negro who values being helpful, polite, and obedient would be considered a "good Negro" by a Dominant southerner. Values ranked low by the black sample, national security, social recognition, being logical, imaginative, and intellectual are concepts very distant from the "back home" philosophy of life and would, most probably, be the values of a "bad Negro".

Value incongruence may account for the greater animosity between our Negro group and police officers than between this student group and teachers. The teachers' ranking on freedom and equality were much closer than the police officers' rankings, to the Negro groups' ranking. As previously stated, these differences represent polarization of value systems, the students, and teachers being on the liberal end and the policemen on the conservative end of the ideological continuum.

Rokeach and Parker's (1970) study of a national samples value systems revealed that ethnic differences occurred on the self-actualization values of capable, and logical, the hedonistic values of an exciting life and pleasure, and the terminal value of a sense of accomplishment. We also found significant differences between these values with our groups. However, more differences occurred intergenerationally than

inter-racially. The younger generation itself may be considered a minority group. Therefore, the value system divergences may be due to the differences between the adolescent contraculture (Yinger, 1960) and the adult majority. Whether ethnicity, age, or both, are the variables most contributing to these value differences is an important topic for future research.

What conclusions can we come to in regard to the apparent lack of our Negro students' diffuse support toward the compliance system? For one thing, it should hardly need saying that the beliefs of blacks concerning the injustice of society's compliance system do not themselves prove that unfairness within the system is rampant. Nevertheless, the perceptions of blacks that they are exploited by the compliance system is a fact, this virtually affects the actions of black citizens in their interactions with compliance system agents. This means that structural legitimacy, that is, the belief in the legitimacy of the authority structure, is limited in the black community (Easton and Dennis, 1969). This also means that there exists a loss of bond to the political community:

From the data presented one would have to conclude the following. First, in the third grade more black children demonstrate positive affect for America than do white children, but demonstrate an increasing tendency to become disaffected as they mature. This seems to suggest that there is a tendency for a rather strong early bond of black children to the political community to be eroded with maturation. It is true that the data show high levels of attachment at all grade levels, yet the trends point towards racial divergence. One must conclude that increased contact with and comprehension of his place in our society brings heightened disaffection for the black child (Greenberg, 1969: 491).

The findings discussed in this section concern us, for the apparent sharp differences in diffuse support along racial lines indicates important sources of conflict and stress on the political system. We

assume that, other things being equal, the degree of stability or instability in a political system is directly proportional to the distribution of supportive attitudes among its members (Easton and Dennis, 1969; and Greenberg, 1969). It is the function of the socialization community to develop and maintain these supportive attitudes. Its success appears to be limited with the younger black generation. But the securing of diffuse support from the black community will remain unsuccessful until drastic changes within the system occur that eliminate the inherent inequality of treatment. At the same time the socialization community must develop and initiate new socialization techniques that reduce the perceptions of compliance system injustice. A good start would be to develop the young Negroes' knowledge of the many facets of the compliance system and to present a realistic appraisal of the system. The problem of the agents of the socialization community in developing minority group youngsters' positive support is described well in the following statement:

When great changes occur in society as a result of new technology, new national borders, new population groups absorbed, new ideologies afloat, or a host of other reasons, then it is likely that certain previously deprived groups or newly assimilated groups might not accept their position of inferiority and might resort to legal or extralegal means to rectify the situation. Under such conditions of rapid change the customary socializing agencies often find themselves relatively ineffective. If socializing agencies cannot succeed in resocializing the malcontents to their status, or all society to the new distribution of power, they will court open group conflict or subgroup deviancy. They will see the advent of subgroups with values so deviant that far from preparing the child for performance within the mainstream of society, the subgroup will actually teach him antisocial behaviors (Sigel, 1970: 592).

The loss of structural legitimacy is a threat to the systems stability. This involves the concept of systems maintenance, a topic we shall discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

COMPLIANCE SYSTEM SUPPORT, COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR, AND SYSTEM-MAINTENANCE

In this concluding chapter we will attempt to relate the findings regarding the study's hypotheses, to the problem of compliant behavior. We will also see how these relationships bear upon the study's theoretical orientation which has been defined as system-maintenance.

The focus of this study is on "the system relevance of political socialization" (Dennis, 1968). We are concerned with the effects of political socialization upon political life, specifically, that part of political life that has to do with individual's relationship with society's compliance system. Political socialization that successfully develops the young's diffuse support toward the compliance system contributes to the persistence and stability of the political system. Socialization may develop negative support toward the compliance system; in such a case, system persistence and stability is impeded. Two of the founders of the system relevance approach summarize this philosophy in the following way, "...no system can attain or remain in a condition of integration unless it succeeds in developing among its members a body of shared knowledge about political matters as well as a set of shared political values and attitudes" (Easton and Hess, in Lipset and Lowenthal, 1961: 228). Easton and Hess term such knowledge, values, and attitudes political orientations, while Almond and Verba (1965) label such cognitions system, output, and input affects.⁵⁶

⁵⁶They relate:

...we shall deal with generalized attitudes toward the system as a whole: toward the "nation," its virtues, accomplishments, and the like. We call this "system affect." We shall also deal with "output affect," or the kinds of expectations people have of

Political socialization is the term we use in describing the ways these cognitions are developed and, in the process of such development, the building of what Easton (1965b) identifies as diffuse support and Almond (1969) labels as political capital accumulation. The extent to which diffuse support is developed becomes a measure of the political system's performance. There are differences between political systems, as well as in the same system over time, to the extent of positive support reserves on which to draw and on the rates with which such reserves are accumulated and consumed. We hypothesize that the most successful and enduring political systems are those that have created widespread diffuse support of the political community, regime, and government on which they can draw on in times of stress or threat. If under such stress or threat the political system survives intact and is still perceived by the members as legitimate, we would define such a system as performing very well. Well performing political systems are operating in such a way that:

...regardless of what happens the members [of the political system] will continue to be bound to it by strong ties of loyalty and affection. This is a type of support that continues independently of the specific rewards which the member may feel he obtains from belonging to the system (Easton, 1965a: 124-125).

Diffuse support takes time to produce, therefore the socialization community begins the process of socializing toward such support very early in the lives of individuals. The present study is a modest attempt to measure the success in one community, of such political

⁵⁶(continued) treatment at the hands of governmental officials. Here we shall be describing the attitudes people have toward the executive or administrative agencies that enforce laws and toward regulations affecting them: that is, that part of the political system in relation to which they have a predominantly passive role. Finally, we shall treat "input affect," or the feelings people have both about those agencies and processes that are involved in the election of public officials, and about the enactment of general public policies (Almond and Verba, 1965: 63-64).

socialization or politicization toward that component of the government identified as the compliance system. To accomplish this, the study looks at vertical (inter-generational) stability, that is, the continuity or constancy across generations, specifically across formal adult socializers and their charges; and horizontal (intra-generational) stability, that is, the continuity or constancy within a generation, specifically within the adult socialization community and within the adolescent community. The system is stressed if the socialization community agents are in conflict regarding the type and degree of support that the various compliance system components should receive. Such a situation produces collective heterogeneity, that is, social and political cleavages within the system. The young charges may mature into adults who have, among themselves, conflictions such as: aspirations, conceptions of the rules of the game, attitudes toward compliance, and feelings about authority. We now wish to turn to our data to answer the following basic questions of the study: to what extent are vertical and horizontal stability, in regard to political orientations, dealing with the compliance system present in our research city? In other words, is the political system performing well and thus being maintained? Our hypothesis pertaining to the horizontal analysis of beliefs toward teacher and police occupational topics, stated that no significant differences would occur between teachers and police officers (H 1).

We see that there is a mixture of horizontal stability and instability in perceptions toward schools and teachers. Though our teacher and police subjects agreed on critical problems teachers face,

they varied on beliefs regarding the selecting of teachers, teachers' prestige, and social position. The analysis of evaluative beliefs showed most adult subjects positive in their support of the educational system, though proportionately more police officers were positive toward the notion of school while more teachers were positive towards teachers.

More horizontal instability occurred on perceptions toward the police' than the teachers' occupation. Significant differences occurred between teachers and police officers on all descriptive beliefs pertaining to the police occupation.

The hypotheses dealing with the vertical analyses indicated that the most collective heterogeneity, and thus the most threat to system-maintenance, would occur at this level. We predicted that there would be significant differences between the perceptions of teachers and students, police officers and students, and Negro students and Dominant students, teachers, and police officers regarding descriptive teacher and police occupational topics (H_2 , H_3 , and H_4). Support (evaluative beliefs) toward the teaching and police occupations was predicted to significantly vary between the four groups of subjects (H_9 and H_{10}).

The findings confirmed our concern over system-maintenance at the vertical level.

The threat to system-maintenance occurs in vertical instability of perceptions towards schools and teachers. We identified several significant differences between the generations in both descriptive and evaluative beliefs towards the teaching occupation. Of most concern

to system maintenance was the substantial numbers of youngsters who exhibited negative stances towards schools and teachers. These youngsters feel manipulated and exploited. Their criticisms had to do with their own abilities to be effective students, they feel that they are hindered in achieving educational goals because of the extent of unruliness in the classroom and the psychological problems and unfairness of their teachers. On top of this, school is lacking in stimulation for many of the young subjects. Some of these attitudes are supported by their adult socializers; most of the teachers and police officers agreed on the critical discipline problems that exist in our schools. Critical to the strain on the system, is the extent of legitimacy loss of schools and teachers by black youngsters. As long as blacks perceive the educational system as not "their schools interested in their welfare" we can expect continued pressure from the black community for changes in and control of the schools. The school system will not be maintained in its present form in these communities.

Of course, we must be leery of overstating the case. The majority of our subjects did relate positive statements towards school and teachers. However, enough exhibited negative statements to concern us, for this substantial minority is enough to place the system in stress. It must be pointed out that stress may be functional for needed change to occur.

Such findings are most important to our understanding of the maintenance of the political system. If we agree that it is the objective of the educational system in all societies to produce, among the youth, attitudes and dispositions that will support the society in which

they live (Coleman, in Coleman, 1965), then such an objective will be hindered if a substantial minority of school youth reject their school and teachers. These youngsters do not perceive the educational system as legitimate and will not be susceptible to such socialization administered by their teachers.

The vertical analysis showed substantial differences between teachers and students, and police officers and students, on descriptive and evaluative beliefs pertaining to police. Many youngsters felt manipulated and exploited in the hands of policemen--as they did in the hands of teachers. These young subjects felt that police officers have psychological problems, are unfair, are bullies, and mistreat teenagers and minority group people. Proportionally more youngsters saw the police as law enforcers, not as community helpers. Of course, such findings regarding youth are not surprising when we consider the extent to which the adult socializers, policemen included, were not overly positive in their support of police. Many of the adult subjects felt that police had little status in the community and that they handled arrestees, adolescents, and Negroes badly. Throughout our analysis we have pointed out the large extent of police cynicism and the "respect at any cost" phenomena. Surely this hinders policemen's abilities to socialize youth toward positive support. We found, as many others have, that the loss of support is magnified when we examine black youngsters' responses. Many blacks do not perceive police as legitimate, thus there is a strain toward change and control of police in the black community. We can predict much change in the type of policing that will occur in such communities. Again, the stress

is needed for the essential change to occur.

