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AN ANALYSIS OF CITIZEN EVALUATIONS OF THE BLOOMINGTON POLICE DEPARTMENT: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE POLICE

by

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This paper is a report of a survey research project conducted in Bloomington, Indiana, during January of ~ 1972. A total of 150 citizens were interviewed concerning their attitudes toward the Bloomington Police Department.

The general purpose of the study was to determine if any variations existed in the evaluation of the police given by different types of citizens living in this community. If such variations were found, the second purpose of the study was to investigate why various segments of the population would have differing estimations of local police performance. The initial finding of the study was that younger respondents reported a lower evaluation of the police than their elders. Given this finding, the more specific task of the study became the investigation of alternative explanations for the association between being young and having a low evaluation of the police.

Three alternative explanations were evaluated. The first considered the impact of citizen experiences related to the police. It was found that certain experiences are associated with a negative evaluation of the police (such as being stopped by a policeman, or knowing someone mistreated by a policeman), while other experiences are related to a positive evaluation of the police (such

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SUMMARY

as personally knowing a policeman). Furthermore, it was noted that young people (under the age of thirty) are disproportionately associated with negative evaluation situations, while they are disproportionately omitted from positive reinforcement situations. The first explanation of the "youth-low evaluation" relation, is formulated in the following way:

Partially as a consequence of the nature of their interactions with the police, young people have a low evaluation of the local law enforcement agency.

The second alternative explanation concerns the unfulfilled enforcement expectations of the individual. More precisely, it was found that respondents having a desire for less strict enforcement of certain laws are likely to have a lower evaluation of the police than those who desire more stringent enforcement of these laws. Moreover, young people are disproportionately overrepresented among the advocates of less strict enforcement. The conclusion which is drawn from these relationships constitutes the second alternative explanation of the initial association, namely:

In part because of their unfulfilled demands for less strict enforcement, young people have a low evaluation of the police.

These two propositions are the primary explanations offered in response to the original question, "Why do young people have a lower evaluation of the police than their elders?" A third explanation, involving unfulfilled expectations concerning the distribution of police-related

funds, was also investigated. But the survey data did not support the hypothesis that allocation expectations affect evaluations, or that young people have the most divergent allocation demands. Because of this lack of supporting data, the third alternative explanation was dismissed as untenable.

Thus the factors of experience and enforcement expectations are presented as more plausible explanations of the initial relationship between being young and having a low evaluation of the local police performance. It is the contention of this paper that these two factors are primary determinants of the low evaluation of the police given by the younger respondents. While an individual's age may affect his experiences and/or his enforcement expectations, his attitudes toward the police are not simply a function of his age or life-cycle stage. On the basis of these alternative explanations, recommendations are proposed which seek to minimize the negative experience factor, to maximize the positive experience factor, and to create an attitude among law enforcement policy-makers which is more responsive to the enforcement preferences of the citizenry. The usefulness of these alternative explanations may best be determined by the effectiveness of the remedies they

suggest.

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PREFACE

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This research project was conducted under the auspices of the Department of Political Science, Indiana University. As an honors thesis, this paper was subjected to the scrutiny of the following faculty members of the honors committee:

- Elinor Ostrom, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
- Don C. Bennett, Associate Professor, Department of Geography
- George Dowdall, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology

I am grateful to these individuals for their assistance, criticism, and encouragement.

I am especially appreciative of the guidance and helpful advice offered by Professor Ostrom. She has provided assistance from the earliest stages of the project. I am also appreciative of the support of the National Institute of Mental Health, Grant No. 5 RO1 MH19911-01.

Thanks are due to Dr. Bennett for his reading of Chapter 2. Todd Taylor and other members of the Indiana Criminal Justice Planning Agency were of assistance in the writing of Chapter 3. Roger Parks, a graduate student in the Department of Political Science, was helpful in the data analysis stage of the project. In addition, I am grateful to the Indiana University Research Computing Center for permitting me to use their facilities to analyze the data. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Lynda, for her assistance as an interviewer, coder, keypunch operator, and general sympathizer. She has provided much of the initiative, encouragement, and patient understanding necessary for the completion of this study.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The relations between young people and police have been changing during the past decade. For the most part, these changes have been for the worse. Student demonstrations, most notably those of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, are illustrations of this conflict on a war-like scale. While such violent manifestations of the animosity between youth and police are becoming increasingly rare, the underlying mutual distrust has persisted. This study will attempt to analyze the relationship between the young people of Bloomington, Indiana, and the local police department which serves them. Some commentators have been content merely to describe dimensions of this general problem. But such descriptions do very little to correct the situation. To know that a system is working improperly is of slight benefit unless one also has an idea as to why the societal malfunction exists. Therefore, the analysis presented herein seeks to go beyond a description of the initial association between being young and having a low evaluation of the police. Alternative explanations will be investigated and studied in terms of how best to alleviate the ill-feelings which currently exist.

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1.1 Purposes of the Study

Before introducing the analytical scheme, the purposes of the study should be noted. While the conflict between young people and police was not surprising, the expressed purpose of the study was to examine the attitudes of all citizens as they related to the evaluation of the police performance. This topic was initially suggested by my participation in a somewhat similar survey conducted in Indianapolis in 1970, under the direction of Professor Elinor Ostrom, Department of Political Science, Indiana University. In that study, the independent variable was primarily the type of community organization (either metropolitan or local community) in which the police functioned. This study differs in that the independent variables are factors more peculiar to the individual. These include the personal background, the experiences, and the expectations of the individual citizen. Only one police jurisdiction was subject to evaluation. Thus community organization was not used as an independent variable. Rather, the analysis was conducted at an intra-jurisdictional level. Variations in the evaluation of the police were to be detected. My task, therefore, consisted of seeking an explanation for differing opinions of the police performance.

1.2 Related Literature

There is a scarcity of background material on which to base my explanation of the relationship between young people and the local police. Of course, there has been an abundance of recent literature describing the "generation

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gap" or "counter culture." Theodore Roszak speaks of "a significant new culture a-borning among our youth. . . (that) deserves careful understanding, if for no other reason than the sheer size of the population it potentially involves." (Roszak, 1968) On the other side of the relationship, Jerome H. Skolnick comments in <u>The Politics of</u> Protest:

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The policeman in America is overworked, undertrained, underpaid, and undereducated. His job, moreover, is increasingly difficult, forcing him into the almost impossible position of repressing deeply felt demands for social and political change. In this role, he is unappreciated and at times despised. His difficulties are compounded by a view of protest that gives little consideration to the effects of such social factors as poverty and discrimination and virtually ignores the possibility of legitimate social discontent. . This view leaves the police ill-equipped to understand or deal with dissident groups. (Skolnick, 1969)

While literature such as this describes the dimensions of the problem, I feel that a deeper analysis is lacking. It is my contention that the evaluation of the police is not <u>simply</u> a function of a person's age, or lifecycle stage. More plausible explanations are needed if the problem is to be corrected.

1.3 General Schema of the Analysis

In the analysis which follows, three alternative explanations of the initial association will be presented. To understand these explanations, a general schema is illustrated on the following page (Figure 1.1).

The initial relationship between youth and a low evaluation of the police is noted by the relation And and a second se

FIGURE 1.1

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GENERAL SCHERA

OF THE STUDY



numbered "1" in Figure 1.1. The first alternative explanation to be investigated involves the EXPERIENCE factor. That is, the nature of the confrontation between the citizen and the police will likely affect the evaluation of the police performance. This is designated by the relationship "2" which connects the independent variables of EXPERIENCE with the dependent variables of EVALUATION. The second and third alternative explanations concern the factors of ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS and ALLOCATION EXPECTATIONS, respectively. As shown by the third and fourth relationships of Figure 1.1, the evaluation of the police is expected to vary in accordance with the degree to which the expectations of the individual are in conflict with actual police procedures.

Having identified these three alternative explanations, which might affect the evaluation of the police, it is further hypothesized that being young will be associated with each of these three factors which are related to a low estimation of the police output. This is indicated by the fifth, sixth, and seventh relationships depicted in Figure 1.1. If these predicted associations are supported by the data of the survey, then these alternative explanations may more adequately account for the initial relationship between youth in Bloomington and the Bloomington Police Department.

This schema will be more fully developed in Chapter 5.

At that time, the seven major hypotheses of the study will be introduced.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The reader should be cautioned concerning the limitations of the study. The schema depicted in Figure 1.1 is not a causal model in the strict sense. While the influence of several factors will be discussed, no presumption exists that the exact strength of each factor can be assessed specifically. The methods of path analysis and multiple regression analysis exceed the limited capabilities of the data as well as those of the analyst. Restraints of time, manpower, and money limited the sample size to 150 respondents.

Despite these limitations, I feel that the sample provides a relatively reliable picture of the population. Furthermore, the utility of the alternative explanations will perhaps be measured more by the effectiveness of the solutions they suggest, than by the preciseness of the sample.

1.5 Format

With these limitations in mind, the analysis may now proceed. The next three chapters are designed to answer any questions the reader may have regarding the background of the survey. In Chapter 2, the socioeconomic and demographic profiles of the city of Bloomington are sketched. In addition to this information concerning the

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site of the survey, a description of the Bloomington Police Department is presented in Chapter 3. The methodology of the study is described in Chapter 4. The actual findings of the survey are presented in Chapter 5. In that chapter, an attempt is made to fill in the relations posited in Figure 1.1. These findings are summarized in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 investigates the implications which can be drawn from the analysis, and offers major recommendations which are suggested by the alternative explanations.

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2.0 A DESCRIPTION OF BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

The site selected for this study was Bloomington, Indiana, a community with a 1970 census of 42,890.¹ Located approximately fifty miles southwest of Indianapolis, Bloomington is the county seat of Monroe County. The city of Bloomington comprises slightly more than half of the total county population. Since this study is concerned with Bloomington, rather than Monroe County, the remainder of this chapter will attempt to describe several of the growth, demographic, socioeconomic, and governmental facets of the community.

1NOTE: There has been some question concerning the possibility that this figure is an underestimation of the actual population of Bloomington. In 1960, the population was reported to be 31,357. On November 18, 1965, a special census was taken to determine if Bloomington had a sufficient population (over 35,000) to become a second-class city. That census, made at roughly the mid-point of the decade, reported the population to be 42,058, an increase of 34.1 per cent over the 1960 census figure. About four and one-half years later, the 1970 census found the population of Bloomington to be 42,890. This indicates an increase of only 832 individuals or 2.0 per cent, as compared to the 1965 special census figure. It would seem prudent, therefore, to speculate that this 1970 figure of 42,890 is an undercount. One possible reason for this underestimation may be the fact that decennial censuses are taken on April 1, and in 1970, this date marked the middle of the spring recess for students at Indiana University. For purposes of analysis, the balance of the chapter will heavily rely upon census data, and it will be necessary to use the 1970 total population figure of 42,890. The census data utilized in this chapter is taken from the 1970 U. S. Bureau of the Census publications entitled, Number of Inhabitants (PC (1)-A16 Indiana), and General Population Characteristics (PC (1)-B16 Indiana).

2.1 Growth of Bloomington

Founded in 1816, Bloomington received an early boost when, in 1820, it was chosen by the state as the site for Indiana University. The location of the University, now the ninth largest in the nation, has had a profound and lasting influence upon the growth and development of the community.

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Bloomington has grown in spurts. Major increases occurred during the 1940's and the 1960's. Figure 2.1 charts the population growth of the community since 1900 and contrasts this development with the growth rate of the nation. From 1960 to 1970, the population of Bloomington increased 36.8 per cent, while that of the nation increased 13.3 per cent. This is the city's most rapid period of growth in the past forty years. It certainly reflects the fact that enrollment at the University doubled (from 14,487 in 1960 to 30,368 in 1970) during this decade.

2.2 Demographic Characteristics of Bloomington

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With respect to age, Bloomington is characterized by a particularly large youth population. This fact is illustrated by Figure 2.2 which contrasts the age profile of Bloomington with the age profile of the nation. Bloomington has approximately 57.1 per cent of its population between the ages of 15 and 29. The comparable figure for the United States is 24.1 per cent. Of particular interest is the fact that the median age for Bloomington





11 FIGURE 2.2

BLOOMINGTON AGE PYRAMID COMPARED TO UNITED STATES AGE PYRAMID 1970



figure of 28.1 years.

Although Bloomington exhibits a particularly large youth component, the community is relatively balanced with respect to sex. This is evidenced by the nearly summetrical shape of the age-sex pyramid (Figure 2.3). There are very slight variations in the sex ratio across the age spectrum, with the only apparent predominance being that of the female after the age of forty. Looking at the population as a whole, the percentage of males is 48.4 per cent, while that of females is 51.6 per cent. In short, Bl-omington has a relatively equal number of males and females, regardless of the age group under examination.

Bloomington is basically homogeneous with regard to race, being predominantly white. The table presented below illustrates the racial structure of the city.

Ňι Race White 4 Negro Other TOTALS

Source:

The fourth demographic characteristic to be considered is that of marital status. Of the population which is

is a low 22.6 years, as contrasted to the national

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF BLOOMINGTON

umber	Per cent
0,876	95.3%
1,248	2.9%
766	1.8%
2,890	100.0%

FIGURE 2.3



fourteen or older, 40.0 per cent of the males and 37.2 per cent of the females are married. The corresponding figures for the nation are 64.2 per cent for males, and 59.0 per cent for females. Thus Bloomington has a low rate of marriage, although this is undoubtedly related to the high proportion of young people who live in the city.

In summary, Bloomington has a population which is relatively young and single. In addition, the community is characterized by racial homogeneity (mostly white), and a balanced sex profile. Finally, it is a city which has grown rapidly in the past few years, largely due to the expansion of its institution of central importance, Indiana University.

2.3 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Bloomington Having completed an examination of the demographic aspects of the city of Bloomington, the next area of concern is the socioeconomic profile of the community.

- University)
- 2. Income distribution
- Labor force 3.
- Housing 4.

2.3.1 Educational Attainment

Bloomington has a highly educated population as

indicated by the following table.

In this section, the following features will be reviewed: 1. Educational attainment (and impact of the

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN BLOOMINGTON

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED (1960)	PER CENT OF BLOOMINGTON POPULATION (25 & over)	PER CENT OF NATIONAL POPULATION (25 & over)
0-4 years	3.9%	8.3%
5-7 years	8.7%	13.8%
8 years	14.1%	17.5%
9-11 years	13.0%	19.2%
12 years	17.4%	24.6%
13-15 years	13.3%	8.8%
l6 or more years	29.6%	7.7%
TOTALS	100.0%	100.0%

The median number of school years completed is 13.2 years for Bloomington males, and 12.3 for females. The comparable national figures (for whites) are 10.7 for males, and 11.2 for females.

Note that 29.6 per cent of the Bloomington population . (25 or over) are college graduates, or better. In the United States as a whole, only 7.7 per cent have had this much education. At the opposite extreme, Bloomington counts only 26.7 per cent of its population as having had no secondary education, while the national figure is 39.6 per cent. Nevertheless, there appears to be a bimodal distribution of educational attainment in Bloomington, with many individuals having some college education, and many individuals having little education. In conclusion, it seems safe to conclude that Bloomington has a very

is somewhat unequal.

Before moving to the next demographic characteristic, it would seem relevant to the discussion of education to comment upon the uniquely important role of the University in the community. During the 1970-1971 school year, there were 30,368 students attending the University's regular session. The campus itself, which covers 3.7 square miles, housed approximately three-fifths of these students. Nearly 12,000 students lived off campus (including commuters). In addition, the University employed 1,535 faculty, 4,639 other full-time employees, and 6,620 part-time employees during this same period. The importance of Indiana University to the city of Bloomington, therefore, is more than obvious.

