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Police, the public, and the mass media : a ghetto/barrio study

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POLICE, THE PUBLIC, AND THE MASS MEDIA:
A GHETTO/BARRIO STUDY

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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Administration of Justice
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There has long been a need to study the underlying sources of community tensions between police and the public, especially when the public concerned is ghetto or barrio residents. One neglected source of tension is the whole area of mass media presentation of police-related activities. Although the mass revolts of our inner-city ghettos seem to have passed, the tension (and possibility of further flareups) still exists. To what extent does the type of reporting of so-called "police news" in newspapers or on television create tension (or ease it) within the inner-city ghetto? Is the police image portrayed an accurate one? To what extent does inaccurate reporting create tension in the community, or even resentment?

Up to this time, no comprehensive survey which could be applied to every major city in the United States has been undertaken on this subject. There are certain difficulties which may have prevented such a study. First of all, the mass media has not made itself open for such studies until just recently, when it has come under fire. Secondly, a certain proportion of the occupants of this nation's inner-city ghettos are Spanish-speaking (Mexican-American or Puerto Rican). The necessity for a bi-lingual approach has probably prevented some research. Also, due to the variety of ethnic distributions in our many

inner-city ghettos, for a survey to be comprehensive enough to be applicable to several cities, the sample would have to come from several cities.

The objective of this research is to determine to what extent mass media reporting of police-related news is a determinant of level of tension within minority communities.

For the purposes of this study, the public has been defined as ghetto and barrio residents within the four cities under study. The police are defined as those officers coming in contact with these residents, which includes precinct police, city police, and housing police within the housing projects. The media are the television stations, networks and newspapers serving the cities.

For the purposes of this study, tension is described as that feeling which causes a breakdown in healthy relationships and a high rate of probability that a tension-induced act (such as a riot, higher incidence of crime, name-calling incidents, etc.) will result. The variables have been measured on various types of scales, due to the fact that several types of information are being tabulated together. The weighting of words in the two sample stories contained in the questionnaire (high-tension and low-tension words) was used to determine if a different approach to the same story would yield a different type of response about the police in the story. In most cases, this was found to be true. In every instance, the evaluation of the responses was on a similar scale, with the most affirmative response being called A, and the least affirmative being called E. The A through

E scale was also used to indicate frequency of reading the newspaper, number of times the respondent or members of his/her family had been arrested, and frequency of seeing the police in various activities. A complete breakdown of factors affecting the responses is contained in the thesis.

The data collected for this project has been broken down on the basis of several variables: age, sex, ethnicity, educational level, and income level. Any city agency, police force, or member of the mass media could look at the data, as compiled by computer, and find characteristic patterns applicable to the area in which they operate. Such an inquiry might lead to the improvement of police-community relations by creating a more accurate reporting system which is more responsive to the needs and interests of the citizenry.

The questionnaire used for the survey (See Appendix A) consisted of 29 multiple choice questions regarding television and newspaper coverage of police-related news items, exposure of the public to the police, the image of the police in the community being studied, and the relationship between the actual actions of the police (as viewed by the respondents) and the way these actions are portrayed in the media. A final question asked the respondents to give their suggested improvements in mass media reporting about the police. Responses to the questions were on a five-point scale, with the A response indicating the most affirmative or the largest amount in numerical answers, and the E response indicating the most negative or the smallest amount in numerical answers. Computer cross-classifications for age-ethnicity,

sex-ethnicity, age-sex, income level-ethnicity, etc., have been compiled on many of the questions.

Computer tabulation of the results included a distribution of all responses by city, followed by a breakdown by ethnographic factors (See Appendix B for sample computer printout). The computerized results have pointed out certain weaknesses in news reporting, as well as in police procedure, as viewed by residents of ghetto and barrio areas. The suggestions for improvement which were made in response to question number 30 have been summarized at the end of the chapters on each city and appear as conclusions.

The original plan was to interview 200 family units in each of the four selected cities (Newark, New Jersey; The Bronx, New York; San Jose, California; and Venice (Los Angeles County), California). Due to monetary and time limitations, the sample size was reduced. The Newark sample consisted of 150 interviews. The New York sample comprised 92 interviews. Both of the California sections involved 100 interviews each.

A research assistant helped to conduct the interviews in the Newark portion. He is Jonas Cowles Jr., a pre-law graduate of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. Primary reason for use of a research assistant was to validate the results for consistency. Mr. Cowles is a young Black resident of Newark's ghetto. He was trained in the interview technique and his results were checked with those of the primary interviewer to detect any inconsistencies which might result from the fact that the primary interviewer is Caucasian. Mr. Cowles also is fluent in Spanish, as is the primary interviewer. It was found that

the approximate time of interviews, regardless of interviewer, was 30 minutes, and that the responses were comparable for age group, sex, ethnicity, educational background and income level.

The particular area chosen to survey within each city was based upon prior knowledge of each of these cities by the primary interviewer. Each chapter will explain the boundaries of the area under survey, the ethnic composition, and particular factors which seemed to significantly affect the citizens of that area.

The choice of cities to be surveyed was made on the basis of familiarity with the cities (including contacts who could lend assistance if necessary) and, most importantly, the ethnic breakdown and other demographic factors which might make the data applicable to a wide range of other cities.

San Jose, California, is a rapidly-growing urban area with a large Mexican-American population and a small Black population. Most of the poorer minority group members are housed in single-unit or apartment style dwellings in an area known as the East Side. Within the East Side is an older residential section, largely in disrepair, which is called the Mayfair district. This is the area on which the survey concentrated. Residence in the area is largely based on the income level of the residents, and it could be said that the residents of the Mayfair district have a very low degree of upward mobility, due to many factors, including a lower educational level and language disability. Many programs have been and are being instituted to help alleviate these problems. But the significance of these programs has not as yet been felt by the majority of the residents. A high crime

rate, lack of municipal services, slower police response time, and a greater degree of tension and apprehension between police and residents exists in this area of San Jose than in any other.

Venice is an area of Los Angeles County which is a separate city covered by the Los Angeles Police Department. A beach community, it was long the avant-garde area of Southern California, with artists and so-called "beatniks" making up a large proportion of the tenants within the cottages and homes located near the beach. Recently, the ethnic composition has been undergoing drastic changes, caused by a number of factors. This city was felt to be typical of a ghetto-influx, with all of the inherent conflicts which arise from a highly mobile, economically disadvantaged, ethnographically mixed population being located directly adjacent to a very wealthy neighborhood. Recent attempts to "revitalize" the neighborhood have been prompted by the creation of a large marina right next to the area under study, with many members of the marina club attempting to purchase property and to build homes within the poorer neighborhood. In addition to this obvious conflict, there has been a high amount of drug usage in the area, causing a police crackdown on residents which was obvious to the primary interviewer in her two weeks spent in the area conducting the necessary interviews. Ethnic breakdown in the area includes Blacks, Mexican-Americans, some illegal aliens, poor whites, Orientals and some remaining members of the previously predominant artist colony which thrived there in the 1950's and early 1960's.

The ghetto area of Newark, New Jersey is located in an area which was the core area for the riot activity of 1967. Predominantly

Black in ethnic make-up, the area shows signs of deterioration in its buildings, supports a high rate of unemployment, a high crime rate, large number of one-parent families, and crowded schools. The largest number of residents are concentrated in the federal and city operated high rise housing projects, of which there are eight located on the hill. The respondents in this survey were mostly residents of the high rise housing projects, with a sample gathered from the nearby older homes which have the same problems with crime, unemployment and crowding. The majority of the housing projects located in Newark are 11 or more stories in height, with two separate addresses per building (and two separate entrances), with eight apartments on each floor on each side of the building. The buildings are serviced by elevators, which often do not work, and at the time of the survey, the tenants of several of the buildings had been on rent strike against the city for over three years due to a long list of grievances.

