INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CITIZENS' PERCEPTIONS OF

THE POLICE IN THE CITY OF SAGINAW, MICHIGAN

By

Allison K. Anadi

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Criminal Justice

1994

UMI Number: 9524888

UMI

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CITIZENS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE IN THE CITY OF SAGINAW, MICHIGAN

By

Allison K. Anadi

Citizens' perceptions of the police play a significant role in determining the nature of the relationship between the police and the people they serve. In fact, a crucial issue confronting police agencies today is police-community relations.

The researcher's primary purpose in this study was to identify the association of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of residents of Saginaw, Michigan, with these citizens' perceptions of the police. More specifically, citizens' perceptions with regard to (a) public support of the police, (b) fair treatment by the police, (c) police aggressiveness, (d) harassment by the police, and (e) overall police performance were investigated.

A stratified random sampling technique was used in selecting the sample for this study from a cross-section of citizens of the City of Saginaw. Two hundred sixty-nine people participated in the study. A community survey questionnaire was used to collect the data. Descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies, percentages, and means were used in reporting sociodemographic information on the

respondents. The chi-square test of statistical significance and analysis of variance were used in analyzing the data.

The following conclusions were drawn from the study findings:

1.   Respondents' race had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the police. Whites consistently had more positive perceptions of the police than did blacks and Hispanics.

2.   Respondents' age had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the police. Older respondents perceived the police more positively than younger ones. As respondents' age increased, their perceptions of the police became more positive.

3.   Respondents' religiosity had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the police. Respondents who attended church perceived the police more positively than those who did not. As respondents' church attendance increased, their positive perceptions of the police also increased.

4.   A statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' marital status and their perceptions of the police. Married respondents consistently had more positive perceptions of the police than did those who were single.

The overall results suggest that the police should make changes to improve police-community relations.

To my parents
and
Dr. Robert Trojanowicz.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very thankful to the numerous individuals who helped make the completion of this dissertation possible.

My sincere appreciation to Dr. Charles Corley, chairperson of my dissertation committee, for having helped me conceptualize the study and for providing strong guidance and moral support throughout the length of the study.

I am very grateful to all the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Bruce Benson, Dr. Daniel Kruger, Dr. Kenneth William, and the late Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, for guidance and relentless support.

My appreciation also goes to Dr. Joseph Ofori-Dankwa, Saginaw Valley State University's computer services, and student volunteers for their help and support.

My sincere thanks to Dr. Joshua Bagakas for his support and suggestions, and to Chief Perez, the City of Saginaw police chief, for the information and data he made available to me.

To my parents, Beatrice Anadi and the late I. C. K. Anadi, go my love, appreciation, and gratitude for their moral and financial support and for raising me to value education. However, I do regret that my father did not live to witness and rejoice with me at the completion of my work. Special thanks to my brothers and

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Background and Statement of the Problem

In the field of law enforcement, one of the most crucial issues confronting police agencies today is police-community relations (Edwards, 1979). The problem, however, is not a new one. When Sir Robert Peel sought to reform the London police through enactment of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, he and others emphasized that the police should work in cooperation with the people and that the police should protect the rights, serve the needs, and earn the trust of the population they serve (Critchley, cited in Mayhall, 1985).

Historically, the roles or functions of the police in a democratic society have included law enforcement, order maintenance, and social services (Dunham & Alpert, 1989; Walker, 1992). The law enforcement role refers to the police applying legal sanctions (usually arrest) to people whose behaviors violate the law. In their order-maintenance function, police take steps to control events and circumstances that disturb or threaten to disturb the peace. The social services function of the police refers to a broad range of services, which include assisting injured persons, helping children, controlling animals, and the like.

1

Good police-community relations are important for the stability of communities that are confronted with social conflicts (Miller & Brasswell, 1993). Such relations have been the focus of study for nearly 40 years. The aim of these investigations has been to bring the police and the community into greater interaction and harmony (Greene, 1989). Concern about police-community relations in urban areas throughout the United States has prompted researchers in the field of criminal justice to investigate the nature of community members' attitudes toward the police and police services (Scaglion & Condon, 1980).

In essence, good police-community relations are based on the principle that, in a democratic society, the police are an integral part of the public they serve and are inseparable from that public. Good police-community relations are manifested by positive interactions between the people and the police, and represent their unity and common purpose (Coffey, 1990).

Just as the community depends on and needs the criminal justice system, so, too, the system depends on and needs the community. It is a classic symbiotic relationship in which each part benefits from the other and in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Given this mutual dependence, it is expected that there should be an easy and open flow of information and cooperation between citizens and the criminal justice system (McDowell, 1984). But too often the reverse is the case.

Programs to improve police-community relations have been on the agenda of police managers for many years (Greene, 1989). However, for these

programs to work, research is needed to explore the determinants of positive perceptions of the police, which could facilitate cooperative effort by community members and encourage better relations between the police and the community.

In the future, police work will depend more on public cooperation than it does now. Thus, the police cannot regard public relations as something separate from the way they perform their everyday work (Banton, 1964). The challenge that police must confront is developing and maintaining meaningful relationships with the citizens they serve in an atmosphere of change (Mayhall, 1985).

Theoretical Background for the Study

Conflict theory, which is derived from Marxist ideology, suggests that within a society there are two classes—the procuring and appropriating class (Messerschmidt, 1986)—that is, the workers and the bourgeoisie or ruling class. The ruling class comprises the powerful individuals who own the means of production and influence the appropriation of resources to serve their own interests. Because the producing and appropriating classes have antagonistic interests, class struggle becomes inherent in any class society (Messerschmidt, 1986). Marx's theory of class conflict emphasizes the struggle between the exploiter and the exploited and asserts that such struggles are economic, ideological, and political in nature (Rius, 1976).

The mode of production is considered an important determinant of class relations. It is the backbone of a society (Balkan, Berger, & Schmidt, 1980), and, according to the economic base/superstructure paradigm, social institutions

develop and operate in particular ways according to the nature of the mode of production they support.

The United States has a capitalist system of production. Under this system, production is driven and shaped by the profit imperative, and profits result because those who own and control productive capital can exploit labor power. The concept of social class is central to the capitalist system (Messerschmidt, 1986). According to Messerschmidt, capitalism maintains four classes: the bourgeoisie (capitalists), the petty bourgeoisie (professionals and small business people), the proletariate (workers), and the lumpenproletariate (the impoverished--unemployed or sporadically employed).

The capitalist class (the powerful) has an objective interest in maintaining a social structure that reinforces and increases its power, whereas the working class (the powerless) has an objective interest in eliminating these power differentials. Consequently, conflict is inherent in the class structure of capitalism. The capitalist class is served by and thus controls, at least indirectly, the means of organized violence represented by the state--the military and the criminal justice system (Messerschmidt, 1986).

The state is more than a mediator of the class conflict in a society. The state (the criminal justice system) is also the "enforcer" for the ruling class (Messerschmidt, 1986). In other words, the legal system best represents the interests of the powerful in society. This legal system regulates and controls the

behaviors of the poor, a substantial proportion of whom will be minority-group members (Quinney, 1970).

Because a large proportion of minorities are poor and members of the less powerful group, their perceptions of the police as oppressors will differ from the perceptions that middle-class citizens have of the police. Correspondingly, various groups' perceptions of the police will influence the nature of those groups' relations with the police.

Purpose of the Study

The researcher's primary purpose in this study was to identify the association of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of residents of Saginaw, Michigan, with these citizens' perceptions of the police. More specifically, citizens' perceptions with regard to (a) public support of the police, (b) fair treatment by the police, (c) police aggressiveness, (d) harassment by the police, and (e) overall police performance were investigated.

In general, not all members of a community perceive the police in a similar manner. For example, whereas the ruling class may perceive the police as a necessary device to restrict the dysfunctional behavior of a dissatisfied minority, those in the minority may be expected to perceive the police as an instrument of the ruling gentry to control and dominate members of the minority.

Importance of the Study

Exploring citizens' perceptions of the police and improving on those perceptions should be advantageous to both the police and the community. This study is important because the research findings can be used to facilitate an improvement in the perceptions of citizens of the City of Saginaw, Michigan, toward the police in that community. In addition, an understanding of citizens' perceptions of the police can be useful in shaping police practices, training, and the eventual influence of the police on different neighborhoods. As a result, police-community relations in the City of Saginaw might be improved. As Kelling (cited in Radelet, 1986) asserted:

> The critical need is to improve the quality and quantity of police-citizen interaction. This must be a central task, not for the purpose of improving the police image, but rather to encourage the normal social control exercised by a healthy community. The police must be seen as only an aid to the community, as the community itself deals with social problems. The police certainly are essential, but *policing* is too important to be left to the police alone. . . . We should concentrate hard on learning what it is that the police should and can do. (p. 523)

Today's problems with police-community relations have a long history. The most violent urban racial riots in this century were sparked by an incident involving the police (Walker, 1992). In 1967, the President's Crime Commission stated that a majority of the recent big-city riots had been touched off by commonplace occurrences between policemen and citizens (Norris, 1973). During the 1960s, the Kerner Commission reported that deep hostility existed between the police and ghetto residents (the poor). The Commission said that hostility was the cause of the riots. In the early 1990s, the Los Angeles riot

caused by the police beating of a black motorist, Rodney King, and their acquittal by the jury, raised many concerns in the community regarding police-community relations.

Olmos (1974) indicated that the report published by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice showed strong evidence that minority-group people were concerned with the type of treatment they received from the police. It was alleged that, in police-citizen encounters, the minority group person was less likely than an Anglo-American to avoid arrest. The Commission's report also stated that many poor people believed that they did not receive all of their rights to due process under the law.

The nature of contact between the police and citizens can breed a general feeling of resentment and hostility among certain groups (based on their sociodemographic characteristics) toward the police. Such resentment and hostility influence police-community relations. This study is an important first step in improving police-community relations in a particular community by investigating the association between the sociodemographic characteristics of the residents of that community and those residents' perceptions of the police in their community.

Research Questions

The following research questions were posed to guide the collection of data for this study.

1.   Are respondents' perceptions that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

2.   Are respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

3.   Are respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

4.   Are respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

5.   Are respondents' perceptions of overall police performance conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated to test the data gathered in the study, in an attempt to answer the research questions.

> Hypothesis 1: Respondents' perceptions that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

> Hypothesis 2: Respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

> Hypothesis 3: Respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Hypothesis 4: Respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Hypothesis 5: Respondents' perceptions of overall police performance are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined in the context in which they are used in this study.

Community/city. The terms "community" and "city" were used interchangeably in this study. They were used in the generic sense, referring to all people in the City of Saginaw who are served by the police.

Culture. The way of life developed by people in society; the learned and shared behaviors of a particular group of people (Kneller, 1965). These learned and shared behaviors embody the ideas, attitudes, and major values of the group (Mayhall, 1985). Culture provides the blueprint that determines the way an individual thinks, feels, and behaves; culture itself is manifested in an infinite number of ways through the societal institutions and daily habits of living (Gollnick & Chinn, 1983).

Ethnic group. A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as

in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, languages or dialects, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or a combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group (Schermerhorn, 1978).

Perception of the police. The cognitive image of the police that is formed through a person's experience and/or interaction with the police.

Selective enforcement. An arbitrary discretionary decision made by police officers as to when, where, and how to enforce the law with selected or targeted citizens in the community. The officers' decisions directly affect individual citizens and neighborhoods and can be made arbitrarily on the basis of subjective factors; they also can reflect the officers' bias and favoritism. The officers, in effect, have the opportunity to abuse power (Mayhall, 1985).

Sociodemographic characteristics. Personal characteristics of the sample members in this study. These characteristics include race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status. These characteristics were used in this study in the same manner in which they have been defined by the U.S. Census Bureau.

Definitions of the dependent variables used in the study are given in the following paragraphs.

Fair treatment by the police. Citizens' perceptions of equity of treatment by the police in their interactions with the public, regardless of an individual's sociodemographic characteristics.

Harassment by the police. Citizens' perceptions of the ability of the police to carry out their police roles without intended or deliberate annoyance of the general public.

Overall police performance. Citizens' perceptions of the police department's ability to carry out their service, law enforcement, and order maintenance functions.

Police aggressiveness. The general perception by the public that the police employ a reasonable amount of determination and assertiveness in carrying out their functions.

Public support of the police. The cognitive, social, and emotional support of the police department in carrying out their duties.

Overview

Chapter I contained the background of the study and a statement of the problem, the theoretical background of the study, purpose and importance of the study, the research questions and hypotheses, and a definition of key terms used in the dissertation.

Chapter II contains a review of literature on topics related to the study. These topics include the origins of the American police, critical issues in policing, civil rights and American policing, the police reform movement, differing perceptions of the police, a conflict perspective on policing, and the relationship of selected sociodemographic characteristics to citizens' perceptions of the police.

The methodology used in conducting the study is explained in Chapter III. The research questions and hypotheses are restated, and the dependent and independent variables are set forth. The population and sample are described, as is the composition of the City of Saginaw Police Department. Construction of the instrument used to collect data for this study is discussed, and the data-collection procedure is explained. Data-analysis methods also are described.

Results of the data analyses are presented in Chapter IV. Chapter V includes a summary of the study, major findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, implications for practice, recommendations for further research, and the writer's reflections.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The researcher's primary purpose in this study was to identify the association of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of residents of the City of Saginaw, Michigan, with these citizens' perceptions of the police. More specifically, citizens' perceptions with regard to (a) public support of the police, (b) fair treatment by the police, (c) police aggressiveness, (d) harassment by the police, and (e) overall police performance were investigated.

Citizens' perceptions of the police play a significant role in determining the nature of the relationship between the police and the people they serve. However, different segments of the community view the police differently (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969). The logical assumption, then, is that certain sociodemographic factors play a part in shaping citizens' perceptions of the police, as well as in forming police officers' perceptions of the public.

This chapter contains a review of literature on the following topics that are relevant to this study: the origins of the American police, critical issues in policing, civil rights and American policing, the police reform movement, differing

13

perceptions of the police, a conflict perspective on policing, and the relationship of selected sociodemographic characteristics to citizens' perceptions of the police.

Origins of the American Police

A brief history of the American police will be helpful in understanding the police today. A discussion of how the American police have changed over time will also help in understanding how and why these changes have occurred (Walker, 1992).

The American policing system originated in Great Britain. The British colonists brought with them the criminal justice system of their country, which included English common law, the value of individual rights, the court system, forms of punishment, and law enforcement institutions (Walker, 1992). Thus, to understand American law enforcement requires a brief excursion into the history of British policing (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990).

Formal law enforcement agencies emerged in England in the thirteenth century. At that time, England established the position of constable and the watch and ward practice. The constable was an elected official of the county whose primary responsibility was to keep the peace. In 1285, the Statute of Winchester established the watch and ward practice, which required all men in a given town to serve on the night watch to guard against fires, crimes, and suspicious persons (Walker, 1992).

From the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, the English law enforcement tradition developed in an unsystematic manner, during which time new positions were created. The post of sheriff was established, on which the role of the American sheriff was based. The sheriff was an influential and powerful individual whose functions included enforcing the law, collecting taxes, and apprehending criminals. In the United States, the sheriff was an elected official. The primary functions of the modern sheriff include collecting taxes and serving civil processes, providing bailiffs and security for the court system, operating jails and other correctional facilities, maintaining peace and order, providing general law enforcement service, and, in some counties, providing contract law enforcement services (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993).