2.3.2 Income Distribution

The table below sketches the manner in which income is distributed among families in Bloomington, and contrasts this allocation with the national distribution.

INCOME	В.
INCOME LEVEL (1969)	·
\$0 - \$2,999	
\$3,000 - \$4,999	
\$5,000 - \$9,999	•
\$10,000 and over	
TATOPALS	

educated population, although the distribution of education

BREAKDOWN OF HOUSEHOLDS

PER CENT OF BLOOMINGTON HOUSEHOLDS	PER CENT OF NATIONAL HOUSEHOLDS
22.5%	9.3%
13.2%	10.7%
34.9%	34.0%
29.4%	45.9%
100.0%	100.0%

The most obvious point illustrated by this table is the relatively large number of households with an annual income below \$3,000. Much of this apparent poverty is probably a consequence of the youthfulness of the Bloomington population, as well as the fact that many of the residents are enrolled in school, thus restricting their current participation in the labor market.

Considering all households in Bloomington, the average household buying income has been increasing rather steadily, from \$10,919 in 1967, to \$11,073 in 1968, to \$11,842 in 1969. (Bloomington Chamber of Commerce, 1971) It would seem that while the average household has had an increasingly greater buying income, the overall income distribution has not been equally distributed.

2.3.3 Labor Force

In looking at the Bloomington labor force, there are three facets to be described: the size (and growth) of the labor force, the incidence of unemployment, and the distribution of labor among the major employers. First, the size of the local labor force has been growing rather steadily. The following table illustrates this fact:

EMPLOYMENT IN BLOOMINGTON

YEAR	LABOR POOL (MONROE CO.)	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (BLOOMINGTON)	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (UNITED STATES)
1968	39,065	2.5%	3.6%
1969	40,215	2.0%	3.5%
1970	40,750	3.7%	4.9%

largest employers is as follows.

MAJOR EM	PLOYERS IN BLOOMINGTON	
EMPLOYER	MAJOR PRODUCT	FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES
RCA	Color television	7,021
Indiana University	(Education)	6,174
Limestone Industry	Stone	3,000
Sarkes Tarzian Co.	Electronics	1,255
General Electric	Refrigerators	1,120
Westinghouse	Electronics	925
Otis Elevator	Elevators	763

When the 6,620 part-time employees of Indiana University are included, it becomes apparent that the University is the largest source of employment in Bloomington. The above table also indicates the major products of the community.

2.3.4 Housing

The final socioeconomic factor to be considered is housing. There are 12,277 individuals living in group quarters in Bloomington. This is 28.5% of the overall population, and is the highest figure in the state. Many of these residents occupy the dormitories, sororities, and fraternities located on the campus of Indiana University.

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Looking at the unemployment figures, it can be seen that the Bloomington rates are below the national rates, yet there is evidence of fluctuation in the labor market. The distribution of the labor force among the

The remainder of the population consists of 30,663 people described as "population living in housing units." Within this group there are 12,040 "occupied housing units," a term which is equated with the census terms family, household, and head of household. The median value of a housing unit in Bloomington is \$18,500, and the median contract rent is \$112 per month. Monroe County has the highest contract rents in the state of Indiana.

2.4 GOVERNMENT OF BLOOMINGTON

Before concluding this analysis of the city of Bloomington, a few words are in order concerning the structure of government within the community. In 1965, as mentioned earlier, a special census was taken to ascertain whether Bloomington was large enough to be classified as a second-class city (population between 35,000 and 250,000). The population was found to be 42,058, and the city thus became a second class city. As such, the city is required to elect a mayor, nine city councilmen (three at large), a city clerk, and a city judge. Bloomington has a mayor-council form of government, and local elections are held every four years.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In summation, the city of Bloomington, Indiana, appears to be a growing community, distinguished mainly by its relatively large proportion of young, educated people. The city appears to be economically stable, despite the fact that there is a cluster at the lower end of the income spectrum. Bloomington owes much of its growth to the presence of Indiana University, an institution which continues to shape the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of the community. It is hoped that these facets of the community will be kept in mind as the reader reflects upon the findings and arguments presented in this paper.

3.0 THE BLOOMINGTON POLICE DEPARTMENT¹

There are four law enforcement agencies in operation in the Bloomington area: the Safety Division of Indiana University, the Bloomington Police Department, the Monroe County Sheriff's Office, and the Indiana State Police. The population frame for this study consisted of residential sections of the city of Bloomington proper, excluding the campus of Indiana University and a few commercial blocks in the central business district. The geographical area occupied by this population coincides with the jurisdiction of the Bloomington Police Department, hereafter referred to as the BPD. Thus, the BPD was the police force primarily evaluated by the respondents in this survey. Since these citizens were making judgments about the BPD, it is essential to know as much as possible about this police department and the types of problems which it must face. This chapter will seek to provide the following information:

1. Functional organization of the BPD

2. Facilities and equipment of the BPD

3. Personnel characteristics of the BPD

4. Crime profile of Bloomington

1NOTE: The bulk of material describing the Bloomington Police Department has been derived from a report by the Indiana Criminal Justice Planning Agency (Region VI), which is entitled The Criminal Justice System in Monroe County, Indiana (Volume II). I especially wish to thank Todd Taylor, coordinator of the law enforcement study staff.

3.1 Functional Organization of the BPD

In Bloomington, as in all second class Indiana cities (population between 35,000 and 250,000), the Chief of Police is an appointed official. The power to make this appointment is vested in the Board of Public Safety, but only at the delegation of the Mayor. This Board of Public Safety is composed of three commissioners, appointed by the Mayor, who serve at his pleasure. The main function of the Board is the supervision of the police and fire departments. In addition, the Board of Public Safety may establish the size, regulations, and rules of the Bloomington Police Department, and it has the power to suspend or remove officers. Upon recommendation by the Chief of Police, the Board of Public Safety makes promotions of officers within the BPD. Under the Board of Public Safety is the Chief of Police who administers the operations of the force. The Bloomington Police Department is composed of a total of 91 individuals--54 are sworn police officers, while 37 are civilians. These personnel are further organized into three divisions: the Uniform Division, the Detective Division, and the Meter Division. The first two are major divisions, while the third is a smaller division. Perhaps the organizational structure of the BPD can be better clarified by an examination of Figure 3.1. This diagram plots the hierarchy of the department, while a more detailed account of the personnel distribution is

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presented in Figure 3.2. A quick glance at these diagrams reveals the primary position of the Uniform Division, which accounts for nearly three-fourths of the total personnel.

3.1.1 Office of the Chief

The function of the Chief of Police is fainly obvious, namely the day-to-day administration of the operations of the force. The Chief sets rules, establishes policy; and prepares the budget for the department. He is assisted by the Assistant Chief, who holds the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In addition, the Assistant Chief oversees the operations of the Uniform Division, and serves as supervisor of personnel. The office of the Chief works with other division supervisors to guide the administration of police services.

3.1.2 Uniform Division

The largest section of the department is the Uniform Division. The 67 personnel, including 41 sworn officers, are under the supervision of the Executive Major. The primary function of the Uniform Division is the provision of a continuous patrol of the city for the purposes of crime prevention and traffic control. This is accomplished by dividing the day into three shifts. Each shift is directed by a Captain, who is assisted by a Sergeant and a Corporal. There are approximately 13 men assigned to each shift, but on the average day, only eight of these officers will be on duty. All patrolmen are assigned to work a six-day period, followed by three days off. In

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	PATROLMEN	CORPORAL	SERGEANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	ASSISTANT CHIE7	CHIEF	TOTAL SWORN PERSOVNEL		CLERICAL	RADIO DISPATCHER	TRAFIKETTE	METER ATTENDANT	CUSTODIAL	SCHOOL CROSS- ING GUARDS	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONVEL	TOTAL PERSONNEL
OFFICE OF CHIEF					· .	1	1	2	\bigotimes	1				1		2	4
UNIFORM DIVISION	31	3	3	3	1			41	\bigotimes	1	4				21	26	67
DETECTIVE DIVISION			7	2.	1			10	\bigotimes	3						3	13
Investiga- tive Section			(4)	(1)					\bigotimes								
Narcotics Section			(2)	(1)					\bigotimes								
Bailiff			(1)						\bigotimes								
METER DIVISION			1	·				1	\bigotimes			5		1		6	7
	\boxtimes	\boxtimes	\boxtimes	$\times \times$	XX	$\times \times$	$\times\!\!\!\!\times$	$\times\!$	XX	\boxtimes	\times	$\times\!\!\!\times$	\boxtimes	$\times \times$	\boxtimes	\propto	XX
TOTAL	31	3	11	5	2	1	1	54	\bigotimes	5	4	5	1	1	21	37	91

addition, patrolmen receive an additional day off each week as compensation for time spent in court. Thus, patrolmen work five days of each nine-day period. Including the Corporal and Sergeant (who both patrol and supervise in the field), a maximum of eight officers during a given shift can devote their full time to the prevention of crime and the control of traffic. Generally, four of these officers are assigned to the two ambulances operated by the BPD. These ambulances do not make normal runs; they only answer emergency calls. In 1971, the patrol strategy for the remaining four officers was as follows. One officer walked the "foot patrol" of the downtown area, a second patrolled the north half of the city in a police cruiser, the third officer cruised the south half of the city, and the fourth cruised the middle of the city, providing an overlap of the downtown area. While these were the general guidelines, strict adherence was not required. In fact, cruisers generally patrolled on a more or less random basis.

There are two instances of unusual deployment within the Uniform Division of the Bloomington Police Department. The first concerns the ambulance service provided by the department, while the second relates to the manpower per shift.

The ambulance service operated by the BPD appears to be fairly efficient in itself. The problem is the fact that since it is manned by on-duty police officers, there

is a significant drain on the manpower supply. The two . ambulances are primarily on ambulance duty, and secondarily on police or patrol duty. They do not make major runs because this would make them unavailable for emergency runs. They do, however, respond to minor traffic and criminal incidents. The ambulances require 19 of the 31 patrolmen, or 60 per cent of patrolmen resources. Yet the ambulance runs account for only 7.3 per cent of all incidents. Thus, the Bloomington police are devoting a large proportion of their resources to the maintenance of an ambulance service. Some observers would argue that the resources so devoted are excessive. The second evidence of unusual patrolling strategy concerns the fact that each shift has approximately the same number of patrolmen, despite statistics which reveal that 35.3 per cent of all complaints are received during the first shift, 38.8 per cent during the second shift, and 25.9 per cent during the third shift (10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.)

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A last note concerning the Uniform Division is mention of the 21 school crossing guards who serve under this division. All civilians, the guards are supervised by the Executive Major.

3.1.3 Detective Division The second largest division of the BPD, the Detective Division is composed of 10 officers and 3 civilian clerks. The head of this section is the Detective Major, who is

also known as the Inspector. The main duty of the Detective Division is the investigation of all criminal activity, that may occur in the city of Bloomington. There are three sections within the Detective Division. The Investigative Section, with one Detective Captain and four Detective Sergeants, investigates all crimes with the exception of those which involve narcotics or drug abuse. This latter duty is handled by the Narcotics Section, composed of a Detective Captain and two Detective Sergeants. The final section of the Detective Division is the Records Section, consisting of three civilian records clerks. In addition, the City Court Bailiff is an officer assigned to the Detective Division.

The Detective Major and the two Detective Captains work the 6:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. shift. On an average day, there will also be one Detective Sergeant assigned to the Detective Division for each shift. Once again, this is due to the fact that the Detectives work a schedule similar to that of the Patrolmen in the Uniform Division.

3.1.4 Meter Division

The Meter Sergeant commands this division consisting of five women Trafikettes and one meter attendant. With the exception of the Meter Sergeant, this division is wholly composed of civilian personnel.

3.2 Facilities and Equipment of the BPD

Before turning to the analysis of the BPD personnel, a brief statement concerning the physical facilities and equipment of the department is in order. The BPD operates out of the old City Hall Building, adjacent to the offices and jail of the Monroe County Sheriff. The motor equipment of the force consists of 5 cars, 5 station wagons, 1 three-wheel scooter, and 3 old motorcycles which are rarely used. The department also possesses a polygraph, an alcohol tester, and a speed radar monitor.

3.3 Personnel Characteristics of the BPD

Examination of the experience, education, training, and salaries of the BPD officers gives valuable insight of the skills of the department's personnel.

3.3.1 Experience

Two traits distinguish the experience component of the Bloomington Police Department: the officers are relatively young, and they have had a comparatively short tenure with the department. Of course, these two traits reinforce one another. Any young force will most likely be lacking in police experience. Figure 3.3 points out the youthfulness of the BPD. There are no officers older than 52, and 45 per cent of the officers are between the ages of 21 and 28. In part, this youthfulness may be a reflection of the community itself, which is also quite young.

In addition to having many young officers, the BPD is characterized by a relatively low level of police experience. As shown in Figure 3.4, nearly 60 per cent



of the sworn officers have served five years or less with the Bloomington Police Department. The chart also reveals that there are 20 officers who have had less than three years experience with the force.

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3.3.2 Educational Attainment

Figure 3.5 illustrates the educational attainment of BPD officers. All officers have graduated from high school, since this is an entrance requirement of the force. What is important to note is that only three of the officers have had any college education. There are no college graduates on the force, and the mean level of educational attainment is 12.1 years of schooling. The median education level for all policemen in the nation is 12.4 years. (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1968) The comparable figure for the BPD is 12.0 years.

3.3.3 Training

The training of the Bloomington Police Department can be divided into two categories: training which is mandatory and training which is optional. All Patrolmen are designated as Probationary Patrolmen for their first year. Initially, Probationary Patrolmen receive two to three weeks of classroom training, conducted by the Assistant Chief and the Executive Major. In addition, Probationary Patrolmen are required to enroll in the basic 240-hour recruit police training program which is



EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS BLOOMINGTON POLICE DEPARTMENT

33 FIGURE 3.5

44 48 52 40 16 20 24 28 32 36 NUMBER OF OFFICERS

conducted at the Indiana University Law Enforcement Training Academy. However, at present only 14 officers have completed this 40-day basic training course. During their first six months of duty, the Probationary Patrolmen are required to work with an experienced Patrolman at all times. Radio dispatchers assign these recruits to only minor incidents. In addition, one-half of the officers have completed a mandatory three-month on-the-job training program with the Detective Division. The only further training which is considered mandatory is the training given about once a week during roll call. Despite this training, there is no standard operating procedure or policy for field situations. This is a problem for nearly all police forces. Officers left to their own discretion may act in ways which are likely to arouse tension and conflict.

Turning now to optional training, Figure 3.6 illustrates the training attained by the officers of the Bloomington Police Department. It is worthwhile to note that most of the optional training has been achieved by the younger officers.

Since training procedures vary greatly from one police agency to another, it is rather difficult to assess the extent to which the BPD measures up to national standards. The only safe conclusion seems to be that any police force can stand additional training, and the Bloomington Police Department is no exception.

FIGURE 3.6 TRAINING COURSES COMPLETED BY BLOOMINGTON POLICE DEPARTMENT



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3.3.4 Salaries

The 1971 base salaries for the Bloomington Police Department officers are shown in the table below.

CLASSIFICATION	1971	BASE SALARY
Chief of Police		\$12,236
Assistant Chief (Lieutenant	Colonel)	\$10,874
Major		\$10,709
Captain		\$9,287
Lieutenant		\$8,838
Sergeants and Detectives		\$8,538
Corporal	•	\$8,089
Vehicle Commander*		\$7,792
Officer First Class	·	\$7,368
Probationary Officer		\$6.381

*NOTE: The classification "Vehicle Commander" is an arbitrary designation, having no special requirements or qualifications. Nevertheless, 15 Officers First Class each receive an additional \$424 annually because of this 6 designation.