Such findings are critical to our understanding of the maintenance of the political system. Perceptions of police are important to the diffuse support of the political system. Not only are police needed for the maintenance of order, the enforcing of laws, and the service of citizens, they are also valuable as a bridge between maturing members of the system and the broader political structure. The bridge between perceptions of police and support for the political system was well described by Easton and Dennis in their study of the origins of political legitimacy:

It would be reasonable to infer from the general respect children show for the policeman that they would probably accept his authority on the grounds that it is right and proper to obey him. It would scarcely be likely that a child, or for that matter an adult, would express even such moderately favorable sentiments about a policeman without at the same time accepting the appropriateness or legitimacy of his powers... But if this is true, we have succeeded in exposing one of the taproots of support for any regime. It is axiomatic that few systems could persist if, for each decision, the authorities had to persuade or compel the members of the system to conform. In most systems the members do in fact come to accept the validity of the power of the authorities, within varying limits. The police represent an output terminus of the authority structure that is personally nearest to the daily lives of the members of the system. If as children matured they came to despise, distrust, scorn, or reject the police, the probabilities would be considerable (assuming no compensatory mechanisms came into operation in later years) that acceptance of the whole structure of authority at all levels would suffer (Easton and Dennis, 1969: 239-240).

The data of the present study does not allow us to be as optimistic as Easton and Dennis over the extent of youths' positive support of police and the resulting acceptance of the whole structure of authority.

Again, we wish not to overstate the case. A majority of our subjects, with the exception of the Negro sample, related positive

statements toward the police. But there was a substantial minority who were negative, enough to place the system in strain.

In considering the descriptive and evaluative beliefs that our subjects held towards teachers and police, the reader might have noticed some apparent inconsistencies. For example, we found that the majority of the subjects responded favorably to the general concept of police, but were much less positive toward specific police actions. The reverse happens with perceptions towards teachers. Proportionally fewer subjects responded positively towards teachers than police, but more approved of specific teacher than police actions. Police are perceived as quite necessary for society, more necessary perhaps than teachers, and because of this people become very critical of police actions; the public becomes angry and frustrated at the visible inefficiency of police officers. Such a mixture of beliefs towards an object is not unusual, we are ambivalent towards many things. Many times there is an inconsistency between an individual's attitudes in terms of his beliefs and feelings (Festinger, 1957). Therefore:

...there is no necessary one-to-one relation between affect and evaluation. Whether or not the preferential response will be positive or negative, will therefore depend on the relative strength of one's evaluative beliefs and of one's positive or negative feelings. A person will make a "pro" response to an object toward which he harbors negative feelings if he believes the object to be significantly good for him (Rokeach, 1968: 122).

In the same vein, Easton pointed out that people are able to favor and disapprove of the same object at the same time, or at least different aspects of it. This is especially true of beliefs toward the various parts of the political system. It is normal for people to hold conflicting attitudes at one and the same time about different components

of the community, regime, or authorities. Therefore:

...we cannot assume that all attitudes and behavior of a member at any moment of time move consistently in one direction, supportive or antagonistic; and that even if they do, this means that they must be uniformly in favor or opposed to all the major political objects (Easton, 1965b: 169).

In measuring support towards a political object, we should be aware of the fact that such support is a net outcome (Easton, 1965b). That is, the reference to the input of support is to the net balance of support, opposition, and indifference of the groups. We have seen that the sum of the net balance of our groups, with the exception of the Negro students, turns out to be positive toward teachers and police, but we are aware and concerned over the substantial degree of negativeness toward these compliance system agents within this balance. It is quite clear that the sum of the net balance for our Negro group was negative towards teachers and police.

Perceptions of citizenship were measured in this study for we felt such beliefs are important to the maintenance of the political system. These perceptions determine the types of interactions between individuals and the political system. Since the relative roles played by the citizen and government agent are reciprocal (Hess and Torney, 1967), definitions of the various aspects of citizenship and the congruence or incongruence of these definitions by the public and polity determine the effectiveness of such reciprocal relationships. If, for example, the younger generation and the authorities do not see eye to eye on the extent to which a "good citizen" should actively protest the government's war policies, we can expect a break down in reciprocal relationships between youths' peaceful and lawful demonstrations and the authorities' protection of the demonstrators. The attack, in New York City in the

spring of 1970 by the "hard hats" (construction workers) on the youthful anti-war demonstrators, while police stood by and watched is an example of such a break down. Obviously, such incidents place great tensions on the political system.

Anticipatory socialization is involved in a youngster's perceptions of citizenship. The child is taught expectations and values about citizenship roles primarily for future behavior. The definitions and expectations of the concept of a good or bad citizen and citizenship that a child acquires will orient his adult political behavior. For example, a child who has been taught that those who participate in community programs receives the rewards of a good citizen, will be an active volunteer for community activities as an adult.

The horizontal level hypothesis stated that the teacher and police officer subjects will show consensus in their perceptions of citizenship (H_5). We find this consensus does exist; the adults feel that juvenile delinquents should be looked upon with sympathy, and good citizens are community activists and respect the laws.

Again, we predicted and found that instability would appear in vertical analyses of citizenship perceptions. There were significant differences in these perceptions between teachers and students (H_6), police officers and students (H_7), and Negro students and Dominant students, teachers, and police officers (H_8). A most important finding, however, is that the socialization community is somewhat successful at instilling the value of assertive and obedient citizenship, and patriotic deeds, in a substantial number of youngsters. We should

note that the successful socialization of the value of assertive behavior is functional to an effective democracy. For "...where norms of participation, perceived ability to participate, and actual participation are high, effective democracy is more likely to flourish" (Almond and Verba, 1965: 135).

The socialization community has been less successful in developing among youth some sympathy and empathy for peers who have gone astray. Whether the softening of attitudes will develop with age or whether the maturing generation will, as adults, continue to take a hard line on deviants can only be determined by longitudinal research. It appears, however, that such positive feelings toward assertive and obedient behavior and the harshness on deviants is functional to system maintenance. Ambivalence by many blacks towards the various aspects of citizenship, no doubt, places a strain on such maintenance.

It must be emphasized that successful socialization of assertive and obedient behavior may be good for the maintenance of the political system, but harmful to the welfare of many who have to exist under the system. The central goals of the socialization community have been the building of character, instilling of obedience to rules and laws, and developing respect for the compliance system. The theme is acceptance and passive concurrence with the status quo. This is the result of a desire for order and control, and the belief in the all powerful, wise, and good American system of government. The outcome of this is apathy; there does not develop the urgency for change and solutions to problems. Fortunately, we do have a growing radicalism

that is not placated by the system and that does see the urgency of change. We are in concordance with Hess in feeling:

What is new in this picture, of course, is the strength of protest that comes from within the society and the focusing of attack upon institutions of the society. This is itself a sign of vigor and of belief, or at least a hope, that some remedy can be found short of full revolution. The discrepancy between the espoused principles and values and the reality of discrimination and poverty has been evident for a long time; what is new is that there are serious, widespread attempts to take effective action. The degree of violence involved is itself a measure of the severity of the injustice and of our present intransigence and resistance to change (Hess, 1968: 533).

It was hypothesized that vertical instability exists in regard to support of judicial components (H_{11}). As predicted Dominant students were most positive, teachers were next in positiveness, police officers were negative, and Negro students were the most negative toward legal entities of criminal justice such as courts and laws. In regard to legal personnel such as judges and probation officers, teachers were more positive in support than their students, the police officers were next, followed by the Negro students. These differences were statistically significant.

The instability regarding judicial components comes predominately in the horizontal analysis of Dominant and Negro students and in the vertical analysis between Negro youth and adults. The main differences occur in the positive and neutral/no response categories of the judicial content sentence stems, and on the means obtained on the Criminal Justice Scale. Significantly fewer blacks, in proportion, responded positively, and significantly more answered neutrally or not at all. We also see that the Negro student group received a significantly

lower mean than the other groups on the Criminal Justice Scale. One can speculate that the American judicial system is in for some changes; if our data is representative, then the lack of legitimacy of the judiciary, laws, and criminal justice in the eyes of black youth and a substantial minority of Dominant youths and teachers, as well as the anger and frustration of a substantial number of police officers, must place much stress on the status quo. It is hard to imagine that the judicial system can remain unaffected by such pressure; maintenance becomes impossible.

It appears that the shift in our young subjects' orientation of diffuse support from personal components in the structure of authority to institutions and impersonal organizations of authority is incomplete (Easton and Dennis, 1969). Though positive support was quite evident for judges, such was not the case for the concepts of court and probation officer. We see that 69 percent of the Dominant students and 81 percent of the Negro students answered negative or neutral/no response on the court stem and 58 percent of the Dominant students and 76 percent of the Negro students answered in such ways on the probation officers stem. It is interesting to note that such a shift of perceptions toward the court never occurred for a substantial number of teachers (65 percent) and police officers (68 percent).

We had predicted consensus of support toward parents by the two student groups, but that significant differences would occur between the youngsters and adults (H₁₃). The horizontal analysis of the student groups indicated that we predicted incorrectly, the Negro

students were proportionally less positive and more neutral/no response towards father and parents than their Dominant peers. On the vertical plane, Negro students were proportionally less positive and more neutral/no response than teachers and police officers on the father stem and proportionally more neutral/no response than the adults on the parents stem.

It should be noted that the substantial proportions of youngsters who answered in negative terms or neutral/no response on the parent content sentence stems may be an asset to system-maintenance. These youngsters exhibited responses that indicated their unhappiness with parental authority, they felt tied to the "apron string" and in need of some self-regulation. Such rebellion disengages the child from some of his primordial ties to the nuclear family and brings him under the broader canopy of the political structure; he can begin to accept the validity at least of his own availability to non-familial authority.

Therefore:

The political authorities have direct access to him. Intermediaries do not bar the child from the authorities. He sees the structure of authority through his own eyes, and he responds to it directly in his own terms. The capacity to do this is closely related to the whole personalizing and politicizing processes. In short the input of support in the American system is directly from the child to authorities (Easton and Dennis, 1969: 408).