By the nineteenth century, London had grown into a large industrial city, with problems of poverty, public disorder, and crime. Walker (1992) noted:

> The Industrial Revolution led to an increase in the number of factories, tenements, vehicles and marketplaces. With the industrial growth came a breakdown in social control, as crime, riots, disorder, and public health problems disrupted the cities. . . . The upper and middle classes were concerned about these problems, so they sought for more protection and preventive measures (Alpert & Dunham, 1989). The old system of law enforcement began to collapse, to give way to the creation of London Metropolitan Police in 1829. (p. 5)

Sir Robert Peel, the Londoner acknowledged as the father of modern policing, introduced the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, which helped modernize policing activities (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990). Elements that were introduced included a new mission, strategy, and organizational structure for London policing. The revised mission was primarily crime prevention. Police

officers were to prevent crime through a strategy of preventive patrol--that is, they would maintain a visible presence in the community. The new police organizational structure required London police to follow a "quasi-military style" of wearing uniforms, having rank designations (chief, captain, lieutenant, sergeant, and so on), and having an authoritarian system of command and discipline (Walker, 1992).

Roberg and Kuykendall (1993) explained the following principles of policing introduced by Sir Robert Peel:

1. The police must be under the control of government.

2. The police must be organized along military lines to ensure stability and efficiency.

3. Police buildings should be located so they are easily accessible to citizens.

4. The public should be informed about the extent and nature of crime. The most appropriate method of evaluating the police is the amount of crime in a community.

5. Police officers should be distributed by time and area. To do this, it is important to keep records of police activities.

6. If a police organization is to be effective, its selection process and training programs must be of high quality. New officers should be employed on a probationary status.

7. Police officers who have a good appearance will be more respected by the public.

8. Police officers should be able to control their temper and should emphasize a determined manner, rather than violent action in dealing with citizens.

9.   To ensure public confidence in the police, all officers must be easily identified; therefore, all officers should be given a number. (p. 56)

Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz (1990) indicated that one of these nine principles attributed to Sir Robert Peel addresses how police should treat the public:

To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare and existence. (p. 45)

The law enforcement institutions in colonial America were the constable, the sheriff, the watch, and the slave patrol. The primary functions of the sheriff, the constable, and the watch were shaped by the British concepts from which the institutions were borrowed (Uchida, 1989). Thus, the constable had law enforcement responsibilities, the sheriff enforced the law but also collected taxes, and the watch guarded against fires, crime, and disorder. The slave patrol (a distinctly American form of law enforcement) was created in the southern states to guard against slave revolts and to capture runaway slaves. The Charleston, South Carolina, slave patrol was possibly the country's largest police force at that time; it had 100 officers in 1837 (Walker, 1992).

From the London model, Americans borrowed the mission of crime prevention in the community, a strategy of visible patrol of their beats, the elements of a quasi-military organizational structure (the authoritarian

management style), and the idea of having a chief, captain, lieutenant, sergeant, and so on (Walker, 1992).

American policing also encountered some of the problems that faced British policing. During colonial times, law enforcement was inefficient, corrupt, and subject to political interference. As in England, the old system of law enforcement broke down under the impact of urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. Beginning in the 1830s, a wave of riots struck American cities, among them the Boston riots of 1834, 1835, and 1837. In 1838, Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the Illinois state legislature, warned of the increased disregard for the law. Many riots actually were clashes between different ethnic groups, such as Irish or German immigrants against native-born English Protestants. Racial violence began years before the Civil War, with pro-slavery whites attacking Abolitionists and free black citizens in northern cities (Walker, 1992). Numerous conflicts occurred because of ethnic and racial differences, economic failures, and moral questions.

The nineteenth-century police officers in America enjoyed little respect from the citizens they served; in fact, they faced much open hostility. Citizens regarded them as political hacks rather than public servants. For instance, the police were regularly called on to break up striking workers. Juvenile gangs made a sport of throwing rocks at the police or taunting them. People who were arrested often fought back. The officers responded by beating hostile individuals into submission. Discipline was virtually nonexistent, and excessive use of force

was commonplace. Citizen violence in the United States led to greater use of police firearms, and public disrespect was usually met with police brutality, which went unpunished. The continued use of force by the police only encouraged more public hostility, and this vicious cycle engendered a complete lack of public respect for police officers and a lack of professionalism in American policing (Walker, 1992).

Cultural Effects

The United States is primarily a nation of immigrants. It is often likened to a melting pot that is made up of people of diverse races, cultures, ethnicities, religions, and so on. Traditionally, people came from around the world and threw their own cultures into the American melting pot, but not all cultures and races melted into the pot equally (Weaver, 1993).

In a similar vein, Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz (1990) suggested that the United States is undeniably a polyglot culture, a hearty stew made up of various ethnic groups who continue to arrive in search of the American dream. This unlikely mix has blended together to produce a uniquely American psyche, with its distinct way of doing things. However, most of this country's institutions still show the profound early influence of the British culture, seasoned with a hint of Puritan values.

African Americans and other minority groups did not "melt" into the "pot" on an equal footing with Anglo American immigrants. African Americans (once slaves) were denied access to the social, political, educational, and economic

mainstream of American society. As a result, a significant proportion of African Americans are still in poverty and have not been totally assimilated into the mainstream. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) indicated that the way people are socially, economically, racially, educationally, and religiously gives an indication of how they will react and behave. Also, such conditions could determine how others perceive or treat them.

The criminal justice community cannot afford to ignore the diversity of cultures in American society or within the profession itself. Maintaining the traditional expectations and norms of police in America will only serve to broaden the chasm between law enforcement agencies and the citizens they serve (Weaver, 1993).

<div align="center">Critical Issues in Policing</div>

Excessive Use of Force

Many forces in society cause the competition for limited resources to lead to individual behaviors that are forbidden by law, actions that society cannot or will not accept. When scarce resources are acquired through lawless behavior such as robbery and burglary, society is in urgent need of someone with the power and authority to regulate that behavior (Coffey, 1990).

Police officers are responsible for enforcing the law. They also are authorized to use the force necessary to ensure compliance with the law (Coffey, 1990). However, in some instances, citizens have complained about the police abusing this authority. Most of these complaints have come from minority

groups. In 1931, the Wickersham Commission's report entitled <u>Lawlessness in Law Enforcement</u> exposed unethical police behavior, which included infliction of pain, physical or mental abuse for purposes of extracting confessions, corruption, and graft. The report further revealed that police officers routinely beat suspects, threatened them with worse punishment, and held them illegally for protracted questioning (Walker, 1992).

Lawson (1982) explained that many police simply believe that the key to law and order is for citizens to have considerable respect for individual policemen. He said they believe the way to instill such respect is to use a nightstick, a blackjack, or mace. In addition, because police officers' work requires them to deal continually with potential violence, they unnecessarily develop a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants--that is, as persons who use gestures, language, and attire that the police officers have come to recognize as a prelude to violence. Because of this perception, the police officer overreacts to the vague indication of danger suggested solely by a person's appearance (Skolnick, 1986). Such overreaction could influence those citizens' perceptions of and relations with the police.

Race and the Police

Many researchers have found that disproportionate numbers of blacks are shot or killed by the police in relation to their representation in the general population (Blumberg, 1989). Goldkamp (1976) noted that the high number of shootings of minority citizens is indicative of racial discrimination by the police.

Also, Takagi (1974) argued that "the police have one trigger-finger for Whites and another for Blacks" (p. 30). For instance, many police officers have a tendency to arrest or shoot blacks more often than whites, given similar circumstances.

In a follow-up investigation after a riot in Miami, Florida, in 1989, it was found that citizens had a "pervasive perception" that police officers can mistreat, abuse, and apply excess and deadly force against black residents (particularly young black males) with relative impunity (Walker, 1992). Walker noted that shootings of blacks were a highly explosive issue in police-community relations and that many of the riots in the 1960s had been sparked by a shooting incident. He also noted that research has indicated that eight times more black citizens than whites were shot; the disparity was even higher in some cities. Discrimination was particularly blatant in the case of unarmed fleeing felons.

The controversial shootings of black citizens by white police officers have continued to create mistrust between police departments and the minority groups they serve (Blumberg, 1989). Walker and Fridell (1989) asserted that conflict between the police and racial minorities has been one of the most controversial aspects of American policing. Complaints about discriminatory patterns in police shootings have been a major point of controversy (Alpert & Fridell, 1992). As a result, perceptions of the police as violators of the law and public trust reduce public confidence in the police.

In a report published in February 1978, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights contended:

Allegations of police abuse, brutality and harassment of citizens, particularly minorities, have for too many years constituted an unresolved and galling public problem in America. Instances of police misconduct, beatings, shootings, and intimidation of citizens undermine public safety, trust and confidence in law enforcement. In 1977, the Commission on Civil Rights received an increasing number of citizen complaints and reports indicating that police misconduct remains a widespread phenomenon that has, in some cities, become so pervasive as to appear to be officially sanctioned. (Radelet, 1986, p. 201)

Although an estimated 1,800 black people have been brutally lynched in America in the twentieth century, the 1917 race riots in East St. Louis, Illinois, eclipsed all other instances of brutality and savagery (Coffey, 1990). The riots during the Democratic Party's national convention in Chicago in 1968 were also violent and ended in allegations of police overreaction and use of excessive force (Coffey, 1990).

The May 17, 1980, riots in Miami, Florida, also were related to perceptions of police brutality. Following these explosive and deadly riots, the public image of the police reached a low point. The reaction to an all-white jury's acquittal of four police officers accused of beating a black man to death ultimately resulted in 18 riot-related deaths, 1,300 arrests, and upwards of $125 million in damages (Coffey, 1990). The beating of motorist Rodney King by Los Angeles police officers following a car chase on March 3, 1991, and the officers' acquittal by the jury, also cost more than 50 lives and millions of dollars in damage (Mydans, 1993).

The most dramatic charge that can be made against the police in their relations with the public is that of brutality. Blacks and young people are more

prone to believe that police brutality exists than are whites and older people (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Norris, 1973).

Policemen interviewed by Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) were surprisingly candid about their own experiences with police brutality. Fifty-three percent of the officers said that they had personally witnessed an incident that someone might consider to constitute police brutality. One-third of those incidents the officers dismissed as involving the necessary and justifiable application of force, usually in connection with making an arrest. But it is significant that 27% of the officers who were interviewed had witnessed an incident that they thought involved harassment or the excessive use of force.

Patterns of Abuse

It is an organizational imperative that the police role in a democratic society be carried out through the enforcement of the law within the limits of the law. So the "means and ends" of law enforcement require that, in performing their duties, the police should conform at all times to the rule of law (Greene, 1989).

Negative attitudes toward the police on the part of community members, especially minority groups, are nothing new. Police brutality, excessive use of force, and mistreatment of minorities in the community have created feelings of resentment and hostility within these groups toward the police.

In their study, the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commission), which reported to President Hoover

In 1931, found considerable evidence of police brutality (Walker, 1992). The President's Commission on Civil Rights, appointed by President Truman, reported similar findings in 1947. And in 1961, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission concluded that police brutality remains a serious problem throughout the United States. In 1971, Reiss reported that almost all of the victims of excessive force by the police were young, lower-class males. The oppressive nature of such behaviors by the police, who tend to be "enforcers" for the ruling class, creates an inevitable conflict between the powerful and the powerless classes in society. Police brutality still exists today; it is an institutionalized problem that will continue to ignite negative perceptions of and hostility toward the police among various groups in the community.

Civil Rights and American Policing

According to Hegel, humanity advances and progresses because of conflicts, wars, revolutions, and so on--in other words, through the struggles of the oppressed against the oppressor (Rius, 1976). The Civil Rights Acts, which emerged from such a struggle in the United States, obligated the government to ensure that its citizens are not prevented from exercising their rights in the face of unlawful actions of others, whether individuals or government agencies. Many people share the views of Thomas Jefferson, who stated, "I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it" (Walker, 1991, p. 72).

Through civil rights movements, civil rights acts, and Supreme Court decisions, progress has been made in ensuring all citizens equality and equal protection of the law. But there is still some resistance by certain agencies or individuals who decide not to implement the provisions of the civil rights acts and continue in their racist, discriminatory practices. Institutions and individuals who consciously or unconsciously function with bias based on race, gender, national origin, social status, and/or religion still pose a major problem for the poor, women, and minorities. When such bias is evident in police departments, it generates problems in police-community relations. Supreme Court decisions such as those in Mapp v. Ohio, 1961 (exclusionary rule), Escobedo v. Illinois, 1964 (right to an attorney), and Miranda v. Arizona (Miranda warning) represent an attempt to provide all citizens equal protection of the law. However, many police officers consider these Supreme Court decisions, which curtail some traditional police behavior, as tools that have handcuffed law enforcement (Olmos, 1974).

The civil rights movement reflected racial minority groups' anger at what they perceived as the repressiveness and inequality of American society (Alpert & Fridell, 1992). The civil rights movement made an immense contribution to the development of first amendment law, the law of equal protection, and the law of due process. Walker (1977, 1980) noted that the social forces resulting from the civil rights movement were major stimuli for closer scrutiny of police practices,

the police-community relations movement, and further advancement of police

professionalism. Williams and Murphy (cited in Alpert & Fridell, 1992) wrote:

> It was that movement, led primarily by Black Americans, and that political empowerment that finally began to produce the putative benefits of professional policing: a fairer distribution of police services, less use of deadly force, greater respect for individual rights, and equal opportunity for minorities within the nation's police departments. (p. 143)

The civil rights movement was the spark that ignited reform in many

institutions in society, including police organizations. In his book Police

Revitalization, Caiden (1977) wrote:

> Reform movements do not appear by magic. They are caused by dissatisfaction with the status quo and optimism about the efficiency of remedial action. The dissatisfaction must carry people over their threshold of tolerance and inertia to the point where they demand action and support promising prescriptions. (p. 3)

The Police Reform Movement

In 1931, the Wickersham Commission reported that only 20% of the 383

cities it surveyed conducted police training programs (President's Commission

on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). Forty years later, the

Crime Commission's Task Force on Police indicated that police recruit training

programs did not adequately meet the vocational needs of most police

departments' recruits. The study further revealed that:

> Some police departments are just beginning to recognize the significance of improving the relationship of the police with the community, and particularly with the minority community. Although several departments have incorporated courses on police-community relations, these units are limited in time and substance. . . . It can be said of police training schools, that the recruit is taught everything except the essential requirements of his calling, which is how to secure and maintain the approval and respect

of the public whom he encounters daily in the course of his duties. (Norris, 1973, p. 12)

Actually, a police training program that encompasses instruction in interpersonal skills and police-community relations can contribute significantly to a positive relationship between the police and community members (Norris, 1973).

A police department is a bureaucratic organization. A bureaucracy is a system of administration characterized by specialization of functions, adherence to fixed rules, and a hierarchy of authority (Radelet, 1986). Norris (1973) noted that any discussion of police behavior as it affects police-community relations must begin with an examination of the police bureaucracy. Police officers' distinctive uniforms, their badges, their weapons, and the authority and responsibility of their job necessarily set the police somewhat apart from the general public.

A police department is considered a bureaucratic organization because it has the following characteristics:

1.   It is a complex organization whose members perform many different tasks in pursuit of a common goal--maintenance of law and order.

2.   The different tasks are grouped into separate divisions (bureaus).

3.   The overall organizational structure is hierarchical.

4.   Higher-ranking officers delegate responsibilities to lower-ranking employees.

5.   There is a clear chain of command (chief, captain, lieutenant, sergeant, and so on).

6.   There is a span of control in which each supervisor is responsible for only the number of employees he or she can effectively supervise.

7.   There are written rules, which serve as guidelines for the performance of duties to ensure uniformity and consistency.

8.   There is unity of command so that each employee answers to only one supervisor.

9.   There are clear career paths by which each officer can move upward in rank (Walker, 1992).

The above-mentioned characteristics of bureaucracies play a significant part in shaping police behavior.   The quasi-military style of the police organization (uniforms and ranks), the authoritarian command structure, the carrying of weapons, and the legal authority to use force produce in officers a "war on crime" mentality.   This outlook encourages police officers to think of criminal suspects as enemies (Walker, 1992).   Such an approach does not facilitate positive police-community relations.   Rather, it tends to cause citizens to have negative perceptions of the police.