The area of the Bronx under study is the Morrisania Homes housing project, one of the largest high rise housing projects in the city of New York. Morrisania Homes is one of four housing projects built side-by-side adjacent to the Third Avenue "EL" (elevated train) several years ago. It is tenanted by approximately 45 percent Black, 45 percent Puerto Rican and 10 percent other (mostly elderly Jewish) residents. A high crime rate, lack of recreational facilities for youth, crowded schools, etc., also characterize this area. The projects are constructed much like those in Newark, except that the largest ones are 16 floors in height.

An exact translation of the English language version of the questionnaire was made by a Mexican-American nun, Sister Carmen Rodriguez, a former student in Mexican-American Graduate Studies at San Jose State University. A pre-test of the questionnaire had already shown that certain questions needed revision in order to be understood by a wider educational level, and to eliminate ambiguity. No Spanish-language version of the pre-test was attempted. It was discovered in interviewing that there was a need to substitute certain synonymous words for words used in the questionnaire as printed. These words were uniformly substituted when necessary, and seemed to need to be used where Mexican-American and Puerto Rican terms differed, or when the English words being used were not common expressions in the particular city being studied. In other words, some words which were commonly used to mean one thing in San Jose were not understood by residents of the Bronx or Newark. Once satisfactory substitutes were obtained, these words were always substituted so that uniformity was achieved.

The media under study in the survey were television and newspapers only. No particular television stations or networks were named in the study, but the predominant newspapers of each city were mentioned by name. All newspapers were English-language papers, with the one exception of Diario, the "picture paper" which is widely read in the Spanish-speaking community of New York. In the New York data, there is wide variance between those surveys conducted in English and those in Spanish, which can largely be attributed to the fact that the Spanish-speaking (Puerto Rican) respondents were evaluating Diario,

whereas the English-speaking respondents were evaluating the New York Herald.

The newspaper under study in Newark was the Star-Ledger, the largest circulation paper in that city. The Star-Ledger is a monopoly paper which purports to serve all of the citizens of Newark, but which has a direct slant toward the white residents, in spite of the high concentration of Blacks in the total population of the city.

In Venice, it was discovered that the majority of the residents were readers of the Los Angeles Times, and this was the newspaper which was studied there. Unlike the other cities surveyed, Los Angeles has a fairly substantial number of publications available to readers seeking reporting of general news. In most instances, though, the respondents were referring to the Times, as this was the most commonly read of the journals.

The publication which was studied in San Jose was the San Jose Mercury-News, a near monopoly publication. In nearly every case, this was the newspaper read by the respondents, although the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle are readily available in the city. It was most generally felt that the Mercury-News reported news about San Jose and the San Francisco papers reported about that city.

Formation of the questionnaire took place over a period of several months. Its translation into Spanish may be the first such translation of this sort of questionnaire ever to take place. It was felt, though, that this Spanish version would be necessary in order to obtain opinions from a significant number of persons who were unable to speak English adequately or understand the news in English fully.

Throughout the survey period, the Spanish version was used frequently and whenever English presented any difficulty in the interviews.

Sampling Procedures

Sampling procedures involved choosing a street within the target area, beginning with the first house, and continuing until someone answered the door and was willing to respond. This became house number one of the interviewing sector. The next door to be tried was at the fifth house after house number one. If there was no response, then the interviewer reversed and went to the fourth house and so on, until someone was willing to respond. Although this method was not terribly refined, it was felt that the sampling method was consistent, and that it would yield a random sample. Additionally, at each residence surveyed, all persons present who were over the age of 18 were asked if they were willing to respond and questionnaires were filled out for each of those who said they were willing. This enabled the interviewer to conduct several interviews simultaneously, which saved time, and also gave a slightly larger sample for the same reason. Only in a few cases did the responses of the other person being interviewed seem to have a direct effect on the responses of a second respondent. This was more the case in the Mexican-American and the Puerto Rican households where the wife sometimes seemed afraid or at least cautious of contradicting her husband.

The method of contacting the respondents was door-to-door and in person. Upon getting a response (often through a closed door), the interviewer would ask, "Do you have a few minutes to answer some

questions?" If the respondent answered with the question, "About what?" as was usually the case, the interviewer would begin to state the information which appears at the top of the questionnaire. In over 90 percent of the cases where someone would acknowledge being at home, they would allow the interviewer in the door. In only one case did a respondent begin to answer the questions and then change her mind. In that instance, the responses beyond that point were all recorded as "C" (neutral or "I don't know") and the interview was terminated.

The interviewer was careful not to state the specific reason for the survey until the survey was completed. It was felt that there might be a bias which could not be controlled for if the respondents knew that the survey was to be used in the Department of Administration of Justice at San Jose State University. Often, at the end of the interviews, when this fact was stated, the respondents commented in a favorable way toward the police in light of the fact that someone from the area of law enforcement was interested in their point of view regarding the police and their behavior.

In this study, the variables are (dependent) community tension and (independent) relationships between police and the public as measured through personal contact situations and contact through the mass media. Additionally, all data were considered on the basis of the five variables mentioned earlier. In the income level category, the earliest portions of the survey conducted (Newark and New York) were in the summer of 1972 and the results of that question are significantly lower than those of the Los Angeles (Venice) and the San Jose

areas, conducted in the spring of 1972 and the winter of 1976 respectively. When these factors are considered by the reader, it should be remembered that the lower level of income in 1972 was considered poverty level, whereas the second category is more accurately poverty level in the latter cities.

The problem under study is significant for a large number of reasons. First of all, the subject is timely because tensions do exist and the need to relieve them is extremely important to prevent more riots of the type which have been experienced in recent times. Secondly, the use of several cities as the sample will enable the information gathered to be more widely applicable. Since two of the cities being studied have a high Black population ratio, the study will show some very important aspects of the race relations problem. No previous research has attempted to link the mass media to the problem of police-community relations in a methodical manner. Recently, there have been a couple of random articles in newspapers regarding television shows about police and the fact that they have an influence on the general public's attitude toward the police. But the content of these programs has not been specifically studied and evaluated by ghetto and barrio residents. Additionally, there is a need for some action to rectify the situation soon.

It is hoped that the information gathered in this study will enable some positive action program relating police-community relations to mass media programming in the future. It must be pointed out that a significant number of ghetto and barrio residents spend a large amount of their time watching television and that they also form a

significant percentage of the readership of newspapers in large metropolitan areas. There is a pressing need for the media to discover the interests of this percentage of the readership and to provide stories and programming of interest to them, not just what they think they want to have (i.e. simply increasing the number of Black actors does not satisfy the needs of ghetto residents to hear stories about their own lifestyle).

Although some of the information gathered has been previously known, a new body of knowledge is also being introduced. Use of a bilingual questionnaire will allow for the first consideration of the Spanish-speaking population in the area of the mass media and police-related news.

Previous Research

The literature on the problem tends to indicate that the only way to improve police-community relations is enlightening the police. This viewpoint is expressed in Boskin, Isenberg, Masotti, Parker, Rossi, and also in the U.S. Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders report of 1968.¹ There is reason to believe that this is not wholly true. The relations between police and community are not always a one-way street. The community often has responsibility for the tension--a responsibility that they share with the police. A third factor, which has not previously been introduced, is the influence of the mass media on perceptions. This survey has attempted to survey the attitudes of ghetto

¹Joseph Boskin, Urban Racial Violence in the Twentieth Century, 2nd Ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, c. 1976); Irwin Isenberg, ed., The City in Crisis (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1968); Louis H. Masotti, Riots and Rebellion: Civil Violence in the Urban Community

and barrio residents as formed by newspapers, television news coverage, and television series depicting police in action.

Previous research has failed to go into such depth regarding police-community relations. There is evidence of tension in most major cities at this time, and the tension has been spreading to the suburbs. What is the underlying factor for the lack of trust of the police which manifested itself so violently in the riots of the 1960's and 1970's? Are the police entirely to blame for this? Or does their portrayal in the press make a difference in their image as far as the public they serve is concerned? What implications are there for the future? These questions will be explored in this paper.