We had hypothesized vertical instabilities on all our hypotheses relating to our subjects' descriptive and evaluative beliefs of the compliance system. We felt that a contributing factor to this collective heterogeneity is intergenerational value system differences. It was predicted that there would be significant differences between

our four groups' value systems (H₁₄). The prediction was correct and the most prominent differences appeared between the younger subjects and the adults. This is consequential since values tell us what attitudes to hold and how to act. The agents of the socialization community are most concerned in developing in youngsters, value systems that are similar to theirs. This is thought to be necessary for induction into adulthood. Our findings indicate that, as of early adolescence, this has not taken place. We found incongruencies between the younger and older generations' value systems. This, no doubt, is a causative factor in the inter-generational conflicts that are so evident in our society.

We previously stated that a major concern of this study was to gain some notion of our research community's success in socializing youngsters toward compliance system support. It was asked: what is the extent of horizontal and vertical stability? Is the political system being maintained? From the review of the study's findings, we now see that there appears to be a minimum of horizontal instability between two of the community's prime socializers and compliance system agents. As predicted, we found near consensus on various issues between the teacher and police groups. We speculate that the system is not being stressed by problems produced on the horizontal plane. The youngsters are not being pushed, pulled and confused by cross-socialization; they are not receiving from the socialization community of the research city conflicting messages. Thus, noncumulative or incongruent socialization is not extensive (Prewitt and Okello-Oculi, in Segal, 1970).

As predicted, vertical instability was quite evident in our research community. The vertical plane is where the system is threatened. We found significant generational differences in the analysis of our subjects' descriptive and evaluative beliefs. The concern throughout this study was the substantial number of young subjects who did not relate positive support toward the several compliance system components presented to them. It is speculated that though cross-socialization by socializers is not a problem, contacts between these socializers and their charges is. These contacts are producing the effect as perceived by the adolescents, especially the black youngsters, of exploitation and unfairness. This hinders social learning in the form of loss of effective: transmission, reinforcement, and modeling of socializers by youngsters. Those with such feelings of exploitation call for system change. The data indicated that there are enough subjects responding in negative terms to state that politicization toward compliance system support is far from being successful in the research community.

One cannot fully understand this loss of support phenomena and the effects on compliant behavior, without considering the concept of legitimacy.

It appears that a main variable in the successful maintenance of the political system is the socialization of compliance system legitimacy. Legitimacy distinguishes authority from coercion, force, and power on the one hand, and leadership, persuasion, and influence on the other. It depicts compliance system agents' (authorities) feelings that they have a right to issue orders and the subordinates'

feelings of an obligation to obey (Peabody, in Sills, 1968). Power and social control therefore overlap. Commands and instructions are obeyed willingly because those in command are perceived by those under their command as being concerned for their welfare (Banton, 1964; and McIntosh, 1963). Such legitimacy can be summarized in the subordinates feeling that "we obey our teachers and police because they are our teachers and police". Compliance system legitimacy refers to more than the approval of the system; it means a deeper conviction, that the system is ethically acceptable. When legitimacy is pronounced, political efficiency is apparent. Such efficacy "...identifies a disposition towards politics, a feeling of effectiveness and capacity in the political sphere" (Easton and Dennis, 1967: 26). Such legitimacy is crucial to maintenance of the political system, for:

...no system can persist, regardless of its specific type or character, without some structure of authority, however limited or unrestrained the powers exercised through this structure may be. There must be some minimal input of support for the structure of authority, and a belief in its legitimacy empirically turns out to be the most dependable and continuing kind of support. Without this structure of authority the system could not sustain the minimal organization necessary to rally and commit, on any kind of recurring basis, the human and other resources of the system for the production and implementation of outputs. There could be no political system (Easton and Dennis, 1969: 100).

It seems that there is a relationship between compliance system legitimacy and compliant behavior, that is obedience to the dictates of authority even if the authority's orders or demands are illegitimate. We explain this relationship in terms of social exchange (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961), reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), moral authority (Banton, 1964), or bureaucratic authority (Weber, 1947).

It can be stated that compliance system agents possess much power over citizens. They render needed services that cannot readily be obtained elsewhere, thus citizens become dependent on and obligated to these agents for services (Blau, 1964). It is obvious that police furnish needed protection, order, and assistance; teachers provide the needed techniques for the young to become competent and self-sufficient adults.

The power of compliance system agents can only be legitimated through collective approval. It is considered advantageous by most of the citizenry to comply to the demands of such agents, and approval and feelings of obligation of compliance are communicated from citizen to citizen. There develops, therefore, pressures exerted by the citizenry that promote compliance to the agents' directives, thereby strengthening his power of control and legitimating his authority. Such legitimacy of authority is crucial to system-maintenance. In Blau's words:

It may be suggested that the distinctive feature of authority is that social norms accepted and enforced by the collectivity of subordinates constrain its individual members to comply with directives of a superior. Compliance is voluntary for the collectivity, but social constraints make it compelling for the individual. In contrast to other forms of influence and power, the pressure to follow suggestions and orders does not come from the superior who gives them but from the collectivity of subordinates. These normative constraints may be institutionalized and pervade the entire society, or they may emerge in a group in social interaction. The latter emergent norms define leadership, which, therefore, is considered a type of authority. The authority in formal organizations entails a combination of institutionalized and leadership elements (Blau, 1964: 200).

This collective approval only arises when it is commonly agreed that the demands made by authorities on the citizens are fair and just

in relation to the services the agents deliver. In such a case, citizens' feelings of obligation and loyalty to compliance system agents will arise and bestow legitimating approval on their power. Therefore, legitimacy of the police in the form of "we obey because they are our police", occurs when social consensus develops among citizens that the practices of the police contribute to their common welfare. It is within their interest to maintain the good will of police by discharging their obligations to the police. Thus the emergence of loyalty and norms makes compliance to police a social obligation enforced by citizens themselves. Legitimacy does not exist when citizens share the experience of being exploited by unfair demands by police, and by insufficient rewards they receive for their contributions for compliance. People then communicate to each other feelings of anger, hostility and oppositions toward the police.

We have continually emphasized that compliance system legitimacy develops through socialization processes. Through the process of generational transmission children internalize the social norms that demand compliance to authority's demands and the values of fairness and justice that justify and reinforce this compliance. The moral obligation to conform to commands remains part of their personality structure. The youngster's views of a social or authority system includes a conception of himself as a member and in part defines his behavior and role toward its representatives and the constraints they involve. These attitudes are an essential part of the process of socialization. The degree of a young person's attachment and respect for the compliance system, the youngster's belief about the power of compliance system agents to punish disobedience, and the likelihood of such punishment

are likely to affect his acceptance of the legitimacy of their rules. Of course, these beliefs reflect the collective approval of the acceptance of the rules. We have pointed out that such socialization is far from efficient. Many of the youngsters of the present study did not view authorities as fair and just. It can be speculated that such a breakdown in socialization contributes to the non-compliance of these oppositional subjects. The loss of respect for compliance system agents reduces the legitimacy of the obligation to comply to authority's wishes.

The opposition that develops from the loss of authority legitimacy, and thus the lessening of compliance, is most stressful to system-maintenance. Citizens exploited by compliance system agents have little to lose by resisting them. The meager rewards they receive for their services, which fall short of standards of fairness, make them less dependent on these agents. If their sense of justice is outraged by authority oppression, retaliation against the compliance system may be more rewarding than securing the continuation of their meager rewards. If conditions of opposition are experienced in a collective situation, revolutionary ideologies become attractive to many. The desire to retaliate becomes an end in itself. This appears to be a factor in the recent increase of attacks and shootings of compliance system agents. Such incidences are most prominent in areas where authority oppression is greatest, the black neighborhoods.

Thus far, our discussion of compliance system legitimacy and compliant behavior has been conducted on a theoretical plane. Is there any empirical evidence that support of the compliance system leads to

compliance? Though few have dealt with this problem, it appears that the answer to this question is affirmative. One of the only studies to address itself to the support and compliance issue was the Hess and Tapp (1969) cross-national research of Danish, Greek, Indian, Italian, Japanese, and United States children's perceptions of compliance systems. These researchers found positive correlations between positive attachment to compliance system agents and positive classroom behavior. Using the peer nominations technique they discovered that the children who stated they liked their teachers and other authority figures were also likely to be seen as cooperative in the classroom, to both peers and teachers. These authors concluded that the most basic feature of the child's attitudes toward authority figures is the degree of his feelings of respect, personal liking, and other expression of affective attachment. Positive feelings provide a psychological justification for a youngster's willingness to cooperate with expectations of authority figures and may underlie feelings of discomfort when he disobeys or fails them. Hess and Tapp summarize their findings in the following statement:

The attitudes of the children in the various countries as indicated on the questionnaire were related in a more or less consistent fashion to the nominations that they received from their peers as compliant or noncompliant with their behavior in the classroom. Perhaps the most prominent feature of the pattern of these relationships is that compliant and noncompliant behavior appear to be much more systematically related to the children's regard for the affective features and moral prestige of authority figures than they are to their perceptions of the authority figures as powerful and likely to punish disobedience. Across most of the countries, for example, affection (liking) for authority figures yielded a notable number of significant positive relationships with compliant behavior and of negative relationships with noncompliant behavior. A similar pattern appears for the questionnaire items that deal with the fairness of the authority figures' rules. Children

who see the rules as fair are more likely to be compliant and cooperative in the classroom both toward peers and toward teachers than are children who see the rules of authority figures as unfair (Hess and Tapp, 1969: 33, Part C - Cross National Comparisons and Conclusions).

It is felt that much more work is needed in this field. Studies must be carried out to determine relationships between compliance system support and many different types of compliant behavior.