American policing has experienced dramatic changes during the twentieth century.   There have been two primary forces underlying these changes.   First was the movement to establish professional standards in policing, in order to enhance the quality of policing.   The second was the introduction of modern communication technology in the middle of the century (Walker, 1992).

President Hoover created the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commission) in 1929. This Commission conducted the first national study of the American criminal justice system. Two of the 14 reports on police administration written by August Vollmer, who headed the Commission, gave new support to and direction for higher personnel standards. The second report focused on the lawlessness in law enforcement and exposed police brutality. In this report, Vollmer concluded that the police extensively inflicted physical and/or mental pain to extract confessions or statements (Walker, 1992).

The crisis of confidence in the police set the stage for a dramatic police reform movement, which was launched in the 1930s (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990). A new generation of leaders initiated an organized effort to professionalize the police. Prominent leaders of the movement included Richard Sylvester, superintendent of the District of Columbia police from 1898 to 1915, and August Vollmer, president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and head of the Wickersham Commission (Walker, 1992).

Vollmer supervised the preparation of 10 principles that were considered vital to reforming the police in America. These were similar to the principles attributed to Sir Robert Peel, which provided the foundation for British policing (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990). The 10 principles for reform, as explained by Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz, suggested that:

1.   The corrupting influence of politics should be removed from the police organization.

2.   The head of the department should be selected at large for competence; he or she should be a leader, preferably a person of considerable police experience, and should be removed from office only after preferment of charges and a public hearing.

3.   Patrolmen should be able to rate a "B" on the Alpha test, be able-bodied and of good character, weigh at least 150 pounds, be at least 5 feet 9 inches tall, and be between 21 and 31 years of age. The chief may disregard these requirements for a good and sufficient reason.

4.   Salaries should permit decent living standards; housing should be adequate. Police should work eight hours a day and have one day off weekly. They should be provided an annual vacation, fair sick leave with pay, just accident and death benefits when in performance of duty, and reasonable pension provisions on an actuarial basis.

5.   Adequate training is imperative for recruits, officers, and those already on the roll.

6.   The communication system should provide for call boxes, telephones, a recall system, and (in appropriate circumstances) teletype and radio.

7.   Records should be complete and adequate, but as simple as possible. They should be used to secure administrative control of investigations and of department units in the interest of efficiency.

8.   A crime-prevention unit should be established if circumstances warrant this action, and qualified female police should be engaged to handle juvenile delinquents and women's cases.

9.   State police forces should be established in states where rural protection of this nature is required.

10.   A bureau of criminal investigation and information should be established in every state.

Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz (1990) further noted that, although Vollmer's specific principles may seem dated, this progressive doctrine established vital concepts that served as the underpinning for modern policing. These vital concepts and principles include:

1.   The necessity of eliminating political corruption.

2.   The need for an independent chief.

3.   The importance of an educated and trained police force that would be compensated as professionals.

4.   The judicious use of the latest technology.

5.   An awareness of the benefits of preventing crime.

6.   The beginning of an expanded role for women.

7. An understanding of the need for different approaches for police in urban and rural areas.

8. The importance of the service role in policing.

George Kelling and Mark Moore of Harvard University declared that Vollmer's moral vision, coupled with O. W. Wilson's work in police administration, revolutionized policing in the twentieth century (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990).

Improvements in Policing

New technology has radically transformed basic routine police work. Officers once were accustomed to patrol on foot, but technological advances led to the use of patrol cars, the two-way radio communication system, and the telephone (Walker, 1992). Walker explained that patrol cars motorized the police force, promising more efficient patrol coverage and quicker response to citizens' calls. However, an unintended consequence of patrol cars was that they reduced the informal face-to-face contact police officers often had with law-abiding citizens.

The two-way radio communication system improved on the earlier "call boxes" (the primitive communication system). The two-way radio allowed police departments to dispatch officers faster in response to citizens' calls. It also revolutionized police supervision because supervisors could maintain contact with patrol officers over the radio.

Although the telephone had existed since 1877, its effect on policing became more evident with the use of patrol cars and two-way radios (Walker, 1992). Together, these technologies facilitated a good communication link between citizens and the police. The telephone enabled citizens to contact the police easily, the two-way radio enabled the police department to dispatch a patrol officer to the scene, and the patrol car, in turn, allowed the patrol officer to reach the scene quickly.

In the late 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson created the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission). In its final report, published in 1968, the Commission identified institutional racism as the underlying cause of rioting, discrimination, and unequal justice at the hands of the law, which were among the problems generating conflict between police and citizens (especially minorities). The report also emphasized the need for more research on police-citizen relations. With funding from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and private organizations, researchers began to scrutinize racial discrimination in police employment practices, in arrests, and in the use of deadly force (Benner, 1989).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited private-sector employers from discriminating in hiring on the basis of race, color, religion, gender, or national origin. One might expect that this law would extend to the public sector, including the police, but this was not the case. However, Title VII was passed, amending the Civil Rights Act, so that by 1972 the mandate did include the public

sector. Police agencies were among the earliest targets of class-action discrimination lawsuits brought before the federal courts (Benner, 1989).

In 1978, the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission issued its Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures. The guidelines stipulated that any hiring practice that had an "adverse impact" on women or any racial or ethnic group was illegal, unless the employer could show that the hiring practices were directly related to a prospective employee's ability to do the job. The courts interpreted adverse impact to mean that recruitment, testing, and promotional practices had failed to include members of minority groups or women in numbers equivalent to their representation in the local labor force. As a result of these guidelines, in some police departments selection has now taken a back seat to efforts to obtain "proportional representation" of minorities and women (Benner, 1989).

The racial composition of the police agency has raised serious concerns, especially as it relates to reducing violence in police-community interactions. It has been recommended that the police department should employ minority-group employees in proportion to their representation in the community they serve (Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, 1989). The Kerner Commission found that the employment of black officers lagged far behind the growth of the black population (Uchida, 1989).

The employment of blacks in police agencies has improved only recently. According to Kuykendall and Burns (1980), employment of blacks frequently was

the result of political pressures from church and civic groups. Blacks were hired to improve law enforcement in black areas and to appease black community members who complained about the behavior of white officers. The Kerner Commission's 1968 report placed a large part of the blame for the riots in American cities on racism in society and on the severe underrepresentation of blacks in police departments (Sullivan, 1989).

Dunham and Alpert (1989) indicated that the Annual Statistical Abstracts for the United States showed that, in 1970, the percentage of blacks in the United States population was 11.1%, whereas their representation in police agencies was only 3.9%. Also, the percentage of Hispanics in the United States population was 4.5%, compared to their 2.7% representation in police agencies. In recent years, the overall representation of minorities in the police force has gradually improved. However, minorities still are underrepresented, especially when their number in each police department is considered in relation to their representation in the population of the community the department serves.

Vollmer's commitment to upgrading police officers is evident in the dramatic increase in the educational levels of police officers. Results of the PERF police education study showed the educational levels of police officers by race and ethnicity. Of the white police officers who were studied, 34% had no college education, 62% had some undergraduate work, and 4% had a graduate degree. Twenty-eight percent of the black officers had no college education, 63% had some undergraduate work, and 9% had a graduate degree. Of the

Hispanic police officers, 27% had no college, 68% had some undergraduate work, and 5% had a graduate degree. The PERF study also showed that, of all the male officers studied, 34.8% had no college education, 61.7% had some undergraduate work, and 3.3% had a graduate degree. About 24.1% of the female officers had no college education, 45.1% had some undergraduate work, and 30.2% had a graduate degree (Carter & Sapp, 1991).

Differing Perceptions of the Police

A number of issues in police organizations directly or indirectly influence citizens' perceptions of the police and police-community relations. Such issues include role conflict, departmental practices (racism, discrimination, hiring, selection, training, and promotion), police bureaucratic structure, and police subculture.

Yinger (cited in Walker, 1992) defined role as "a unit of culture that includes the rights and duties, the normatively approved patterns of behavior for the occupants of a given position" (p. 63). People believe certain things about the police and expect certain kinds of behavior from them. The police officers themselves internalize certain attitudes and beliefs about their job. Hence, officers often experience internal role conflict when they are faced with tasks that are inconsistent with their expectations about their job. For example, an officer may have an image of himself or herself as a crime fighter, whereas citizens' expectations include supportive services from the police (Walker, 1992).

Role conflict stems from the fact that various models of policing emphasize different police functions. For example, according to the legalistic model of policing, crime fighting should be the primary purpose of police functions. Crime fighting is the primary goal of the traditional policing method. On the other hand, the service model of policing tends to create a police-public partnership in solving crime problems (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993). The primary concern of the service model is the manner in which police officers exercise their authority. Whereas the traditional/legalistic model of policing isolates the police from the public, the service model tends to bring both the police and the public together.

The effect of the traditional/legalistic approach to policing is that it reaffirms the difference between ordinary citizens (primarily the powerless class) and the powerful few (the ruling class), whom the police represent. Because of the animosity and lack of trust inherent in the class struggle, police-community relations may not be positive, and perceptions that different social classes have about the police will vary.

Miller applied role theory to a consideration of police morale, and Preiss and Ehrlich applied sociological role theory to policing (Radelet, 1986). Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) wrote:

> Since many of the policeman's audiences were not in agreement about their perceptions and expectations of him, they also varied in their evaluative criteria and their judgements of his performance. This variability could have lessened the impact that a precise and uniform evaluation procedure would have had on the role performance of a

policeman by providing him with options and alternatives rather than one highly constrained set of role prescriptions. (p. 92)

Goldstein (1977) warned that anyone attempting to construct a workable definition of the police role will typically come away with old images shattered and a new-found appreciation for the intricacies of police work.

Police officers' role ambiguity results not only from the conflicting and often contradictory job-description mandates they receive from the public, but also from conflicting values within their own group. Officers are often caught in a bind between the *traditionalists*, who occupy almost all of the top-ranking positions in police departments across the country, and a small number of *new police professionals*, often college trained, who are critical of the established procedures and policies (Bouma, 1969).

The traditionalists believe mainly in crime control, maintenance of law and order. They oppose the U.S. Supreme Court decisions relating to the rights of the accused, believe in unlimited use of guns and clubs, endorse a tough reaction to lawbreakers, and have a lukewarm attitude toward the recruitment of nonwhite officers and the human-relations programs designed to improve communication with inner-city residents (Bouma, 1969).

The new professionals, on the other hand, emphasize restraint in the use of force and support court decisions relating to human rights. They oppose racial bias among officers and are sensitive to community social problems.

The traditionalists believe that community-relations programs are a lot of academic mish-mash—that it is the community that needs changing, not the

police department. In contrast, the new professionals believe that the understanding of people's backgrounds and motivations is important, that stereotyping and overgeneralization are hazardous, that most people approve of the police function, and that both the police and the community need to work at the problem of improving relations.

Walker (1989) suggested that political ideologies are influential in shaping a society's response to crime. There are conservatives who believe that those who violate the criminal law do so because they lack self-control and a sense of morality; therefore, they should be severely punished. On the other side are liberals who tend to believe that criminal behavior results from social influences. Hence, individuals who commit crimes do so because of dysfunctional families, peer-group influences, lack of educational and economic opportunities, discrimination, and so on.

These political ideologies are represented in a community's expectations concerning how police should respond to crime problems. In other words, political ideologies determine, in part, community or neighborhood expectations of the police and also influence the values, beliefs, and norms of the organizational culture with regard to appropriate police methods and behavior (Walker, 1989).

The requirements inherent in a system of rules or laws that police must follow and adapt to a changing political environment have resulted in the police being given what Manning (1978) called "the impossible mandate" (p. 13). This

means that the police believe they cannot possibly satisfy their many "publics"-- that is, the victims, criminals, politicians, and residents of a particular neighborhood. In fact, these publics cannot all be satisfied because their expectations of the police may be in conflict (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993), and this situation affects police-community relations.

Police-community relations are made inordinately difficult by conflicting values and opinions in the black community as well as in the white community. The public have genuine concerns about overpolicing and underpolicing. Whereas many residents of black communities believe they are the target of police harassment, many members of the white community believe that the police coddle the lawless (Bouma, 1969).

Policing Styles

Police agencies practice one or a combination of the following styles of policing: the legalistic style, the watchman style, and the service style. In the legalistic style of policing, all types of incidents are disposed of legally. Characteristically, many traffic citations are issued, vigorous action is taken against illicit enterprises, and a large number of misdemeanor arrests are made. Organizationally, in departments having a legalistic style, there is centralized control, with formal authority; a written account is maintained on each incident, there is specialization of tasks, and the overall administration is professional (Moore, 1970; Wilson, 1978).

The watchman style of policing requires police to react as if maintaining order was their primary function, except in the case of serious crimes. Characteristically, officers in a department practicing the watchman style ignore minor violations, tolerate a certain amount of vice and gambling, and informally treat family assaults and juvenile cases. Maintaining public peace is the central issue, and little emphasis is placed on officers' appearance and manner. In these organizations, salaries are low, policemen are recruited locally, they are given minimum training, there is little specialization of tasks, and administration generally is lax (Moore, 1970; Wilson, 1978).

The service style of policing allows the community to determine the functions of the police or at least to have a significant influence on the police agenda. The police take seriously all requests for law enforcement and order maintenance but are not likely to respond by making an arrest or otherwise imposing formal sanctions. Characteristically, the police intervene frequently but not "formally," and the pace of police work is leisurely. Service-style policing usually is found in middle- or upper-class communities; policemen are expected to be courteous and neat and to display a pleasant attitude. In the service-style organization, good records are maintained, salaries are high, the department has up-to-date facilities and equipment, training is extensive, and a large percentage of the officers have some college training. The service style engenders positive perceptions of the police and improves on police-community relations (Moore, 1970; Wilson, 1978).

A Conflict Perspective on Policing

Conflict theorists have suggested that the powerless members of society are more likely than those in positions of wealth and power to have their deviance detected, labeled, and sanctioned (Lemert, 1967; Messerschmidt, 1986; Quinney, 1970; Tannenbaum, 1938) because these individuals do not have the necessary resources to manipulate the system to their benefit (Curran, 1983). Quinney claimed that the legal system best represents the interests of those who have power (the ruling class) in society. Thus, the legal system becomes a tool for regulating and controlling the behaviors of the powerless.

It has also been suggested that police officers treat females more harshly than males (Chesney-Lind, 1977). For instance, female delinquents are more likely than their male counterparts to be dealt with in more severe and formal ways. The police arrest these females and refer them to the courts, especially when their deviant acts violate sex-role norms (Chesney-Lind, 1977). This position is consistent with the labeling theory, which maintains that females are more likely to be labeled deviant and receive harsher sanctions than their male counterparts. Women generally occupy less powerful positions in society and have fewer economic and political resources at their disposal. Therefore, they may be more likely than males to have their deviance detected, labeled, and sanctioned (Curran, 1983).

The ruling class (the powerful), which often is composed primarily of white males, tends to support the legalistic model of policing. On the other hand, the

powerless group, which is often composed of minorities and women, tends to support the service model of policing because they also want equal protection and respect from the legal system. Police role conflict results from differences in perceptions between the ruling class (the oppressor) and the powerless (the oppressed) concerning what police functions and behavior should be.

Selective Law Enforcement

The reality of selective law enforcement is that the police's judgment and situational discretion determine which laws can be enforced with available resources and when and where such enforcement can take place (Coffey, 1990). According to Marxist ideology, as a result of class struggle, the criminal law that the police enforce tends to reflect the interests of the powerful (the capitalist class) because they have more capacity to influence legislation. Criminal law mainly defines those harmful behaviors that are readily accessible to the powerless as criminal, while simultaneously hiding or ignoring the harmful behaviors of the powerful (Messerschmidt, 1986). In selective enforcement, the attention of the police is diverted from the powerful to the powerless, who are primarily minorities and the poor.