Many recommendations have been presented previously,² to aid police-community relations: Put the police on walking beats, recruit more minority members and put them in the ghettos, etc. These suggestions came up in the course of the interviews. But it must be pointed out that, in certain cases, the respondents stated specifically that the police were afraid to walk in the ghetto areas, and that they didn't blame them for this fear. Also, some respondents felt that the worst

(Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage Publications, 1968); Thomas F. Parker, Violence in the United States (New York: Facts on File, 1974); Peter Henry Rossi, Ghetto Revolts (Chicago: Aldin Publishing Co., 1970); and U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

²Saul Bernstein, Alternatives to Violence: Alienated Youth and Riots, Race and Poverty (New York: Association Press, 1967); David Boesel, ed., Cities Under Siege: An Anatomy of the Ghetto Riots, 1964-1968 (New York: Basic Books, 1970); James W. Button, Black Violence: Political Impact of the 1960's Riots (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c1978); Terry Ann Knopf, Rumors, Race and Riots (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1975); and Benjamin D. Singer, Black Rioters: A Study of Social Factors and Communication in the Detroit Riot (Washington: College and University Press, 1975).

police officers were often members of their own race who used their uniforms to carry out grudges against people without being punished for it. In three cases, a specific Black officer was named as an example of a policeman whose attitude was "worse than the whites".

The interview technique allowed for some discovery of whether the public (as defined in this survey) felt that putting the police on walking beats would help. Although no specific question addressed itself to this issue, several people did mention it in their responses to the summary question at the end. A diligent attempt was made to avoid suggesting to the respondents any particular solutions, and to get them to suggest what they felt the major problems were, and to discuss the alternative solutions to those problems.

Due to time and cost limitations, it was impossible to use census data to select a representative sample, but it was felt that the sample which was obtained was done in a random fashion and is very nearly a "typical" sample of the residents of the area under study. It was discovered that most residents relied on the media for their primary impressions regarding the police and crime, with a secondary source being word-of-mouth. Due to the fact that the majority of the interviews were conducted by one interviewer, it is hoped that no gross errors resulted from any inconsistency in interviewing technique.

The quantitative variables used in this study are both the number of people falling into each category and the number of responses under each type of category within individual questions. Qualitative variables are the relations between police and the public (as defined for the purposes of this study) as related to the responses of the

public being surveyed. The public is defined as residents of the ghetto or barrio areas of each of the four U.S. cities under study for purposes of this report.

The pre-test determined that a refining of questions for computerized tallying was necessary and that the phrasing of questions for simplicity was necessary. Vocabulary was carefully checked to avoid the use of weighted words within the questions, except where the question was used to determine if the use of such words would change the opinions of readers regarding the story. The final questionnaire takes into account the fact that certain vocabulary words might not be understood by persons with lower educational levels. Caution has been taken in the oral interviews to find suitable substitute words which do not change the meaning of the questions but which will explain them more fully if a word or phrase is not understood by the respondent.

Approximately 90 man hours were spent on the pre-test and the administration of the final questionnaire took 240 man hours, spread over a period of time. The pre-test was conducted in San Jose, only, but the final questionnaire was administered in all four of the cities under study.

Cost of the survey was over \$1800, with no available funding from outside sources. This necessitated the paring of number of staff to administer the questionnaire, as well as the reduction in size of sample. It became impossible to go into greater depth by using census data (which might not have been accurate, due to population mobility), by conducting a complete survey of the newspapers under study, or by discussing the issues with the local police. All of these possibilities

had been considered but, due to financial and time limitations, were not carried out. There is a need to conduct such surveys in the future.

No observational materials were used in the interviews, since it was felt that pictorial information would influence the respondents to focus on specific stories, whereas it was hoped that they would relate their concepts to a wider range of information which comes to them continuously through the media.

Trial and revision of the plan took place in the spring of 1972, and the first interviews (Newark and New York) were conducted in summer 1972. Although some time passed during the conducting of the interviews, it is unfortunately the case that very little has changed in any of the neighborhoods under study during the eight years since the research began. The only significant changes which have taken place occurred in San Jose, the last city to be studied (winter of 1976-77). Those changes involved an effort at urban renewal which consisted mainly of widening streets and putting in a few sidewalks on the periphery of the Mayfair area. Most of the residents of the area were not affected by these changes.

The following chapters are arranged by city, with separate tabulations being conducted for each of the cities under study. Certain ethnographic factors within each city under study make the information regarding that city's residents applicable to certain other cities in the United States. Where these factors have an influence on the responses, this fact is pointed out and analyzed. It is hoped that the arrangement of data in this fashion will enable persons operating in the law enforcement or journalism areas within other cities to

discover the changes which the public feels are needed to improve police-community relations in a city of that particular type.

The final chapter, the conclusion, attempts to relate responses within the individual cities to one another and to determine whether any factors not previously known have been learned through this research. Recommended changes in mass media reporting of police-related occurrences will be listed, and the manner in which they might improve relations between police and the community will be explained on the basis of the data.

Before concluding this introductory chapter, the most significant finding of the research must be mentioned. That finding is that the greater majority of ghetto and barrio residents stated more favorable impressions of the police than anticipated. In reading the following data, the reader should take this factor into account. Additionally, the most common statement regarding the media was that they should "be more accurate in their reporting". Nearly 60 percent of all respondents made this statement in response to the last question. Whether the impression made by the media is accurate or not seems to be a significant determinant of the way ghetto and barrio residents feel about the police who serve them.

CHAPTER II

NEWARK: BLACK GHETTO IN GOVERNMENT HOUSING

The city of Newark, New Jersey, was chosen as typical of a predominantly Black ghetto for purposes of the study. The city itself has a very high percentage of Black residents, with outlying suburban areas having a mixture of white and Black residents. The ghetto area is located on the hill overlooking the downtown area. The skyline consists predominantly of high-rise government-run housing projects. The shells of burned-out houses and the vacant lots which separate them from the run-down tenements surrounding the housing projects become visible upon approaching the ghetto area.

Bounded by West Market Street on the East, Clifton Avenue on the West, Hunterdon Street on the North and High Street on the South, the ghetto actually covers an even wider area, but its worst traces, as well as its most dense population, are concentrated here. The cause for this density is the large number of high-rise housing projects, which include Scudder Homes, Stella Wright Houses, Felix Fuld Homes, and others.

Interviews were conducted mostly in the housing project buildings, where the greatest ghettoization exists. The interview period was the summer of 1972. The weather was quite hot and the actual response at the doors was only about one apartment per floor. The

buildings were randomly chosen and once a building was selected, all doors were knocked upon, according to the random sampling technique. The doors on each floor were numbered alphabetically and the first door knocked upon was apartment "A". If there was any response, the next door to be knocked upon would be door "E". If there had been no response at door "A", then door "D" was next, and backwards to doors "C" and "B" if no answers came. If door "E" responded, the next door would be found on the next floor according to the plan (four doors away from the response door). Residents of the surrounding houses were surveyed in a similar manner.

The research assistant, Mr. Jonas Cowles, Jr., gathered 32 of the Newark interviews, of a total of 150. His responses were checked with those of the primary interviewer to verify their consistency by age, sex, ethnicity, etc., and found to be quite consistent. A two-day intensive training of Mr. Cowles took place prior to the onset of the interviewing.

Once the interviews were gathered, the data was fed into the computer system at San Jose State University, where the program called Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was utilized. According to the compiled data, there were 147 Blacks, one Mexican-American, one Puerto Rican and one white respondent in the Newark sample. There were 55 men and 95 women, an indication of the high rate of desertion, divorce and other sociological factors which tend to be requisite to residing in government housing. Of the respondents, 73 had completed the eleventh or twelfth grade, 31 had completed ninth or tenth grade, 32 had an eighth grade education or less. There were

five respondents with one year of college and another nine who had completed more than two years of college work; this figure is less than 10 percent of the sample.

The greatest number of respondents were in the age category of 36-45 (31 respondents), with 21 falling into the youngest category surveyed (18-21 years), 20 into the 22-26 age range, and 20 into the 27-30 category. There were 19 respondents in the 46-60 year old age group and 17 who stated that they were over 60. No responses were taken from persons under the age of 18, for the reason that younger people often do not take surveys seriously and that they are still in the process of formulating their opinions. It might be noted that the responses of the youngest age group probably tended to reflect some of this formulating process as well.