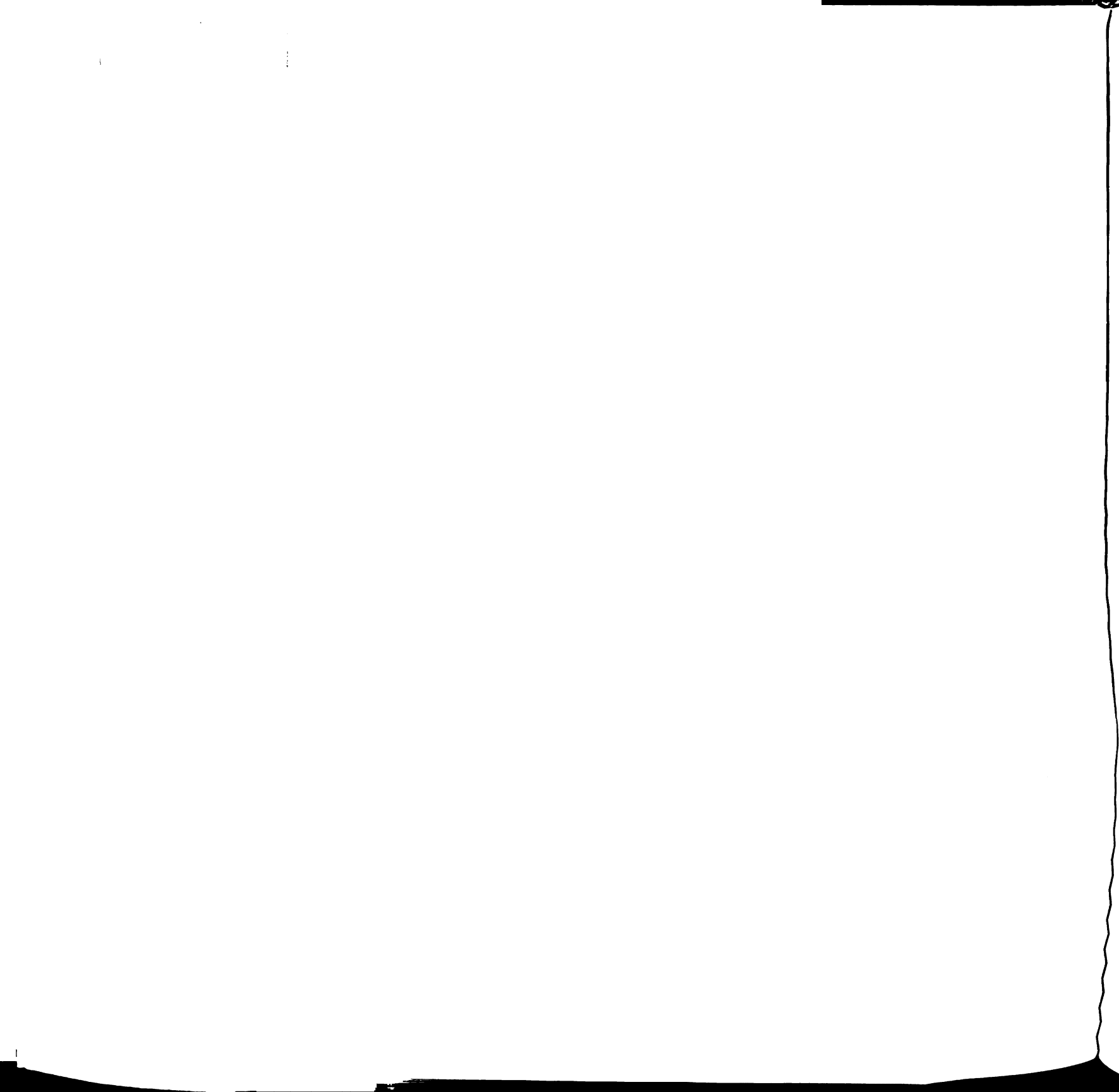
The theme of this study has been that the creating of such legitimacy or diffuse support is the main goal of the socialization community. A crude measure of the effectiveness of such attitudinal transmission was the degree of congruence of descriptive and evaluative beliefs between two sets of socialization agents as well as between these socializers and their charges. Our study of socializers and junior high school adolescents from a medium sized midwestern city indicates that the majority of these subjects do perceive the compliance system as legitimate. We are impressed, however, by the substantial minority of both adults and youth who do not feel that such is the case, and who probably do not feel obliged to comply to compliance system directives. We speculate that the number who are hostile towards the system represent enough to seriously stress the system. The violent dissent of youth we are experiencing on campuses, in ghettos, and at national political conventions may be a symptom of the critical low level of diffuse support now in existence for the political system. We predict that the maintenance of the system will break down and changes (we hope for the better) will occur in the future.

Our biggest concern, though not a surprising findings, is the lack of compliance system legitimacy exhibited by our black students. We also speculate that black youth feel less guilt in relation to authority



figures and rules on the logic that because the system is essentially unjust, noncompliance is a justified form of response. It may be that pressures build in the black community with sufficient strength to override any sense of positive support toward the compliance system that has been developed by the socialization community. Black pride, power, and control of institutions within the ghetto are examples of such pressure. These pressures also indicate that socializers within the black community may not implant the desire to comply with political outputs (Easton and Dennis, 1969). Because of their commitment to bring about change, these socializers may offer black youth models that will encourage the rejection of the compliance system and political decisions. Our findings indicate that the black students do not perceive compliance system agents as fair and just, thus they are less dependent on these agents. There is no emergence of loyalty and norms that makes compliance to the community's compliance system a social obligation enforced by black citizens themselves. We may predict that these youngsters who do not see the system as legitimate will be disenchanted with the political system as adults. Accompanying such disenchantment would be retaliation and revolutionary ideologies. It appears that much of the strain for change will be produced by our black citizens.

We emphasize that system change and modification is not interpreted as an unhealthy phenomena. The breakdown in system maintenance and the building of a new system may be functional to the welfare of those existing within the system. Thus change needs to be as integral to political system conceptualization as the present concern of stability

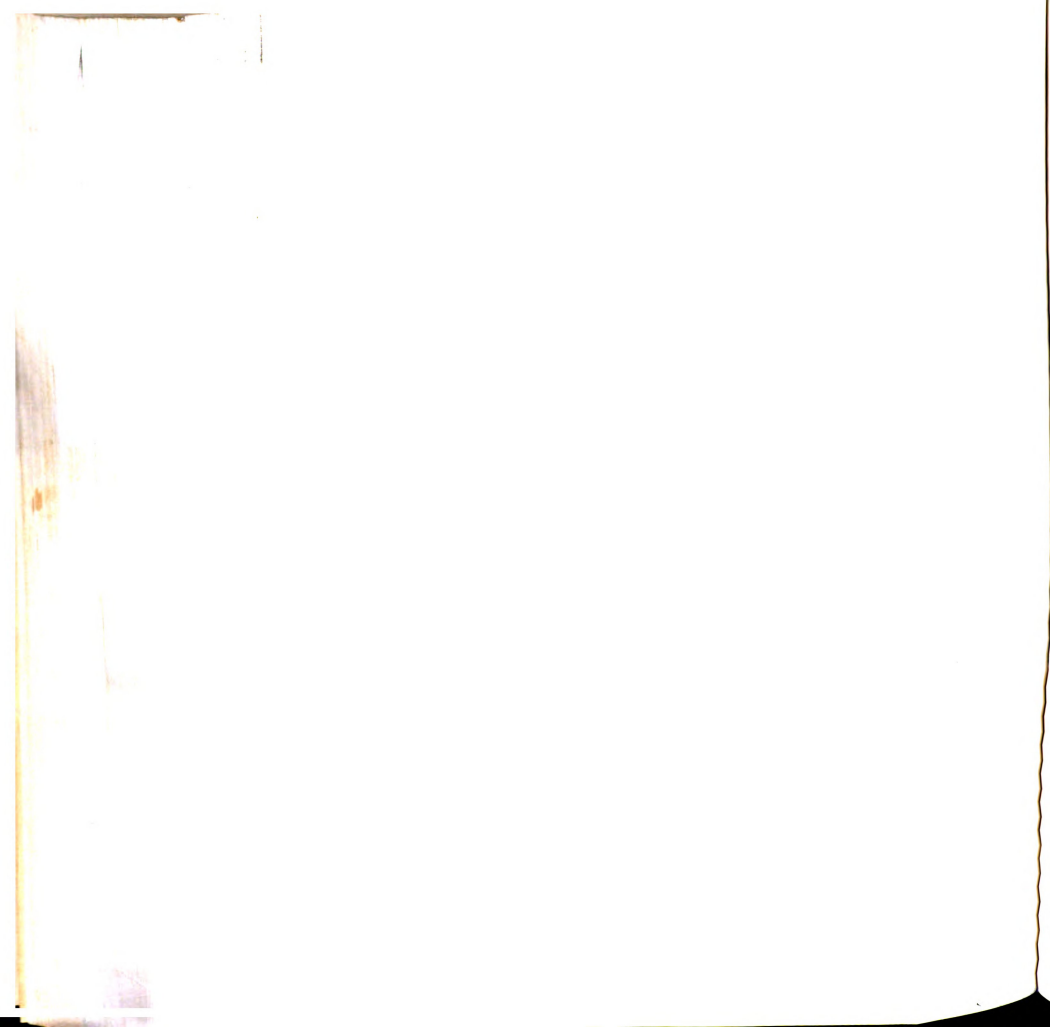


(Easton, 1968). It is quite evident that change within the compliance system is needed for the welfare of the political system. The conflict we see between the compliance system and our black citizens may be functional in stimulating needed change (Coser, 1956; 1967). Our thoughts on this issue are revealed in the following statement:

...if we start in a neutral vein and accept an interpretation of socialization as just those processes through which an individual learns about interaction with others, it may be that, even though his behavior is inappropriate for conforming with the standards of existing generations, or for bringing about political consensus, for his own generation the individual's learning may reflect a search for new patterns of behavior. What may be "inadequate" socialization for maintaining existing political structures may be highly "appropriate" for bringing into being new structures based upon new ideals and new kinds of political accommodations among the members of the system.... It would be hazardous to assume either directly or unwittingly that any given political structure is to be preserved intact. Rather, we need a more comprehensive conception of the theoretical relevance of socialization for the political system, one in which change is not interpreted as a failure of the system to reproduce itself but in which change is viewed in positive terms (Easton, 1968: 146).