In fact, selective law enforcement can be perceived as persecution or prejudicial discrimination against those who are singled out (the powerless). The power to arrest is essential to the police's ability to regulate human behavior. But this power becomes discriminatory and dangerous when it is applied to selected geographical areas or persons, based on their race, gender, age, education,

Income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status. Because the police represent the interests of the powerful (the capitalist class), selective law enforcement is directed at the powerless (the working class and the poor). When the state (the police) becomes more than the mediator of class conflict in society, acting as the enforcer for the ruling class (Messerschmidt, 1986), the public comes to view the police differently, in accordance with their status in society.

The Relationship of Selected Sociodemographic Characteristics to Citizens' Perceptions of the Police

Race and Ethnicity

The tradition that slavery established has made blacks the targets of abuse. Citizen patrols, which were used to capture runaway slaves, were one of the precursors of formal police forces, especially in the South. This unfortunate legacy of abuse persisted as an element of the police role. Many times, police harassment simply meant that minorities such as blacks were more likely than whites to be stopped and questioned. However, at the other extreme, blacks have suffered beatings and sometimes murder at the hands of white police officers (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990).

Minorities, both blacks and Hispanics, are more likely than whites to be killed by the police. Of all the citizens who have been killed by the police since 1949, almost one-half have been blacks. That number is disproportionate to blacks' representation in the population (Kuykendall & Roberg, 1993).

In Memphis, Tennessee, before the adoption of more restrictive policies concerning police use of deadly force, blacks were more likely than whites to be shot by the police (Fyfe, 1982). Gosnell (cited in Kuykendall & Roberg, 1993) indicated that, in Chicago, blacks complained about the "stupidity, prejudice, and brutality" of white police officers.

As a result of the killing and harassment of minorities, many of these individuals, in turn, see the police as paid thugs and oppressors. With the mind-set of "us against them," both sides attempt to justify aggression against each other. The problem is exacerbated when, as Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz (1990) indicated, "some law enforcement officials made it clear that they not only tolerate but encourage their officers to keep Blacks in their place" (p. 61).

Based on the preceding discussion, it is reasonable to suggest that individuals or groups who feel alienated from the political process or who believe that the justice system in unresponsive to their needs or see it as a symbol of oppression might transfer their dissatisfaction to the agents of that system who are most visible to them—in this case, the police (Alpert & Dunham, 1988). Such dissatisfaction is translated into negative perceptions of the police, which invariably influence police-community relations.

Age

Tom Fulcher, president of the San Jose chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said that problems often arise as a result of police departments' efforts to stop drug

trafficking, which often focus on young black males. Many times these efforts have led to the unwarranted harassment of other black males who have nothing to do with drugs. Many people, therefore, perceive that the police believe that most young black males are involved in the drug trade (Kuykendall & Roberg, 1993).

In a similar vein, Piliavin and Briar (1964) found that the police stopped and questioned black juveniles more frequently than they did whites. They also discovered that black juveniles expressed more hostility toward the police than did white youngsters.

A follow-up investigation on the January 1989 riot in Miami, Florida, revealed a "pervasive perception" that police officers can mistreat, abuse, and apply excess and deadly force against young black males with relative impunity (Walker, 1992). J. Rubinstein, a former Philadelphia policeman and crime expert, noted that, in the inner cities, there are "thousands of kids in these neighborhoods who have had endless contact with cops, who have been arrested, who see people get arrested" ("Blacks and Cops," 1993, p. 96). This experience, he claimed, creates mutual distrust between police and young people. "Young Black men have an even harder time escaping the presumption that they are guilty until proven innocent" (p. 96). Thus, youths (in accordance with the conflict perspective), and black youths in particular, are perceived as less powerful members of society. Their negative interactions with the police are likely to influence their perceptions of the police.

Gender

According to data from the 1986 National Crime Survey (NCS), gender has little effect on attitudes toward the police. Overall, in this survey, men and women gave police the same ratings. About 9% of the males and 7% of the females in the study rated the police poorly (Walker, 1992). In the past, women have voiced their opinions or complained about inadequate police protection, particularly in domestic-violence cases, and about police insensitivity in handling rape cases. However, some researchers have found that gender does not have a significant effect on citizens' perceptions or attitudes concerning the police.

For most Marxist feminists, the class division and the sexual division of labor are both responsible for the position of women in society and how they are treated. The sexual division of labor, they argue, is derived from the class division of labor. Messerschmidt (1986) indicated that patriarchal capitalism generally creates two groups in a society: a powerless group, which includes women and the working class, and a powerful group, which includes men and the capitalist class. He argued that, under patriarchal capitalism, individuals are affected structurally by their class and gender positions, in interaction. Thus, because individuals are enmeshed in class and gender structures that influence the way they think about their circumstances, it is plausible that women view the police differently than men do.

Income

Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz (1990) observed that:

The early law enforcement efforts in England show that even within a seemingly cohesive culture, where everyone shared the same ethnic roots, the same language and the same customs, differences in class determined how the law was applied. (p. 59)

Although the United States was founded on the ideal of a classless society, various groups have been and to some degree still are being discriminated against on the basis of income. Because the law enforcement agency is part of the overall American social system, many members of lower income groups suffer at the hands of the police. As indicated earlier, the police represent the powerful (capitalists, the rich), whereas the poor are powerless and have less influence in society. The experiences of the powerless with the police determine their perceptions of and relations with the police.

During the Spoils Era, it was not uncommon to view police departments that harassed minorities as solidifying mainstream support. The "have-nots" (minorities), those without substantial clout and income, frequently had good reason to fear police violence, which often played out the interwoven themes of "rich against poor," "us against them" (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990), and "the powerful" versus "the powerless" (Messerschmidt, 1986). Bucqueroux and Trojanowicz also indicated that there is evidence that the police pay more attention to the problems of the rich and powerful than they do to those of the poor and powerless.

Quinney (1970) suggested that economic structure provides a grounding

for social and political institutions, for everyday life, and for social consciousness.

He further suggested that, with the development of capitalism, with class

divisions and class struggle, the state became necessary to serve as a mediator.

The state, however, rose to protect and promote the interests of the dominant

class, who owned the means of production. Gold, Clarence, and Wright (1975)

suggested that:

> [The] Capitalist State is oppressive not only because it supports the interests of the dominant class, but also because it is responsible for the design of the whole system within which the capitalist ruling class dominates and the working class is dominated. (p. 36)

The coercive force of the state, embodied in law and legal repression, has

been the traditional means of maintaining the social and economic order. Hence,

law is an instrument of the state, serving the interests of the capitalist class

(Diamond, 1971).

Quinney (1970) suggested that individuals who do not own and control the

means of production, especially the working class, composed of minorities,

women, and the poor, accommodate to and resist capitalist domination. He

further suggested that the dialectic between oppression by the capitalist class

(and the legal system) and the daily struggle for survival by the oppressed will

continue. It is therefore suggested that the perceptions of the police held by

citizens with high incomes will differ from those of the poor or those with low

incomes.

Education

Occupational prestige, income, and education usually are related to the position one occupies in society. Those with higher statuses in society are held in high regard by both the state and the police (Bucqueroux & Trojanowicz, 1990). Thus, these factors could condition one's perceptions of the police.

Religiosity

Conflict theorists suggest that religion is the opium of the people, teaching acceptance of one's status in life. Thus, even those who are oppressed and who accept their status are likely to accept the police as well. Therefore, it was hypothesized in this study that citizens' perceptions of the police will be conditioned by their religiosity.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The researcher's primary purpose in this study was to identify the association of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of residents of the City of Saginaw, Michigan, with these citizens' perceptions of the police. More specifically, citizens' perceptions with regard to (a) public support of the police, (b) fair treatment by the police, (c) police aggressiveness, (d) harassment by the police, and (e) overall police performance were investigated.

Information was obtained from a cross-section of citizens of the City of the City of Saginaw, Michigan, by means of a community questionnaire. This approach was useful in identifying citizens' existing perceptions and gaining deeper insights into both the police department and residents of the City of Saginaw.

This chapter contains a discussion of the methodology used in conducting the study. The research questions and hypotheses are restated, followed by a discussion of the dependent and independent variables. The population is described, and the sample-selection technique is explained. The composition

of the City of Saginaw Police Department is described next, followed by a discussion of the questionnaire used in this study. The procedures used in collecting and analyzing the data for this study also are explained.

Research Questions

This research was undertaken in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1.   Are respondents' perceptions that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

2.   Are respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

3.   Are respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

4.   Are respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

5.   Are respondents' perceptions of overall police performance conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

General Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

Hypothesis 1: Respondents' perceptions that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Hypothesis 2: Respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Hypothesis 3: Respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Hypothesis 4: Respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

Hypothesis 5: Respondents' perceptions of overall police performance are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

The Dependent Variables

This study was designed to examine the relationship of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of the residents of the City of Saginaw to these citizens' perceptions of the police. Thus, the dependent variables in this study were respondents' perceptions of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, harassment by the police, and overall police performance.

The Independent Variables

The independent variables in this study were the following sociodemographic characteristics: race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status.

Conflict theory suggests that perceptions of the police vary by race. Blacks, whites, and Hispanics were the racial groups included in this study. It was hypothesized that these groups would differ from each other in their perceptions of the police. In addition, males' and females' perceptions of the police were examined to determine whether these perceptions were conditioned by gender.

In accordance with conflict theory, persons with less power in society (in this case, younger people) may perceive the police differently than those who have greater power or influence (in this case, older citizens). Thus, the researcher posited that younger citizens (12 to 21 years of age), adults (22 to 35 years of age), and older citizens (36 and above) might have differing perceptions of the police.

It was further hypothesized that citizens' perceptions of the police are conditioned by such sociodemographic characteristics as education, income, and occupation. In particular, less educated individuals might perceive the police differently than those with higher levels of education, and those with higher incomes and/or more prestigious occupations might view the police differently than those with lower incomes and/or less occupational prestige.

The researcher further hypothesized that individuals with a higher level of religiosity would view the police differently than those with a lower level of religiosity, and that citizens' marital status would condition their perceptions of the police.

The Population

The population from which the study sample was drawn comprised the residents of the City of Saginaw, Michigan. As of the 1990 census, the population of the City of Saginaw was 69,512. Of that number, 36,324 were whites, 28,046 were blacks, 7,304 were Hispanics, and 677 were other ethnicities (American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut, and Asian or Pacific Islander); 32,025 were males, and 37,487 were females.

Selection of the Sample

A stratified random sampling technique was used in selecting the sample for this study. With this technique, every member of the population has an equal probability of being included in the sample, in accordance with their position in each stratum. In short, this technique was used to draw a representative sample from residents of the City of Saginaw, across racial/ethnic categories. The random stratified sampling technique is a method of obtaining a greater degree of representativeness by decreasing probable sampling error.

The 1990 census tracts for the City of Saginaw provided knowledge of the city's racial composition across census tracts. Census tracts 1 through 11 were predominantly blacks (about 78%, on average), whereas census tracts 12 through 21 were predominantly whites (about 86%, on average) (see Appendix A). In census tracts 6, 10, and 11, there were more Hispanics than in any other tract (about 19.4%, on average).

Random samples of black, white, and Hispanic residents were drawn from the respective racially identified census tracts. More specifically, upon identification of the appropriate census tracts, a reverse directory of addresses allowed random selection of residences for the purpose of conducting door-to-door interviews. A representative sample of 303 City of Saginaw residents was selected for the study, in accordance with the city's racial composition. Thus, approximately 50% of the initial sample were white, 40% were black, and 10% were Hispanic. Other sociodemographic characteristics of the sample are discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Composition of the City of Saginaw Police Department

The City of Saginaw Police Department has a total of 175 staff members, according to the department's May 1994 Affirmative Action Monthly Utilization Report. Of that number, 158 were sworn officers and 17 were civilians. Of the 158 sworn officers, 95 were white males, 10 were white females, 28 were black males, 9 were black females, 14 were Hispanic males, 1 was a Hispanic female, and 1 was an Asian male. The 17 civilians included four white males, six white females, five black females, and two Hispanic females. (See Table 3.1.)

Questionnaire Construction

The instrument used to gather the data for this study was similar to those used in the Aurora Police Department, the Lansing Police Department, and the Flint community policing project. (See Appendix B for a copy of the survey.) It

was also comparable to the standard community policing survey used by the

U.S. Department of Justice.

Table 3.1:   Composition of the City of Saginaw Police Department.

	W/M	W/F	B/M	B/F	H/M	H/F	AI/M	AI/F	A/M	A/F	Total
Employees	99	16	28	14	14	3	0	0	1	0	175
Sworn officers	95	10	28	9	14	1	0	0	1	0	158
Civilians	4	6	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	17

Source: City of Saginaw Police Department. (1994, May). Affirmative Action Monthly Utilization Report. Saginaw: Author.

Key: W/M = White male   H/F = Hispanic female
      W/F = White female   AI/M = American Indian male
      B/M = Black male   AI/F = American Indian female
      B/F = Black female   A/M = Asian male
      H/M = Hispanic male   A/F = Asian female

The purposes of the Aurora Police Department's and the Lansing Police

Department's community surveys were to determine the concerns and views of

Aurora and Lansing residents about their police departments and how the police

could best serve their communities' needs. The surveys were sent to cross-

sections of the communities.

In the Flint community policing project, a series of interviews was

conducted with community residents to provide data on a wide range of

variables. These variables included experience of crime, crime reporting, the

performance of Flint police officers, and recommendations for improving the police.

The purpose of the U.S. Department of Justice's standard community policing survey is to determine the concerns and views of the residents of a particular community about their police. Survey results are used in planning ways to improve police-community relations.

The questionnaire items that were used in this study pertained to respondents' perceptions of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, police harassment, and overall police performance. The items were as follows:

15. Public support of the police is important for keeping law and order.

17. Do the local police treat people fairly?

36. Aggressive police officers is a problem in my neighborhood.

38. Unnecessary police harassment is a problem in my neighborhood.

41. Police officers are usually. . . .

Participants responded to the first four of these items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. They indicated their perceptions of overall police performance using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from Very Helpful to Very Unhelpful. For data-analysis purposes, responses in the "Don't Know" category were treated as missing data because they were considered neither a neutral nor a meaningful response. Moreover, the number of responses in the "Don't Know" category was very small.

A pilot test was conducted with a sample of 20 volunteers from Saginaw Valley State University (juniors, seniors, and graduate students) to check on the clarity of the items. Responses from the volunteers confirmed the items' clarity. The average time it took sample members to complete the questionnaire was 10 minutes.

Data-Collection Procedures

Questionnaires were hand delivered (door to door) to potential respondents by 20 trained college-student volunteers, to facilitate a high response rate. Volunteers received an extensive orientation and training on how to administer the questionnaires (see Appendix C). The training also covered appropriate appearance and attitude on the part of the volunteers, as well as the purposes and goals of the study. Volunteers also learned how to assist respondents who were not able to read the questions or who needed further explanations. Volunteers were informed of the high ethical standards expected of them and the strict level of supervision the researcher would maintain. Although volunteers administered questionnaires personally, return-addressed stamped envelopes were made available to respondents who could not complete the survey at the time of the volunteer's visit.

Data-Analysis Techniques

A chi-square test of statistical significance was used to determine the main effects of respondents' sociodemographic characteristics on their perceptions of

the police. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare and contrast respondents' perceptions of police behaviors across categories of race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status. More specifically, respondents' perceptions of the police were examined in terms of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, police harassment, and overall police performance. Although attempts were made to use all factors that were statistically significant in the chi-square results in the ANOVA model, higher-order interaction terms in the ANOVA model were limited due to the problem of empty cells. Although logistic regression would have yielded more insights into the effect of individual independent variables, the focus of this study was on differences in the perceptions of police behaviors among groups; therefore, ANOVA was chosen as the appropriate statistical technique. Results of the data analyses are reported in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The researcher's primary purpose in this study was to identify the association of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of residents of the City of Saginaw, Michigan, with these citizens' perceptions of the police. More specifically, citizens' perceptions with regard to (a) public support of the police, (b) fair treatment by the police, (c) police aggressiveness, (d) harassment by the police, and (e) overall police performance were investigated.