The most significant piece of raw data collected was that 49 of the respondents stated their gross annual family income to be under \$3,000. This was 32.7 percent of all the Newark respondents. A total of 31 listed their income as \$3,000-5,000. There were 23 respondents whose stated income was between \$5,001 and \$6,500, while 34 said their income was between \$6,501 and \$8,500. Of the 150 Newark respondents, only 13, or 8.7 percent, stated that their annual gross family income was over \$8,500.

It was shown by the statistical data that the people whose income level was in the lowest category had a significantly higher rate of television viewing than all of the other categories (75.5 percent watched the news on television daily; 44.9 percent watched between 5-10

hours of television daily) and that a high percentage (67.4 percent) felt either anger at, or distrust of, the police whenever they saw the police using force to make an arrest on television. In addition, 51 percent of the respondents in this income group felt that the image of the police portrayed on television is that of the "good guy," while none felt that they were shown to be "kind of tough" or a "bully". Conversely, 34.7 percent felt that the television image of the police was totally inaccurate compared to real life.

If the two lower income groups are combined, a total of 49 respondents, or nearly one third of the sample, stated that they see the police several times daily, as compared to only 14 persons who fell into these income groups and stated that they only rarely see the police in their neighborhood. In all other income levels, the distribution of responses was fairly even among all categories possible for that question. The chance of seeing the police is higher among the unemployed, many of whom are reflected in the low-income statistics.

In spite of the higher rate of visibility of the police to those persons with lower stated income levels, only a slightly higher number of respondents in the lower categories of income stated that they had seen the police "rough up" people in their area. This is encouraging information, since those who are unemployed may be assumed to be more hostile toward police, as they often figure higher in police statistics.

But, in spite of that encouraging response, 40 respondents in the lower two income categories felt that the police "never" went out of their way to help people in that neighborhood, as compared to only

16 respondents who registered that response in the other three income groups.

Therefore, it appears that the opinion of the ghetto residents in all income groups combined was that the police cannot be depended upon to go out of their way to help the residents, but that they do not abuse the people by beating them up frequently. In spite of this, the police of Newark were not particularly popular with the Newark residents, eliciting a response to the question, "What do you think of the police in your neighborhood?" of 34.7 percent (52 people) stating "They're okay," and 33.3 percent (50 people) stating "I feel neutral about them." Also, in response to that question, 19 people (12.7 percent) in the sample said that they could "get along without them" and the other five indicated that they "hate" the police.

Responses by Income Level

By income level, the responses to this question can be broken down as follows: In the lower two income categories, only 10 people liked the police, 33 said they were okay, 23 felt neutral about them, while 11 said they could "get along without them" and three stated that they hated them. All three of these last respondents were in the lowest income group. In the other three income groups, only two indicated a hatred for the police, while a total of 13 said they could "get along without them," 27 felt neutral and 19 said they were okay. A total of nine stated that they liked the police in their neighborhood.

In the set of two news stories which the respondents were asked to evaluate, there was a significantly higher response rate in the

negative response categories from those persons in the lower two income groups. Five respondents in these two groups (under \$5,000 per year) stated that they didn't like the police actions in the first story, while only five respondents so stated in the other three categories combined. Additionally, and even more significantly, 55 respondents in the two lowest income groups felt the police had overstepped their limits in the first story, while this was the case in only 29 of the other respondents' answers.

In contrast to this, 55 respondents in the lower income groups stated they liked the police or that the police were "okay" in the second story, while only 14 had felt this way about the first story. When we look at the negative response categories in the lower two income levels regarding their opinion of the police behavior in the second story, we note that only 10 respondents felt the police had overstepped their limits or that they didn't like them at all.

Eleven respondents in the upper three income categories still gave negative answers to this question regarding the second story, whereas the figure for the first story was 34 such responses. This means that two-thirds of the upper income respondents were influenced by a change in the manner of reporting a police-related incident, whereas four-fifths of the lower income respondents were influenced by such a change.

Another area which was influenced by the income level factor was the arrest record of respondents. In the lower two income groups, 56 of the respondents had never been arrested, compared with 36 in the three upper income groups combined. Eight of the lower income group

respondents stated that they had been arrested more than three times, while 18 of the upper-income respondents stated this was the case. This was contrary to interviewer expectations.

Of those in the lower income groups, 39 stated that no member of their family had been arrested. Thirty-six in the upper three income groups had no member of their family who had been arrested. In the lowest income group, 12 stated that a member of their family had been arrested once, five said twice, two said three or four times, and eight listed five or more incidents of arrest of family members. In the second income group, there were 17 who indicated there had never been an arrest of a family member, and four listed only one such arrest. Three stated there had been two such arrests and five listed three or four such arrests, while two said there had been more than five such arrests. This gives us a total of 10 in the two lower income groups who listed family member arrests of more than five times, and 39 who listed no such arrests. The comparable statistics in the three upper income groups are five in the "5 or more times" category, and 26 in the "never" arrested category. Contrary to expectations, then, there is not a significantly higher arrest record for lower income categories than for the higher ones, although a slight difference can be seen. This factor may be made more clear if we consider that many of the lower income respondents are older people on fixed incomes.

Of all respondents, over two-thirds (102 people) said that there was no police brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested. Eight said the police only reacted to the person being arrested resisting arrest. Eleven stated that they did not know

if there was any brutality. Nine respondents stated that there was "possibly" some brutality, but 20 stated that this was "definitely" not the case. Of the last group of respondents, 18 of the 20 were in the three income categories under \$6,500 per year. All other respondents to this question were very evenly distributed among all income categories.

Responses by Educational Level

When responses were evaluated on the criterion of education, a somewhat different picture emerged. Seventy-four of the 150 respondents stated that they read the newspaper once a day, while an additional 16 stated they read the paper twice a day. A total of 31 read the paper (which in all reported cases was the Star-Ledger) three times or more per week, while 19 read it once or twice a week and only 10 stated that they rarely or never read it. Of these last 10 respondents, six were in the lowest educational group (less than eighth grade education) and the other four had completed eleventh or twelfth grade. A total of only 14 respondents stated that they had completed one year or more of college, and only four of these read the newspaper less than once a day. Of the other respondents, the greatest readership was 36 respondents in the eleventh-twelfth grade category, who read the paper daily. The greatest number of respondents (73 people) were in that educational level response group. This means that over half of the respondents in the Newark sample with a high school education read the paper once a day or twice a day. Interestingly enough, this was also true of the other categories, without exception. No consistent readership patterns

could be ascertained by educational level, except that a higher education seemed to lead to a higher probability of reading the newspaper frequently. There was insufficient data to form any final opinion on this factor.

When respondents were asked if they read the news about the police and about crime, they also seemed to follow no consistent pattern of readership, although 85 stated they "often" or "always" read such news. An additional 46 stated they "sometimes" read this police-related news, while only 11 "rarely" read it, and only eight claimed to "never" read it. The only conclusion to be drawn from these two questions is that ghetto residents in Newark tend to read the news, and to pay attention to news about the police, regardless of their educational level.

The next question asked "Is crime in your neighborhood reported accurately in the newspaper?" The Star-Ledger scored fairly poor on this question, with 31 people stating the news was "totally inaccurate," 41 rating it as "not very accurate," 37 saying it was "neutral," 25 saying it was "sort of accurate," and only 16 believing neighborhood crime news was reported "very accurately". More than two thirds of the respondents with an eleventh-twelfth grade education (57 people) stated that such reporting was "neutral" to "totally inaccurate". In this respect, they resembled the less than eighth grade educational category, while the ninth-tenth grade group gave the newspaper a slightly higher rating, with 16 respondents out of the 31 saying the reporting was "sort of" or "very" accurate. It was impossible to determine whether the reading skills of the respondents had anything to do with their perception of the accuracy of the stories.