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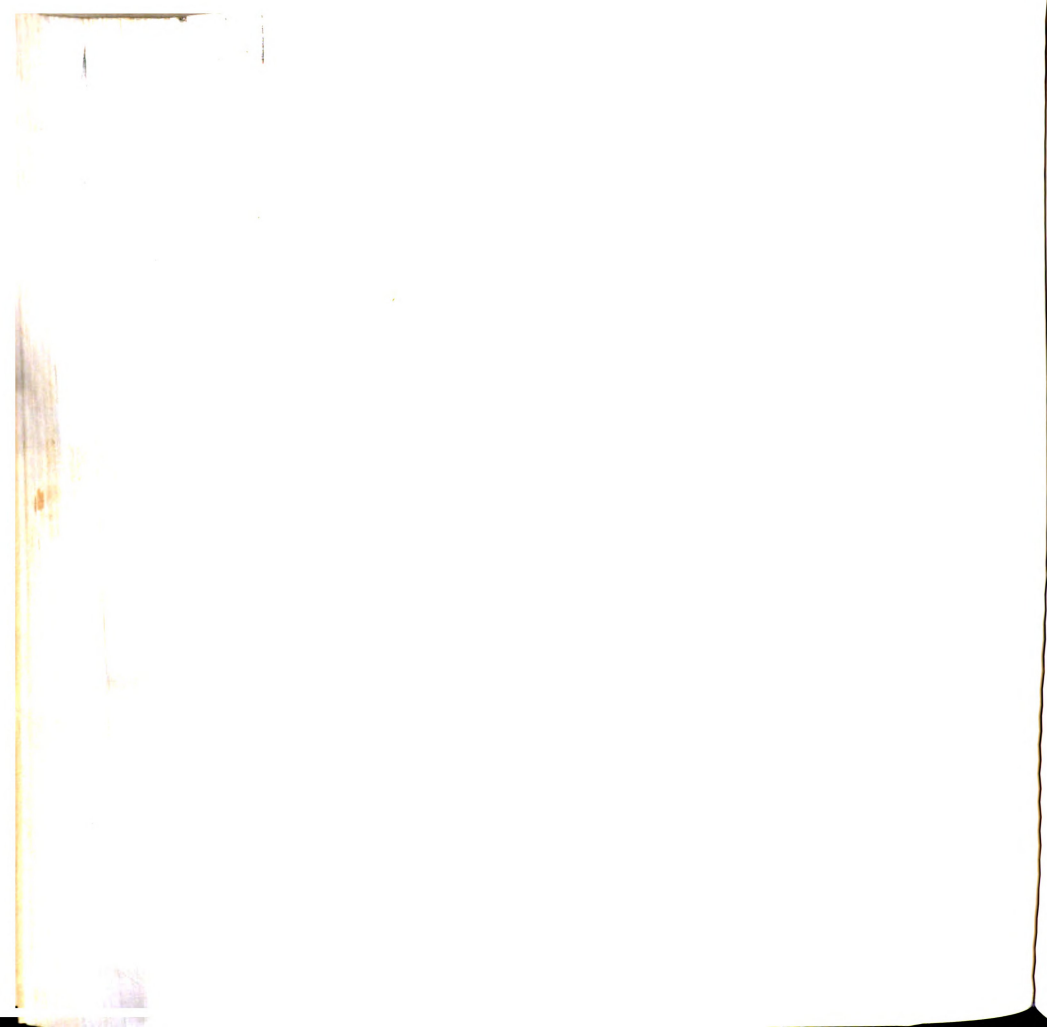
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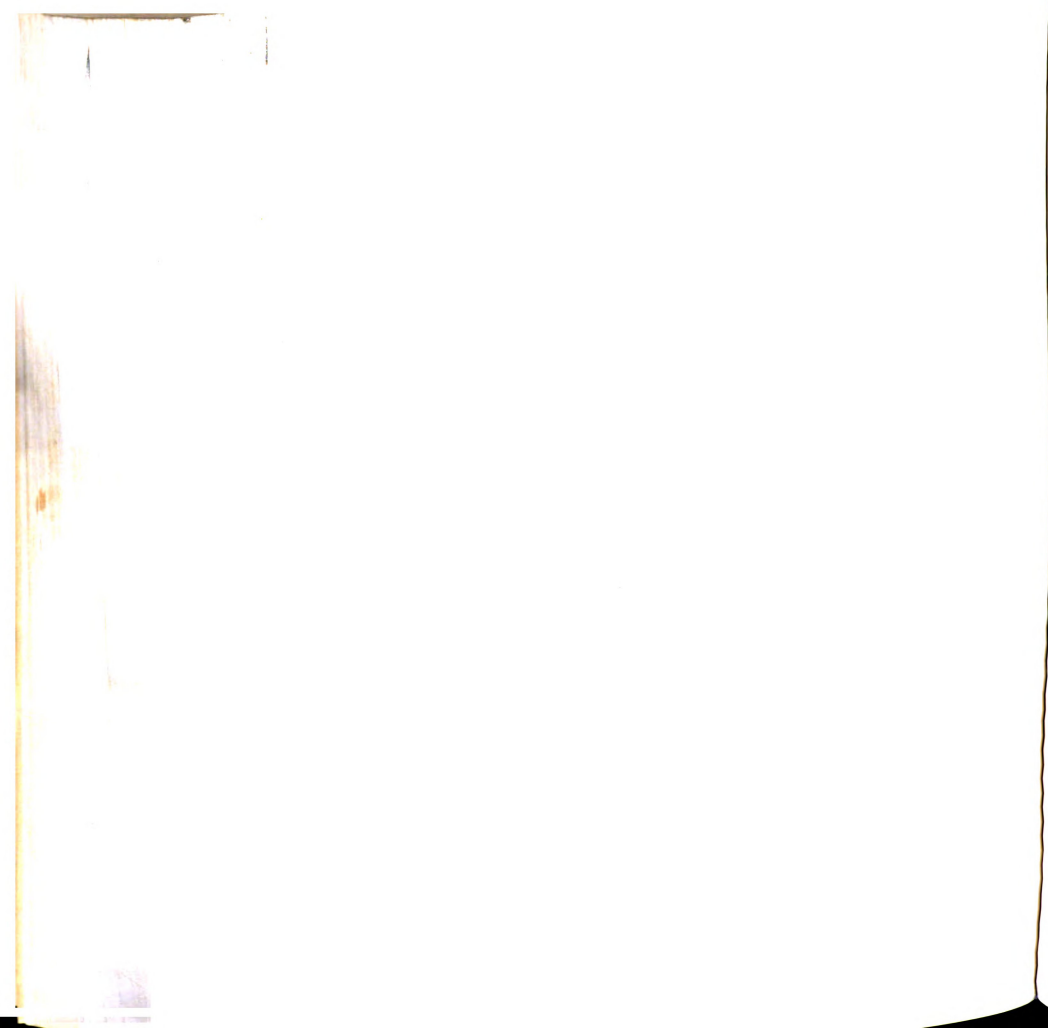
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APPENDIX A

CODE BOOKS FOR CRITICAL PROBLEM SURVEY

- 1. Teacher Problems Responses**
- 2. Police Problems Responses**

Code Book

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Code Book for Critical Problem Survey: Teacher Problems Responses

- 0 NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW
- 1 GENERAL DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS
 - noise
 - rebellion
 - disrespect - lack of respect
 - fighting
 - behavior
 - the kids
 - swearing
 - touch
 - conduct
 - showoff
 - proper attitude
 - students lack respect
 - students are insolent toward authority
- 2 SPECIFIC EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS
 - after school punishment
 - lazy
 - noncooperative
 - lax
 - cheating
 - skip class
 - personal problems
 - not paying attention
 - lack of desire to learn on part of student
 - low motivation of students
 - low student abilities
- 3 COMMUNITY PROBLEMS
 - noncooperation of parents
 - after school destruction of property
 - environmental problems of students
- 4 TEACHERS STYLE OF TEACHING
 - poor presentations
 - talk too much
 - say one thing and mean another
 - repetition
 - ignore students
 - unable to get understanding
 - keeping attention
 - motivating students
 - subject matter
 - communicating
 - training
 - creating an interest in school for the culturally deprived and disadvantaged child

- 5 RACIAL PROBLEMS
- 6 TEACHER PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS
 - emotional problems
 - understand students and their backgrounds
 - scared
 - coping
 - unappreciative
 - too abrupt
 - impatient
 - temper
 - won't admit own failure
 - taking troubles out on students
 - think students dumb
 - untrusting
 - the need for and maintaining respect
 - prejudice
 - dogmatic - restrict their students opinions
- 7 TEACHER UNFAIRNESS
 - use power too quickly
 - discipline too soon
 - hitting kids
 - favoritism
 - unfair grading
 - too lenient
 - overload with work
 - expect too much
 - mean teachers
 - too strict
- 8 OCCUPATIONAL PROBLEMS
 - salary
 - administration
 - clerical duties
 - too many students
 - records
 - files
 - meetings
 - precedents
 - substitute teachers
 - seating charts
 - time needs
 - homework
 - tests
 - checking papers
 - daily schedules
 - grading
 - rumors
 - being responsible for all the group
 - other opinionated teachers
 - conditions causing morale problems
 - not given proper authority to deal with discipline problems

Code Book for Critical Problem Survey: Police Problems Responses

- 0 NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW
- 1 JUVENILES
 - lack of knowledge and understanding of youth by police
 - teens and wild parties
 - not bad kids
 - lost
 - teen drop outs
 - neglected kids
 - being fair with kids
 - surveillance of juveniles
- 2 JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND DELINQUENCY
 - runaways
 - vandalism
 - in trouble
 - prevention of
- 3 COMMUNITY PROBLEMS
 - uncooperation and lack of concern
 - hands tied politically
 - poor side of town
 - teens parents
 - recognition
 - social differentials
 - disrespect
 - witness cooperation
 - adults
 - public relations
 - public understanding
 - violence in the world
 - breakdown of family unit
 - police need respect from community and support with community
 - poor image of authority
 - respect for law and order
 - press
- 4 ENFORCEMENT
 - apprehend criminals and solving cases
 - traffic offenses
 - drugs
 - trouble causers
 - drunks
 - bad citizens
 - ticket fixers
 - murder
 - crank calls
 - control people
 - keeping city safe
 - law and order
 - prevention of crime

- 5 RIOTS, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND RACIAL PROBLEMS
controlling groups
civil rights
people who stop at nothing
minority groups
ghettos
- 6 POLICE PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS
show off
independent
stuck up
lazy
chicken
gruff
unpleasant
prejudiced
irresponsible
gullible
understand other people
politeness
scared
emotionally involved
uncaring of people
police defensive in handling minority groups
police alienate law-abiding citizens
- 7 POLICE UNFAIRNESS
bullying
bossy
go right by when needed
blow up problems
too strict
not enough chances
ticket happy
brutality
lying
too lenient
mean
they pick on more juveniles than adults
- 8 OCCUPATIONAL PROBLEMS
pay
recruitment
danger
getting shot
irregular home life
training
bribes
lack of numbers
judgment - discretion
sued
to shoot or not to shoot

- 8 (Continued)
helpfulness - service
inefficient - slow
knowing honesty of people
conditions causing morale problems
- 9 LEGAL BINDS
Supreme Court
lack authority
restricted

APPENDIX B

SENTENCE COMPLETION CODEBOOK

(content categories not used in the data analysis
are excluded)

Content Judge
 Code 01
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 2. A judge is

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 2. good man; fair
2. 2. leader to set straight

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 2. OK
2. 2. knows law
3. 2. a final word; makes decisions

3 - Neutral o

1. 2. a man in a black robe
2. 2. I don't know

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 2. not always correct
2. 2. at times too lenient to offenders
3. 2. supposed to be fair (but are not)

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 2. nothing
2. 2. unfair man in black robe
3. 2. lax
4. 2. side stepping his duties by not imposing fair punishment in some cases leading to the same people repeating, and new ones trying (police officers response)

0 - No Response

Content Court
 Code 02
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 15. In court
 (24. In dealing with kids,
 police are)

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 15. hard working people
2. 15. you tell all the truth
3. 15. is very fair

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 15. you seek justice
2. 15. accused given benefit of the doubt
3. 15. regardless of articulate lawyers and poor police work,
 justice is usually served (police officers response)
4. 15. to see if wrong or right

3 - Neutral o

1. 15. I go
2. 15. don't know - have not been there

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 15. people yell
2. 15. person should feel at ease (but doesn't); I would be
 scared; I get nervous
3. 15. Person should find justice (but doesn't)
4. 15. tell the law a lie; the person of low income finds
 costs prohibitive of receiving justice against the rich