The research questions were as follows:

1. Are respondents' perceptions that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

2. Are respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

3. Are respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

4.   Are respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

5.   Are respondents' perceptions of overall police performance conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics?

A stratified random sampling technique was used to draw the sample for this study. The 1990 census tracts for the City of Saginaw, Michigan, were examined to obtain information on the racial composition of the city so that a sample proportionate to that of the entire city in terms of racial composition could be selected. In total, 303 questionnaires were distributed; 269 of them were returned, for a response rate of 89%.

Results of the data analysis are presented in this chapter. In the first section, sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents are described. Specific findings pertaining to the research hypotheses are presented in the second section.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Respondents

In all, 269 residents of the City of Saginaw participated in this study. Of that number, 115 (43%) were whites, 106 (39%) were blacks, and 37 (14%) were Hispanics (see Table 4.1). One hundred thirty (49%) were males, and 137 (51%) were females.

Thirty respondents (13%) were between the ages of 12 and 21, 84 (36%) were between 22 and 35, and 121 (52%) were 36 or older. This categorization of age is based on previous research (cf. Trojanowicz, n.d.). In terms of

educational experience, 30 (11%) had no high school education, 127 (48%) had

high school experience, and 108 (41%) had college experience. High school

experience included those who had graduated from high school and those who

had attended but had not graduated, whereas college experience included those

respondents who had attended college but had not graduated, those who had

graduated, and those who had attended graduate school.

Table 4.1: Sociodemographic characteristics of the entire sample (N = 269).

Characteristic	Category	Number	Percent
Race	White Black Hispanic	115 106 37	43 40 14
Gender	Male Female	130 137	49 51
Age	12-21 22-35 36+	30 84 121	13 36 51
Education	< High school High school exp. College exp.	30 127 108	11 48 41
Income	< $10,000 $10,000-$20,000 > $20,000	60 33 73	36 20 44
Occupation	Blue collar White collar Not working Other	52 77 89 44	20 29 34 17
Religiosity	Never About weekly More frequently	95 142 26	36 54 10
Marital status	Single Married	149 117	56 44

Table 4.1 also shows that 60 respondents (36%) had incomes below $10,000 per year, 33 (20%) had incomes between $10,000 and $20,000, and 73 (44%) had incomes above $20,000. Respondents' occupations were classified as blue-collar (included factory worker, plumber, welder, and construction worker), white-collar (included teacher, doctor, banker, counselor, secretary/ typist, restaurant worker, and salesperson), not working (included retirees and unemployed people), and other. Fifty-two respondents (20%) were blue-collar workers, 77 (29%) were white-collar workers, 89 (34%) were not working, and 44 (17%) were classified as other.

Ninety-five respondents (36%) said they never attended church, 142 (54%) attended church about weekly, and 26 (10%) said they attended church more frequently than once a week. Of the 266 respondents who indicated their marital status, 149 (56%) were single (never married, divorced, separated, or widowed), whereas 117 (44%) were married.

Results of Hypothesis Testing

In the following pages, each hypothesis is restated, followed by the findings regarding that hypothesis.

Importance of Public Support
of the Police

Hypothesis 1: Respondents' perceptions that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

In Item 15 of the survey, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed that public support of the police is important for keeping law and order, using the following four-point Likert-type scale: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD). For data-analysis purposes, the four possible responses (SA, A, D, and SD) were collapsed into two categories: positive (SA and A) and negative (D and SD).

A chi-square test of statistical significance was conducted to determine whether respondents' perceptions of the importance of public support of the police were related to their race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and/or marital status. The chi-square results are shown in Table 4.2. As indicated in the table, the respondents' perceptions of the importance of public support of the police were significantly related to their race ($X^2 = 10.8$, p < .05), gender ($X^2 = 3.6$, p < .05), age ($X^2 = 8.2$, p < .05), education ($X^2 = 25.0$, p = .05), income ($X^2 = 6.1$, p = .05), occupation ($X^2 = 9.6$, p = .05), religiosity ($X^2 = 5.8$, p = .05), and marital status ($X^2 = 4.0$, p = .05).

Results of the chi-square tests indicated that white respondents (100%) perceived the importance of public support of the police more positively than did black (91%) and Hispanic (90%) respondents. Females (98%) had more positive perceptions regarding public support of the police than did males (93%). Likewise, older respondents (99%) had more positive perceptions than did younger respondents (88% and 96%).

Table 4.2:   Results of chi-square analysis of respondents' perceptions of the importance of public support of the police, by their sociodemographic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristic	Category	Posi-tive (%)	Nega-tive (%)	df	Chi-Square	p-Value
Race	White	100	0			
	Black	91	9	2	10.8	.0046**
	Hispanic	90	10			
Gender	Male	93	8	1	3.6	.0568*
	Female	98	2			
Age	12-21	88	12			
	22-35	96	4	2	8.2	.0163*
	36+	99	1			
Education	< High school	76	24			
	High school exp.	95	5	2	25.0	.0000***
	College exp.	100	0			
Income	< $10,000	96	4			
	$10,000-$20,000	91	9	2	6.1	.0476*
	> $20,000	100	0			
Occupation	Blue-collar	90	10			
	White-collar	100	0	3	9.6	.0225*
	Not working	96	4			
	Other	89	11			
Religiosity	Never	91	9			
	Weekly	97	3	2	5.8	.0547*
	More frequently	100	0			
Marital status	Single	93	7	1	4.0	.0464*
	Married	98	2			

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

***Significant at the .001 level.

Respondents with high school (95%) and less than high school education (76%) had less positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did respondents with college-level experience (100%). Respondents who earned more than $20,000 per year (100%) perceived the importance of public support of the police more positively than did those who earned less than $20,000 per year (91% and 96%). Respondents who were white-collar workers (100%) perceived the importance of public support of the police more positively than did blue-collar workers (90%), those not working (96%), and "other" respondents (89%). Respondents who attended church more frequently than once a week (100%) were more positive in their perceptions of the importance of public support of the police than were respondents who never attended church (91%) and those who attended church weekly (97%). Respondents who were married (98%) had more positive perceptions of the importance of public support of the police than did those who were single (93%).

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) allows one to observe the differences between groups with interaction effects being recorded. In this study, ANOVA was used to examine differences in respondents' perceptions of the importance of public support of the police according to their race, age, education, income, and marital status. The statistically significant differences that were observed are reported in Table 4.3. As shown in the table, respondents' perceptions of the importance of public support of the police varied by race (F = 5.54, p < .01), age (F = 5.24, p < .01), and education (F = 4.39, p < .01). Moreover, the following

significant interactions were observed: race by age (F = 2.37, p < .05), race by education (F = 7.80, p < .001), age by education (F = 3.43, p < .01), and race by marital status (F = 3.24, p < .05).

Table 4.3:   Results of ANOVA for differences in respondents' perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police, based on their sociodemographic characteristics.

Main Effects		
Race 4.54*	Age 5.24**	Education 4.39**
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Age 2.37*	Race x Education 7.80***	Age x Education 3.43**
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Age x Education 0.52		

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

***Significant at the .001 level.

White respondents (mean = 3.47) had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did black (mean = 3.15) and Hispanic (mean = 2.44) respondents. However, black respondents had more positive perceptions than did Hispanic respondents. Respondents' age also conditioned their perceptions of the importance of public support of the

police. As respondents' age increased, their perceptions became more positive (12-21 year olds' mean = 2.63, 22-35 year olds' mean = 3.14, 36 and over mean = 3.45). Furthermore, the effect of race was more pronounced among younger respondents than among older respondents. Young blacks (mean = 2.74) and young Hispanics (mean = 1.83) had more negative perceptions than did young whites (mean = 3.20). However, older respondents of all races had similar positive perceptions of the importance of public support of the police (whites' mean = 3.50, blacks' mean = 3.37, Hispanics' mean = 3.25).

Respondents' educational level also had a significant influence on their perceptions of the importance of public support of the police. Respondents who had high school experience (mean = 3.21) and those with college experience (mean = 3.41) had more positive perceptions concerning the importance of public support of the police than did respondents with less than high school experience (mean = 2.52).

The interaction between race and education also was significant. White respondents with less than high school education (mean = 3.67) had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did black (mean = 2.25) and Hispanic (mean = 2.60) respondents with the same education. But both white (mean = 3.47) and black (mean = 3.28) respondents with high school education had more positive perceptions of the importance of public support of the police than did Hispanic respondents (mean = 2.39) with similar educational experience.

The interaction between education and age also was significant. Among respondents who were between 12 and 21 years of age, those with college experience had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did individuals with other educational levels. Similarly, among respondents who were 22 years and older, those with less than high school experience had more negative perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did respondents with other levels of education.

Also significant was the interaction between race and marital status. White respondents who were single (mean = 3.49) had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did single black (mean = 2.97) and Hispanic (mean = 2.62) respondents.

Fair Treatment of Citizens by the Police

> Hypothesis 2: Respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

In Item 17 of the survey, respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed that the local police treat people fairly, using the following four-point Likert-type scale: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD). For data-analysis purposes, the four possible responses (SA, A, D, and SD) were collapsed into two categories: positive (SA and A) and negative (D and SD).

A chi-square test of statistical significance was used to determine whether respondents' perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police were related to their race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and/or marital status. The chi-square results are shown in Table 4.4. As indicated in the table, respondents' perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police were significantly related to their race ($X^2 = 10.3$, $p < .05$), age ($X^2 = 17.1$, $p < .05$), religiosity ($X^2 = 10.5$, $p < .05$), and marital status ($X^2 = 9.6$, $p < .05$). No statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police and their gender, education, income, and occupation.

White respondents (81%) had more positive perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the local police than did blacks (62) and Hispanics (52%). Black respondents did, however, have more positive perceptions than did Hispanics. Respondents' perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police also varied by age. Older respondents (83%) had more positive perceptions in this area than did younger respondents (38%).

In addition, respondents who attended church more frequently than once a week (79%) had more positive perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police than did those who never attended church (53%). Marital status also influenced respondents' perceptions in this area. Respondents who were married (80%) had more positive perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police than did those who were single (58%).

Table 4.4: Results of chi-square analysis of respondents' perceptions of fair treatment of citizens by the police, by their sociodemographic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristic	Category	Posi- tive (%)	Nega- tive (%)	df	Chi- Square	p-Value
Race	White	81	19			
	Black	62	38	2	10.3	.0059*
	Hispanic	52	48			
Gender	Male	66	34	1	0.7	.3942
	Female	71	29			
Age	12-21	38	62			
	22-35	64	36	2	17.1	.0002**
	36+	82	18			
Education	< High school	65	35			
	High school exp.	69	31	2	0.2	.9107
	College exp.	66	34			
Income	< $10,000	63	37			
	$10,000-$20,000	56	44	2	4.8	.0909
	> $20,000	80	20			
Occupation	Blue-collar	67	33			
	White-collar	73	27	3	3.7	.2975
	Not working	69	31			
	Other	52	48			
Religiosity	Never	53	47			
	Weekly	76	24	2	10.5	.0054*
	More frequently	79	21			
Marital status	Single	58	42	1	9.6	.0020*
	Married	80	20			

*Significant at the .01 level.

**Significant at the .001 level.

ANOVA was used to examine differences in respondents' perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police, based on their sociodemographic characteristics. As shown in Table 4.5, no statistically significant differences were found in respondents' perceptions in this area, based on their sociodemographic characteristics.

Table 4.5: Results of ANOVA for differences in respondents' perceptions regarding fair treatment of citizens by the police, based on their sociodemographic characteristics.

Main Effects		
Race 0.21	Age 0.73	Religiosity 0.02
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Age 2.20	Race x Religiosity 0.59	Age x Religiosity 1.35
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Age x Religiosity 0.49		

Main Effects	
Race 0.29	Marital Status 2.88
Two-Way Interactions	
Race x Marital Status 0.72	

Police Aggressiveness

Hypothesis 3: Respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

In Item 36 of the survey, respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed that aggressive police behavior is a problem in their neighborhood, using the following four-point Likert-type scale: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD). For data-analysis purposes, the four possible responses (SA, A, D, and SD) were collapsed into two categories: positive (D and SD) and negative (A and SA). Because of how Item 36 was framed, disagreement with the statement indicated a positive perception of police behavior and vice versa.

A chi-square test of statistical significance was used to determine whether respondents' perceptions of aggressive police behavior were related to their race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and/or marital status. The chi-square results are presented in Table 4.6. As seen in the table, respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness were significantly related to their race ($X^2 = 13.6$, $p < .06$), gender ($X^2 = 6.3$, $p < .05$), occupation ($X^2 = 9.3$, $p < .05$), and marital status ($X^2 = 4.4$, $p < .05$). No statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness and their age, education, income, and religiosity.

Table 4.6:   Results of chi-square analysis of respondents' perceptions of whether aggressive police behavior is a problem, by their socio-demographic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristic	Category	Posi-tive (%)	Nega-tive (%)	df	Chi-Square	p-Value
Race	White	90	10			
	Black	70	30	2	13.6	.0011**
	Hispanic	58	42			
Gender	Male	69	31	1	6.3	.0118*
	Female	85	15			
Age	12-21	68	32			
	22-35	77	23	2	4.7	.0939
	36+	86	14			
Education	< High school	61	39			
	High school exp.	81	19	2	3.4	.1818
	College exp.	74	26			
Income	< $10,000	68	32			
	$10,000-$20,000	74	26	2	2.8	.2430
	> $20,000	83	17			
Occupation	Blue-collar	61	39			
	White-collar	89	11	3	9.3	.0252*
	Not working	76	24			
	Other	81	19			
Religiosity	Never	70	30			
	Weekly	79	21	2	2.0	.3735
	More frequently	82	18			
Marital status	Single	70	30	1	4.4	.0349*
	Married	84	16			

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .001 level.

Black (30%) and Hispanic (42%) respondents perceived aggressive police behavior as more of a problem than did white respondents (10%). However, black respondents perceived the police as less aggressive than did Hispanic respondents. Also, more males (31%) than females (15%) agreed (negative perception) that aggressive police behavior was a problem.

The perception that aggressive police behavior was a problem was more prevalent among blue-collar workers (40%) than among respondents in other occupational categories (not working = 24%, "other" = 19%, white-collar = 11%). White-collar workers were the least likely occupational group to perceive aggressive police behavior as a problem. In addition, respondents who were married (84%) had more positive perceptions of the police than did those who were single (70%).

ANOVA was used to further examine significant differences among respondents' perceptions of aggressive police behavior relative to race, gender, education, occupation, and marital status. There were no significant main effects or interactions relative to perceptions of police aggressive behavior. As shown in Table 4.7, there was a statistically significant three-way interaction in relation to respondents' perceptions of aggressive police behavior. A significant interaction was observed among race, occupation, and marital status (F = 2.26, p < .05). In particular, single white respondents who were blue-collar workers (mean = 3.00) did not perceive aggressive police behavior to be as much of a problem as did single black blue-collar (mean = 1.89) or single Hispanic blue-

collar (mean = 1.50) respondents. Respondents who were white married white-collar workers (mean = 2.52) were more positive in their perceptions that aggressive police behavior was not a problem than were black (mean = 1.00) or Hispanic (mean = 1.00) respondents who were married white-collar workers.

Table 4.7: Results of ANOVA for differences in respondents' perceptions of aggressive police behavior, based on their sociodemographic characteristics.

Main Effects		
Race 2.02	Gender 3.17	Education 1.24
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Gender 1.28	Race x Education 2.02	Gender x Education 0.14
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Gender x Education 1.24		

Main Effects		
Race 2.36	Occupation 0.37	Marital Status 0.53
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Occupation 1.07	Race x Marital Status 1.38	Occupation x Marital Status 0.82
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Occupation x Marital Status 2.26*		

*Significant at the .05 level.