These base salaries are augmented by the following tenure

increments (longevity pay), which are cumulative:

3 or more years	\$234 per year
5 or more years	\$78 per year
10 or more years	\$104 per year
15 or more years	\$109 per year

The base salaries have shown an annual increase of nearly 8 per cent over the past five years. Other benefits include a \$250 annual uniform allowance, a minimum of 15

days paid vacation, and a pension plan which pays 50% of an Officer First Class salary after 20 years of service. In sum, the mean annual salary of a Bloomington Police Department officer was \$8,152 in 1971. The median annual salary was \$7,792. Because so many factors are involved in the determination of a policeman's salary, it is impossible to make any clear comparisons with the salaries of other police departments. While it is not possible to state that the officers of the BPD are either overpaid or underpaid, it should be remembered that the department is characterized by men who have had very little college

education, and relatively little police experience.

3.4 Crime Profile of Bloomington

Having described the organizational structure and the personnel qualifications of the Bloomington Police Department, the final task is to describe the types of crime which occur in the city. During 1970, the BPD received 18,383 complaints or requests for services. This figure includes 2,504 reports of criminal activity, 3,784 traffic violations, and 2,215 automobile accidents. Figure 3.7 depicts the variety of the criminal activity reported or observed by the BPD, and includes an indication of the clearance rate for these crimes. The clearance rates for the department are rather low. Only 24 per cent of the reported burglaries are cleared by arrest, while the clearance rate for larceny-theft is even lower--14 per cent. Of the total 2,504 criminal offenses, 952

38 FIGURE 3.7

OFFENSES REPORTED OR KNOWN BLOOMINGTO V POLICE DEPARTMENT 1970

	1970 TOTAL	CLEARED BY ARREST	CLEARANCE RATE
Murder Manslaughter	1 1	1	100%
Assault/Battery	26	25	96%
Robbery	5	• (
Burglary Larceny/Theft \$50+	109	26	243
Auto Theft	124	49	403
Forgery/Counterfeiting	50	36	72%
Fraud/Deceptive Practices	18		
	1		
Stolen Property	9	2	22%
Arson and Bombing	6	1	17%
Forcible Rape	8	2	25%
Prostitution	2	1	50%
Sex Offenses	103	11	• 113
Narcotic Drug Violation	166	78	47%
Gambling	10	10	100%
Family and Children	24		
Driving Under the Influence	247	146	59%
Liquor Laws	126	124	988
Disorderly Conduct	156	142	91%
Vandalism	370	2	1%
Weapons	24	. 4	17%
Miscellaneous Criminal	642	253	40%
n en general de la construir en la construir de la construir de la construir de la construir de la construir d La construir de la construir de La construir de la construir de	• • • • • • • • • • •		an an an an an an an Arain. An an Ar
TOTAL	2504	9 52	38%

or 38.0 per cent were cleared by arrest. The most frequently reported crimes were (in rank order): vandalism (14.8%), larceny and theft (11.0%), drunk driving (9.9%), narcotic and drug abuse (6.6%), and disorderly conduct (6.2%). Figure 3.7 illustrates that most crimes are either property crimes or "victimless" crimes. Assault is rare.

A final note concerning the workload of the Bloomington Police Department is a consideration of the ratio of the number of police officers to the total jurisdictional population. Working with a population estimate of roughly 30,000 (see section 4.2), and a total of 54 sworn police officers, the ratio is 1.8 policemen per thousand citizens. This approximates the national figure of 1.7 policemen per thousand citizens. (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1968)

In conclusion, this examination of the Bloomington Police Department has revealed a department whose organizational structure reflects the patrol-oriented strategy of the department. An analysis of the police budget reveals that approximately 46% of the overall expenditure is related to patrolling or cruising duties, while 15% is allocated for detective work, and the remaining 39% is used for supportive services, including administration. Thus the amount of money spent on patrolling (crime prevention) is nearly three times the amount spent on detective

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work (criminal investigation). Looking at the characteristics of the officers of the BPD, it seems safe to conclude that the force is relatively young and lacking in police experience. The training appears to be only adequate, with a need for more specific standard operating procedures, as well as a need for more achievement in the optional training programs. The salaries of the BPD do not appear to be either excessively high or excessively low. The workload appears to be fairly normal for a community of this size. With these strengths and weaknesses in mind, it will be possible to more objectively evaluate the opinions of the police given by the respondents in this survey.

4.0 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This study represents the culmination of a year-long honors thesis conducted under the auspices of the Political Science Department of Indiana University. The general . purpose of this study was to collect and analyze citizen opinions of a local police force, namely the Bloomington Police Department. There were four basic stages involved: 1. Writing and pre-testing the survey instrument 2. Drawing the sample Administering the questionnaire

- 3.
- Processing and analyzing the data 4.

4.1 Writing and Pre-Testing the Survey Instrument

The final survey instrument was the fifth draft of the questionnaire. The first three drafts were written on the basis of various criticisms from the faculty, especially from Mrs. Ostrom. The fourth and fifth drafts were the results of two pre-tests: the fourth draft was written after ten pre-test interviews, and the fifth draft was a revision made after ten more pre-test interviews. This pre-testing was conducted in various laundromats in Bloomington. The laundromat pre-test worked extremely well, and was more efficient than a random pre-test in that several interviews could be obtained in a relatively short period of time.

The questions found on the final questionnaire (see Appendix A) were derived from two sources. Many questions

on the first seven pages were drawn from a questionnaire used in a previous study conducted in Indianapolis. (Ostrom, Baugh, Guarasci, Parks, and Whitaker, 1971) The remainder were largely suggested by my readings. Topics of interest were first selected. Then, an attempt was made to phrase questions which would accurately gauge the public opinion on these issues.

4.2 Drawing the Sample

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Area probability sampling methods were utilized to draw the sample. The population from which this sample. was drawn consisted, geographically, of all households within the city limits of Bloomington, excluding residents who lived on the campus of Indiana University, as well as residents who lived in eleven blocks (approximately .8 square miles) of the central business district of the community. After these two exclusions, the remaining population would approximate 30,000 or about 70 per cent of the 1970 census population figure of 42,890.

The geographical area within the sampling frame was divided into 616 units, with most units representative of a city block. In terms of area, I tried to make each of these units equal in size. A table of random numbers was utilized to select 100 blocks. The order of the selection was maintained, but only the first 40 blocks were used to reach the goal of 150 interviews. On each of these blocks, I attempted to gain an interview from every other house.

southeast, southwest, or northwest corners.

In summary, the method of sampling used in this study was that of two-stage area (cluster) sampling. While this type of sampling is not as reliable as, say, stratified sampling, it does have the practical advantage of reduced costs. Considering the time and money available for such a study, I feel that area sampling was the most efficient sampling technique available.

4.3 Administering the Questionnaire

The actual administration of the survey took place during the last week of December, 1971, and the first half of January, 1972. In total, eighteen days were spent in the field, with an average of eight or nine interviews being conducted each day. The interviews generally lasted for 25 minutes. They were usually given from 3:00 to 7:00 p.m. on weekdays, and from 1:00 to 7:00 p.m. on weekends. My wife and I were the only interviewers. To train my wife, I asked her to observe my interviews for two days, and then I observed her interviews for one day. Interviews were attempted at a total of 178 residences, and 150 of these responded by granting an interview. Thus the final response rate was 84.3 per cent. The complete breakdown was as follows:

One interview was to be taken from each residence, and no person under the age of 16 was to be interviewed. Blocks were entered at alternate corners, either'the northeast,

Respondents	150	84.3%
Refusals	16	9.0
Not at home	11	6.2
Vacant	l	•5
Total new attempts	178	100.0%

Of the 150 questionnaires which were given, 110 (or 73.3 per cent) were taken on the first visit to the residence. Of the remaining 40 respondents, 37 were interviewed on the first call back, two were interviewed on the second call back, and one was interviewed on the third call back.

4.4 Processing and Analyzing the Data

After the data had been coded, printed on punched cards, and verified, initial frequency distributions for all variables were computed. Of particular interest are the following personal background characteristics: age, sex, race, student status, education, occupation (of head of household), house ownership, and length of residency. These variables are significant in that they yield a rough profile of the sample, and if the sample is relatively reliable, then these sample statistics should approximate the parameters of the population, described in Chapter 2. The distribution for these background variables are presented below.

Age of Respondent
16 - 20
21 - 30
31 - 40
41 - 50
51 - 65
Over 65
TOTALS
Sex of Respondent
Male
Female
TOTALS
Race of Respondent
White
Negro
TOTALS
Student Status
Not a student
University student
TOTALS
Educational Attainment
0 = 8 years of school
9 - 11 years of school
12 years of school
Some college
College graduate
momera

Per cent	<u>(N)</u>
3.3%	(5)
28.7%	(43)
31.3%	(47)
14.0%	(21)
14.7%	(22)
8.0%	(12)
100.0%	(150)
Per cent	<u>(N)</u>
47.3%	(71)
52.7%	(79)
100.0%	(150)
<u>Per cent</u>	<u>(N)</u>
95.3%	(143)
4.7%	(7)
100.0%	(150)
<u>Per cent</u>	<u>(N)</u>
78.0%	(117)
22.0%	(33)
100.0%	(150)
<u>Per cent</u>	<u>(N)</u>
11.3%	(17)
10.7%	(16)
10.7%	(16)
33.3%	(50)
34.0%	(51)
100.0%	(150)

Occupation of Head	Per cent	<u>(N)</u>
Professional-Technical	8.7%	(13)
Managerial	10.0%	(15)
Craftsmen, Foremen	4.0%	(6)
Teachers	16.7%	(25)
Sales Workers	3.3%	(5)
Clerical	•7%	(1)
Factory Operators	3.3%	(5)
Non-farm Laborers	7.3%	(11)
Service Workers	.7%	(1)
Housewife	1.3%	(2)
Student and Part-time	14.7%	(22)
Retired	17.3%	(26)
Unemployed	12.0%	(18)
TOTALS	100.0%	(150)
Ownership of Housing	Per cent	<u>(N)</u>
Buying house	62.0%	(93)
Renting house	14.7%	(22)
Renting apartment	19.3%	(29)
Renting duplex	4.0%	(6)
TOTALS	100.0%	(150)
Length of Residence	Per cent	<u>(N)</u>
Less than 2 years	42.7%	(64)
2 to 5 years	20.0%	(30)
6 to 10 years	8.0%	(12)
More than 10 years	29.3%	(44)
TOTALS	100.0%	(150)

As these tables illustrate, the sample seems to be relatively representative of the population from which it was drawn. In other words, both the sample statistics and the parameters of the population (see Chapter 2) depict a population which is basically young and educated, racially homogeneous (predominantly white), and balanced with respect to sex.

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5.0 FINDINGS

5.0.1 Major Hypotheses

The underlying objective of this study, as suggested by the schema introduced in Figure 1.1, is to investigate alternative explanations of the general association between youth and a low evaluation of police performance. For convenience, the model for this analysis is reproduced below.

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The format of the chapter will follow the sequence of relationships depicted above. In other words, these associations will be examined:

- 1. Association between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and EVALUATION (Section 5.1)
- 2. Association between EXPERIENCE and EVALUATION (Section 5.2)
- 3. Association between ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS and EVALUATION (Section 5.3)
- 4. Association between ALLOCATION EXPECTATIONS and EVALUATION (Section 5.4)

5. Association between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and EXPERIENCE (Section 5.5) 6. Association between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS (Section 5.6) 7. Association between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and ALLOCATION EXPECTATIONS (Section 5.7) In addition to the format specified above, the organizational strategy of the chapter will be as follows. A. First, the general association between young people and a low evaluation of the police will be examined (Section 5.1). A definite relation is expected, and should take the form of the following major hypothesis:

But it is my contention that it is not sufficient to merely depict such a relationship. A more penetrating analysis is needed, one which goes beyond the description provided by the personal background factors. Alternative factors which provide a more plausible basis for this general relationship must be sought if any effective. remedies are to be found.

- performance:

H₁ Young people will have a lower evaluation of the police than their elders.

B. Secondly, the following three aspects of the relationship between the public and the police will be examined with regard to their influence upon the individual's evaluation of the police

- 1) The extent to which a person is involved in situations which reinforce (either positively or negatively) that individual's image of the police.
- 2) The extent to which the individual's desire for less stringent enforcement of certain laws is in conflict with actual enforcement procedures.
- 3) The extent to which the individual's desired allocation of police-related funds is in conflict with actual budgetary allocations, both within the city budget and within the police budget.

There are three major hypotheses associated with

these above aspects of the police-citizen relation-

ship. They are:

H₂ Individuals who experience negative reinforcement interactions with the police (such as being stopped, mistreated, or victimized) will have a lower evaluation of the police than those who do not experience these situations.

and,

Individuals who experience positive reinforcement interactions with the police (such as being assisted, or knowing a policeman) will have a higher evaluation of the police than those who do not experience these situations.

- H₂ Individuals who desire less strict enforcement of certain laws will have a lower evaluation of the police than those individuals who prefer strict enforcement of those laws.
- H_h Individuals whose desired allocation of policerelated funds is in conflict with actual budgetary allocations will have a lower evaluation of the police than those individuals whose allocation expectations are in congruence with actual budgetary distributions.

These three hypotheses will be analyzed in Sections

5.2, 5.3, and 5.4, respectively.

and expectations are related to the evaluation of police performance, it is hypothesized that young people will constitute a relatively high proportion of those individuals whose experiences and expectations lead them to evaluate the police output as low. This proposition takes the form of these three final hypotheses:

C. Finally, after having illustrated that experience

the police,

and,

the police.

- H_K
- H_7 budgetary allocations.

These three hypotheses will be discussed in Sections

5.5, 5.6, and 5.7, respectively.

If the hypotheses embodied in this general outline

are supported by the existing data, then there may well be reason to accept these alternative explanations of the relationship between youth and a low evaluation of the

police.

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H In comparison with their elders, young people will more frequently be involved in situations which generally elicit a low evaluation of

In comparison with their elders, young people will less frequently be involved in situations which generally elicit a high evaluation of

Young people are more inclined to desire less stringent enforcement of certain laws, while their elders tend to prefer strict enforcement.

In comparison with their elders, young people have allocation expectations for police-related funds which are less congruent with actual

5.0.2 Statistical Measures Employed in the Analysis

Before turning to the data of the study, the mechanics of the statistical measure used in this chapter must be explained. Kendall's tau b is used to measure the linear relationship between ordinal scale variables. It thus indicates the degree to which a change in the value of one variable is associated with a change in the value of a second variable. When both variables change value in the same direction, a direct relation is said to exist, and the sign of the tau b value is positive. When the values of the variables change in opposite directions, the relation is said to be indirect, and the tau b value will have a negative sign. A complete direct relation is indicated by a tau b value of +1. A complete indirect association is evidenced by a tau b value of -1. A tau b value of 0 indicates that there is no relationship between the variables.

In this chapter there are several tables of tau b values. Each cell in a table represents the relative strength (and direction) of the association between a given independent variable and a dependent variable. By using a test of significance (Siegel, 1956), it is found that Kendall tau b values between -.10 and +.10 are statistically insignificant at the 95 per cent confidence interval. Therefore, only those values above +.10 or below -.10 significantly support (or refute) the hypotheses being examined in this study.

For each cell in these tables, there has been a crosstabulation involving two variables, each variable having values arranged on an ordinal scale, from lowest values thru highest values (see Appendix B). A typical cell is the product of a crosstabulation organized such as the one below.