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 15. you might as well give up
2. 24. tied down by the courts so much that the kids now know
 they can do pretty much what they want (police officers
 response)
3. 15. juries are led and misled by attorneys and actual guilt
 seems of only second importance (police officers response)

0 - No Response

Content Law
 Code 03
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 17. The law
 (36. I hate)
 (24. In dealing with kids,
 police are)

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 17. to protect our freedom
2. 17. to be respected
3. 17. fair; good; is right
4. 36. people who have total disregard for the law and the people around them; lawbreakers' disobedience

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 17. should be carried out
2. 17. is very plain

3 - Neutral o

1. 17. I don't know
2. 17. is for lawyers
3. 17. is flexible, I mean it can be used as a tool to construct something that will benefit society or destroy a society

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 17. may not always be correct
2. 17. should not be run by the Supreme Court
3. 17. not changing with society; could be more strict on juvenile offenders, then there would be fewer offenders

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 17. is crazy
2. 24. bound by inadequate means and restrictive laws

0 - No Response

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Content | <u>Police</u> | 5. Any policeman |
| Code | 04 | 8. Most police are |
| Attitude Code no. | | 9. The police department |
| | | 33. In arresting people, police |
| | | (19. Other people) |
| | | (1. I like) |
| 5 - Direct Positive ++ | | (36. I hate) |
-
1. 5. good man; kind; must love his job to put up with what he has to (police officers response)
 2. 8. nice and kind; fair, friendly
 3. 9. good; great; is a necessity
 4. 33. do their duty well
 5. 1. policemen; police work
- 4 - Indirect Positive +
1. 5. to be respected; has a rough time
 2. 8. basically fair; hampered; nice; underpaid
 3. 9. tries to be fair; means well; place of authority
 4. 33. fast; doing their duty; tell them their constitutional rights; carrying out the laws made by the people
 5. 19. don't realize the police problem
- 3 - Neutral o
1. 9. big building; not been there; is where the police are
 4. 33. do not know
- 2 - Indirect Negative -
1. 5. don't always seem friendly; supposed to do duty (but don't)
 2. 8. should view himself as being of service to people first and enforcer last
 3. 9. has low status; needs updating; has low morale
 4. 33. are scared; are too gentle
- 1 - Direct Negative --
1. 5. is crazy
 2. 8. ugly; fast at giving tickets; dishonest; white
 3. 9. is ichi; mean; has a lot of deadwood in it (police officer's response)
 4. 33. Are mean; stupid; brutal; should show respect; should shoot them, are assaulted
 5. 36. cop
- 0 - No Response

Conter
Code
Attitu

5 - D

1

3

4

4 - I

1

2

3 -

2 -

1

0

Content	<u>Teachers</u>		11. Most teachers are
Code 05			14. Teachers
Attitude Code no.		Stems:	(1. I like)
			(36. I hate)

5 - Direct Positive ++

- 1. 11. good; good instructors; fair; friendly; dedicated
- 3. 14. outstanding; are necessary
- 4. 1. teaching

4 - Indirect Positive +

- 1. 11. OK to kids; underpaid; to teach you; smart
- 2. 11. are human
- 3. 14. nice; try
- 4. 1. I like some teachers

3 - Neutral o

- 1. 14. are people

2 - Indirect Negative -

- 1. 11. old fashioned; middle class and don't understand lower class problems
- 2. 11. strict; too easy when it comes to school discipline; old
- 3. 14. teach things we probably never use; generally do a very good job in academics, but could assert to a greater degree in moral development of the student (police officer's response)

1 - Direct Negative --

- 1. 11. stuck up
- 3. 14. ugly; demand more they merit; unfair
- 4. 36. I hate teachers

0 - No Response

Content Police and youth

Code 06

Attitude Code no.

Stems:

23. A police juvenile officer

24. In dealing with kids, police are

(8. Most policemen)

(10. Most kids)

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 23. has an important job

2. 24. fair; kind

3. 10. like the police

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 24. pretty good; easy; most instance give them benefit of doubt

3 - Neutral 0

1. 23. have not been there

2. 24. have not been there

3. 23. never heard of one

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 23. sometimes condemns too fast; needs more contact with
"good" kids

3. 24. funny; handcuffed

4. 24. too easy on them; often afraid they're not displaying
enough toughness; image

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 23. ugly; prejudice

2. 23. fighting a losing battle (police officer's response)

3. 10. hate cops

4. 8. unfair in their treatment of teenagers

5. 24. forced to baby them; abused (police officer's response)

0 - No Response

Content Teachers and youth
 Code 07
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 29. In dealing with kids,
 teachers are

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 29. impartial; fair
2. 29. understanding

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 29. OK
2. 29. reasonable

3 - Neutral o

2 - Indirect Negative --

1. 29. pretty bad; sometimes too mean
2. 29. apt to miss the real problem
3. 29. often only thinking of themselves
4. 29. not strict enough; too lenient
5. 29. sometimes forced to be arbitrary; handcuffed

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 29. dumb
2. 29. unfair
3. 29. are subject to extreme abuse

0 - No Response

Content Police and Negroes
 Code 08
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 18. In dealing with Negroes,
 police are

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 18. very, very patient; good
2. 18. understanding
3. 18. friendly
4. 18. fair; fair as with any other person; the same as whites;
 not prejudice

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 18. not as rough as pictured and talked about
2. 18. lenient; careful

3 - Neutral o

1. 18. sort of busy; good and bad
2. 18. given lots of training

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 18. not too good; not strict enough; too fair
2. 18. sometimes prejudiced; maybe unfair
3. 18. not given enough power; afraid; scared
4. 18. inclined to ignore because police chose to avoid the in-
 sults and accusations of so-called human relations com-
 missions (police officer's response)

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 18. bad; ichi; blind; chicken; prejudice
2. 18. brutal - indifferent - animals; too mean; too hard; unjust,
 devils real life devils
3. 18. ignorant
4. 18. right to shoot them down; not killing enough of them
5. 18. too often prejudice and over-reactive to what might occur
 if he says or does what is normal with every other person
 (police officer's response)
6. 18. subject to extreme profanity and danger; made to look
 like monsters

0 - No Response

Content Teachers and Negroes Stems: 22. In dealing with Negroes,
 Code 09 teachers are
 Attitude Code no.

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 22. fair
2. 22. the same as whites
3. 22. not prejudice at all

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 22. fair in most cases; pretty good but not that good
2. 22. still trying
3. 22. exercising an opportunity to cope with, and win out over their prejudice

3 - Neutral o

1. 22. quiet

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 22. too lenient
2. 22. afraid; scared
3. 22. leaning over backwards to be fair, because the Negroes always feel "picked" on
4. 22. often too involved with too many students to be able to handle special problems brought on by being Negro (police officer's response)

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 22. nothing; indifferent; very prejudice
2. 22. too rough; too strict
3. 22. beat up; swore at; walked on; kicked around; and not listened to

0 - No Response

Content Youth
 Code 11
 Attitude Code no.

7. Teenagers
 10. Most kids
 21. My friends (for student
 respondents)

5 - Direct Positive ++
 (1. I like)
 (36. I hate)
 (32. The future)

1. 7. groovey; cool; are great; good
2. 10. are sweet; I like
3. 21. cool kids; decent; are my life!; are good citizens
4. 1. boys; girls
5. 32. is in the hands of todays youth

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 7. aren't really bad; are OK; are kids that are blamed most of the time for stealing cars, or breaking in a store, etc. they are interesting
2. 10. aren't bad; are OK: like to play; are basically good; are misunderstood

3 - Neutral o

1. 7. boys and girls
2. 10. do things just for fun; like candy

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 36. juvenile delinquents
2. 7. a little too much of wanting rights but not responsibilities (police officers response); are loud
3. 7. should get haircuts

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 7. need stronger controls; have low respect for elders; are disrespectful
2. 10. have poor attitudes to elders

0 - No Response

Content	<u>School</u>	Stems:	4. The school
Code	13		6. In school
Attitude Code no.			27. Studying
			(1. I like)
			(36. I hate)
			(14. Teachers)
5 - Direct Positive ++			(29. In dealing with kids, teachers are)
2. 6. is the best way to live; I have a lot of fun			
3. 27. important; necessary; discipline the mind			
4. 1. I like school			
4 - Indirect Positive +			
1. 4. pretty good; place to learn; nice; for education; a place of learning			
2. 6. OK - fun but work; I like gym			
3. 27. all right; OK; we work			
3 - Neutral o			
1. 27. behavior of people			
2 - Indirect Negative -			
1. 4. not free enough; is boring; should be the most exciting part of the students day, but often isn't			
2. 6. need more electives; I am bored; we work too hard; a child's many problems both significant and other wise are often lost in the shuffle (police officers response)			
3. 27. is hard			
4. 36. homework			
5. 29. hindered by administrators (teachers response)			
1 - Direct Negative --			
1. 4. queer; rotten place; needs revision; poor control over students			
2. 6. I go nuts; treated like little kids; so many disceptive problems, its hard to teach			
3. 27. worst thing in the world			
4. 36. school; not being backed up on discipline (teachers response)			
5. 14. are dominated and have little say in policy (teachers response)			
0 - No Response			

Content Father
 Code 15
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 25. A father is

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 25. one to love; symbol to be followed; family man
2. 25. essential; the head of the family

4 - Indirect positive +

1. 25. the person who should take the responsibility for his children

3 - Neutral o

1. 25. a stepfather; dead; is a husband
2. 25. someone I don't know

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 25. needs to stay home more

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 25. a monster; overruled; stepped on; a shill

0 - No Response

Content Parents
 Code 16
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 26. Most parents
 (10. Most kids)

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 26. are good to their kids; honest and law abiding; are concerned over their children
2. 26. fair; are good parents

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 26. try to understand kids
2. 26. are trying some kind of control

3 - Neutral o

1. 26. live together; have children

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 26. are too old fashioned
2. 26. spoil children; are too easy going
3. 26. not as concerned with their kids as they should be

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 26. don't even keep track of their children
2. 10. who are in trouble with school, the law, isn't caused by the way a teacher teaches or because he has had a little trouble with a policeman, but because his parents are not parents
3. 26. are bad

0 - No Response

Content Probation officers
 Code 17
 Attitude Code no.

Stems: 28. Probation officers are

5 - Direct Positive ++

1. 28. nice guys; necessary; good

4 - Indirect Positive +

1. 28. important if they do a right job

3 - Neutral o

1. 28. I do not know
2. 28. I never met one

2 - Indirect Negative -

1. 28. not able to correct too many problems
2. 28. easy going (coddling); too lenient
3. 28. people who don't realize the problems on the streets
 (police officers response)

1 - Direct Negative --

1. 28. too strict; stupid, I hate them

0 - No Response

APPENDIX C
SUPPLEMENT CODES FOR SENTENCE
STEMS 18, 22, 24, 29, 33

18. In dealing with Negroes, police are... (Content Category 08)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>
0	No response
3	Non-applicable, already coded 08 with clear response of positive or negative attitudes toward police
2 (in 2 indirect negatives)	Positive toward police, but respondent is critical of police actions in dealing with Negroes, or negative in tone.