<u>Harassment by the Police</u>

<u>Hypothesis 4</u>: Respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

In Item 38 of the survey, respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed that unnecessary police harassment is a problem in their neighborhood, using the following four-point Likert-type scale: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD). For data-analysis purposes, the four possible responses (SA, A, D, and SD) were collapsed into two categories: positive (D and SD) and negative (A and SA).

A chi-square test of statistical significance was used to determine whether respondents' perceptions of police harassment were related to their race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and/or marital status. The chi-square results are presented in Table 4.8. As shown in the table, respondents' perceptions of police harassment were significantly related to their race (X^2 = 34.8, p < .05), gender (X^2 = 9.6, p < .05), age (X^2 = 14.7, p < .05), education (X^2 = 11.3, p < .05), income (X^2 = 6.0, p < .05), occupation (X^2 = 12.2, p < .05), and marital status (X^2 = 11.1, p < .05). No statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' perceptions of police harassment and their religiosity.

As shown in Table 4.8, black (33%) and Hispanic (56%) respondents had more negative perceptions of police harassment than did white (4%) respondents. However, Hispanic respondents perceived police harassment

Table 4.8:   Results of chi-square analysis of respondents' perceptions of police harassment as a problem, by their sociodemographic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristic	Category	Posi-tive (%)	Nega-tive (%)	df	Chi-Square	p-Value
Race	White Black Hispanic	96 67 44	4 33 56	2	34.8	.0000***
Gender	Male Female	67 87	33 13	1	9.6	.0019**
Age	12-21 22-35 36+	60 77 92	40 24 8	2	14.7	.0006***
Education	< High school High school exp. College exp.	48 78 82	52 22 18	2	11.3	.0035**
Income	< $10,000 $10,000-$20,000 > $20,000	68 74 90	32 26 10	2	6.0	.0510*
Occupation	Blue-collar White-collar Not working Other	55 89 73 79	45 11 27 21	3	12.2	.0068**
Religiosity	Never Weekly More frequently	67 81 80	33 19 20	2	4.0	.1332
Marital status	Single Married	67 88	33 12	1	11.1	.0009***

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

***Significant at the .001 level.

more negatively than did black respondents. The perception of police harassment by male respondents (33%) was more negative than that of female (13%) respondents. Young respondents between the ages of 12 and 21 (40%) had more negative perceptions of police harassment than did those who were 22 to 35 years old (24%) and 36 years or older (8%). Thus, as respondents got older, their perceptions of police harassment became less negative.

Respondents who had less than high school experience (52%) perceived police harassment more negatively than did those with high school (22%) and college (18%) experience. Hence, as respondents' educational level increased, their perceptions of police harassment became less negative. Respondents who earned more than $20,000 per year (90%) had more positive perceptions that police harassment was not a problem than did respondents who made less than $20,000 per year. The white-collar respondents were more positive (89%) that police harassment was not a problem than were blue-collar workers (55%), those not working (73%), and other respondents (79%). Respondents who were married (12%) perceived police harassment less negatively than did single respondents (33%).

ANOVA was used to examine differences in respondents' perceptions of police harassment, based on significant differences found regarding race, gender, age, education, and occupation. The statistically significant observed differences are reported in Table 4.9. As shown in the table, respondents' perceptions of police harassment varied according to race (F = 4.72, p < .01).

In addidtion, a significant interaction was observed between race and age (F = 2.71, p < .05). No significant differences were observed relative to other interactions.

Table 4.9: Results of ANOVA for differences in respondents' perceptions of police harassment as a problem, based on their sociodemographic characteristics.

Main Effects		
Race 2.35	Gender 0.45	Age 2.83
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Gender 0.55	Race x Age 2.71*	Gender x Age 0.21
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Gender x Age 0.28		

Main Effects		
Race 4.72**	Education 0.95	Occupation 0.29
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Education 0.66	Race x Occupation 1.04	Education x Occupation 1.08
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Age x Occupation 1.07		

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

Similar to the chi-square results, the ANOVA results showed that more white respondents than black and Hispanic respondents perceived police harassment as not being a problem. The effect of age was more pronounced among black and Hispanic respondents than among whites. In particular, black respondents who were between 22 and 35 years of age (mean = 1.25) had more negative perceptions of police harassment than did those who were between 12 and 21 years old (mean = 2.37) and those who were 36 years or older (mean = 2.44). Hispanic respondents who were 36 years or older (mean = 3.00) had more positive perceptions that police harassment was not a problem than did younger Hispanics--those who were between 12 and 21 years of age (mean = 1.33) and between 22 and 35 years of age (mean = 1.27).

Overall Police Performance

Hypothesis 5: Respondents' perceptions of overall police performance are conditioned by their sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status).

In Item 41 of the survey, respondents were asked to rate how helpful police officers were, using the following four-point Likert-type scale: Very Helpful (VH), Helpful (H), Unhelpful (U), and Very Unhelpful (VU). For data-analysis purposes, the four possible responses (VH, H, U, and VU) were collapsed into two categories: positive (VH and H) and negative (U and VU).

A chi-square test of statistical significance was used to determine whether respondents' perceptions of overall police performance were related to their race,

gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and/or marital status. The chi-square results are presented in Table 4.10. As shown in the table, respondents' perceptions of overall police performance were significantly related to their race (X^2 = 9.4, p < .05), gender (X^2 = 3.6, p < .05), age (X^2 = 18.8, p < .05), income (X^2 = 7.8, p < .05), religiosity (X^2 = 12.6, p < .05), and marital status (X^2 = 12.4, p < .05). No statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' perceptions of overall police performance and their education and occupation.

White respondents (89%) had more positive perceptions of overall police performance than did black (73%) and Hispanic (67%) respondents. However, blacks had more positive perceptions of police performance than did Hispanics. Females (85%) perceived police performance more positively than did males (75%). Young respondents between the ages of 12 and 21 (46%) had more negative perceptions of police performance than did older respondents--those who were between 22 and 35 years of age (26%) and those who were 35 or older (8%). Thus, as respondents got older, their perceptions of overall police performance became less negative.

Respondents who earned less than $10,000 per year (30%) had more negative perceptions of overall police performance than did those who earned $10,000 to $20,000 per year (27%) and those who earned more than $20,000 per year (9%). Thus, as respondents' income increased, their perceptions of police performance became less negative.

Table 4.10: Results of chi-square analysis of respondents' perceptions of overall police performance, by their sociodemographic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristic	Category	Posi- tive (%)	Nega- tive (%)	df	Chi- Square	p-Value
Race	White	89	11			
	Black	73	27	2	9.4	.0089**
	Hispanic	67	33			
Gender	Male	75	26	1	3.6	.0575*
	Female	85	15			
Age	12-21	55	46			
	22-35	74	26	2	18.8	.0001***
	36+	92	8			
Education	< High school	70	30			
	High school exp.	78	22	2	2.1	.3573
	College exp.	83	17			
Income	< $10,000	70	30			
	$10,000-$20,000	73	27	2	7.8	.0199**
	> $20,000	91	9			
Occupation	Blue-collar	77	23			
	White-collar	89	11	3	4.9	.1799
	Not working	76	24			
	Other	71	29			
Religiosity	Never	67	33			
	Weekly	85	15	2	12.6	.0019***
	More frequently	95	5			
Marital status	Single	70	30	1	12.4	.0004***
	Married	90	10			

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

***Significant at the .001 level.

Respondents who were white-collar workers (89%) perceived police performance more positively than did respondents who were blue-collar (77%), not working (76%), and "other" (71%). Respondents who never attended church (33%) had more negative perceptions of overall police performance than did those who attended church about weekly (15%) and more frequently than once a week (5%). Also, respondents who were single (30%) perceived police performance more negatively than did married respondents (10%).

ANOVA was used to examine differences in respondents' perceptions of overall police performance, based on their race, age, income, religiosity, occupation, and marital status. A statistically significant difference was observed with regard to marital status ($F = 4.83$, $p < .05$) (see Table 4.11). In particular, the ANOVA results indicated that married respondents (mean = 2.49) had more positive perceptions of overall police performance than did those who were single (mean = 2.06). No significant differences were observed relative to race, age, income, occupation, religiosity, or the interactions.

A summary of the findings for each research question is given in Table 4.12. A summary and discussion of the study findings and recommendations for practice and further research are presented in Chapter V.

Table 4.11: Results of ANOVA for differences in respondents' perceptions regarding overall police performance, based on their sociodemographic characteristics.

Main Effects		
Race 0.61	Age 1.46	Income 0.17
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Age 0.47	Race x Income 0.77	Age x Income 0.35
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Age x Income 1.02		

Main Effects		
Race 2.31	Religiosity 2.03	Occupation 0.79
Two-Way Interactions		
Race x Religiosity 1.75	Race x Occupation 0.78	Religiosity x Occupation 0.62
Three-Way Interactions		
Race x Religiosity x Occupation 0.87		

Main Effects	
Race 1.37	Marital Status 4.83*
Two-Way Interactions	
Race x Marital Status 1.35	

*Significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.12:   Summary of the findings for each research question.

Sociodemographic Characteristic	Research Question				
	1	2	3	4	5
Race	**	**	**	***	**
Gender	*		*	**	*
Age	*	***		***	***
Education	***			**	
Income	*			*	**
Occupation	*		*	**	
Religiosity	*	**			***
Marital Status	*	**	*	***	***

Key: 1   = Importance of public support of the police.
         2   = Fair treatment by the police.
         3   = Police aggressiveness.
         4   = Harassment by the police.
         5   = Overall police performance.

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

***Significant at the .001 level.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The researcher's primary purpose in this study was to identify the association of selected sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status) of residents of the City of Saginaw, Michigan, with perceptions of the police. More specifically, citizens' perceptions with regard to (a) public support of the police, (b) fair treatment by the police, (c) police aggressiveness, (d) harassment by the police, and (e) overall police performance were investigated.

The target population from which the study sample was drawn comprised residents of the City of Saginaw, Michigan. According to the 1990 census, the population of the City of Saginaw is 69,512. The city is a heterogeneous community, inclusive of whites, blacks, and Hispanics. The 1990 census data for the City of Saginaw were used to identify census tracts that had reasonable representations of whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Thus, census tracts 1, 2, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, and 20 were selected. Three hundred three residents were chosen from these tracts by means of a stratified random sampling technique. This was done in an effort to achieve a sample from the three racial/ethnic

groups proportionate to their representation in the population. Of the 303 questionnaires distributed among interviewers, 269 were completed, for a response rate of 89%.

A community survey was used to collect the data for this study (see Appendix B for a copy of the survey). The questionnaire was based on those used by the Aurora, Michigan, Police Department and the Lansing, Michigan, Police Department; the Flint, Michigan, Community Policing Project; and a standard community survey used by the U.S. Department of Justice. The questionnaire included 47 statements pertaining to crime and citizens' perceptions of the police. Participants were asked to respond to each item. Questions were phrased using an ordinal Likert-type scale format. In addition, the questionnaire contained 14 items designed to elicit sociodemographic information about the respondents.

A test pilot was conducted with a sample of 20 volunteers from Saginaw Valley State University (juniors, seniors, and graduate students). Responses from the volunteers confirmed the items' clarity. The average time it took sample members to complete the questionnaire was 10 minutes.

Twenty college-student volunteers were given an extensive orientation and training on how to administer the questionnaires and how to conduct themselves with the potential respondents. To maximize the response rate, volunteers administered the questionnaires door to door to potential respondents.

Descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies and percentages were used in reporting sociodemographic information on the respondents. A chi-square test of statistical significance was used to determine whether respondents' perceptions of the police relative to the importance of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, harassment by the police, and overall police performance varied significantly by their sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and/or marital status). ANOVA was used to examine differences in respondents' perceptions of the police, based on their sociodemographic characteristics, with the interaction effects being recorded.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was derived from conflict theory. More specifically, conflict theory suggests that crime and criminal law evolve from the struggles individuals are engaged in relative to resources available, constraints, and social forces that exist in a society.

To that end, conflict theorists suggest that members of the ruling class implement laws that benefit themselves. Therefore, indiscretions of members of the working or nonruling class are more likely to be perceived as deviant and come to the attention of legal authorities. Hence, hypotheses for this study were derived from the conflict perspective, which suggests that marginal-status people are more likely to view the police negatively than are individuals from higher-status backgrounds.

Summary of Impact of Independent Variables

The following observations were made concerning the impact of respondents' race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, religiosity, and marital status on their perceptions of the police in terms of the importance of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, harassment by the police, and overall police performance.

Race. Respondents' race had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the police in terms of the importance of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, harassment by the police, and overall police performance. Race was consistently found to be statistically significant in all of the chi-square test results. More specifically, white respondents consistently had more positive perceptions of the police than did black and Hispanic respondents.

Gender. Respondents' gender had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the police in terms of the importance of public support of the police, police aggressiveness, harassment by the police, and overall police performance. In particular, females consistently had more positive perceptions of the police than did males. The differences in female and male respondents' perceptions of fair treatment by the police were not statistically significant.

Age. Respondents' age had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the police in terms of the importance of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, harassment by the police, and overall police

performance. More specifically, older respondents' perceptions of the police in these respects were consistently more positive than those of younger respondents. The chi-square test results showed that, as respondents' age increased, they became more positive in their perceptions of the police. The difference in older and younger respondents' perceptions of police aggressiveness was not statistically significant.

Education. Respondents' educational level had a significant impact on their perceptions of the importance of public support of the police and harassment by the police. In particular, respondents who had college experience consistently had more positive perceptions of the police in the above areas than did those with less than college experience. In addition, the chi-square test results showed that, as the respondents' educational experience increased, their perceptions also became more positive. The relationship between respondents' educational level and their perceptions of fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, and overall police performance was not statistically significant.

Income. Respondents' income had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the importance of public support of the police, harassment by the police, and overall police performance. More specifically, respondents who earned more than $20,000 per year had more positive perceptions of the importance of public support of the police, harassment by the police, and overall police performance than did respondents who earned less than $20,000 annually. No statistically significant relationship was found

between respondents' income and their perceptions of fair treatment by the police and police aggressiveness.

Occupation. A statistically significant relationship was observed between respondents' occupation and their perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police, police aggressiveness, and harassment by the police. More specifically, white-collar respondents had more positive perceptions of the police than did those in the other three work categories. However, no statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' occupation and their perceptions of fair treatment by the police and overall police performance.

Religiosity. Respondents' religiosity had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, and overall police performance. In particular, respondents who attended church more frequently than once a week had more positive perceptions of the police than did those who never attended church or who attended church about weekly. No statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' religiosity and their perceptions of police aggressiveness and harassment by the police.

Marital status. The chi-square test revealed a statistically significant relationship between respondents' marital status and their perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police, fair treatment by the police, police aggressiveness, harassment by the police, and overall police performance. More

specifically, married respondents consistently had more positive perceptions of the police in these areas than did respondents who were single.

Analysis of variance. ANOVA results showed that the effect of race was more pronounced among young respondents than among older respondents. In particular, young white respondents had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did young black and young Hispanic respondents. Older respondents of all three races had relatively positive perceptions of the police.

The effect of race was more pronounced among respondents with less than high school experience than among those with college experience. More specifically, white respondents with less than high school education had more positive perceptions than did black and Hispanic respondents with similar education regarding the importance of public support of the police.

The effect of race also was more pronounced among single respondents than among married ones. In particular, single white respondents had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did single black and single Hispanic respondents.

The effect of race was more pronounced among single blue-collar respondents than among married white-collar respondents. More specifically, single white respondents who were blue-collar workers had more positive perceptions that police aggressiveness was not a problem than did single black or Hispanic respondents who were blue-collar workers. In addition, married

white white-collar respondents had more positive perceptions that police aggressiveness was not a problem than did married black and Hispanic white-collar workers.