LOW

LOW

HIGH

DEPENDENT

VARIABLE

Thus a positive sign before the tau b value indicates that the relation is direct. This means that low values of the one variable are associated with low values of the second variable, and high values of the first variable are similarly associated with high values of the second variable. For example, income is usually found to be directly associated with level of occupation: people with the lowest jobs have the least income, people with the highest job status make the most money. A negative tau b value, however, indicates that the association between the variables is indirect. With an indirect relation, low values of one variable are associated with high values of the second variable, and vice versa. An example would be the indirect relationship

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INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

÷	HIGH	•	

between age and educational attainment: young people (low value) today typically have more education (high value) than their elders.

A final note on the Kendall tau b statistic concerns the basically conservative nature of this particular measure. Less conservative statistics, such as the gamma statistic, could have been utilized. While such measures do have relatively higher values than those of tau b, I noticed that they seemed to be less "sensitive." In other words, for my sample size, variations in the relative strength of association were most accurately detected by the Kendall tau b statistic.

5.0.3 Denotation of the Term "Youth"

A final explanation which is needed before examination of the data concerns the meaning of the terms "youth" or "young people." Throughout this paper, there will be many statements involving this terminology. By "youth," a collection of personal background characteristics is implied. The five background variables presented in this analysis are age, student status, educational attainment, occupation of the head of the household, and sex. When the term "youth" is mentioned, I am referring to more than a person's actual age. I am also making a generalization about a particular class of young persons, namely those young people (generally under the age of thirty) who are often university students, who are relatively well educated, and who generally have a low occupational status (in terms of current income). In addition, in my sample there were slightly more young males than young females. All of these interrelationships might be expected except for the predominance of males in my sample. This, I feel, is due to the greater independence of male students, which might be manifested by a greater tendency to live off campus and thus be included in my sample. The following tau b values indicate the relationship of these variables with the variable AGE:

AGE with OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD +.11 AGE with SEX. +.12 In one aspect it is methodologically unsound to speak of one term, while implying additional meanings. But for purposes of explanation, I feel this method is not only practical, but also justifiable in light of the relatively strong relationships depicted above. The reader should remember that the further use of the terms "youth" and "young people" will carry the implications here mentioned. While the variable AGE will be stressed most, the other personal background variables will be presented for those who prefer to analyze the data differently from the fashion described in this paragraph. With this information in mind, it is possible to proceed with an analysis of the findings.

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5.1 Association Between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and EVALUATION

This section will attempt to depict the association between certain personal background variables (the independent variables) and the evaluation of the police (the dependent variable). As mentioned in Chapter 1, youths in this country typically display a negative attitude toward the police. It is unnecessary to repeat the words of those who have called attention to this relationship. What is necessary is an examination of the survey data to determine the extent to which this attitude prevails among the youth of Bloomington. In essence, this section will attempt to gauge the degree to which the first hypothesis (H_{T}) is supported by the data of this study. That first hypothesis is now restated:

Young people will have a lower evaluation of the police than their elders.

To examine the relevant data, Table 5.1 is presented on the following page. This table reports the associations between a group of personal background variables and a group of evaluation variables. These variables are described in more detail in Appendix B, which should be consulted before reading each of the tau b tables.

There are five working hypotheses involved in the analysis which follows. Each will be discussed in turn.

1) Young people (in terms of age) will have a lower evaluation of the police performance than their elders.

Since youth takes on a low value for the variable AGE, one would expect a direct relation if it is associated

•	TAE 2 5.1	57 PERSONAL BACKGROUND VARIABLES				
	EVALUATION VARIABLES	EDa.	INFIDIC	LUCALION	OCCUPALION OF HEAD	كلنتان
-	GENERAL EVALUATION	+•33	20	13	+.18	+.17
	Police-cipizen Relationships	+,16	12	14	+.19	+.13
	QUALITY OF POLICE PERSONIEL	+.26	19	28	+.10	+.22
	PERCEPTION OF CRIME RATE	10*	+. 03*	06	08*	07*
•	PERCEPTION OF Response TILL	+.09	+.03*	+.01*	+.04	+.04
	Belter folice Pare Briss	+. 33	??	13	+.20	+.09
	BELIEF POLICE USE UNFAIR MERGODS	+.29	27	21	+.15	+.10
	DISTORL FAIDTNOF BRUISE LOUIGE	+.17	22	25	+.15	+.13
	BELIER POLICE USE UNASCESSERY PORCE	+.13	09	17	+.13	+.09
:	Parises source des	+.18	07	÷.08'	* +.07	01*
	SELISF OURADES COUSE doments	+.33	29	22	+.1?	+.03
•	NOTE: A which is in t the designate the direction of the workin	n aste he "un d rela of as ng hypo	risk (expect tionsh sociat thesis	*) den ed" di ip doe ion pr	otes a rections s not edicte	relation. Tha conform d on th

onship t is, with e basis

with a low evaluation of the police, since all evaluation variables also have values ordered from lowest thru highest. By looking at the first column of Table 5.1, it is apparent that a direct relation exists for ten of the eleven evaluation variables. Note that an asterisk (*) will be used to denote all relations which are in the unexpected direction. The relative strength of the associations is quite apparent. Of the ten variables which show the expected direct relation, all but one exceed the significance test of +.11. In comparison with the other four personal background variables. AGE appears to be the one most strongly associated with the evaluation of the police. Hence, the first working hypothesis has sufficient supporting data to warrant its acceptance.

2) University students will have a lower evaluation of the police than those who are not college students.

The second column of Table 5.1 would seem to support the acceptance of this hypothesis. Since the ordinal scale for STUDENT has the university student occupying the high value, an indirect relation is to be found wherever being a university student is associated with a low evaluation of the police. Such a relation is found in nine of the eleven cells, and seven of these nine are statistically significant (lower than -.11). The tau b values for STUDENT are not as strong as those for AGE, yet there appears to be ample evidence to support an acceptance of this second working hypothesis.

will have a lower evaluation of the police than individuals with low educational attainment. 4) People with low occupations (speaking mainly in terms of current income) will have a lower evaluation of the police than their counterparts at the opposite end of the occupational ladder. 5) Males will exhibit a lower evaluation of the police than females.

3) Individuals with high educational attainment Since a high-low association is predicted, the sign of the tau b values for the third column should be negative, indicative of the expected indirect relation. Nine of the eleven relations are, in fact, indirect, and eight of these are statistically significant. Once more, it seems safe to conclude that the existing data supports the acceptance of the working hypothesis. The fourth column, headed by OCCUPATION OF HEAD, appears to relatively confirm this hypothesis. Of the eleven relations, ten show the expected direct association (direct because a low value of OCCUPATION is predicted to be associated with a low evaluation of the police). Seven of these relations are statistically significant. While the evidence is not as convincing as that of the three prior background variables, it still would seem plausible to accept this, the fourth working hypothesis.

The fifth and final working hypothesis is examined in the last column. The relation between SEX and the evaluation of the police seems to be the weakest association of any of the five personal background variables. Nine of the eleven tau b values show the expected direct

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TH3LE 5.2

relationship, but only four of these meet the significance test. Therefore, the data does not support this last working hypothesis.

Looking at the rows of the table, one notices that the highest tau b values (hence the strongest associations) exist for the variables BELIEF SUPREME COURT HAMPERS (the police) and QUALITY OF POLICE PERSONNEL. The weakest associations between personal background and evaluation are found for the evaluation variables PERCEPTION OF CRIME RATE and PERCEPTION OF RESPONSE TIME. There are only eight unexpected relations on this first table. More importantly, none of these are statistically significant, while 75 per cent of the expected relations are significant.

In conclusion, young people (in terms of age), university students, highly educated individuals, and people with low occupation-income status have all been found to have a lower evaluation of the police performance than their respective counterparts. Since these four attributes have previously been shown to be interrelated under the concept of "youth," it seems valid to conclude that by acceptance of four of the five working hypotheses, the first major hypothesis can also be accepted, in light of the existing data of this study.

5.2 Association Between EXPERIENCE and EVALUATION

Table 5.2 portrays the relation between various experiences in which citizens confront the police, and the evaluation of the police performance. Once again,

-	EVALUATION VARIADLES	ULATONE), ULATONE),	され <i>し</i> PPぶD (おざひ)
. 4	GENERAL Evaluation	14	1
	Police-Cipizen Relationenipe	20	2
• • •	QUALIFY OF POLICE PERSONALL	25	2
•	PERCEPTION OF CRIME HARE	15	1
	PERCEPTIÓN OF NEOPONSE TIME	03	+ . C
·	BELIEF PULICE Frae Balies	33	2
· •	BELIEF POLICE USE UMFAIM MELICES	25	1
	DISLORL FAIDENCE BEFIEL LOTICE	32	2
	ANECESSALL FORCE UNNECESSALL FORCE	19	1
•	BELLIF PULICE USE Addies Police USE	16	2
• • • •	BELIEF JJFALLA COULT LEAREND FUL.	19	1
	,		

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61 EXPERIENCE VARIABLES /ICLERIZED ALGERIALED (JAMERAL) लТओसल्तििD (घर्म) VICTENIZAD (SLAIN.) ASSIJED (Ganahah) נוצוגוטטע (עצנ) .7 -.25 -.27 -.03 +.01* +.09 +.12 +.27 27 -.17 -.13 -.07 -.01 -.03* +.06 +.08 1 -.21 -.24 -.01 -.02 +.13 +.18 -.10* 3 -.03 +.01* -.21 -.19 +.08 +.07 -.14#)3* +.03* -.00 +.00* +.05* +.01 +.01 -.01* 27 -.42 -.34 -.19 -.07 +.01 +.12 +.38 8 -.34 -.23 -.02 +.04* -.07* +.01 +.26 9 -.26 -.21 -.14 -.08 +.06 +.03 +.04 5 -.20 -.23 -.14 -.13 -.19* -.12* +.10 20 -.03 -.11 +.07* +.14* -.12* -.10* +.08 6 -.19 -.13 -.03 -.07 -.01* -.04* +.28 المحاصب والمحاصبة والمحاصبة والمحاص والمحاص والمحاص والمراجع وكالمحاص والمحاصين والمحاص والمحاص والمحاص والمحاص والمحاص

evaluation variables serve as the dependent variables, while the new independent variables are these policecitizen interactions. Some of these experiences with the police tend to shape a negative impression of the police; the rest present the police in a more positive light. In the discussion which follows, being stopped by a policeman, knowing someone mistreated by a policeman, and being a victim of a criminal act are identified as negative reinforcement situations. Being assisted by a policeman and knowing one or more policemen are viewed as positive reinforcement experiences for the citizen. The second hypothesis of this analysis, presented below, defines the main argument of this section.

H₂ Individuals who experience negative reinforcement interactions with the police (such as being stopped, mistreated, or victimized) will have a lower evaluation of the police than those who do not experience these situations.

and,

Individuals who experience positive reinforcement interactions with the police (such as being assisted, or knowing a policeman) will have a higher evaluation of the police than those who do not experience these situations.

Looking at table 5.2, note that the negative reinforcement situations are described by the first six columns, while the last three columns refer to the positive reinforcement experiences. Note also that the first eight columns are composed of four pairs of variables, the first member of the pair referring the experiences with police of any force, while the second element of the pair denotes an

experience involving the Bloomington Police Department (BPD). The final column, POLICEMEN KNOWN, also is limited to the BPD. In evaluating the supporting data for the second major hypothesis, H₂, there will once again be reference to five working hypotheses, one for each set of paired variables, and one for the final experience variable.

Since all experience variables have the ordinal scale 1) non-experience, 2) experience, it is possible to state the expected direction of the relations, on the basis of hypothesis H₂. In the first six columns, the expected relation pairs a negative reinforcement experience (high ordinal position) with a low evaluation of the police (low ordinal position). Therefore, an indirect relation is expected, and is identified by a negative tau b value. In the last three columns, the positive experience (high ordinal position) is expected to be associated with a high evaluation of the police (high ordinal scale). Hence, direct relations are expected, and are found wherever the tau b value is positive. (Reference to Appendix B may help to clarify the concept of ordinal position.)

police.

The first two columns of Table 5.2 present data which definitely supports this first working hypothesis. Of the five police-citizen interactions measured by the survey instrument, being stopped by the police seems to

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1) Individuals who have been stopped by the police will have a lower evaluation of the police than individuals who have not been stopped by the

be the one most strongly associated with the evaluation of the police. Of the twenty-two tau b values (eleven referring to stops made by any police force, eleven pertaining to only those stops made by the BPD), all but one value depict the expected indirect relation. Furthermore, all twenty-one of these associations meet the test of statistical significance. The relation seems to be stronger for the general stops, as compared to the stops made by the Bloomington Police, but both sets of relations are relatively strong.

Apparently, those individuals who have been stopped by the police are inclined to have their image of the police function somewhat tarnished as a result of that experience. To most people, this finding would not come as a surprise. Regardless of the individual's guilt, the experience of being stopped by a policeman can do little to improve the image, and hence the evaluation, of the police. To quote former Attorney General Ramsey Clark:

The police cite millions of citizens for traffic violations--people who will have no other direct contact with police and no other arrest in their lives. The trauma of the speeding ticket followed by an appearance in traffic court does not often make good police relations with the public. To many unthinking drivers the police become the enemy and the traffic laws a game. They see no harm in speeding, making illegal turns, ignoring signals -unless they are caught. (Clark, 1970)

2) People who have either been mistreated by the police or know someone who has been mistreated will have a lower evaluation of the police than those who have not had this experience.

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This second working hypothesis is supported by the relations described in columns three and four of Table 5.2. Of the twenty-two tau b values, twenty show the expected indirect relation, and seventeen of these are statistically significant. The relation is once again slightly weaker for those incidents related to the BPD, yet both columns of data seem sufficient to warrant an acceptance of this hypothesis. Like being stopped, the knowledge of someone mistreated by the police is obviously not likely to raise one's estimation of the police. Since the question was not limited to personal experiences of police mistreatment, there may well be involved the element of rumor. Nevertheless, this mistreatment facet of the police-citizen interaction is definitely associated with low evaluation of the police, in light of the data of this survey.

not been victimized.

A close examination of the fifth and sixth columns of Table 5.2 reveals that victimization is the weakest of the three negative reinforcement situations. Unlike being stopped or mistreated, victimization is not immediately associated with a lowered evaluation of the police performance. Previous studies, however, have shown victimization to be related to low evaluation of the police. (Ostrom, Baugh, Guarasci, Parks, and Whitaker, 1971: Ostrom and Whitaker, 1971) Of the twenty-two cells in the fifth and sixth columns of the table, sixteen reveal

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3) Victims of criminal activity will have a lower evaluation of the police than citizens who have

the expected indirect relation, while only six are statistically significant. As before, the weaker set of relations pertains to the victimizations that occurred in Bloomington, as contrasted to victimizations in general. Thus the third working hypothesis finds insufficient support in the existing data, and cannot be accepted.

4) Individuals who have been assisted by the police will have a higher evaluation of the police than those who are not assisted.

Turning now to the positive reinforcement situations, the assistance factor does not appear to be associated with a high evaluation of the police. In the seventh and eighth columns of Table 5.2, fourteen of the twenty-two associations show the expected direct association. Of these, however, only four are statistically significant. The data, therefore, does not support an acceptance of this fourth working hypothesis.

5) Individuals who personally know one or more policemen will have a higher evaluation of the police performance than those people who do not know any policemen.

This fifth and final working hypothesis is analyzed in the final column of Table 5.2. Of the eleven relations, eight show the expected direct relation, and half of these are statistically significant. While the evidence is not overwhelming, there does appear to be a tendency for those who know policemen to evaluate the police more highly than those who are unfamiliar with their local law enforcement officers.