The next question asked if there was a consistent picture of the police portrayed in the newspaper. Over one-third of the respondents (55) felt the image was not very consistent, while 35 felt it was very consistent, 21 felt it was sort of consistent, 32 felt it was neutral, and only seven stated it was totally inconsistent. The only obviously differing figure in this question's responses was that 30 persons in the eleventh to twelfth grade group felt it was not very consistent, contributing over half of the 55 in that category. This educational group, as was stated earlier, had a total of 73 respondents.

On the next question, more than four-fifths of the respondents (122 of 150) felt that the image of the police in the paper was as good guys, not too bad, or neutral fellows. Only 28 stated that the newspaper showed the police as sometimes too rough or as violent men. The educational level of respondents made little difference on this question. When asked how accurate the image was in respect to real life, 45 respondents stated the newspaper accounts were very accurate, 31 stated the images were "sometimes true" and 22 felt neutral regarding the question. An additional 26 felt that the image of police portrayed in the Star-Ledger was "not very true" in respect to real life and another 26 felt it was "not at all true". Since these responses were fairly evenly split among all educational groups, it was felt that the factor of education had very little relation to opinions on this variable.

When the sample story which depicted the police using force to make an arrest was read to the respondents, significantly more than half (84 of 150) felt they were overstepping their limits in the story,

and another 10 said they didn't like them at all. In the story, "the police went in with guns drawn, breaking down the door, because they 'expected anything to happen'." A total of 18 respondents gave a neutral response to the question, 30 said the police were "okay" and another eight stated that the police in the story were "nice guys". Half of those saying the police were "nice guys" had less than an eighth grade education, while 23 of the 32 respondents in the under eighth grade level felt that the police had overstepped their limits. This is over two-thirds of the respondents in that category. In the other categories, this response choice commanded responses from about half the respondents. It appears that the less-educated group of respondents were somewhat more offended by an "overstepping of limits" in the use of police powers.

When the second story, a re-write of the first story which gave more clear-cut reasons for the police action and did not mention doors being broken down or the police drawing their guns, was read, the respondents significantly reversed their opinions regarding police behavior. This time, 65 of the 150 respondents stated the police were "okay" and 28 said they were "nice guys". In this case, 36 felt neutral about the police, only 18 felt they had overstepped their limits, and three disliked the police in the story. All three who disliked the police had an eleventh to twelfth grade education. No other significant data appeared in the results of this question. It can be concluded that differing presentations of the same data regarding police-related incidents can significantly change the opinions of all readers of such accounts. Members of the mass media, therefore, have the power

to influence opinions of ghetto residents in regard to the police who serve their area.

The overwhelming majority of respondents (92 of the 150) stated they had never been arrested. Only 12 had been arrested five or more times. There were 19 who had been arrested once, 13 who had been arrested twice, and 14 who had been arrested three or four times. These statistics were fairly well distributed among all educational groups, but a slightly skewed result showed up when 48 of the 73 respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group stated that they had never been arrested. This was 52.2 percent of the respondents who had never been arrested. In addition, although the data on people with greater amounts of education is not abundant, there seemed to be a relationship between greater education and the tendency to have avoided arrest.

When the respondents were asked about the number of times their family members were arrested, 75 of them stated that no member of their family had ever been arrested. In 26 of the cases, they had only one arrest in the family. There were 17 who noted two arrests of family members, another 17 who noted three or four such arrests and only 15 who noted five or more arrests. Again, the eleventh to twelfth grade category had the highest frequency (48 percent or 36 respondents) who had never been arrested. But, unless we know whether all of the family members have the same level of education as the respondent, these data cannot be evaluated on this criterion.

When asked whether there was any police brutality in these cases, 102 said there was none, while eight said the police had reacted

to the person resisting arrest. There were 11 who said they didn't know, nine who said there possibly was, and 20 who said there definitely was. Of the respondents with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 46 of the 73 (63 percent) said there was none. The surprising statistic was that 25 of the 32 respondents with a less than eighth grade education said there was no police brutality. Also, 10 of the respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade category felt there was definitely brutality in the arrest cases of themselves or family members. Although the majority clearly felt that police brutality had not directly affected them or their families, the number who felt their relatives or they had possibly or definitely experienced police brutality is sufficiently high to show cause for concern (a total of 29 respondents, or 19 percent). This becomes even more alarming when we recall that a separate category was set aside for reactions of the police to the person resisting arrest.

Another alarming set of responses was found when the next question was analyzed. Over one-fifth of the respondents (35 or 23.3 percent) stated that members of their family were "sometimes" hit or shoved by the police, and eight said they or members of their family were "often" hit by the police. Only 78 respondents to this question said members of their family were never hit by the police. Although this is more than half, even if we add the 14 respondents who said "probably not" and the 15 who didn't know whether a member of their family had been hit by the police, we only account for 71.3 percent of the respondents. More than a quarter of all the respondents, regardless

of education, stated that this sort of occurrence sometimes or often took place.

In spite of the responses to the previous question, 86 people stated that the police never talked abusively to them or to their families. Another 14 said the police only rarely talked abusively to them or to their families. Another five said the police always talked abusively to them, and 29 said they sometimes did. This is nearly one-sixth of the respondents. Responses to this question did not seem to be so much affected by the criterion of education.

Nearly one-third (49 or 32.7 percent) of the respondents said the police "possibly" or "definitely" pick on people who live in their neighborhood. A total of 35 people could not say whether this was the case, 41 said it probably was not the case, and 25 said it was definitely not the case. No more than one-third of the respondents in any educational group responded in any single category, so it was concluded that education did not have a significant effect on whether the people perceive the police as treating them differently from people in other neighborhoods.

Probably the most significant factor about responses to the next question is that over one-third of all respondents (55 of the 150) watched over five hours of television per day. Another 39 (26 percent) watched between three and five hours per day. Of the five respondents who "never" watched television, all had less than a twelfth grade education. There were no other significant statistics regarding education and this question.

When asked how many of five selected television programs about the police they watched or were familiar with, 30 said they knew all five, 36 knew four of them, 30 knew three, 26 knew two and 28 only knew one or knew none of them. Again, no more than one-third of the respondents in any educational group gave any single response and, therefore, education was not found to significantly influence these responses.

On the other hand, 90 respondents stated they watched the news daily and only 19 said they rarely or never watched the news. Only 10 watched the news once weekly, while 31 watched the news at least twice a week but not daily. Lower educational level seems positively correlated with frequent news-watching, but not to any significant degree. Where 68.8 percent of the under eighth grade educated group watched the news daily, this compares favorably with the overall daily viewership of 60 percent. The only category rating higher was three years of college, where three of the four respondents (75 percent) watched the news daily.

The satisfaction of respondents with television news reporting of their neighborhood was extremely low. A total of 23.3 percent (35 people) stated the news programs never reported news related to their neighborhood, while 68, or 45.3 percent, stated it appeared only rarely. Ten respondents believed the news daily related to their neighborhood and 18 said it did so often, giving a total of 18.7 percent who seemed pleased with the amount of news appearing about their neighborhood. The less-educated groups had a fairly low opinion of news coverage about their neighborhood. Also, four of the five people in the one year of college group and three of the four people in the three years of

college group said that the news never reported anything about their neighborhood.

In the accuracy question which followed, 20 said news reports about their neighborhood were very accurate, 43 said they were somewhat accurate, 39 rated them as neutral, 28 said they were not too accurate, and 20 said they were totally inaccurate. No clear pattern of response emerged from this question when analyzed by educational level.

Only 11 percent of respondents believed all news shows on television showed the police as disliking people who live in the ghetto, and 23 percent believed most news shows indicate that police dislike ghetto residents. A total of 38 said they did not know if this is shown. The interviewer noted that several of the respondents made additional comments in the course of answering this question. One which was typical was, "No, they don't show it; they try to hide it ... well, they don't show it very much!" The results on this question had no significance when evaluated on the criterion of education.