The interaction of age and education had a statistically significant effect on respondents' perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police. More specifically, among respondents between 12 and 21 years of age, those with college experience had more positive perceptions than did those with less than college experience. Among the respondents who were 22 years or older, those with high school experience and college experience had more positive perceptions regarding the importance of public support of the police than did those with less than high school experience.

Discussion

Conflict theory suggests that conflict in society is a product of scarce resources and inequality in the distribution of those resources, notably power. This inequality creates a conflict of interest between two classes in society--those with and those without power. Vold (1958) emphasized that the whole process of law making, law breaking, and law enforcement directly reflects the deep-seated and fundamental conflicts between these group interests.

Quinney (1970) suggested that the legal system (i.e., the police) best represents the interests of those who hold power in society. The legal system is, therefore, a method of regulating and controlling the behaviors of the less

powerful (i.e., predominantly poor, minorities--black and Hispanics, and the disadvantaged).

Because the police are seen as protectors and enforcers of the powerful or dominant class (mainly white males) interests in society, the conflict of interests between the powerless and the powerful will spill over to them. Thus, the police could be negatively perceived by the less powerful because of the interests of those (the powerful) they represent. Furthermore, the police generally will be perceived positively by those whose interests they protect.

The results of this study supported the assumptions underlying conflict theory. Results of the chi-square test of statistical significance indicated that white respondents consistently had more positive perceptions of the police (who represent and protect their interests) than did black and Hispanic respondents (disproportionate numbers of whom belong to the less powerful group).

Furthermore, the social-class characteristics (i.e., income, education, and occupation) that contribute to one's status or position in society help to determine on what side of the class conflict an individual belongs and, therefore, how that individual will perceive the police. According to the results of this study, respondents with higher incomes, better education, and white-collar jobs (mostly whites) had significantly more positive perceptions of the police than did respondents with low incomes, less than high school education, and those who were not white-collar workers (mostly minorities, the poor, and the disadvantaged).

Attainment of high social class (i.e., high income, advanced education, and a white-collar job) requires time and experience. This position is occupied primarily by older people who, because of their age, have had a better chance of becoming part of the powerful group than have younger individuals, who are disproportionately represented in the less powerful group. More specifically, the older respondents in this study expressed more positive perceptions of the police than did younger respondents because the older individuals had a greater tendency to be part of the powerful group whom the police represent.

While Marx suggested that religion is an opiate of the masses in society in that it teaches acceptance of one's situation in life, structural practices found in religious sects may enable their members to identify with the structural dimensions of the law and order functions of the police more than non-church-attending individuals. Thus, even those who are oppressed but who accept their status are likely to accept the police as well. It is not surprising, then, that the hypothesis that citizens' perceptions of the police will be conditioned by their religiosity was sustained. More specifically, it was found that respondents who attended church (who were religious) had more positive perceptions of the police than did those who never attended church (who were not religious). Also, the more religious the respondents were (as evidenced by more frequent church attendance), the more positive were their perceptions of the police.

Recommendations

Based on the findings from this study, the following recommendations are offered.

Recommendations for Practice

1.   It has been suggested that the citizens of a community are co-producers of police service. Thus, their support of the police is deemed crucial. The findings from this study showed that respondents' sociodemographic characteristics had a statistically significant relationship with their perceptions of the importance of public support of the police. Thus, it is recommended that the City of Saginaw police department intensify its efforts to motivate and encourage all segments of the community to be supportive of their police.

2.   The findings from this study showed that more minorities and young respondents of all races than whites and older respondents believed that the police did not treat people fairly. Therefore, it is recommended that the City of Saginaw police department emphasize the importance of its officers' treating all citizens fairly, through implementation of policy and training.

3.   According to the results of this study, respondents' perceptions that police aggressiveness was a problem in their neighborhood had a statistically significant relationship with their race, gender, occupation, and marital status. More specifically, more minorities, males, blue-collar workers, and single respondents believed that police aggressiveness was a problem. Therefore, it is recommended that the City of Saginaw police administrators understand and

take into consideration the fact that an individual officer's behavior can influence people's perceptions of the department as a whole.

4.   A statistically significant relationship was found between respondents' perceptions of harassment by the police and their race, gender, age, education, income, occupation, and marital status. In particular, more minorities, males, younger, less educated, low-income, single, and blue-collar respondents believed that there was unnecessary police harassment in their neighborhoods. It is, therefore, recommended that the City of Saginaw police department emphasize via policy to its officers that harassment of citizens by officers will not be tolerated.

5.   Respondents who were white, older, and of higher income status perceived overall police performance more positively than did minorities, younger respondents, and those with low incomes. Earlier, it was suggested that the police, as part of the legal system, represent the interests of the powerful. It should not be surprising, then, that minorities, the young, and low-income respondents had more negative perceptions of overall police performance than did white, older, and higher-income respondents. It is, however, recommended that the police should consider their position as a neutral one. The police are expected to protect and be helpful and fair to all citizens, regardless of their position in society.

6.   Overall, it is recommended that the police be committed to efforts and strategies that will build strong, positive police-community relations through

the behavior of the officers, quality training for officers, police-community-relations programs, and departmental policies. The police should not forget that citizens are essential elements to law enforcement, and they should make necessary efforts to break the cyclical nature of the antagonism between the police and some segments of the community. Based on their training and professionalism, the police are expected to understand more the need to encourage and work for positive police-community relations.
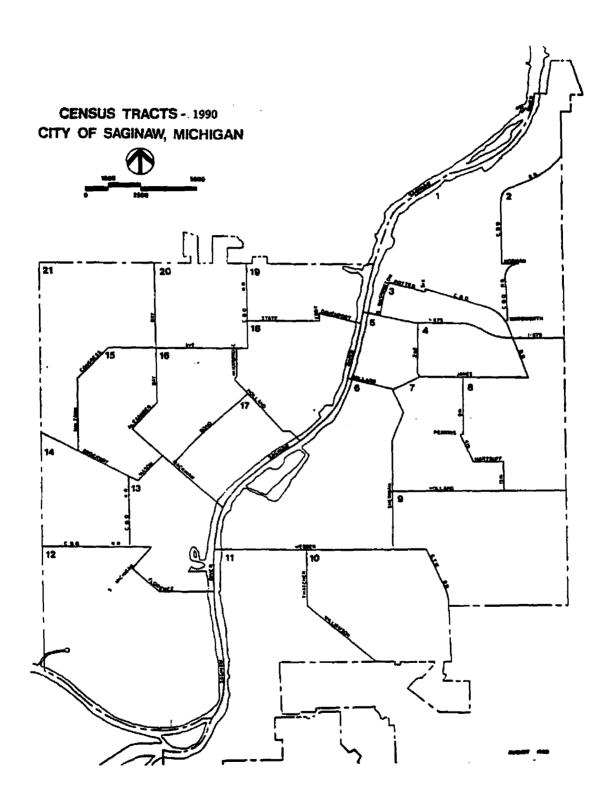
Recommendations for Further Research

This study had a sample size of 269 people. It is recommended that future studies of a similar nature include a larger sample, for more effective use of the ANOVA technique. Moreover, a qualitative study involving an examination of why minorities, low-income individuals, and younger citizens perceive the police more negatively might help the police find better ways to improve relations with such groups.

In this study, it was found that sociodemographic variables had a statistically significant relationship with respondents' perceptions of the police. Thus, it is recommended that future researchers examine other factors (i.e., media, police behavior, political action committees, and so on) that might also be significantly related to citizens' perceptions of the police.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CENSUS TRACTS OF THE CITY OF SAGINAW, MICHIGAN

CENSUS TRACTS - 1990
CITY OF SAGINAW, MICHIGAN

Source: U.S. Census (1990).

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

0 0 1

COMMUNITY SURVEY

Thank you for participating in this survey. The purpose of this survey is to determine the concerns, perceptions and views of the City of Saginaw citizens toward the police. It is an attempt to measure attitude and perceptions with regard to police-community relations.

Therefore, your opinion is very important to us. Your responses will remain completely confidential. Do not write your name. Please take a few minutes to complete this questionnaire. Use a number 2 pencil and fill in the circle which most closely matches your answer. Participation is voluntary. You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing and returning this questionnaire.

```
***************************************************
* USE NO. 2 PENCIL....FILL IN BUBBLE COMPLETELY *
***************************************************
      ALL RESPONSES WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL
```

1. During the day, how often do you walk/run/ride a bike in your neighborhood?
   - every day
   - once or twice a week
   - a few times a month
   - a few times a year
   - never

2. After sunset, how often do you walk/run/ride a bike in your neighborhood?
   - every day
   - once or twice a week
   - a few times a month
   - a few times a year
   - never

3. How many of your neighbors do you know by name?
   - less than 25%
   - between 25% and half
   - between half and 75%
   - almost all your neighbors
   - none

4. How safe is your neighborhood at night?
   - very safe   safe   not safe   very dangerous

5. How important is it for neighbors to think you always obey the law.
   - very important   important   somewhat important   not important

6. As long as no one gets hurt, it is O.K. to break some laws.
   - yes   no   unsure

7. How often do you talk to police officers?
   - every day
   - once or twice a week
   - a few times a month
   - a few times a year
   - never

8. How often do you see police officers in your neighborhood?
   - every day
   - once or twice a week
   - a few times a month
   - a few times a year
   - never

9. How is the level of safety in your neighborhood changing?
   - becoming safer
   - no change
   - don't know
   - becoming less safe
   - becoming more dangerous

10. Have you been the victim of a violent crime (like a fight, rape or attack) in the last 3 years?
    - yes   no

11. Have you been the victim of a non-violent crime (like vandalism or theft) in the last 3 years?
    - yes   no

12. Have you called the police to report a problem (other than to report a crime) in your neighborhood since last summer?
    - yes   no

13. Would you like to see police officers walking through your neighborhood?
    - yes   no   don't know

filename = comm.aa

```
0 0 2
```

PLEASE INDICATE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FOLLOWING ARE PROBLEMS IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DIS-AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
14. The laws are to protect you.					
15. Public support of the police is important for keeping law and order.					
16. Do the local police have a good understanding of what people in the neighborhood consider acceptable behavior?					
17. Do the local police treat people fairly?					
18. Prostitution is a problem in my neighborhood.					
19. Fear of crime is a problem in my neighborhood.					
20. Excessive drinking of alcohol is a problem in my neighborhood.					
21. Loud parties is a problem in my neighborhood.					
22. Abandoned/run-down buildings is a problem in my neighborhood.					
23. Most neighbors don't talk to each other.					
24. Inadequate schools is a problem in my neighborhood.					
25. Sexual assaults is a problem in my neighborhood.					
26. Gang activity is a problem in my neighborhood.					
27. General appearance of my neighborhood is a problem.					
28. Homeless people is a problem in my neighborhood.					
29. Most neighbors don't care about this neighborhood.					
30. There is a great chance that I will be a victim of a violent crime in this neighborhood.					
31. Do you think that your chances of being the victim of a robbery or theft are great in this neighborhood?					
32. Can the local police protect you from crime?					
33. Do you feel that you are more likely to be a crime victim than most other people?					
34. Drug dealing is a problem in my neighborhood.					
35. Easy access to guns is a problem in my neighborhood.					
36. Aggressive police officers is a problem in my neighborhood.					
37. We have racial problems in my neighborhood.					
38. Unnecessary police harassment is a problem in my neighborhood.					

39. How safe do you feel out alone in your neighborhood at night?
    very safe   safe   unsure   unsafe   very unsafe

40. How safe do you feel out alone in your neighborhood during the day?
    very safe   safe   unsure   not safe   very unsafe

41. Police officers are usually:
    very helpful   helpful   don't know   not helpful   very unhelpful

42. Would you like to see the same police officers working in your neighborhood every day?
    yes   don't know   no

43. In the past year, police service has become:
    much better   better   don't know   worse   much worse

44. How satisfied are you with the time it took police to respond to calls in your neighborhood?
    very satisfied
    satisfied
    not satisfied
    not at all satisfied
    don't know

45. Indicate how many contacts you have had with the police in Saginaw in the last 12 months.

	NONE	1-5	6-10	11-15
A. Acquaintance with police				
B. Emergency assistance from police				
C. Complaint made to police				
D. Witness questioned by the police				
E. Arrested by police				
F. Foot patrol				

filename = comm.sa2

0 0 3

46.Please rank/prioritize your responsibility as a citizen in relation to dealing with crime. Use (1) through (6), with (1) being the most important and (6) the least important.

1   2   3   4   5   6

A.Avoiding involvement with victim
B.Assisting victim needing help
C.Report suspicious activity
D.Avoiding involvement with police
E.Reporting crime
F.Assisting police officers needing help

We want to know how people with different ages, jobs, gender, etc., feel about this neighborhood. The following questions ask you to tell us something about yourself. Remember that no one will know who you are.

47.What is you monthly income?_____ gross
48.Based on your current job, which occupation group would you best fit with?
    factory worker, plumber, welder, construction
    teacher, doctor, banker, counselor
    secretary, typist, restaurant worker, salesperson
    retired
    unemployed
    other
49.What is your age?_____ years
50.What is your sex?
    male
    female
51.What is your race/ethnic group?
    white/Non-Hispanic
    black/African American
    hispanic
    oriental/Asian
    other
52.How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
    less than 6 months   7 months to 2 years   2 - 10 years   over 10 years
53.How long have you lived in Saginaw?
    less than 6 months   7 months to 2 years   2 - 10 years   over 10 years
54.In the place you live, do you:
    own   rent   other
55.How many children live with you?
    none   one   two - three   four or more
56.How many children do you have?
    none   one   two - three   four or more
57.How much education have you had?
    less than high school
    some high school
    high school graduate
    some college
    college graduate
    some graduate school
    graduate degree (Masters or Doctorate)
58.Marital status
    single, never been married
    married
    single, divorced
    separated
    widowed
59.What religious denomination are you?
    Christian (Catholic, Baptist, etc.)
    Muslim
    Mormon
    no denomination
    other_____
60.How often do you attend church?
    never
    once a week
    twice a week
    three times or more per month

APPENDIX C

VOLUNTEER ORIENTATION ON DATA COLLECTION

VOLUNTEER ORIENTATION ON DATA COLLECTION

Introduction: Appreciation for their voluntary participation.

PART I: INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESEARCH

Topic: A Comparative Analysis of Citizens' Perceptions of the Police in the City of Saginaw

Beneficiaries:
1. Allison Anadi--Ph.D. dissertation
2. City of Saginaw--Police Department
3. City of Saginaw--Community
4. Students

PART II:

Survey: I -- Community Survey--Volunteers

Map: I -- Saginaw Census Tracts (21)

II -- Census Tracts Indicating Racial Composition

III -- Selected Census Tracts Depicting Streets

PART III: WHAT VOLUNTEERS SHOULD DO

a. Administer questionnaires to households--door to door.

b. Collect questionnaires right away.

c. As the case may be, self-addressed stamped envelopes could be given to respondents to mail back completed forms A.S.A.P.

d. Volunteers could fairly and reasonably assist the respondents on as-needed basis.

e. Maintain respondents' anonymity and confidentiality.

PART IV: PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN SURVEY RESEARCH

Norms—Volunteers should:

a. Let respondents know that participation is voluntary.

b. Emphasize respondents' anonymity and the confidentiality of information obtained.

c. Not make suggestive statements or actions that could influence respondents' answers.

d. Read and explain the questions without any suggestive statements.

e. If a respondent cannot write, record their answers exactly as indicated by the respondent.

f. All completed questionnaires should be returned immediately to the researcher, as directed.

PART V: EXERCISE

-- Respondents completed the sample questionnaires themselves for practice and clarity.

-- Volunteers asked questions.

-- Completion time was noted.

PART VI: RESOURCES AVAILABLE

-- Questionnaire forms

-- Pencils

-- Addressed, stamped envelopes

-- Maps

-- List of who goes where

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Albrecht, S., & Green, M. (1977). Attitudes toward the police and the larger attitude complex. Criminology, 15, 67-86.