Taking a horizontal perspective (i.e., looking at rows rather than columns), one might note that the strongest associations exist for the evaluation variable BELIEF POLICE TAKE BRIBES, while the weakest relations can be found for the variable PERCEPTION OF RESPONSE TIME. In all, there are twenty "unexpected" relations, of which only five show statistical significance. On the other hand, there are seventy-nine "expected" relations, of which fifty-one or 65 per cent are statistically significant. In conclusion, the data of the study would seem to indicate that confrontation with the police does partially shape one's evaluation of the police, either negatively or positively. In this analysis, the negative situations appear to be more strongly associated with evaluation than the positive reinforcement situations. In most cases, the effect was greater for experience in general, as opposed to experiences restricted to the Bloomington Police Department, perhaps indicating a "carry-over" effect. That is, evaluation of one's local police department may depend. in part, upon experiences or confrontations with the police of other departments.

As emphasized by the remarks of Ramsey Clark, opinions of police performance are quite malleable when there is a face-to-face confrontation with a police officer. The typical citizen does not experience the situations mentioned in this section on an everyday basis. Because of this element of rarity, citizen opinions of the police may be

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partly determined by simply one interaction with a police officer. This section of the chapter has shown that experience, especially negative experience, is associated with the evaluation of the police. By accepting three of the five working hypotheses, there is reason to accept the second major hypothesis. The first section of this chapter illustrated a connection between youth and a low evaluation of the police. This section has shown experience to also be associated with that evaluation.

5.3 Association Between ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS and EVALUATION

The third major hypothesis, H_3 , is the subject of this section of the chapter. That hypothesis is restated now:

^H3 Individuals who desire less strict enforcement of certain laws will have a lower evaluation of the police than those individuals who prefer strict enforcement of those laws.

There are two facets to this argument. The first concerns respect for existing law enforcement procedures, and the second deals with an actual desire to have certain laws less strictly enforced. The first facet is described by Part A of Table 5.3, with the second aspect of the argument depicted by Part B of Table 5.3.

In essence, a lack of respect for existing enforcement policies can be interpreted as a desire for less strict enforcement. In my survey, respondents were asked to state whether they thought certain law violations should actually be considered as such. The five violations mentioned dealt with the seriousness of making rolling-stops (at a four-way

	FABLE 5.3 (Part A) EVALUATION VARIABLES	JULLING-STOPS RULLING-STOPS	SERLOUSAESS OF ILLEGAL PARAGO	ŞËRIJUSAËSS OF SPËLDING	SERIJUSAEJS OF DESTROXAG IICAEP	SERIOJOAESS OF BUIING ALCOADÍ POR MINORS
· · · · · · · ·	GENERAL.	4 17	+ 2 5			
	EVALUATION POLICE-CTPTZEN	π∙∙ <i>⊾ Γ</i>	T.45	+.27	+.13	+.32
	RELATIONSHIPS	+.17	+.23	+.21	+.24	+.23
	QUALITY OF POLICE PERSONAEL	+.15	+.25	+.18	+.08	+.20
	PERCEPTION OF CRIME RATE	04#	08*	+.07	+,00	10#
	PERCEPTION OF RESPONSE FIRE	02*	+.11	+.06	+.03	+.10
	Belief Police Fake Bribes	+.06	+.12	+.18	+.22	+.30
	BELIEF POLICE USE UNFAIR METHODS	03#	*. 09	+.15	+.17	+.26
	DISCOUL EAIDFNCS BEFISE FOULCE	+.15	+.09	+.16	+.17	÷.20
-	BELIEF FOLICE USE UNALCEUGARY FORCE	+.09	+.08	+.19	+.27	+.17
•	BULIEF FOLICE JUE AN ARREE FOLICE JUE	01*	+.08	03*	+.08	+.13
	BELIEF OUPREME COURT manifered for.	+.09	+.17	+.15	+.10	+.27
	and the second second					

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INFORCEMENT EXPECTATION VARIABLES

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	TABLE 5.3 (Part B)	LANP OF	ENP OF A USE	ENP OF	EHT OF	S.IP OF	IPOX .	NCED OLEO	CED Úzňci
•	EVALUATION VARIABLES	ENFORCEM	LAFORCEN MARIJUAN	ÉNFORCZ.A ABORLION	LINFORCEN	фиронсен. Gambleng	ENFORCEME PUBLIC IN	UNDERENFO LAN MENTI	І.Г.Үрн мот ИС.Лири мот
f •••••	General Evaluation	+. 26	÷.28	+.29	+.22	+.02	+.27	+.01*	+.24
	Police-citizen Relations <u>hi</u> ps	+.24	+.19	+.09	+.13	10*	+.18	+.17*	+.39
	QUALITY OF POLICE PERSONNEL	+.19	. + •20	+.24	+.15	+.09	+.15	+.09*	+.28
	PERCEPTION OF CRIME RATE	- •08*	02#	-,09*	02#	10*	02#	+.07*	+.03
,	Perception of Response fime	+.11	+.02	+.01	+.04	01*	+.04	01	+.12
	BELIEF POLICE TAKE BRIBES	+.25	+.30	+.12	+.21	05*	+.07	05	+•35
	BELIEF PO'ICE USE UNFAIR N .HODS	+.28.	+.35	+.17	+.29	+.01	+.14	07	+.25
	BELIEF POLICE DISTORT EVIDENCE	+.17	+.16	+.07	+.14	10*	+. 06	*•08 *	+.23
	BELIEF POLICE USE UNNECESSARY FONCE	+.10	+.18	+.10·	+.18	+.06	+.15	07	+.22
	Bellief Policy Use An Arrest Juota	04#	00*	05*	+.01	+.03	+.05	02	+.13
	BELIEF SUPREME Courf Hampers Pol.	+.17	+•39	+.14	+.16	02*	+.12	+.00*	+.13
inin majo j	المرور المروم بين مروم من المستخط المروم المروم المروم المروم المروم المروم المروم المروم المروم الم	to then they	ta ten ten se ta esp	en go sta en sed	e Set anne a sea g	ومعر الدجين ثراتو ا	ata estat	اوينو وهو د مور ا	and a second a second

stop), parking on yellow lines, exceeding the speed limit. destroying a parking ticket, and buying alcoholic beverages for minors. (See questions C53 thru C57 on page 11 of the survey instrument, presented in Appendix A.) I propose that those who doubt the seriousness of these violations will be displeased by the actual enforcement policy, and will in turn have their evaluation of the police lowered by this fact. This proposition takes the form of the first of three working hypotheses:

laws as significant.

An examination of Part A of Table 5.3 yields support for the acceptance of this hypothesis. Since the proposed association is between those who do not consider these actions as violations (low ordinal position) and a low evaluation of the police (low ordinal position), the expected relation is a direct association. Of the fiftyfive tau b values on this first page of Table 5.3, fortyeight are in the expected direction, and 69 per cent of these are statistically significant. None of the seven "unexpected" relationships, on the other hand, meet the test of statistical significance. Of the five laws which are mentioned, the strongest association exists for the variable SERIOUSNESS OF BUYING ALCOHOL FOR MINORS. The weakest association is that of the variable SERIOUSNESS OF ROLLING-STOPS. In summary, there appears to be sufficient data to support this first working hypothesis.

1) Individuals who doubt the seriousness of certain laws will have a lower evaluation of the police than those who recognize the violation of these

Turning to the actual desire for less strict enforcement. the first six columns of Part B of Table 5.3 definitely support a second working hypothesis:

2) Individuals who prefer less enforcement of certain "victimless crimes" will have a lower evaluation of the police performance than those who prefer more stringent enforcement of those laws.

In his book Justice Without Trial, Jerome H. Skolnick explains the concept of the victimless crime:

Indeed, the crimes which it (the vice squad) seeks to control or redress typically have no "victim." or, more precisely and neutrally, no citizen complainant. Thus, when a policeman investigates a strong-arm robbery, a rape, or a forgery, he ordinarily does so at the request of an aggrieved citizen. By contrast, when a vice control officer arrests a bookmaker, a prostitute, or a seller of narcotics, the gambler, the "trick," or the user are typically not interested in having an arrest made. (Skolnick. 1966)

While the Bloomington Police Department may not have a vice squad as such, the victimless crimes described above certainly do exist. On the basis of the data of the survey, there appears to be a definite association between a desire for less strict enforcement of these laws, and a low evaluation of the police, presumably because these desires are in conflict with actual enforcement policies. Of the sixty-six relations in these first six columns of Table 5.3. Part b. fifty-two show the expected direct association. and thirty-six of these are statistically significant. Once again, none of the unexpected associations can be accepted as statistically significant. The strongest associations exist for the variable ENFORCEMENT OF MARIJUANA USE, while the weakest association exists for the variable ENFORCEMENT

OF GAMBLING. It may be interesting to note that the former violation is commonly considered to be a crime of youth, while gambling is more often a victimless crime of the older generation. A final glance at the table substantiates the conclusion that enforcement expectations pertaining to victimless crimes are obviously associated with the personal evaluation of the police performance.

who make no such observations.

and.

People who cite certain laws as overenforced have a lower evaluation of the police than those who make no such observations.

The logic behind this hypothesis may seem somewhat perplexing. Why are opinions of overenforcement more likely to elicit a feeling of dissatisfaction than coinions of underenforcement? I can suggest two reasons for this apparent paradox. First, several respondents who felt certain laws were underenforced seemed to place the blame on the offender, rather than the law enforcement agency. Secondly, these same respondents also frequently associated underenforcement with lax courts. Since the predicted association for the eighth column is between mention of an underenforced law (low ordinal position) and a high evaluation of the police (high ordinal position), an indirect association is predicted. However, only five of the tau b values have the expected negative sign, and none of these are statistically significant. Therefore, the first part of this working hypothesis is not supported by the data of the study.

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3) People who cite certain laws as underenforced have a higher evaluation of the police than those

However, the second part of this third working hypothesis receives quite substantial support from the existing data. All eleven of the associations in the final column show the expected direct relation (direct because a low-low association is predicted). In addition, ten of these tau b values are statistically significant. In fact, the strongest associations for Table 5.3 are found in this final column. Looking at the rows of this table, the strongest relations exist for the first three evaluation variables. The weakest associations are found for the variable PERCEPTION OF CRIME RATE, which was also the case for the first two tables presented in this chapter.

In conclusion, all three working hypotheses are supported by the data of the survey, with the exception of the first half of the third hypothesis. By acceptance of these working hypotheses, acceptance of hypothesis H_2 is possible. Expectations concerning enforcement are indeed related to the evaluation of the police, and more specifically, the association is between a desire for less strict enforcement and a low evaluation of the police. This finding may not be restricted to a population such as the one sampled in this survey. Ramsey Clark indicates that this relationship is also true of the rest of the nation:

Many crimes reflect merely the gap between our preachment and our practice. They expose the dimension of national hypocrisy. We professed to prohibit the production, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages when we knew their widespread use would continue. The harm that comes from such selfdeception is difficult to underestimate. How much

respect can there be for the integrity of the law? How is equal justice possible?. . . Police, however professional, can never hold the respect of the people when they must endeavor to enforce laws that the public will not obey. (Clark, 1970)

This possibility of hypocrisy cannot be overlooked.

5.4 Association Between ALLOCATION EXPECTATIONS and EVALUATION

The fourth major hypothesis of this analysis will be

examined in this section, and is now restated:

budgetary distributions.

There will be reference to three working hypotheses, one dealing with police salaries, one referring to the police portion of the city budget, and the third comparing citizen desires with the actual police budget. The first two are analyzed in the first and second columns of Table 5.4, and the third is covered by the last three columns.

1) Individuals who feel that police are underpaid will have a higher evaluation of the police than those who feel that police salaries are sufficient. Before looking at the first column of Table 5.4, a word of explanation is needed. This hypothesis contrasts evaluations of respondents who feel police are underpaid and respondents who feel police salaries are sufficient. No mention is made of those who feel the police are overpaid, and the reason for this is the fact that only four people (or 2.7 per cent of the sample) rated police salaries as too high. Of those who felt that police salaries are

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 ${\rm H}_{\rm II}$ Individuals whose desired allocation of policerelated funds is in conflict with actual budgetary allocations will have a lower evaluation of the police than those individuals whose allocation expectations are in congruence with actual

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TABLE 5.4 EVALUATION VARIABLES	PULLOY OF PULLOY JAMMILOU	MUERDER OF FULLOE FULLON WE CLEE BUDGEE	DATALLON PROM SULULUA DAGE PALAULLING	ULVIATION FROM ACTUAL JUSING FUA DELECTIVE WORK	ערווייד אי דעיידעיטע דערועיד אי דעייערעי דעיידעידעינעדערע		
GENERAL EVALUATION	 13	15	+.03	* *. 10*	+.05#		
Police-cifisen Relationships	07	05	-:01	+. 12#	+.06*		
Anveller of Anveller of	06	13	+•D7*	+.22#	+.00#		
Pancapiton of China ands	+. 37#	+.03*	02	02	06		
REPRESENTATION OF	07	02	+. 0?*	+.17*	+.23*		
BELIEF FOLICE Pare Brides	 05	22	+.02*	+•.11*	08		
BELIEF ICTICE USE ONFATA ASIAUS	+.05*	21	+.10#	+. 2j*	04	-	
DISTORE FORIDE - DISTORE - FORICE -	09	10	05	+.11*	04		
NARGARINKI LOVOR ARTISL LOFICE OPE	02	-•05	01	+.05%	03		
BELIEF FULTOE USE AN ARREOF 200.124	12	09)j	+.05#	+.03*		
BELIER OURREAS COOMP Line ERC FOIL.	ر ڼ	11	02	+03*	12		
· · · · · ·		• . •	Υ	· · ·	14 y -	•.	

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too low, there appears to be a tendency to rate the police performances as relatively high. Since the opinion of low salaries (low ordinal position) is predicted to be associated with a high evaluation of the police (high ordinal position), an indirect association is expected. In fact, * nine of the eleven relations are indirect, but only two of these are statistically significant. This first working hypothesis, consequently, is not supported by the data and is therefore not accepted.

portion is too little.

Once again, the predicted association is an indirect one, since the expected relation pairs a high ordinal value with a low ordinal value. In ten of the eleven cells in the second column, there is the expected indirect association. Half of these are statistically significant. The second working hypothesis, therefore, can be accepted.

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To measure the deviation from actual funding, the budget of the Bloomington Police Department was analyzed. It was estimated that 46 per cent of the budget is set aside for patrolling (crime prevention), 15 per cent is allocated for detective work (criminal investigation), and the remaining 39 per cent is spent for administration and related supportive services. The corresponding mean

2) Individuals who feel the police portion of the city budget is too much will have a lower evaluation of the police than those who feel the

3) Individuals whose desired allocations within the police budget are in congruence with the actual budget will have a higher evaluation of the police than those whose expectations are in conflict with actual allocations.

values derived from the sample data were 41.6 per cent, 35.7 per cent, and 22.7 per cent. Thus detective work expectations tend to be much higher than the actual funding, and administration expectations are much lower than actual funding. It should be remembered that the question did not ask for an estimation of the police budget breakdown; it asked for the respondent's desired allocation. In examining the last three columns of Table 5.4, there appears to be little supporting data that might warrant an acceptance of this third working hypothesis. It was hypothesized that low deviations (low ordinal position) would be indirectly related to a high evaluation of the police. Of the thirty-three tau b values, only thirteen reveal the predicted indirect association, and only one of these is statistically significant. While this third hypothesis cannot be accepted in light of the survey data, the finding is still of importance. Apparently, citizens are not dissatisfied when their desired allocation policy is not expressed in the actual police budget. It may be that the budget of the police department is too far removed from the mind of the average citizen, or the three categories may be so broad as to blunt the demands of the individual citizen. For example, a person who prefers less patrolling for curfew violations and more patrolling for traffic violations may be faced with the dilemma of deciding whether he wants more or less funding for patrolling.