Examples: Not strict enough; too lax; too lenient; too fair; having more trouble with them; sometimes falsely accused of racial discrimination; not given enough power; scared; afraid; hampered; inclined to ignore because police chose to avoid the insults and accusations of so-called human relations commissions.

1 (in 1 direct negative)	Same definition as 2.
--------------------------	-----------------------

Examples: Subject to extreme profanity and danger; right to shoot them down; not killing enough of them; forced to use violence; made to look like monsters.

22. In dealing with Negroes, teachers are... (Content Category 09)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>
0	No response
3	Non-applicable, already coded 09 with clear response of positive or negative attitudes toward teachers.
2 (in 2 indirect negative)	Positive toward teacher, but respondent is critical of teacher actions in dealing with Negroes, or negative in tone.

Examples: too lenient; too lax; not hard enough; hindered; scared; afraid; leaning over backwards to be fair; because the Negroes always feel "picked on."

1 (in 1 direct negative) Same definition as 2.

Examples: put in the middle by prejudice and non-prejudice students; beat up; swore at; walked on; kicked around; and not listened to.

24. In dealing with kids, police are... (Content Category 06)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>
0	No response
3	Non-applicable, already coded 06 with clear response of positive or negative attitudes toward police.
2 (in 2 indirect negative)	Positive toward police, but respondent is critical of police actions in dealing with kids, or negative in tone.

Examples: too easy on them; need to be more harsh; are having problems with them; scared; afraid; handcuffed

1 (in 1 direct negative)	Same definition as 2
--------------------------	----------------------

Examples: forced to baby them; abused

29. In dealing with kids, teachers are... (Content Category 07)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>
0	No response
3	Non-applicable, already coded 07 with clear response of positive or negative attitudes towards teachers.
2 (in 2 indirect negative)	Positive toward teachers, but respondent is critical of teachers actions in dealing with kids, or negative in tone.

Examples: Too lenient; too lax; not strict enough; having problems; scared; afraid; sometimes forced to be arbitrary; handcuffed.

1 (in 1 direct negative)	Same definition as 2.
--------------------------	-----------------------

Examples: Subject to extreme abuse.

33. In arresting people, police ... (Content Category 04)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definition</u>
0	No response
3	Non-applicable, already coded 04 with clear response of positive or negative attitudes toward police.
2 (in 2 indirect negative)	Positive toward police, but respondent is critical of police actions in arresting people, or negative in tone.

Examples: Are too gentle; too lenient; too lax; not rough enough; have to be rough.

1 (in 1 direct negative)	Same as definition 2
--------------------------	----------------------

Examples: Should shoot them; stick their neck out and their life is on the line; are assaulted.

APPENDIX D

CODE BOOK FOR SENTENCE STEMS

3, 12, 13, 16, 20, 31: Content Categories

3. Juvenile delinquents....

00 = NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW

- 01. RESULT OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS:
victims of social and/or parental neglect;
misunderstood; poorly supervised; are because of
police; allowed too many mistakes before real effort
is made to correct the attitude
- 02. BASICALLY GOOD: ARE YOUNG: ARE HUMAN
to be pitied and helped; attention getting;
undecided; just misbehaving; troubled; needs love
and attention; help; can be corrected
- 03. DESCRIPTION OF NEGATIVE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS:
drop-outs; mouthy, mixed-up; brats; act tough;
punks; goofy; stupid; crazy; insane; mean; hate
society.
- 04. MANY OF THEM:
multiplying; growing problem
- 05. THEY ARE THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL OR THEY ARE SOCIAL PROBLEMS:
bad; problem children; do things they are not supposed
to do; major crime factor; poor citizens; are wrong
sometimes; ruin it for other kids.
- 06. IN MINORITY:
not really very many
- 07. NOT TREATED SEVERELY ENOUGH:
should be treated like adult criminals; jail them.
- 08. PERSONAL IDENTITY AS A JUVENILE DELINQUENT/INVERTED NORMS:
cool; groovey; me; my friends.
- 09. OTHER

12. Police are chosen...

00 = NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW

- 01. BY SPECIFIC STANDARDS:
fairly; carefully; best applicants; rigid tests; merit;
with caution; carefully; well; training.
- 02. BY LITTLE OR NO STANDARDS:
by need; lottery; badly; some should not have been;
backwardly; machines; unfairly.
- 03. FROM APPLICANTS:
men
- 04. BY PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS:
ability; interest; personality; character; integrity;
height; skills; meanness.
- 05. BY MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION:
the police force; chief; city; government; by the people.
- 06. TO BE A SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY:
serve; protect; set examples; position; solve problems;
keep laws; to do a job.
- 07. TO DO THE "DIRTY-WORK" FOR THE COMMUNITY:
scapegoats; rough jobs; dirty jobs; to suppress; harass;
pick on people; to break up riots; to do the dirty work
of politicians; as scapegoat for many people's aggres-
sions that may not even be connected with police.
- 08. OTHER:

13. A good citizen...

00 = NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW

- 01. INVOLVED IN THE COMMUNITY:
works; organizes; active; example setter; helps.
- 02. RESPECTS LAWS:
obeys; understands; trusts; reports infractions; pays taxes; respects property and rights; also a policeman; cooperates; never gets into trouble; respects police; obeys all laws; helps the police.
- 03. PATRIOTIC:
should be interested in his government; does things with a sincere feeling for the good of America.
- 04. NOT PERFECT:
sneaky; not always honest; square.
- 05. DESERVES PUBLICITY:
should be respected; many, very important
- 06. IS SOCIALIZED:
is nice; nice guy; good person; honest; polite; smart; not prejudice.
- 07. FEW IN NUMBER:
hard to find.
- 08. PERSONAL REFERENCE:
a good citizen...like me.
- 09. OTHER:

16. Teachers are chosen...

00 = NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW

- 01. BY SPECIFIC STANDARDS:
credentials; qualifications; educational level; training;
academic standing; selectively.
- 02. BY LITTLE OR NO STANDARDS:
to serve a particular group; haphazardly; to fit needs;
not chosen; lottery; lunatics; unfairly.
- 03. FROM APPLICANTS:
people
- 04. BY PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS:
ability; character; attitudes; smartness;
intelligence; interests
- 05. BY ADMINISTRATORS:
Board of Education; principals.
- 06. TO BE A SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY:
teach; help youth; lead the young.
- 07. TO DO THE "DIRTY-WORK" FOR THE COMMUNITY:
to perform work that should be done at home; to be
scapegoated.
- 08. OTHER:

20. A bad citizen...

00 = NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW

- 01. DETRIMENTAL TO COMMUNITY:
has no respect for society and community; irresponsible;
rebels; looks for trouble; always in trouble; social
hindrance; bad gangs; cannot responsibly act in a com-
munity; feels man's laws and society itself "owes" him
something.
- 02. DISRESPECTS LAWS/VIOLATES LAWS:
juvenile delinquents; criminals; hinders police.
- 03. UNPATRIOTIC:
does not vote; burn draft card.
- 04. INCONSIDERATE OF OTHERS:
hurts others; blames others; self-centered; is
prejudice.
- 05. MANY/GETS TOO MUCH PUBLICITY:
common; real problem.
- 06. CAN BE SOCIALIZED:
needs understanding; needs help; has had background;
needs regulations; needs respect.
- 07. FEW IN NUMBER:
is in the minority; hard to find.
- 08. PERSONAL IDENTITY AS A BAD CITIZEN/INVERTED NORMS:
like me; groovey; my friend; does everything right; good.
- 09. ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS:
is Negro; is a negro: let white people tell it.
- 10. RARELY CAUGHT:
gets away.
- 11. APATHY:
doesn't care; is unconcerned.
- 12. NEED PUNITIVE FORCE:
obeys when forced; jail him; arrest him; watch him;
kick out of community.
- 13. OTHER:

31. Citizenship means...

00 = NO RESPONSE OR DON'T KNOW

- 01. CONTRIBUTING TO COMMUNITY:
taking responsibilities; leadership; speaking up, honest cooperation; participation; honesty; involved; belonging to many things.
- 02. OBEYING LAWS:
respecting laws; respecting property rights; obeying the police.
- 03. PATRIOTISM:
country; being a citizen; voting; loyalty; loving the flag.
- 04. CONSIDERATE OF OTHERS:
being a good friend; golden rule; considering others; helping others; ethics; unselfishness.
- 05. NOTHING TO SOME PEOPLE/AMBIGUOUS MEANING:
nothing; anything; everything.
- 06. BEHAVIOR:
student behavior; actions; good behavior; your behavior; good language; citizenship grade in school.
- 07. EQUALITY AND FREEDOM:
civil rights; personal rights; opportunity for all.
- 08. PERSONAL REFERENCE:
means a lot to me; me.
- 09. OTHER:

APPENDIX E

INTERCORRELATION MATRICES OF THE RUNDQUIST-SLETTÖ LAW

SCALE ITEMS

TABLE 52

Intercorrelation matrix of the Rundquist-Sletto law scale items for the student sample (N=1121)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	1.000										
2	0.536	1.000									
3	0.279	0.267	1.000								
4	0.262	0.271	0.330	1.000							
5	-0.099	-0.112	-0.111	-0.149	1.000						
6	0.223	0.239	0.327	0.228	-0.034	1.000					
7	-0.124	-0.136	-0.223	-0.081	0.396	-0.113	1.000				
8	-0.125	-0.075	-0.165	-0.039	0.363	-0.286	0.552	1.000			
9	-0.142	-0.146	-0.136	-0.307	0.316	-0.072	0.341	0.334	1.000		
10	0.201	0.165	0.261	0.238	0.043	0.141	0.016	0.045	-0.058	1.000	
11	0.278	0.283	0.363	0.234	-0.078	0.273	-0.147	-0.103	-0.095	0.303	1.000

 = Correlations selected for the determination of items to include in the Criminal Justice Scale.