More than half of all respondents (62.7 percent) said they were angry at the police or distrusted the police when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest. Responses here were also divided evenly by educational level. Many respondents stated again that the "t.v. doesn't show much of that"--even when it does happen. A certain distrust of the television news medium was becoming evident, although not adequately substantiated by the data gathered.

Returning to the television series about the police, 42.7 percent of the respondents felt that the series portrayed the police in

a consistent manner. Almost all respondents felt that the image of the police was that of a good guy (60 people) on the programs, while 32 people said police were depicted as not such bad guys, and 40 people said they were shown to be neutral fellows. Only 11 felt police were shown as "kind of a tough guy" and seven felt the image was that of a bully. Education was not a significant factor here, either.

The degree of accuracy of this image was spread fairly evenly between the five possible categories, which ranged from very accurate to not at all accurate, but it may be noted that only 37.3 percent (56 people) felt the image was accurate, while 46 percent (69 people) felt it was not. The rest felt neutral on this matter.

Of all respondents, 38.7 percent (58 people) said that they would think the police were really nice guys if television were the only means they had of forming this opinion. Everyone who was asked this question was also told to forget personal experiences while giving their responses, and most noted that this was very difficult to do. Persons with lower than eighth grade education had the best opinions from television presentation of the police, with 53.1 percent of them saying the police on television were "really nice guys". All other categories were evenly divided by educational level. We may conclude from the data that a lower educational level might lead a viewer to be more easily influenced by the "propaganda approach" to news reporting.

In the final section on personal experience, 68 respondents said they saw the police in their neighborhood several times a day, 39 said they saw the police regularly, 11 did not know how frequently they saw the police, 25 said they rarely saw the police and seven said they never

saw the police. Those with the lowest educational levels had the highest frequency of seeing the police, which can be attributed to two factors--unemployment and the fact that many of the people in this group were elderly, and had less educational opportunity or were at home because they were no longer working. But it should be noted that all five respondents in the one year of college category saw the police regularly or frequently. There were not enough respondents with higher education to evaluate any trends here.

When asked how often they saw the police roughing people up who lived in their neighborhood, 57 respondents (38 percent of the sample) said they never saw this happen, 38 said they only rarely saw it, but 23 said they often saw this and 19 said they sometimes saw it. Contrary to expectations, 18 of the 32 respondents in the lowest income group (or 56.2 percent) said they never saw the police roughing-up people in the neighborhood. This can be seen as encouraging, since these people who are home most of the time might be expected to witness more incidents of this sort and to have a more negative opinion of the police. This was contrary to expectations. There were no other significant statistics in regard to this question and the variable of education.

When asked if the police in their neighborhood went out of their way to help people, 54 respondents said they never do, 19 said they rarely do, 28 said they don't know about this, 39 said they sometimes do and ten said they often do. This last figure is only 6.7 percent and only includes one of the 32 respondents with less than an

eighth grade education. A total of 15, or 46.9 percent, of the lowest educational group said the police never go out of their way to help people in that neighborhood. This was the lowest score of any educational group on this criterion. It appears that less educated respondents in the Newark sample are not angry with the police, but are not really satisfied with them, either.

In spite of the previous responses, 52 of the respondents (34.7 percent) said that the police in their neighborhood were okay, 19 said they liked the police, and 50 said they felt neutral about the police. There were 24 who said they could "get along without them" and five who stated they hated them. Of the last five, two were in the lowest educational group, three were in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group. All other responses were evenly distributed by education.

Responses by Sex

The next variable considered was the sex of the respondents. There were 55 men and 95 women in the Newark sample. Of all respondents, 74 read the paper daily. Of these, 48 were women and 26 were men. This was 50 percent and 47.3 percent respectively. This variable (sex) had no bearing on the responses to this question. Statistics on whether the respondents read stories about the police or crime also showed no significant influence when sex was the variable under study.

When accuracy of newspaper accounts about the police was questioned, the men registered a far more negative opinion about the accuracy of such accounts, with 34.5 percent (19 men) saying they were not very accurate and 23.6 percent (13 men) stating they were totally inaccurate.

This is a total of 58.1 percent of the male respondents. Of the women, 22 stated the reports were not very accurate and 18 said they were totally inaccurate. This accounted for only 42.5 percent of all women in the response group. Of the women, 27 said they felt such stories were neutral. On this question, the men seemed more willing to condemn the job done by reporters than did the women.

There was not any clear-cut difference in response rate of men and women in regard to the question of whether a consistent picture of the police existed in the newspaper, or of what sort of image the newspapers showed of the police. Men and women were also in close agreement regarding the accuracy of the newspaper image of police as compared to real-life situations.

In response to the question regarding the first news story, which portrayed the police as breaking down a door and entering with guns drawn, the men felt slightly more favorable about the police in the story than did the women, with 25.5 percent saying the police were okay and 7.3 percent saying they were nice guys. The women, on the other hand, gave a response of nice guys in only 4.3 percent of the cases, and of okay in only 17 percent of the cases. Also, 58.5 percent of the women felt the police had overstepped their limits, and only 52.7 percent of the men felt this way. Thus, the women seemed slightly more inclined to accept strong tactics being used by the police in making an arrest than did the men.

In the second story, where the opinion of most respondents regarding police behavior shifted to a more favorable one, the male

opinion of the police remained higher in all categories except the highest one, than did the female opinion. In the category of "nice guys" only three men changed their opinion to that response, while 17 women did so. This indicates that the mere factor of force being used by the police in the capture of criminals has a negative influence on the women. A change in news reporting would influence female opinions of the police more than it would the male opinions. It is also interesting to note that none of the men stated that they didn't like the police at all in the second story, whereas three of the women still felt this way.

As might be expected, the percentage of arrests for men was triple that of women, although 32.7 percent of the men stated that they had never been arrested. Five of the women and seven of the men had been arrested five or more times. Of the women, 77.7 percent stated they had never been arrested. The statistics for the number of arrests of family members were very nearly identical for the male and the female respondents.

When police brutality in the above-stated arrest incidents was questioned, 21.8 percent of the men stated it definitely took place, and only 8.5 percent of the women so stated. Other statistics were not so widely varied on this question.

When asked if they or members of their family were hit or shoved by the police, 7.4 percent of the women and only 1.8 percent of the men said this happened often, but 38.2 percent of the men and only 14.9 percent of the women said it happened sometimes, while 59.6 percent of the women and 40 percent of the men said it never happened.

When asked if there was any police brutality in the above cases, 21.8 percent of the men and only 8.5 percent of the women said there was. But all other statistics were fairly evenly distributed between men and women respondents on the other possible responses to this question.

Very few respondents said that they or members of their family had been hit by the police often, but of these, 7.4 percent of the women said so, and only 1.8 percent of the men said so. Of the women, 59.6 percent said this never happened and 40 percent of the men so stated. Also, 38.2 percent of the men said that this sometimes happened and 14.9 percent of the women stated it sometimes took place.

The women felt much more strongly that the police never talked abusively to them or to their families, with 67.1 percent so stating and only 41.8 percent of the men indicating this response. But 30.9 percent of the men said this sometimes took place and only 12.8 percent of the women said it sometimes did. No other broad differences were noted in these responses on the variable of sex.

Although the responses indicated that the police do not hit the people or talk abusively to them often, 21.8 percent of the men and 9.6 percent of the women said the police definitely pick on people who live in their neighborhood, while all of the other possible responses received fairly even treatment by both sexes. The definition of "pick on" used in the questionnaire was "treat them (residents of your neighborhood) worse than people living in other parts of the city."

The women had a much higher tendency to watch a great number of hours of television, with 41.5 percent of the female and 27.3 percent

of the male respondents watching more than five hours per day, which is the only significant data gathered from the question regarding number of hours viewed.

The distribution of responses to the next question, regarding the five television series about the police, was very even among the five possible responses and among male and female respondents.

Again, male and female respondents gave almost identical responses to the question regarding how often they watched the news. Respondents of both sexes concurred that the news rarely related to their neighborhood, but a slightly larger percentage (27 percent) of the women than of the men (18.2 percent) felt the news never related to their neighborhood.