Of the seven major hypotheses introduced in this chapter, this fourth hypothesis (H_{ll}) appears to find the least support

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from the existing data. Allocation expectations are related to the evaluation of the police only in the area of the city budget, and even there the relationship is not exceptionally strong. On the basis of these findings, it is impossible to state that the data supports this fourth major hypothesis. Before turning to the examination of the last three major hypotheses, it may be worthwhile to pause and take account of the findings presented thus far. In section 5.1, the evaluation of the police was found to be associated with various personal background factors, primarily those which define the younger element of the Bloomington population. This association, while not unexpected, failed to adequately explain why youth have lower opinions of the police performance. In section 5.2, the evaluation of police was found to be also associated with various experiences, or police-citizen confrontations. Thus a second class of variables, namely the EXPERIENCE variables, were found to be related to evaluation of the police. Enforcement expectations, a third category of variables, were shown to be associated with evaluation in the third section of this chapter. In this section, evaluation was not found to be closely related to allocation expectations. Having identified these alternative associations involving the evaluation of police, an examination of their composition is the next task. In other words, it is necessary to determine who is involved in negative experiences with the police, who is omitted from positive experiences with the

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police, and who is most desirous of lesser enforcement of certain laws.

5.5 Association Between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and EXPERIENCE

In section 5.2, it was found that certain experiences, in which the citizen confronts a policeman, are related to the evaluation of the police. Knowing this, one might hypothesize that any group which was disproportionately involved in negative reinforcement situations would have an evaluation of the police which is relatively low. Also, groups which were disproportionately omitted from the positive reinforcement situations would have a low estimation of the police performance. In this section, that group to which I have been referring is proposed to be the younger segment of the Bloomington population. This proposition is stated in the form of hypothesis $H_{\rm E}$:

and,

In comparison with their elders, young people will less frequently be involved in situations which generally elicit a high evaluation of the police.

Table 5.5, presented on the following page, will be used for the examination of this proposal. The method of analysis will be somewhat different in these last three sections, as compared to the methods of sections 5.1 thru 5.4. Since the term "youth" has been shown to involve an interrelationship of the five personal

	EXPERIENCE	۲ <u>μ</u>	Ţĸàdu	UCALION	UUPALUM LAD	Ŷ
	VARIABLES	D.	ัก	لىڭ ل	200	11
•	STOPPED (General)	32	+.32	+.14	14	- •30
	SPOFPED (BPD)	24	+.13	+.05	08	24
	MISTREALDD (Galenau)	40	+.26	+.23	13	18
	MISLARYJO)	29	+.20	+.03	15	23
	VICTIMIZED (Jenanal)	17	+.12	30#	01	+.19*
	(arsouriges) (arsouriges)	11	+.07	02*	01	+.19*
	ASUICIED (General)	01*	+.07#	+.06*	04*	02*
	(B50). CFUSISTED	+.05	07	-:03	+.01	+•05
	POLICEREN MONI	+.35	27	14	+.18	07#

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H₅ In comparison with their elders, young people will more frequently be involved in situations which generally elicit a low evaluation of the police.

background variables, there will not be a working hypothesis presented for each background variable. Rather the entire table will be placed under scrutiny, with most attention directed at the column AGE. The other personal background variables will be presented, but the reader should bear in mind the interrelationships described in Section 4.0.3. "Young people" and "elders" will be used as configurational term which embody these interrelationships.

For the variable AGE, the expected association is indirect for the negative reinforcement experiences, and direct for the positive reinforcement situations. This will suggest that young people are, in the first instance, associated with a high level of negative reinforcement, and in the second instance, they are associated with a low level of positive reinforcement. These predictions are verified by eight of the nine tau b values in the first column, seven of which are statistically significant. The same sort of prediction can be formulated for the remaining four variables by substituting the values of "university student," "high education," etc. for the concept of young age. By examining the entire table, it can be seen that the strongest associations do in fact exist for the variable AGE, with SEX showing the weakest set of relationships. In all, thirty-six of the forty-five tau b values exhibit the predicted association, and two-thirds of these are statistically significant. Only two of the unexpected associations are significant.

To get an idea of the meaning behind some of these relationships, a few examples will be noted. In my sample, 32 per cent of the respondents were found to be thirty years old or younger. However, an examination of the stops reported by my sample to be made by the Bloomington Police Department indicates that 68 per cent of these stops involved individuals who were thirty or younger. This relationship is designated by a tau b value of -.24. Another example concerns those twenty-one respondents who reported that they or someone they knew had been mistreated by the BPD. Of these respondents, sixteen or 76 per cent were thirty years old or younger. On the other hand, of the sixty-six respondents who mentioned that they personally knew one or more local policemen, only nine or 14 per cent were members of this younger segment of the Bloomington population. Most of these associations are even stronger if the relationship is expanded to include experiences with other police departments.

A word of caution is required. By pointing out these functional relationships between youth and certain experiences, I am not asserting that the disproportionalities are due to any prejudicial or discriminatory practices on the part of the law enforcement agency. I am merely stating that young people are quite frequently involved in situations which typically yield low evaluations of the police.

While this analysis is primarily concerned with (and therefore limited to) a discussion of the youth in Bloomington,

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it may be interesting to note that the incidence of victimization is also relatively high for young people at the national level. The chart presented below indicates that the highest victimization rates exist for the population in their twenties. (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1968)



In conclusion, the survey data supports the fifth major hypothesis. Young people confront the police under circumstances which are more often disfavorable than favorable.

5.6 Association Between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS

The third section of this chapter presented findings which indicate that a desire for less strict enforcement

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TROLE 5.6

of certain laws is associated with a relatively low evaluation of the police. On the basis of this hypothesis (H_3) , one could suppose that there is a group of individuals who have their evaluations of the police lowered by the conflict between their desired enforcement policy and the actual enforcement procedures of the department. One might further propose that any segment of the population which was disproportionately over-represented in this group would have a relatively low evaluation of the police performance. Once again, that group is hypothesized to be the young people of Bloomington, and this proposition takes the form of hypothesis H_6 :

H₆ Young people are more inclined to desire less stringent enforcement of certain laws, while their elders tend to prefer strict enforcement.

If, in fact, the youth of the community are found to be mainly advocates of less strict enforcement, then this may well be an alternative explanation of the association between youth and a low evaluation of the police.

Reference to Table 5.6 reveals a relatively substantial amount of supporting data. Since youthful age (low ordinal position) is predicted to be related to a desire for less strict enforcement of the law (low ordinal position), the expected relations for AGE are direct, with the exception of the variable UNDERENFORCED LAW MENTIONED. For this variable, the expected association is always the opposite of the other relations in a particular row, for it is proposed that young people will not prefer more strict

	ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATION VARIABLES	T	Srudenr	NCLIVOUCT	CCUPALION NO ILAD	くけつ	
				۲. ۲.			
	SERIOUSNESS OF Rolling-siops	+.21	14	09	+.03	+.17	
	SERIOUSNESS OF ILLEGAL PARKING	+. 34	25	19	+.13	+.12	
	SERIOUSAESS OF	+.29	25	10	+.16	+.19	
	SERIOUSALS OF	+.21	18	12	+.14	+.19	
	SERIOUSAESS BUTING ALCOHOL FOR ATAONS	+.43	34	23	+.24	+.19	
	ENFONCIMENT OF PROSPILATION	+.34	31	47	+.11	+.27	
	enforcement of Maxil Umax use	+.52	43	48	+.14	+.17	
	enfoncement of Abontions	+.40	31	38	+.10	+.13	
	uppin upping 2102 Parony of the second of the second	+.25	12	22	+.10	+.23	
•	GWHRFING GWHRFING	+.08	 03	09	+.01	+.00	
•	ENFORCEMENT OF PUBLIC INPOX.	+.22	11	19	+.15	+.22	
	UNDEREAFORCED	02	10*	÷.03	+ .0?*	+.11#	
	لوڪ ٿڏي ٿي. ڪي ڪي ڪلائي گرڻ لوڪ ٿي ٿي آي ڪري ڪلائي	+. 25	17	13	+.14	*. 15	

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FERSONAL BACKGROUN VARIABLES enforcement, a characteristic which has been hypothetically linked to a positive evaluation of the police. Therefore, with the exception of the second to last row, the expected associations are direct for AGE, OCCUPATION OF HEAD, and SEX, while indirect associations are proposed for the background factors STUDENT and EDUCATION.

A glance at Table 5.6 indicates almost unanimous support for these hypotheses. Of the sixty-five relations. sixty-two show the expected association. Furthermore, fifty or 81 per cent of these are statistically significant. The strongest associations by far are those for the variable AGE, with eleven of the thirteen associations showing the expected relation as well as statistical significance. Looking at the rows, note that all three of the unexpected relations exist for the variable UNDERENFORCED LAW MENTIONED. As was the case in section 5.3, this variable seems to be relatively unrelated to either evaluation or personal background variables. While little can be stated , about a desire for more enforcement, it does seem quite safe to conclude that the desire or demand for less strict enforcement is quite prevalent among young people in Bloomington. More importantly, the fact that these demands are in large part denied by actual enforcement policies may partially account for the relatively low evaluation of the police given by these young people.

Once more the reader should remember that the presentation of this finding (namely that young people are frequently advocates of less stringent law enforcement) is not intended to be a normative statement. In other words, there is no argument for or against less strict enforcement of these laws. It may well be that lesser adherence to certain of these laws might result in chaos. It may also be the case that preservation of antiquated legalities may foment discontent, nurture disrespect for the legal system and law enforcement, and even encourage violation of these and other statutes. What is essential is the recognition that there are many people, young and old alike, who would like to see a change in the enforcement policies of the Bloomington Police Department. In fact, 32.7 per cent of those interviewed wanted fewer arrests for prostitution, 41.3 per cent wanted fewer arrests for using marijuana. 38.7 per cent desired less enforcement of abortion laws, and 31.3 per cent wanted fewer gambling arrests. Young people are not the only people who are dissatisfied with the current law enforcement procedures, but they are indeed the major element of this discontent.

5.7 Association Between PERSONAL BACKGROUND and ALLOCATION EXPECTATIONS

In section 5.4 of this chapter, no clear relationship was found to exist between the individual's expectations relating to the distribution of police-related funds, and his evaluation of the police. It was proposed that when the individual's desires and the actual budgetary allocations were found to be dissimilar, the incongruence would lead

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TABLE 5.7

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to a low evaluation of the police. This proposal was relatively confirmed for the allocations pertaining to the police portion of the city budget, but allocations pertaining to police salaries and to funding within the police budget were found to be relatively insignificant. Thus the following proposition refers primarily to allocations within the city budget. The hypothesis is that there is a body of citizens who would like to see policerelated funds utilized in ways which differ from current policy, and that any group which is found to be disproportionately represented in this body will have relatively low evaluations of the police performance. This is the crux of the seventh and final major hypothesis:

H₇ In comparison with their elders, young people will have allocation expectations for police-related funds which are less congruent with actual budgetary allocations.

An analysis of the composition of those who demonstrate these diverse allocation expectations is presented in Table 5.7.

The findings of this table fail to support this last major hypothesis. Of the twenty-five associations, only thirteen illustrate the predicted relationship, and only seven of these are statistically significant. Four of the unexpected associations are significant. In conclusion, it appears that young people are no more likely than other segments of the population to have allocation expectations which differ from the actual budgetary distributions. Even if there was a distinct relationship it

ALLOCATION EXPECTATION VARIABLES		JUN TON	INEUUIS.	NCI LAUULA.	OCCUPALION Ur' Licku	ХúС
ADE JUACY OF POLICE SALARIES		+.03*	+.05	 13*	24	21
ADEQUACY OF POLICE PORTI OF CITY BUDG	[0]] 10]]	11	+.16	+.07	13	16
DEVIATION FR ACTUAL FUNDI FOR PATROLLI	NG NG	+. 03*	04*	01*	+.02*	+.15*
DEVIATION FR ACTUAL FUNDI FOR DEFECTIV	RUN LNG LNG NURA	00	15*	 00*	+.09*	+.25*
DEVIATION F7 ACTUAL MUNDI FOR ADMINIST	ROM LIG NRAFION	 08	+.11	+.22	+.00*	07

90 PERSONAL BACKGROUND VARIABLES

الأشعوب تشكر المدالي المعتقد منها فشعره ويدمنه والتروية والمراجع الوراد

would be tenuous to draw any conclusions associating this incongruence with a low evaluation of the police, for hypothesis H_{\perp} (on which such an assumption would be based) has been found to be lacking in supporting data.

Before dismissing this final hypothesis, one must remember that a finding of no relationship may be just as significant as a finding of a clear association. An investigation of the alternative explanation relating allocation expectations to evaluation of the police has been made. The fact that no relationship could be detected is a finding in itself, and may suggest that other types of expectations, notably those relating to enforcement, may be more pertinent to the investigation of the general association between youth and a low evaluation of the police.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, a summary of the major findings will be presented. Furthermore, these findings will be related in such a way as to offer a more adequate explanation of the association between being young and having a low evaluation of the police.

The initial finding, described by hypothesis H_1 , is the recognition that the "youth-low evaluation" relationship does exist for the population which was sampled. In Bloomington, there is a definite relation between age (and other related background factors) and the evaluation of the police performance. More specifically, young people have relatively low evaluations of the local police. This initial association is depicted below.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Given this functional relationship, it is necessary to probe more deeply, and ask the following question: "Is there any reason for a person's age or life-cycle stage to be the sole determinant of his evaluation of the police?" To answer this question, other avenues of explanation must be explored. Three such alternative explanations are proposed in this study. The first concerns the experiences or confrontations of the individual with the police. The

second and third relate to the expectations of the

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individual. The acceptance of hypothesis H_2 is an assertion that in addition to personal background factors, there are certain experiences (police-citizen interactions) which are associated with the evaluation of the police. Hypothesis H₂ posits a relation between an individual's unfulfilled expectations of less strict enforcement, and his accompanying. low estimation of the police performance. A third alternative association, defined by hypothesis H_{4} , failed to relate unfulfilled allocation expectations to a low evaluation of the police. These three alternative associations relating to the evaluation of the police are charted below. (A broken line is indicative of an association which was not supported by the survey data.)



Finally, an examination of the composition of these three alternative associations reveals that young people are disproportionately involved in negative reinforcement situations, and disproportionately excluded from positive reinforcement experiences (H_5) . In addition, the young are over-represented among those who prefer less stringent enforcement of various laws (H_6) . Lastly, young people cannot be said to be associated with having allocation expectations which are in conflict with actual budgetary allotments (H_7) . These last three relations are shown in the diagram presented below.



By combining these findings, a model similar to the original schema (introduced as Figure 1.1) is obtained. This concluding model (depicted below) presents two major alternative explanations of the initially observed association relating youth and a low evaluation of the police. Each will be discussed in turn.



6.1 Alternative Explanation #1: The EXPERIENCE Factor

That certain experiences are associated with the evaluation of the police (either positively or negatively) is the basis of hypothesis H2. That young people are frequently involved in negative reinforcement situations and rarely involved in positive reinforcement experiences is the contention of hypothesis H_5 . Since both hypotheses are supported by the survey data, a combination of $\rm H_{2}$ and ${\rm H}_5$ logically leads to the conclusion that, in part because of the nature of their confrontations with the police, young people have a relatively low evaluation of the police. This constitutes the first alternative explanation of the initial association between being young and having a low opinion of the police performance. This EXPERIENCE factor is depicted thusly:



6.2 Alternative Explanation #2: The ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATION Factor

Individuals with a desire for lesser enforcement of various laws are associated with a low evaluation of the police (H_2) . Among these individuals, there are a disproportionately large number of young people $(H_{f_{i}})$. The logical conclusion that results from a combination of H_3 and H_6 is this: partially because of their unfulfilled demands

for lesser enforcement, young people in Bloomington have a low evaluation of the BPD. This conclusion, portrayed below, is the second alternative explanation of the initial "youth-low evaluation" relationship.