TABLE 53

Intercorrelation matrix of the Rundquist-Sletto law scale items for the teacher sample (N=177)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	1.000										
2	0.541	1.000									
3	0.372	0.356	1.000								
4	0.311	0.186	0.326	1.000							
5	0.416	0.187	0.122	0.238	1.000						
6	0.355	0.378	0.424	0.286	0.216	1.000					
7	0.468	0.211	0.243	0.185	0.417	0.293	1.000				
8	0.368	0.320	0.204	0.133	0.376	0.364	0.612	1.000			
9	0.342	0.320	0.241	0.370	0.304	0.253	0.334	0.327	1.000		
10	0.193	0.205	0.141	0.294	0.157	0.163	0.056	0.075	0.312	1.000	
11	0.323	0.141	0.316	0.211	0.295	0.235	0.437	0.266	0.129	0.115	1.000

TABLE 54

Intercorrelation matrix of the Rundquist-Sletto law scale items for the police sample (N=160)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	1.000										
2	0.582	1.000									
3	0.114	0.125	1.000								
4	0.170	0.242	0.117	1.000							
5	0.111	0.200	0.066	0.181	1.000						
6	0.206	0.054	0.250	0.066	0.002	1.000					
7	0.087	0.064	0.310	0.045	0.042	0.232	1.000				
8	-0.053	-0.063	0.071	0.080	0.123	0.089	0.275	1.000			
9	0.166	0.311	0.129	0.452	0.212	0.002	0.098	-0.025	1.000		
10	0.207	0.205	0.094	0.276	-0.018	0.098	0.105	0.057	0.146	1.000	
11	0.165	0.079	0.343	-0.032	0.061	0.112	0.146	-0.042	0.057	0.022	1.000

APPENDIX F
RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Critical Problem Survey

1. Would you please state--in order--what you consider to be the two most serious problems teachers have.

1. _____

2. _____

2. Would you please state--in order--what you consider to be the two most serious problems police have.

1. _____

2. _____

The Prestige Rating Scales

3. How would you picture the job of a teacher in Lansing at the present time? Make a check in the spaces to indicate your answer.

For example:

With respect to satisfaction of the position:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very High in Satisfaction	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low in Satisfaction	

A check in the first space in the example shows that the reader felt that teaching in Lansing is a very highly satisfying job.

- a. With respect to the general prestige of the position:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very High in Prestige	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low in Prestige	

- b. With respect to the degree of influence teachers have in community affairs:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very High Degree of Influence	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low Degree of Influence	

c. With respect to the social position of teachers in the community:

Very High Social Position	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low Social Position

d. With respect to the economic position of teachers in the community:

Very High Economic Position	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low Economic Position

How would you picture the job of policemen in Lansing at the present time? (Make a check in the spaces to indicate your answer.)

a. With respect to the general prestige of the position:

Very High in Prestige	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low in Prestige

b. With respect to the degree of influence policemen have in community affairs:

Very High Degree of Influence	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low Degree of Influence

c. With respect to the social position of policemen in the community:

Very High Social Position	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low Social Position

d. With respect to the economic position of policemen in the community:

Very High Economic Position	Fairly High	Moderately Low	Quite Low Economic Position

The Sentence Completion Technique

Please finish the following sentences with words that express your feelings or thoughts. DO NOT SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON COMPLETING EACH SENTENCE--WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN YOUR FIRST IMPRESSIONS. Also, don't worry about your spelling.

1. I like....
2. A judge is...
3. Juvenile delinquents...
4. The school...
5. Any policeman...
6. In school...
7. Teenagers...
8. Most police are...
9. The police department...
10. Most kids...
11. Most teachers are...
12. Police are chosen...
13. A good citizen...
14. Teachers...
15. In court...
16. Teachers are chosen...

17. The law...
18. In dealing with Negroes, police are...
19. Other people...
20. A bad citizen...
21. My friends...
22. In dealing with Negroes, teachers are...
23. A police juvenile officer...
24. In dealing with kids, police are...
25. A father is ...
26. Most parents...
27. Studying...
28. Probation officers are...
29. In dealing with kids, teachers are...
30. An employer...
31. Citizenship means...
32. The future...
33. In arresting people, police...
34. Next year...
35. A job...
36. I hate...

Attitudes Toward Criminal Justice Scale

Here is a list of statements. We would like to have your honest opinion about these statements as they apply to you. If you **STRONGLY AGREE** with the statement, circle SA. If you just **AGREE** with the statement, circle A. If you are **UNCERTAIN** about an answer, circle U. If you **DISAGREE** with the statement, circle D. If you **STRONGLY DISAGREE**, circle SD.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Dis- agree	Strongly Disagree
1. On the whole, policemen are honest.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
2. On the whole, judges are honest.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
3. A person should obey the laws no matter how much one has to go out of his way to do it.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
4. In the courts a poor man has the same chance as a rich man.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
5. Laws are made just for the good of a few.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
6. A person should tell the truth in court, no matter what.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
7. It is O.K. for a person to break the law if he doesn't get caught.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
8. It is O.K. to lie in court in order to protect a friend who is on trial	SA	A	U	D	SD
9. Almost anything can be fixed up in the courts if you have enough money....	SA	A	U	D	SD
10. People who break the law are nearly always caught and punished.....	SA	A	U	D	SD
11. Just because a person gets himself in a corner is no reason to break the law.....	SA	A	U	D	SD

Value Survey

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. We are interested in finding out the relative importance of these values for you.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important to you, etc. The value which is least important, relative to the others, should be ranked 18.

When you have completed ranking all of the values, go back and check over your list. Please take all the time you need to think about this, so that the end result is a true representation of your values.

- _____ A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
- _____ AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
- _____ A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
- _____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
- _____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
- _____ EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ FREEDOM (Independence, free choice)
- _____ HAPPINESS (contentedness)
- _____ INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
- _____ MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ NATIONAL SECURITY (Protection from attack)
- _____ PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
- _____ SALVATION (saved, eternal life)
- _____ SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
- _____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
- _____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
- _____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Below is a list of another 18 values. Rank these in order of importance in the same way you ranked the first list on the preceding page.

- _____ AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)
- _____ BROADMINDED (open-minded)
- _____ CAPABLE (competent, effective)
- _____ CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)
- _____ CLEAN (neat, tidy)
- _____ COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)
- _____ FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
- _____ HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)
- _____ HONEST (sincere, truthful)
- _____ IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)
- _____ INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
- _____ INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)
- _____ LOGICAL (consistent, rational)
- _____ LOVING (affectionate, tender)
- _____ OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)
- _____ POLITE (courteous, well-mannered)
- _____ RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)
- _____ SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)

PLEASE REMEMBER ALL INFORMATION IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
WILL BE TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL

Information Survey (Student's Questionnaire)

Personal

1. Your age: _____
2. Your grade: _____
3. Are you: Male _____ Female _____
4. Are you: White _____ Negro _____
Puerto Rican _____ Mexican-American _____
Indian _____ Oriental _____ Other (specify) _____
5. Are your parents living?
Both living _____
Only mother living _____
Only father living _____
Neither living _____
6. Are your parents divorced or separated?
Yes _____ No _____
7. Do you live with:
Mother and father _____
Mother and stepfather _____
Father and stepmother _____
Mother _____
Father _____
Other (Write in: _____)
8. What is your father's (stepfather's or guardian's) occupation.
What does he do? Be as specific as you can.

9. Does your mother have a job outside the home?

Yes, full-time _____ What does she do? _____

Yes, part-time _____ What does she do? _____

No _____

10. Do your parents own your home? Yes _____ No _____ Do not know _____

11. Are you:

An only child _____

The oldest child in your family _____

The youngest child in your family _____

Between the oldest and the youngest _____

12. How many brothers do you have?

None _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____

7 _____ 8 or more _____

13. How many sisters do you have?

None _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____

7 _____ 8 or more _____

14. How often do you attend church?

Every week _____

1 to 3 times a month _____

Less than once a month _____

Never _____

School Interests

15. What subjects do you like best in school?
(Check only the ones you like best)

Science courses (biology, physical science, etc.) _____

Mathematics (general math, algebra, etc.) _____

Social science (careers, government, etc.) _____

English _____

Speech and dramatics _____

Shop or vocational courses _____

Physical education _____

Foreign languages _____

Music _____

Art _____

Other (What? _____)

16. List the activities to which you belong in school (Be specific.
Write out the full name):

a. Clubs

b. Organizations

c. Sports outside of physical education classes

17. List activities to which you belong outside of school (Be
specific. Write out the full name):

a. Clubs

b. Organizations

c. Sports

18. What course of study do you plan to take in senior high school?

College preparatory_____

General education_____

Business_____

Vocational_____

Undecided_____

Information Survey
(Teachers' and Police Officers' Questionnaires)

Personal

1. Age: Under 25 _____ 25-29 _____ 30-34 _____
 35-39 _____ 40-44 _____ 45-49 _____
 50-54 _____ 55-59 _____ 60 and over _____
2. Marital Status: Single _____ Married _____ Separated _____
 Divorced _____ Widowed _____
3. Ages of children (including stepchildren):
 Sons _____
 Daughters _____
4. Sex: Male _____ Female _____
5. Ethnic origin: White _____ Negro _____ Puerto Rican _____
 Mexican-American _____ Indian _____ Oriental _____ Other _____
6. Father's occupation (if deceased, list his major occupation during his working years)

7. Mother's occupation (if deceased, list her major occupation during her working years)

Educational Background

8. How much formal education have you had? (Circle highest year completed)

High School	1	2	3	4	Equivalency Certificate
College (undergraduate)	1	2	3	4	
College (graduate)	1	2	3	4	5
	6	7	8	or over	

9. Major field(s) in college _____
10. What degree(s) held _____

(Teachers' Questionnaire)

Experience and Assignment

11. Total years of teaching experience:

Less than 1 _____ 1-3 _____ 4-6 _____ 7-10 _____
11-15 _____ 16-20 _____ 21-25 _____ 26 or more _____

12. Please check block(s) most descriptive of your present assignment (example: Person teaching social studies only, check only "Social studies". Person teaching social studies and assigned to counseling check "Social studies" and Counselor.")

English _____	Physical education _____
Language _____	Counselor _____
Social studies _____	Mathematics _____
Science _____	Homemaking _____
Art _____	Industrial arts _____
Business education _____	Special education _____
Librarian _____	Music _____
Other (specify) _____	

13. Are you a coordinator of a department?

Yes _____ No _____

(Police Officers' Questionnaire)

Experience and Assignment

11. Total years of police experience:

Less than 1 _____ 1-3 _____ 4-6 _____ 7-10 _____
 11-15 _____ 16-20 _____ 21-25 _____ 26 or more _____

12. Please check block(s) most descriptive of your present assignment (example: Patrolman working in the field, check only "Patrol" Patrol personnel assigned to office work check "Patrol" and "Administration.")

Patrol _____ Detective _____ Juvenile _____
 Training (Staff) _____ Communications _____
 Traffic _____ Lock up/Detention _____ Administration _____
 Other (specify) _____

13. Present rank:

Patrolman _____	Captain _____
Corporal _____	Major _____
Sergeant _____	Lt. Colonel _____
Lieutenant _____	Colonel _____
Bureau/Division Commander _____	Detective _____
Assistant Chief _____	Juvenile Officer _____
Chief _____	Technician _____
Other (specify) _____	