Alderson, J. C. (1982). The police in the 1980s: Influences of new social perspectives on the organization and role of the police. Political Science Abstracts, 10(1), i-vi.

Allen, D., & Maxfield, M. (1983). Judging police performance: Views and behavior of patrol officers. In R. Bennett (Ed.), Police at work: Issues and analysis (pp. 65-86). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Alpert, G. P., & Fridell, L. A. (1992). Police vehicles and firearms: Instruments of deadly force. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Alpert, G., & Hicks, D. (1977). Prisoners' attitudes toward components of the legal and judicial systems. Criminology, 14, 461-482.

Apple, N., & O'Brien, D. (1983, March). Neighborhood racial composition and residents' evaluation of police performance. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 11(1), 76-83.

Babbie, E. (1990). Survey research methods. (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Balkan, S., Berger, R., & Schmidt, J. (1980). Crime and deviance in America: A critical approach. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Banton, M. (1965). The policeman in the community. New York: Basic Books.

Bayley, D., & Mendelsohn, H. (1969). Minorities and the police: Confrontation in America. New York: Free Press.

Bayley, D., Mendelsohn, H., Smith, P., & Hawkins, R. (1973, Fall). Victimization, types of citizen-police contacts, and attitudes toward the police. Law and Society Review, pp. 135-152.

108

Becker, H. S. (1963). Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance. New York: Free Press.

Becker, H. S. (1973). Labeling theory reconsidered. In S. Messinger, S. Halleck, P. Lerman, N. Morris, P. V. Murphy, & M. E. Wolfgang (Eds.), The Aldine crime and justice annual, 1973 (pp. 3-32). Chicago: Aldine.

Benner, A. W. (1989). Psychological screening of police applicants. In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings (pp. 72-86). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Bittner, E. (1970). The functions of the police in modern society: A review of background factors, current practices, and possible role models (DHEW Publication No. ADM 75-260). Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health.

Black, D., & Reiss, A. (1970). Patterns of behavior in police and citizens transactions. In Field surveys 3: Studies in crime and law enforcement in major metropolitan areas (Report of research submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Blacks and cops: Up against a wall. (1993). In J. J. Sullivan & J. L. Victor, J. (Eds.). Criminal justice 1993/94. (17th ed., pp. 96-97). Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.

Blumberg, M. (1989). Controlling police use of deadly force: Assessing two decades of progress. In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings (pp. 442-464). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Bogue, D. J. (1969). Principles of demography. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Brodsky, S. L., & Smitherman, H. O. (1983). Handbook for research in crime and delinquency. New York: Plenum.

Brown, L., & Wykoff, M. A. (1987). Policing Houston: Reducing fear and improving service. Crime and Delinquency, 33, 71-89.

Brown, M. (1981). Working the street: Police discretion and the dilemmas of reform. New York: Russell Sage.

Bucqueroux, B., & Trojanowicz, R. (1990). Community policing: A contemporary perspective. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.

Caiden, G. E. (1977). Police revitalization. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Caplow, T., & Foreman, R. (1950). Neighborhood interaction in a homogeneous community. American Sociological Review, 15, 357-366.

Charles, M. (1980, September). The utilization of attitude surveys in the police decision-making process. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 8(3), 294-303.

Chesney-Lind, S. (1977, April). Judicial paternalism and the female status offender: Training women to know their place. Crime and Delinquency, 122.

Cleaver, E. (1970). Domestic law and international order. In W. M. Chace & P. Collier (Eds.), Justice denied (p. 528). New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World.

Coffey, A. R. (1990). Law enforcement: A human relations approach. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice. (1989). Principles of good policing: Avoiding violence between police and citizens. In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings (pp. 164-204). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Cox, S., & Fitzgerald, J. (1983). Police in community relations. Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown.

Crawford, T. J. (1973, June). Police overperception of ghetto hostility. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 1(2), 168-174.

Critchley, T. A. (1967). A history of police in England and Wales, 1900-19660. London: Constable.

Cullen, F. T., & Cullen, J. B. (1978). Toward a paradigm of labeling theory. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Curry-White, B., & O'Hare, W. P. Is there a rural underclass? Population Today, 20(3).

Davis, A. (1983). Women, race, and class. New York: Vintage Books.

Decker, S. (1981, March). Citizens' attitudes toward the police. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 9(1), 80-87.

Decker, S., & Wagner, A. E. (1982). Race and citizens' complaints against the police: An analysis of their interaction. In J. R. Green (Ed.), The police and the public. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Department of Human Resources, Metropolitan Dade County. (1983). Dade County characteristics. Miami, FL: Author.

Diamon, S. (1971, Spring). The rule of law versus the order of customs. Social Research, 38, 41-72.

Dunham, R., & Alpert, G. (1988). Neighborhood differences in attitudes toward policing. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 79.

Dunham, R. G., & Alpert, G. P. (Eds.). (1989). Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Edwards, R. L. (1979). Citizens' perceptions of police response time and service quality. Unpublished master's thesis, Michigan State University.

Epstein, C. (1962). Intergroup relations for police officers. Baltimore, MD: Williams & Wilkins.

Erbe, B. (1975). Race and socioeconomic segregation. American Sociological Review, 40, 801-812.

Erez, E. (1984). Self-defined "desert" and citizens' assessment of the police. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 75, 1276-1299.

Fisher, L. F. (1985). Judicial misjudgments about the lawmaking process. The legislative veto case. Public Administration Review, 45, 705-712.

Fishman, G. (1976). The paradoxical effect of labeling. International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 4, 1-7.

Flanagan, T. (1985, March). Consumer perspectives on police operational strategy. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 3(1), 10-21.

Fyfe, J. J. (1982). Blind justice. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 73, 707-722.

Gaiter, D. (1985, March 27). No individual can speak for all blacks. Miami Herald, p. 27-A.

Geller, W. A. (Ed.). (1985). Police leadership in America: Crisis and opportunity. New York: Praeger.

Gold, J. A., Clarence, Y. H., & Wright, E. O. (1975, November). Recent developments in Marxist theories of the state. Monthly Review, 27, 36-51.

Goldkamp, J. S. (1976). Minorities as victims of police shootings: Interpretations of racial disproportionality and police use of deadly force. Justice System Journal, 2, 169-183.

Goldstein, H. (1977). Policing a free society. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Gollnick, D. M., & Chinn, P. C. (1983). Multicultural education in a pluralistic society. St. Louis, MO: C. V. Mosby.

Gollnick, D. M., et al. (1976). Multicultural education and ethnic studies in the United States. Washington, DC: Ethnic Heritage Center for Teacher Education, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

Gourley, G. D. (1953). Police and the public. Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas.

Green, E. (1970). Race, social status, and criminal arrest. American Sociological Review, 35, 476-490.

Greene, J. R. (1989). Police and community relations: Where have we been and where are we going? In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings (pp. 349-368). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Groves, E., & Rossi, P. (1970, May-August). Police perceptions of a hostile ghetto: Realism or projection? American Behavioral Scientist, 13, 737-743.

Hagan, J., & Palloni, Al (1990). The social reproduction of a criminal class in working-class London, circa 1950-1980. American Journal of Sociology, 96, 265-299.

Hepburn, J. R. (1978). Race and the decision to arrest: The analysis of warrants issued. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 15, 54-73.

Houston, Texas, Police Department. (1959). Police department public attitude survey. Houston: Author.

Hudson, J. R. (1970). Police-citizen encounters that lead to citizen complaints. Social Problems, 18(2).

Iwata, E. (1992, June 27). A new sense of mission.

Jacob, H. (1971). Black and white perceptions of justice in the city, N.W.U. Law and Society Review, 6.

Kempf, K., & Austin, R. (1986). Older and more recent evidence on racial discrimination in sentencing. Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 2, 29-48.

Keneller, G. F. (1965). Educational anthropology: An introduction. New York: John Wiley.

Kuykendall, J. L. (1970). Police and minority groups: Toward a theory of negative contacts. Police, 15(1).

Lacayo, R. (1991, April 1). Back to the beat. Time.

Lawson, P. E. (1982). Solving somebody else's blues. New York: University Press of America.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., et al. (1968). the people's choice. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levy, B. (1968, March-April). Cops in the ghetto: A problem of the police system. American Behavioral Scientist, pp. 31-35.

Lewis, C. (1989). Report of the race relations and policing task force. Toronto: Solicitor General of Ontario.

Manning, P. K. (1978). The police mandate, strategies, and appearances. In J. D. Douglas (Ed.), Crime and justice in American society (pp. 180-193). Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

Mayhall, P. D. (1985). Police-community relations and the administration of justice. (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

McIver, J., & Parks, R. (1983). Evaluating police performance: Identification of effective and ineffective police actions. In R. Bennett (Ed.), Police at work: Issues and analysis (pp. 21-44). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Messerschmidt, J. W. (1986). Capitalism, patriarchy and crime. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield.

Meyer, M. W. (1980). Police shootings at minorities: The case of Los Angeles. Annals, 452, 98-110.

Mihanovich, C. S. (1967, May). Management measurements of public attitude towards the police. The Police Chief, 34, 28-30.

Miller, W. B. (1958). Lower-class culture as a generating milieu of grand delinquency. Journal of Social Issues, 14, 5-19.

Miller, W. B. (1959). Implications of lower-class culture for social work. Social Service Review, 33, 219-236.

Mish, F. C., et al. (Eds.). (1989). Webster's ninth new collegiate dictionary. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

Morganthau, T., & Katel, P. (1990, December 17). Looking for a place in the sun. Newsweek.

Morstain, B. (1984). Minority-white differences on a police aptitude exam. Psychological Reports, 55, 515-525.

Moss, L. E. (1977). Black political ascendancy in urban centers and black control of the local police function: An exploratory analysis. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates.

Mydans, S. (1993, August 6). Behind beating sentence: Guidelines and sympathy. The New York Times.

Myren, R. (1972). Decentralization and citizen participation in criminal justice systems. Public Administration Review, 32, 718-738.

National Center on Police and Community Relations. (1967). National survey of police and community relations (Field Survey V, submitted by Michigan State University to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing office.

National Research Council. (1989). A common destiny: Blacks and American society. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Neuman, T. L. (1972). Prepared: A report of the Wisconsin State Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Norris, D. F. (1973). Police-community relations. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

O'Brien, J. (1978). Public attitudes toward police. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 6, 303-310.

O'Connor, K., & Sabato, L. J. (1993). American government: Roots and reform. New York: Macmillan.

Plaza, T. (1993, April). Let's see some papers: In El Paso looking Latin is a crime. the Progressive.

Preiss, J. J., & Ehrlich, H. J. (1966). An examination of role theory: The case of the state police. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. (1967). The police (Task Force Report). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Quinney, R. (1970). The social reality of crime. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

Quinney, R. (1973). Critique of legal order. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

Quinney, R. (1980). Class, state and crime. New York: Longman.

Radelet, L. A. (1986). The police and the community. (4th ed.). New York: Macmillan.

Rafky, D. M. (1973). Police race attitudes and labeling. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 1, 65-86.

Reiman, J. (1984). The rich get richer and the poor get prison. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Reiss, A. (1971). The police and the public. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Reiss, A. (1974). Discretionary justice. In D. Glaser (Ed.), Handbook of criminology (pp. 679-699). Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.

Rius, M. (1976). Marx for beginners. New York: Pantheon Books.

Roberg, R. R., & Kuykendall, J. L. (1993). Police and society. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Scaglion, R., & Condon, R. G. (1980, Fall). The structure of black and white attitudes toward police. Human Organization, 39(3), 281.

Schermerhorn, R. A. (1978). Comparative ethnic relations: A framework for theory and research. New York: Random House.

Schuman, H., & Gruenberg, B. (1972). Dissatisfaction with city services: Is race an important factor? In H. Huhn (Ed.), People and politics in urban society (pp. 369-392). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Selltiz, C. (1965). Research methods in social relations. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Sessions, W. S. (1989, January). Making a difference through community relations. The Police Chief, 13.

Skolnick, J. H. (1966). Justice without trial: Law enforcement in democratic society. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Skolnick, J. H. (1986). Justice without trial. New York: Macmillan.

Smith, P., & Hawkins, R. (1973). Victimization, types of citizen-police contacts and attitudes toward the police. Law and Society Review, 8, 135-152.

Sterling, J. W. (1972). Changes in role concepts of police officers. Gaithersburg, MD: International Association of Chiefs of Police.

The structure of black and white attitudes toward police. (1980). Human Organization, 39, 280-283.

Sullivan, P. S. (1989). Minority officers: Current issues. In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings (pp. 331-345). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Sullivan, P., Dunham, R., & Alpert, G. (1987). Attitude structures of different ethnic and age groups concerning police. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 78, 501-521.

Sullivan, J. J., & Victor, J. L. (Eds.). (1993). Criminal justice 1993/94. (17th ed.). Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.

Swanson, C. R., Territo, L., & Taylor, R. W. (1993). Police administration: Structures, processes and behavior. New York: Macmillan.

Sykes, R., & Brent, E. (1980). The regulation of interaction by police. Criminology, 18, 584-600.

Takagi, P. (1974, Spring/Summer). A garrison state in a "democratic" society. Crime and social justice. Journal of Racial Criminology, 5, 27-33.

Teahan, J. (1975). A longitudinal study of attitude shifts among black and white police officers. Journal of Social Issues, 31, 47-55.

Thomas, C., & Hyman, J. (1977). Perceptions of crime, fear of victimization and public perceptions of police performance. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 5, 305-317.

Toch, H. (1975). Agents of change--A study in police reform. London: Schenkman Publishing.

Triandis, H. C., & Triandis, L. M. (1960). Race, social class, religion and nationality as determinants of social distance. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61, 110-118.

Trojanowicz, R., & research team. (N.d.). An evaluation of the Neighborhood Foot Patrol program in Flint, Michigan. [East Lansing: School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University.]

Trojanowicz, R., & Bucqueroux, B. (1990). Community policing: A contemporary perspective. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.

Uchida, C. D. (1989). The development of American police: An historical overview. In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), Critical issues in policing: Contemporary readings (pp. 14-30). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Ungerleider, C. S., & McGregor, J. (1991, July/October). Police-challenge 2000: Issues affecting relations between police and minorities in Canada. Canadian Journal of Criminology.

Visher, C. A. (1983). Gender, police arrest decisions and notions of chivalry. Criminology, 21, 15-28.

Walker, D. (1983). Black police values and the black community. Police Studies, 5, 20-28.

Walker, D., et al. (1972). Contact and support: An empirical assessment of public attitudes toward the police and the courts. North Carolina Law Review, 51, 43-79.

Walker, D., & Krateoski, P. (1985). A cross-cultural perspective on police values and police-community relations. Criminal Justice Review, 6, 17-24.

Walker, S. (1992). The police in America: An introduction. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Weaver, G. (1993). Law enforcement in a culturally diverse society. In J. J. Sullivan & J. L. Victor, J. (Eds.). Criminal justice 1993/94. (17th ed., pp. 91-95). Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.

Werthman, C., & Piliavin, I. (1967). Gang members and the police. In D. Bordua (Ed.), The police: Six sociological essays (pp. 56-98). New York: Wiley.

White, M., & Menke, B. (1978, June). A critical analysis of surveys on public opinions toward police agencies. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 6(2), 204-218.

Will, G. F. (1993, May 17). Policing a Chicago enclave. Newsweek.

Williams, F. P. III, & McShane, M. D. (1994). Criminological theory. (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Williams, H., & Murphy, P. V. (1990). The evolving strategy of police: A minority view. In Perspectives on Policing, 13. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

Williams, J. (1987). Eyes on the prize: America's civil rights years, 1954-1965. New York: Penguin.

Wilson, J. Q. (1968). Varieties of police behavior. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wintersmith, R. (1974). Police and the black community. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.