6.3 The ALLOCATION EXPECTATION Factor

A third alternative explanation was sought which would involve the allocation expectations of the individual. Such an explanation would necessarily rest on the hypotheses H_4 and H_7 . More precisely, such an explanation rests on the extent to which these hypotheses are supported by the survey data. In section 5.4 as well as section 5.7, the ALLOCATION EXPECTATION factor was found to be associated with neither the evaluation of the police, nor the background traits of the individual. Because of this lack of supporting data, a third alternative explanation based on allocation expectations is untenable.

6.4 Residual Explanations

In summary, there appear to be two fairly reliable alternative explanations of the general relationship between being young and having a low evaluation of the police. Of these two alternative explanations, it is

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impossible to say which is stronger, either the EXPERIENCE factor or the ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS factor. The limitations of this study, mentioned in the introductory chapter, make any such conclusion tenuous. Nor is it to be assumed that these two alternative explanations constitute a complete explanation of the initial "youth-low evaluation" relationship. It is highly unlikely that conditions of closure have been obtained. Other explanations may indeed exist. But I feel I have minimized this residual of unexplained factor: by selecting two explanations which appear to be reliable. Hopefully, the explanations relating to EXPERIENCE and ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS are capable of eliminating much of the vagueness inherent in a simplistic explanation which does not go beyond the relationship described by hypothesis H_1 . A test of the reliability of these alternative explanations may be the extent to which they suggest effective remedies for the ill-feeling which currently exists between the young people in Bloomington and the police department which serves them. These recommendations, along with related implications, will be the subject matter of the next and final chapter.

7.0 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 7.1 Introduction

With the alternative explanations of EXPERIENCE and ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS in mind, certain implications and policy recommendations are called to attention. Before these implications and recommendations can be properly assessed, it is necessary to have an understanding of the difficult position of the police in a community, such as Bloomington, which is characterized by a diversity of opinion. As a public agency, the police have an obligation not only to the safety of the public, but also to the preference of that public. A delicate balance between responsibility and responsiveness must be sought--responsibility to the public's safety, responsiveness to the public's expectations. To the extent that public safety is not sacrificed, the police should attempt to minimize any substantial grievances held by the citizenry. To illustrate the difficult nature of this balancing of responsibility and responsiveness, the following letter, written to the editors of a national magazine, is quoted.

A POLICEMAN'S DILEMMA

I am a police officer. Recently, I stopped a car in which there were six youths, a couple of bottles of wine, some beer, nine marijuana cigarettes, a hash pipe and a quantity of hashish. With one exception, none of these kids had previously been in trouble with the police, and none of them admitted knowing that there was dope in the car; they said they had only come to town for a rock concert.

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gli.

My sergeant and I didn't want to alienate the kids by giving them arrest records for a felony-which is what drug possession is in this state-but neither did we want to release them with the contraband and give them the impression that the cops in this city are "easy." We tried without success to find an appropriate city ordinance with which to charge them and reluctantly concluded that we had to book them on the state charges and depend on the detectives and prosecutors to do the right thing. We weren't happy with this solution, but we were resolved to do our duty.

When we got to the jail, I explained the situation to the desk sergeant. Another examination of the city ordinance book turned up a misdemeanor charge that would better serve both justice and our obligation to take some action.

I relate this story to illustrate several points. First, the police have responsibilities that can't be ignored just because they're unpopular. Second, policemen do have consciences and they are aware of the world around them. Third, young people may have strong beliefs, but they must also develop realistic attitudes about the society in which they live.

I concede, as will any professional police officer, that not all police officers are the best to be hoped for, but I wish young people would not stereotype all policemen, as they sometimes do.

> (Name and address withheld by request)

(Playboy, July, 1972)

While this letter gives an insight of the problem which confronts the police officer, the dilemma is even more acute in a community such as Bloomington. Not only must the police officer decide when to be responsible to the public safety and when to be responsive to public preference, but he must also select the segment of the public to which he will be responsive. In Bloomington, where there is evidently a bipolar distribution of public

opinion, the dilemma of balancing responsibility and responsiveness is doubly difficult, precisely because of this uncertain identity of the public opinion. It should be noted that responsibility to the public's safety and responsiveness to public opinion are not necessarily antithetical. Where there is a homogeneity of public opinion, the police will automatically be responsive if their policy is the protection of the public safety. If there is unanimity as to what the law should be, responsible enforcement will, in fact, be responsive enforcement. However, as the composition of the public opinion becomes increasingly heterogeneous, the simultaneous attainment of the twin goals of responsibility and responsiveness becomes more and more difficult. In an effort to protect the safety of all, the desires of minority factions tend

to be overlooked by the police.

These comments are presented as a preface to a ' discussion of the implications and recommendations which can be drawn from the findings of this study. I hope that they convey the sense of conflicting obligations which makes the policeman's role so very difficult. The implications of these findings, and the policy recommendations which they suggest, must be understood within the context of the role of the policeman in a diversified community.

7.2 Implications

As noted above, there is in Bloomington a continuum of alternative policies ranging from extreme responsibility

to extreme responsiveness. As is frequently the case, the middle ground is the optimum position for a public institution, such as the police. It is my opinion that the current philosophy of the Bloomington Police Department lies somewhere near the extremes of responsibility. Even where police are responsive, it is not often to the expectations of the young. Many grievances and preferences could be answered without sacrificing the public safety. These grievances are largely due to the factors of EXPERIENCE and ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS. Unless there is a sincere effort to control these factors, the implications will be. grave for both the public and the police.

There is a dangerous attitude that prevails among many elder members of the community, namely that the discontent of the young is merely a "stage" which will be outgrown as these individuals mature. To begin, the poor relations between the young and the police need not be considered as inevitable. Solutions are not only possible, but they are becoming increasingly essential. The most rapid growth of the Bloomington population is found among young people. In addition to growing in numbers these individuals are growing in terms of influence. With the newly acquired eighteen-year-old vote, young people will have a greater impact on the shaping of public policy at the local level. To stand by idly and tolerate these illfeelings between the youth and the police is only an invitation to further dissent and dissatisfaction. A public

agency can never be truly effective unless it has the support of the public. For example, the low clearance rates of the BPD may be due, in part, to the isolation of the youth population from the law enforcement agency, and their concomitant lack of cooperation with police authorities. For reasons such as these, the findings of the study imply a need for a more responsive attitude on the part of the police.

A further implication that may result from continued inaction in the face of substantial grievances is best understood, perhaps, by the models presented below.

VIOLATION OF THE LAW

DISRESPECT FOR THE LAW AND THE POLICE As this first model suggests, a vicious circle involving the EXPERIENCE factor is possible. Consider the case of the young person, a minor, who is apprehended while entering a liquor store with false identification. This experience is certainly not going to improve the youth's evaluation of the local police. He may quite likely emerge from the incident with distrust of the police, as well as heightened disrespect for laws which he considers antiquated. To complete

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NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE

LOW EVALUATION

the cycle, this same youth may purposely violate one of these laws, perhaps merely to show his contempt for the law enforcement system. When he is arrested for the second time, the cycle begins once more. As is the case for all such self-perpetuating phenomena, the greatest catalyst is unswerving dedication to the status quo.

A similar state of affairs exists for the second alternative explanation, namely the ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS factor. On a less individualized scale than above, this model may be presented thusly:

ACTUAL (STRICT) ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES

VIOLATION OF THE LAW

DESIRE FOR LESS STRICT ENFORCEMENT

DISRESPECT FOR THE LAW AND THE POLICE

An example of this vicious circle might be as follows. The local police decide to crack down on marijuana use, and several young people are arrested as a result of a raid. Seeing their friends "busted" may frighten some users, but it more likely will convince the young people that they are being unjustly persecuted by an over-zealous police department. As in the prior example, the overall impact may be one of distrust and disrespect, leading to further contemptuous violations. Noting this upswing in

marijuana usage, the police might decide that even more raids should be made, and the cycle is nejuvenated. By continuing to ignore the discontent of the young people in Bloomington, the Bloomington Police Department risks a dangerous alienation. Of course, any solution requires cooperation from both sides. When young people protest merely for the sake of protesting, then even good intentions on the part of the police will go unrewarded. Similarly, when the police enforce laws merely because they know that a sanction exists, then good intentions on the part of the public will likewise go unrewarded.

7.3 Recommendations

To relieve the tension which thrives on the poor relations between the young and the police, five main policy recommendations are presented. The first four are related to the EXPERIENCE factor, while the last recommendation is based on an understanding of the second alternative explanation of ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS. If these alternative explanations are reliable, then the solutions which they suggest may improve the relations between the young people of Bloomington and the Bloomington Police Department.

1. Police administrators should detect and correct any situations which suggest that there may be prejudicial enforcement directed at the young. It may or may not be the case that the high incidence of negative reinforcement experiences among the young is due to discriminatory enforcement. Administrators, however,

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should be constantly alert to this possibility. If, for example, an officer seems to be arresting a disproportionately large number of young people, his superior should investigate this possibility of prejudicial enforcement.

The detection of such biased enforcement is not an easy matter. To a certain extent, the police may need to practice selective enforcement if they are to be efficient. For example, making more stops for speeding may entail more arrests of youths, if young people are the most frequent violators. If the police administrator is convinced that there is no prejudicial enforcement, then he should turn to the next policy recommendation.

2. If prejudicial enforcement does not appear to be involved, administrators should further seek the basis for this greater violation by the young. Better communication with young people, i.e. through informal "rap sessions," may disclose the reasons for this disrespect of the law.

This second recommendation once again rests upon the cooperation of all parties involved. What is sought is an easing of the formal barriers which separate the police from their "customers." The University could play an important role in this area. Seminar classes, composed of police officers as well as students, could be established. Hopefully, these would deal with the reasons for youthful disrespect for certain laws. Perhaps the mere juxtaposition of the police and students in the classroom environment would serve to ease the tensions and mutual distrust. An even less formal approach would involve weekly gatherings in the university commons. Each week, interested students

could voice their opinions to police officers over a cup of coffee, and vice versa. Another alternative might be for the police to invite a student reporter to spend a few days in a patrol car. A series of articles in the student newspaper could illuminate the police profession to many uniformed young people, perhaps dispelling some stereotyped notions.

and utilized.

No one will ever enjoy being stopped by a policeman, but much can be done to alleviate the tensions which come into play. Officers who properly perceive their role can more effectively enforce the law than those who feel that the authority is theirs, and not the vested responsibility given them by the public. It does not help matters when a patrolman, who has stopped a young man with long hair, begins his conversation with "May I see your license, Miss?"

enforcer of the law.

Very few young people can say that they personally know a policeman. When people are isolated from others, there is the dangerous possibility of stereotyping. Social contact and interaction is probably the best prevention against this unfortunate practice of making unsubstantiated generalizations. The seminars and rap sessions, mentioned before, would definitely increase personal contacts between

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3. Policies which might reduce the negativeness of police-citizen experiences should be articulated

4. On the positive side of the EXPERIENCE factor an attempt should definitely be made to acquaint young people and the police. The public should see officers in a role other than that of the

the young and the police. In addition, local and student newspapers could carry an "officer of the week" type of article, in which citizens could acquire a more personal knowledge of police personnel. Measures such as these could be much more effective than the annual policeman's ball. The air of mutual distrust must be dispelled if the police-youth relationship is to ever be improved.

5. With regard to the factor of ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS, the police should be as responsive to public demands as their commitment to protect the public safety permits. Enforcement policies should be articulated in order to reduce the incongruence between the enforcement expectations of the public and the actual procedures of the department.

Of course it is impossible for the police to tailor the law to conform with the desires of each and every individual. But when as many as forty per cent of the population advocate a less stringent enforcement of certain laws, to fail to listen to these expectations is to provoke the ire of the public. Some may argue that such responsiveness is an invitation to flagrant violation of the law. But how many of these same laws are violated each day simply because the public opinion is in conflict with laws which are no longer purposive? Because of this conflict, disrespect for the law is encouraged. While the police officer may not often be in the position to legislate changes in the wording of the law, many of the problematic statutes provide the law enforcement agent with a significant degree of discretionary powers may help to bring the enforcement of the law into a close correspondence with the wishes of the

public. Since law is supposedly the clarification of the public opinion, the wants of the public should be honored above the law itself.

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In conclusion, an analysis of citizen's evaluations of the police has detected a functional relationship between being young and having a low estimation of the police performance. Such a finding would be worthwhile if a mere catalogue of opinions was being sought. But the implications of this relationship are such that continued inaction will likely lead to even further social disorder. What is needed is not a catalogue of opinions, but rather, an explanation as to why these opinions are formed. Knowing that being young is associated with having a low evaluation of the police says nothing about the correction of this

distressing relationship. If the situation is indeed harmful to the smooth working of society, then remedies must be sought. In this paper, two alternative explanations have been posited: one dealing with the EXPERIENCE factor, and one relating to the factor of ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATIONS. Furthermore, these conceptual models have called attention to certain possible remedies for the malaise that characterizes the relations between the young people of Bloomington and the Bloomington Police Department. The eventual utility of this study may be best measured by the effectiveness of the recommendations proposed herein. Hopefully, citizens of all ages will join with the officers and administrators of the local police department to provide the effort and

Indiana University

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understanding necessary to make these recommendations less an ideal, and more a reality.



Address

G.

INTRODUCTION

Hello. If name is Roy Burbrink and I am a student at Indiana University.

C11 About how long have you lived in this neighborhood?

C12 Where did you live before moving here?

4	******
•	*****
ngan juga sang sinang sinang si	C9 Reasons for no interview 1 Vacant 2 Not at home 3 No one over 16 4 Refused (describe b
	5Appointment
	C10 Number of Callbacks <u>CIRCLE</u> 0 1 2 3 4 5
	Reasons for Refusal:
_	
\frown	BE SURE TO CODE
	AS P

Appendix A

Department of Political Science

Case No. C7 C8 Date of Interview

> Time at Beginning Apt. No.

For my senior thesis in political science, I am studying attitudes of citizens toward police. I would like to ask you some questions which will take about 10-15 minutes.