On the next question, "How accurate is television reporting about the police?" when compared to real life, the men were slightly more inclined (18.2 percent as opposed to 10.6 percent of the women) to believe it was totally wrong, but the women were slightly more inclined (20.2 percent to 16.4 percent) to believe the news was not too accurate. Almost identical percentages of men and of women felt that such news was accurate or somewhat accurate.

On the question of how much of the news shows the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, men and women were in close agreement, with one variance in the "very little" category, where 34.5 percent of the men and only 28.6 percent of the women felt this was the case.

When asked their opinion upon seeing filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, significant differences were

found between male and female respondents. Here 45.5 percent of the men and 34.8 percent of the women felt anger at the police, while only 3.6 percent of the men and 9.6 percent of the women said they wanted to "cheer them on". On the other hand, 20 percent of the men and only 14.9 percent of the women felt that "the police are doing a job they don't really like". It should also be noted that 9.1 percent of the men and 16 percent of the women gave neutral responses to this question, where almost all of them indicated that they would not make any judgment on such police behavior until they had more details.

Men felt more strongly than women (by 49.1 percent as compared to 39.4 percent) that a very consistent image of the police is given in the five named television programs. This is evened out by the "somewhat consistent" category, where 10.9 percent of the men and 18.9 percent of the women responded. All other responses were approximately the same for both sexes.

The men were more inclined to feel that the image was that of a good guy (43.6 percent as against 38.3 percent of the women), while the women were more inclined to list the police as neutral fellows in these shows (18.2 percent male responses and 31.9 percent female responses). Additionally, 14.5 percent of the men and only 3.2 percent of the women felt the shows depict the police as "kind of a tough guy". Men and women were in almost complete agreement regarding the accuracy which was portrayed on these shows.

When the respondents were asked to give their opinion of the police based only on television and newspaper reports, the men had a slightly higher opinion of the police than did the women, with 41.8

percent of them saying they are really nice guys (37.2 percent of the women), and 21.8 percent saying they could understand why they act as they do (13.8 percent of the women). But 10.9 percent of the men and only 4.3 percent of the women felt the media showed them as very bad men who "like to hurt citizens," and 9.1 percent of the men and 17 percent of the women felt that they shouldn't act the way they do. The rest of the respondents felt neutral regarding this question, with some stating that it was not possible to dismiss their biases created by personally seeing the police in action.

Men and women indicated almost the same responses to the next question, on the frequency of seeing the police in their neighborhood, with the same result on the following question as well. But on the second of these questions, which dealt with how often respondents had seen the police "rough up" someone in their neighborhood, the men responded a few percentage points higher than the women in the categories which would indicate a higher frequency. The women (44.4 percent) gave a much higher response rate in the "never" category than did the men (27.3 percent). This may be the result more of the places that men are when they see the police than of any other factor, although no question was asked which would determine the cause of this variance in the responses.

Approximately the same percentage of men as of women felt that the police often go out of their way to help, while only 18.2 percent of the men but 30.6 percent of the women felt they sometimes do. On the other hand, 43.6 percent of the men and 31.9 percent of the women felt the police never go out of their way to help and 14.5 percent of

the men and 11.7 percent of the women said they rarely do so. This gave us an overall low rating of the police with most of the very negative responses coming from the men. It might be noted here that the women may have been slightly more inclined to ask for such help than the men. This was indicated in the interviews, and may have influenced the responses somewhat.

Although only slight variation was seen in male and female responses to the question, "What do you think of the police in your neighborhood?" only 40 percent of the men felt that they liked them or they were okay, while 52.1 percent of the women felt this way. A slightly higher percentage of the men felt neutral about them, said they could get along without them, or registered hatred for the police.

Criterion of Ethnicity Not Applied

The criterion of ethnicity is not a valid criterion in the Newark sample because all but three of the 150 respondents were Black. Of the three respondents who were not Black, only one was white, one Mexican-American and one Puerto Rican. Their responses cannot be validly interpreted to apply to all other persons of that particular ethnic group.

Age of Respondents as a Variable

The final criterion studied was that of age. The respondents were distributed quite equally by age, with 21 in the 18-21 age range (14 percent), 20 in the 22-26 range (13.3 percent), another 20 (13.3 percent) in the 36-45 group, 19 (12.7 percent) in the 46-60 group and 17 (11.3 percent) who were over 60.

The majority of the respondents read the paper once a day, with the percentage increasing with age of respondents. There were two exceptions to this increase, with the 27-30 age group showing a 60 percent readership in the once a day category, about double the readership frequency rate expected from the other consistent rises in percentage of readership, and with a 33.3 percent readership in the 18-21 age range, the youngest age group, which is about double the anticipated rate. This may be more easily explained when we correlate age to education.

All age groups were consistent in their response to the frequency of readership of news about crime or about the police. In all, 131 of the 150 respondents said they always, sometimes or often read news about the police or crime when they read the newspaper.

In spite of this high readership, in only one age group (18-35) was it felt that crime was reported at all accurately--with 22.7 percent saying it was very accurate, 18.2 percent saying it was sort of accurate, for a total of 40.9 percent of the responses in that age category. It must be noted that 109 of the 150 respondents rated the reporting as neutral, not very accurate, or totally inaccurate.

There were several peaks in responses to the next question, regarding whether a consistent picture of the police appeared in the newspaper, and the results did not follow any pattern when judged on the criterion of age.

No consistent pattern emerged, either, when age was considered in analyzing the image of the police given in the paper, and a similar lack of pattern existed in responses regarding the accuracy of such

images. The only obvious peak in the second question was in the over 60 age group, where 58.8 percent of the respondents felt the newspaper image of the police was very accurate in regard to real life, whereas responses of other age groups in the very accurate category ranged from 18.2 percent (in the 31-35 year old age group) to 36.8 percent (in the 46-60 age group). Factors which may have contributed to this feeling of the older people include: tendency for older people to stay indoors more often, and to go to bed earlier, prior to "high crime" hours; tendency for older people to be treated with more respect by everyone, including the police (the majority of all responses to the previous question showed a better-than-neutral image of the police); and the tendency for older people to have been brought up to believe in an infallible law, whereas the younger people today are more likely to believe the law can be challenged.

When the newspaper account of the police using force in making an arrest was read to the respondents, 10.5 percent of those in the 46-60 age range and 11.8 percent of those in the over 60 age range said the police were nice guys in the story. This was half of the respondents who gave this answer. On the opposite end of the scale, 19 percent of the 18-21 year olds said they didn't like the police in the story at all and none of the respondents over 60 felt that way. But in all other categories, the responses were not so diverse by age.

In the next question, where a rewritten version of the same story was read to the respondents, an upward shift in opinions was noted, in all categories, regardless of the respondents' ages.

The majority of the respondents had never been arrested, with the highest percentage of "never" responses coming in the 46-60 age group (73.7 percent) and the over 60 age range (82.4 percent). One age group with a high percentage of arrests was the youngest group, 18-21, where 4.8 percent said they had been arrested more than five times and 19 percent three or four times. In the 27-30 age range, 25 percent of the respondents had been arrested three or more times. This may account for the fact that this age range gave extremely negative opinions on several questions regarding opinion of police in the news and in real life.

No significant statistics emerged, based on the criterion of age, in regard to the number of times family members had been arrested. But it may be noted that the age of the respondent should have no bearing on the arrest record of his family members.

When respondents were asked whether there was any police brutality in the cases mentioned, the two youngest age groups surveyed felt most strongly that there definitely was brutality (28.6 percent of the 18-21 group and 25 percent of the 22-26 group). These two groups accounted for more than half of the responses in the "definitely" category. The group most secure in the belief that there was no brutality on the part of the police at all was the group over 60, who stated this in 94.1 percent of their responses.

This over 60 age group also felt more strongly than other groups (82.4 percent) that no one in their family had ever been hit or shoved by the police, while other age groups were divided on that question. This was also true when they were asked if the police talked abusively

to them or to their families. On this question, 94.1 percent of the over 60 group said never, while other age groups were divided.