> 0-2 years 2-5 years 6-10 years more than 10 years

Always lived here Somewhere else in Bloomington Somewhere else in Indiana 3 In a different state

Write Name of State

Appointment:

Name

day/hour of appointment (woled الجريم ومراجر المتجور المحارية المحار والجاري والمحارجا المتحار والتركي والمحار · •

> Phone (home) (office)

LAST SHEET AS FULLY POSSIBLE



6

(111)

- 3-

the police have assisted you? (Probe if necessary: Any emergency sickness? Ambulance calls? Car trouble on

-	1 Yes* 2 No SKIP TO C26 9 Don't remember	
he	problem?	
ce	Department?	
	 Bloomington City Police Indiana University Safety Monroe County Sheriff Other. Who? Don't remember 	
11	on them?	
	1 Yes 2 No	
id	they come?	
	11-5 minutes26-10 minutes311-15 minutes416-30 minutes531-45 minutes646-60 minutes7More than an hour8Never came	
ned	?	
ita	tements most closely reflects \leftarrow	
C	ity Police are doing	• • • •
	1 an outstanding job 2 a good job 3 an adequate job 4 an inadequate job 9 no opinion	

(113)

-4--5-C27 Have you been stopped by a policeman during the past 533 Some people are concerned that crime is increasing in their year (1971) while you were on the street or driving a car? neighborhood. In your opinion, do you think that crime in Bloomington is... Yes* No Increasing* *IF "YES" Don't remember About the same ASK: *IF "INCREASING" Decreasing ASK: Don't know C28 Which police department? C34 · What type has increased? Bloomington City Police Indiana University Safety Monroe County Sheriff C35 Would you be willing to contribute toward a neighborhood Other. Who? Don't remember private security patrol? C29 Where did this occur? Yes. No Already am contributing Don't know C30 How were you treated? Very nicely C36 When the police are called in your neighborhood, in your Rudely opinion, do the police respond Roughed up · READ : Other. Explain Very rapidly Quickly enough READ: 3 Slowly C31 What happened during your conversation with 0 Don't know the police officer? (Probe: Was there any intimidation? Did the respondent challenge C37 The average annual salary for a Bloomington City Police the policeman's authority, or submit to it?) officer was \$8,152 in 1971. Do you feel that such salaries are: Too high READ: About right Too low Don't know g C38 Dc you know any policemen who work in Bloomington? None | IF "NONE" SKIP TO C40 C32 Which is more important to you? 2 One* ON NEXT PAGE Two* Prevention of crime More than two* READ: Arrest of criminals No opinion C39 * How do you happen to know him (or them)? 1 Knows where he lives DO NOT READ: RECORD 2 Knows through job COMMENTS FULLY UNLESS 3 Knows him personally VERY SIMILAR TO PRE-Other. CCDED RESPONSE

(115)



-7-

population over 100,000? (Specify which city or cities)

Yes* No

Would you say that the police service in this larger city, as compared to the police service in Bloomington, was:

> Much better Slightly better About the same Slightly worse Much worse Don't know

(Probe: In what way was it better or worse? Why? Were there precinct station houses?)

Yes* No 2

Bloomington City Police Indiana University Safety Monroe County Sheriff Other. Who? Don't know

In what way were they mistreated?

C52 Do you think that some police in Bloomington accept bribes?

Yes* No Don't know

From whom?

Why?

HAND RESPONDENT THE WORKSHEET

(117)

-9-





Here is a breakdown of th C7 of Bloomington as propose that the proportion alloc



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Given one hour of a policeman's time schedule, how would you allocate time for the following activities:

-8-

C55-C56 A. Patrolling or cruising

C57-C58	Β.	Enforcement of laws dealing with less serious offenses
C59-C60	C.	Enforcement of laws dealing with more serious offenses
C61-C62	D.	Helping citizens in noncriminal matters



Given the fiscal dollar of the Bloomington City Police, indicate how you feel the available funds should be distributed for the following police activities:

C63-C64 A. Patrolling (crime prevention) C65-C66 B. Detective work (criminal investigation) C67-C68 C. Administration



(118)

Card Two Cl to C6 Case #
ne actual budget for the City ed for 1972. Do you feel cated for police is:
1 Too much* 2 About right 3 Too little 9 No opinion
you prefer that the excess funds go:
1 To another category (Specify) 2 Back to the taxpayer by lower taxes
ow should the additional police unds be obtained? 1 Increase taxes 2 Take funds away from another category (Specify below)
Fire Public works Streets and transportation Parks and recreation General administration Planning and redevelopment Miscellaneous Not specified
ome police in Bloomington might:
FTER EACH: YES NO KNOW
ds to get information in court
AD: 2 Stayed about the same 3 Deteriorated 9 No opinion

(118A)

NOTE: The budget depicted below was presented to the respondents in order to ask question C7 on the preceding page.



· Parter \$200 图文·Parter 1、1211月11日(1211月11日)(1211月11日)(1211月)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日)(1211日))(1211日)(12 an der and This is a hypothetical situation. Assume that a Bloomington City policeman has stopped a driver who has clearly been exceeding the speed limit.

Which of the following individuals, in your opinion would most likely be arrested, and which would most likely be released? In addition, indicate if you would approve or disapprove of such action on the part of the police.

	.DP.IVER	ARREST	RÉLEASE	DON'T KNOW	- "	APPPOV	Æ	DISAPPROVE	DON'T KNOW	T
C22& C23	High school male									1
C24용 C25	Out-of-state resident			3			-			
C26& C27	City Councilman]
C286 C29	Adult female (white)									
C30& C31	University coed									ľ
C325 C33	Adult male (white)									ſ
C348 C35	University male student									I
C36Ę C37	Negro male (adult)									
C388 C39	Corporation executive									

Some critics of the law enforcement system have claimed that there are certain laws which are underenforced by the police, while other critics have claimed that there are certain laws which are overenforced by the police.

C40 In your opinion, wh Bloomington? (speci:

C41 Which laws (if any) are overenforced in Bloomington? (specify)

C42 Do you believe the police in Bloomington are required to make a certain number of traffic arrests each day? Yes 1 No · 2 Don't know

E)

· · · · · ·

-10-

ich	laws	(if	any)	are	underenforced	in
fy)						

(120)

]	[]	-
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C43 If a person has committed a relatively minor offense, is it sometimes best for the policeman to overlook the violation and merely give the offender a stern warning?

1	Agree
2	Disagree
9	No opinion

- C44 In your opinion, which of the following best describe the Bloomington police:
 - Undereducated 2 Underpaid 3 Undertrained Overworked No opinion
- C45 What quality of men are employed by the Bloomington Police Department, in your opinion:
 - High quality Medium quality Low quality 3 No opinion 9

C46 Recent Supreme Court decisions require the police to inform accused persons of their rights to silence, to counsel, etc. In your opinion, do these decisions unnecessarily hamper the police in their law enforcement duties?

Agree Disagree No opinion

In which of the following criminal activities do you feel the police should either increase or decrease their arrest rate:

I'ORE FEWER SAME DON'T KNOW

C47	1.	Prostitution	
C48	2.	Use of marijuana	
C49	3.	Illegal abortions	
C50	4.	Use of hard narcotics	
C51	5.	Organized gambling	
C52	6.	Public intoxication	

Which of the following do you consider to be a violation of the law?

C53 1 Making a rolling stop at an intersection

C54 2 Parking too long or on a yellow line

Driving 30 mph in a 20 mph residential area C55 3

C56 4 Tearing up a parking ticket

and the second second

D----

C57 5 Buying alcoholic beverages for a minor

organization? *IF "YES" ASK: C59 What kind? C60 Are you renting or buying?

	•		
		•	

C61 What is your marital status?

C62	What	is	the	highest	grade	y
-----	------	----	-----	---------	-------	---

C63 ASK ONLY IF NECESSARY Are you currently a student?

•	C64.,	That	is	wife	s occ	cupation	 	House	ewire:	
	C65	tho	does	she	work	for?				

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- C65 Who does she work for?
- Mhat is husband's occupation? C66
- Who does he work for? C67
- C68 What other individuals live here?

-12-

Now there are just a few questions remaining.

C58 Do you happen to be a member of a community or neighborhood

Yes* No

Church PTA Neighborhood (write name) Other Buying house (or bought) Renting House Renting duplex Renting apartment

Buying apartment

Carried Single 2 Divorced Widow or Widower

ou completed in school?

0-8 years of school 9-11 years of school 12 years of school some college college grad

No High school student Trade school student I.U. student

? Housewife?

...

Thank you very much for your time.

(122)

-13-

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FILL OUT AFTER INTERVIEW OR AFTER REFUSAL AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE

C 69	Estimate age:	1 Index 20
		2 21-30
,		331-40
	· · ·	4 41-50 5 51-65
		6 Over 65
		And and a second s
C70	1 Male	C71 1 White
		Other
C72	1 One-story	
	2Iwo story	C73 1 Brick or stone
C74	Estimate upkeep level	
		1 Excellent
		2 Good 3 Average
		4 Poor
057		
C75	Estimated age:	1 lass than 5 years
		2 Between 5 and 10 years
		3 More than 10 years
C76	Description of respondent's	attitude:
		1 Friendly
		2Neutral
		3Hostile
C77	Condition of interview	
		1At front door
		2In living room
Inte	erviewer symbolName	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Code	er symbol Name	
		مراجعة الريسة المراجع في والا المراجع المراجع والمراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع
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APPENDIX B

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In order to comprehend the meaning of the Kendall tau b statistics presented in the tables of Chapter 4. it is essential to know the ordinal scale by which responses are ordered for each variable. This appendix is to be used as a reference, but the following rule summarizes the procedure employed, and can therefore minimize the task of constantly referring to this appendix. The rule is as follows:

THRU THE HIGHEST.

For example, evaluation variables are ordered from the lowest evaluation of the police to the highest evaluation. For experience variables, the order is 1) non-experience, followed by 2) experience. When in doubt, refer to the appendix for the necessary information. The list which follows identifies all variables and indicates their ordinal scale. Variables are grouped under these headings: personal oackground, evaluation, experience, enforcement expectation, and allocation expectation. In addition, there is reference to the questionnaire to indicate union question on the survey instrument

(Appendix A) was utilized to make the measurement for

each variable.

FOR ALL VANIABLES, THE ORDER IS FROM THE LOWEST

PERSONAL BACKGROUND VARIABLES

+ 410 - 2

EVALUATION VARIABLES

-	VARIABLE	QUESTIONNAIRE	ORDINAL SCALE		VARIABLE	JUES
	AGE	C69, page 13	<pre>(1) Under 20 (2) 21 - 30 (3) 31 - 40 (4) 41 - 50</pre>	•	.GENERAL EVALUATION	C26,
		· ·	(5) 51 - 65 (6) Over 65		Police-Cifizen Relationships	C44,
	STUDENI	C63, page 12	 (1) Not a university student (2) University student 	•	QUALITY OF POLICE BERSONNEL	C45,
	EDUCATION	C62, page 12	<pre>(1) 0 - 8 years (2) 9 - 11 years (3) 12 years (4) Some college (5) College module to</pre>	•	PERCEPTION OF CRIME RATE	C33,
	OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF	C64 - C67, page 12	 (3) Correge graduate (1) Lower a. Unemployed 		PERCEPTION OF RESPONSE TIME	C36,
•	HOJSEHOLD	·	 (2) Lower-middle a. Housewife b. Student and part-time 	\bigcirc	BELIEF FHAT POLICE FAKE BRIBES	052,
	• •		c. Retired (3) Middle a. Clerical b. Sales workers		BELIEF THAT POLICE USE UNFAIR METHODS TO GET INFORMATION	C18,
			c. Factory operators d. Service workers e. Non-farm		BELIEF PHAP POLICE DISPORP EVIDENCE IN COURP	C19,
			(4) Upper-middle a. Craftsmen, foremen		BELIEF PHAF POLICE USE UNNECESSARY FORCE	C20,
•		and the second	<pre>(5) Upper a. Professional, technical</pre>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	BELIEF THAI POLICE USE av Adresi QUOIA.	C42,
	SEX	C70, page 13	b. Managerial (1) Male (2) Female	•	BELIEP PALP SUPREME COURP DECISIONS HAMPEN PAE POLICE	C46,

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ESTIONNAIRE	ORDINAL SCALE
5, page 3	 (1) Inadequate job (2) Adequate job (3) Good job (4) Outstanding job
4, page 6	(1) Bad (2) Good
5, page 11	<pre>(1) Low quality (2) Medium quality (3) High quality</pre>
3, page 5	 Increasing About the same Decreasing
6, page 5	(1) Slowly(2) Quickly enough(3) Very rapidly
2, page 7	(1) Yes (2) No
8, page 9	(1) Yes (2) No
9, page 9	(1) Yes (2) No
0, page 9	(1) Yes (2) No
2, page 10	(1) Yes (2) No
6, page 11	(1) Disagree

SXPERIENCE VARIABLES

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VARIABLE	QUESTIONNAIRE	ORDINAL SCALE
SPOPPED (BY POLICE In General)	C27, page 4	<pre>(1) Not stopped (2) Stopped</pre>
SFOPPED V (BY BLOOMINGFON POLICE)	C28, page 4	(1) Not stopped(2) Stopped
KNOWLEDGE OF SOMEONE MISTREAPED (BY POLICE IN GENERAL)	C49, page 7	 Does not know anyone mistreated Does know someone mistreated
KNOWLEDGE OF Someone Mistreated (By Bloomingfon Police)	C50, page 7	 Does not know anyone mistreated Does know someone mistreated
VICTIMIZATION (ANYWHERE)	C13, page 2	 Not victimized Victimized
VICTIMIZATION (IN BLOOMINGTON)	C15, page 2	 Not victimized Victimized
ASSIGTANCE (BY POLICE IN GENERAL)	C20, page 3	 Not assisted Assisted
ASSISTANCE (BY BLOOMINGTON POLICE)	C22, page 3	<pre>(1) Not assisted (2) Assisted</pre>
NUMBER OF	C38, page 5	 None One Two More than two

ENFORCEMENT EXPECTATION VARIABLES

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	VARIABLE	QUEST	<u> PIONN</u>	AIRE	<u>ORD</u>	INAL SCALE
	SERIOUSNESS OF ROLLING-STOPS	C53,	page	11	(1) (2)	Not a violation Is a violation
	SERIOUSNESS OF ILLEGAL PARKING	C54,	page	11	(1) (2)	Not a violation Is a violation
	Seriousness of Speeding	C55,	page	11	(1) (2)	Not a violation Is a violation
	SERIOUSNESS OF DESTROTING A PARKING TICAET	С56,	page	11	(1) (2)	Not a violation Is a violation
	SERIOUSNESS OF BUYING ALCOHOL FOR MINORS	C57,	page	11	(1) (2)	Not a violation Is a violation
	ENFORCEMENT AGAINST PROSTICUTION	C47,	page	11	(1) (2) (3)	Fewer arrests Same arrest rate More arrests
	ENFORCEMENT AGAINST USE OF MARIJUANA	C48,	page	11	(1) (2) (3)	Fewer arrests Same arrest rate More arrests
	enforcement Against Illegal Abortions	C43,	page	11	(1) (2) (3)	Fewer arrests Same arrest rate More arrests
	ENFORCEMENT AGAINST USE OF HARD NARCOPICS	C50,	page	11	(1) (2) (3)	Fewer arrests Same arrest rate More arrests
	Enforcement Agailst Organized Gambling	C51,	page	11	(1) (2) (3)	Fewer arrests Same arrest rate More arrests
· • •	ENFORCEMENT AGAINST PUBLIC IMPOXICATION	052,	page	11	(1) (2) (3)	Fewer arrests Same arrest rate More arrests
	MELTION OF AN UNDERENFORCED LAW	C40,	page	10	(1) (2)	Mention of an underenforced law No mention of an underenforced law
	MENTION OF AN OVERENFORCED LAW	C41,	page	10	(1) (2)	Mention of an overenforced law No mention of an overenforced law

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ALLOCATION EXPECTATION VARIABLES

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VARIABLE	QUESPIONNAIRE	ORDINAL SCALE
ADEQUACY OF POLICE SALARIES	C37, page 5	 Too low. About right Too high
ADEQUACY OFFOLICE PORFION OF CIFY BUDGET	C7, page 9	 (1) Too little (2) About right (3) Too much
DEVIATION FROM ACTUAL FUNDING FOR PAPROLLING	C63 - C64, page 8	 Low deviation Medium deviation High deviation
DEVIATION FROM ACTUAL FUNDING FOR DETECTIVE WORK	C65 - C66	 Low deviation Medium-low deviation Medium deviation Medium-high deviation High deviation
DEVIATION FROM ACTUAL FUNDING FOR ADMINISTRATION	c67 - c68	 Low deviation Medium deviation High deviation
		•••
وليراد الرابط والمحموم المحمو	• • • •	en en anti-service en anti-service en anti-
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