When asked if the police "pick on people" in their neighborhood, another division by age group occurred, but the largest number of respondents over 46 felt that they probably or definitely do not, while the largest number of respondents under 30 said they possibly or definitely do pick on people. Many neutral ("I can't say") responses were recorded on this question, with respondents saying that, since they rarely or never left the ghetto area, they had no basis for comparison.

Of all respondents, 62.7 percent watched more than three hours of television per day. In the 18-21 group, 61.9 percent watched from 5-10 hours per day, while the comparable figure in the 22-26 age range was 50 percent and in the 27-30 range it was 40 percent. This may reflect a high unemployment rate for youth, as well as the lower educational level of the respondents, very few of whom had gone beyond high school.

As might be expected, the youngest group afforded the greatest familiarity with the five programs about the police and the oldest group showed the least familiarity with them. The percentages were almost the same: 42.9 percent of the 18-21 year old group were familiar with all five shows; 41.2 percent of the group over 60 were familiar with one or none of the shows. The results of this question formed a roughly bell-shaped curve when considered on the age criterion.

High percentages in all age groups watched the news daily, with 76.5 percent of those over 60 and 78.9 percent of those between 46-60

constituting the greatest watchers of the news. The only group in which the news was watched daily by less than 50 percent of the respondents was the 27-30 age group, where only 45 percent of the respondents watched the news daily. This age group had a higher employment rate and seemed to have based their opinions more on personal experience than on media reports. Older people, confined to their apartments more often than other age groups, used the media to keep in touch with the outside world. This may also account for their belief that the media are accurate in their reports about the police.

Only ten (6.7 percent) of the respondents believed the news on television daily related to their neighborhood, while 103 people (68.8 percent) felt it rarely or never related to the neighborhood. In only one age group, 31-35, did more than 15 percent of the respondents feel that the news often related to their neighborhood. But no other patterns emerged from the statistics on this question.

The responses to the question on accuracy of news stories about the neighborhood showed no pattern on the age criterion, nor did the responses to the question regarding how much of the news shows the police as disliking ghetto residents. The question on the respondents' feelings when they saw filmed reports of the police using force for making an arrest evoked inconsistent responses from the various age groups.

All age groups believed that the series portrayed the police consistently, but no pattern emerged when the respondents were grouped by age. When respondents described the television image of the police, all age groups except those over 60 said they were either "good guys" or "not such bad guys" while those over 60 said police on television

were "neutral fellows." Those over 60 were six times more likely to believe the image of the police portrayed on television was very accurate than those in the 18-21 age group. Both groups agreed in about equal proportion that the image was somewhat accurate. The young group were three times more likely to believe the image was not at all accurate.

The opinion formed about the police from the newspaper and from television was not influenced by the age of the respondents, when all personal experience was eliminated.

The people who saw the police least frequently were those in the 31-35 year old age group. The groups which stated they saw the police most often were the two oldest groups. But the 22-26 and the 27-30 age groups both showed a 50 percent rate of seeing the police "several times a day". No other significant statistics emerged here.

As might be expected, the older groups reported seeing the police roughing people up the least (82.4 percent in the over 60 group said they never saw this). The two youngest groups gave the most negative opinions, with 28.6 percent of those from 18-21 saying that they often saw this behavior and 30 percent of those from 22-26 registering this response.

But, in spite of previous indicators, the elderly were not more inclined than the young to feel that the police went out of their way to help people in that neighborhood. All age groups agreed that the police never did so, but those over 60 were slightly less inclined to feel this was the case, and slightly more inclined to believe the police sometimes helped.

Those over 60 were six times more likely to like the police in their neighborhood than those in the 18-21 group, while all age groups were about equally willing to say the police were okay. No respondents over 45 hated them, and none over 60 felt they could get along without them.

Income Correlated with Age

The next factor under consideration was the income of the interviewees, with age a factor. In the lowest income group surveyed, there was no significant pattern, but in the group with an income of \$3000-5000 annually, only two people over the age of 31 stated they read the news three times a week or less. Again, with other income categories, there was no pattern, and it was felt that income was not a factor on this question, when cross-tabulated with age for results.

When the question, "How often do you read the news about crime or about the police?" was asked, all age categories in the under \$3000 annual income group always read the news about the police, with the 27-30 group being most adamant (51 percent). There was no significance in other groups with this cross-tabulation factor.

When the under \$3000 income group was studied on this same criterion, 85.7 percent of the respondents felt that the accuracy of the news about crime and the police was neutral to totally inaccurate. The lowest ratings were as follows: 50 percent of the 18-21 age group felt that the reporting was totally inaccurate, while 33.3 percent of the 22-26 age group felt that way and 50 percent of the 22-26 age group and 50 percent of the 27-30 age group felt that the reporting was not very accurate. Another low score came from the group aged 31-35, where 50 percent said the reporting was totally inaccurate.

In the \$3000-5000 income group, 50 percent of the 18-21 age category said the reporting was totally inaccurate, while 66.7 percent of the 46-60 age group and 66.7 percent of the group aged over 60 declared that the reporting of the crime and police activity in their neighborhood was not very accurate.

In the next income group, \$5000-6500, 50 percent of the 18-21 age group said the reporting was totally inaccurate and another 50 percent said it was sort of accurate. But a significant change developed when the higher income groups were surveyed. Here, in the \$6500-8500 income level, only 16.7 percent of the 18-21 age group said the news was totally inaccurate, while the largest opinion group was 38.2 percent of all respondents who felt the reporting was neutral. And, in the highest income group, over \$8500, the only 18-21 age group respondent felt that the news was reported very accurately and the only respondent in the 22-26 age group said it was sort of accurate. Therefore, with an increase in income, the youth, at least, feel that the news is more accurate.

On the question of whether the image of the police in the newspaper is a consistent one or not, 62.5 percent of the 18-21 year old age group said it is very consistent, while 45.5 percent of those over 60 said it is not very consistent, when the under \$3000 income group was evaluated. The next income group found all categories except over 60 saying the image is not very consistent, and the following three categories showed no pattern whatsoever.

When respondents were asked what this image might be, the majority in the lowest income group felt that it was a neutral image,

except those in the 18-21 age range, where they agreed that the police were portrayed as good guys (37.5 percent) and the 27-30 age group, where 50 percent said that they were good guys. In other income groups, the image was consistently a neutral one, or followed no pattern by age grouping.

On the next question, regarding the accuracy of the image which was portrayed, the majority in the lowest income group said it was a very accurate one. We must note that this group regarded the image as a neutral one. In the over 60 age group, 63.6 percent believed the image was very accurate, as did 50 percent of the 46-60 age group. Other groups did not score the accuracy as highly as these two older groups.

When the results were seen for the next income group, 50 percent of the 18-21 year olds believed that the image was not at all true, while 83.3 percent of the 27-30 year olds believed it was very accurate. Obviously, there was no pattern emerging. This was the case for the next two income groups, as well. Then, with the over \$8500 income group, it was noted that 30.8 percent said the image was a very accurate one and that all of these respondents were 27 or over.

The results on the next two questions were of special interest. In the first, regarding the first story about the police, 65.3 percent of the respondents in the lowest income group felt that the police were overstepping their limits. This figure included all 10 of the respondents in the 36-45 age group, as well as a high percentage of all other age categories. In the next income group, 74.2 percent of the respondents felt the police were overstepping their limits, with a notable exception in the over 60 age group, where it was felt that the police were

okay (66.7 percent of respondents). On the same question, in the \$5000-6500 income level, 47.8 percent felt the police were overstepping their limits, but no pattern emerged from the data. Again, in the next income group, 35.3 percent felt they had overstepped, but there was no pattern by age. This was also the case in the over \$8500 level, where 46.2 percent of the respondents felt they were overstepping their limits.

When the results of the question on the revised story were tabulated, 53.1 percent of the under \$3000 income group said the police in this story were okay. The greatest shift in opinion occurred in the responses of the interviewees over the age of 36, which would indicate that they were more likely to be influenced by the press reports than were the younger age groups, who were more influenced by real life.

The next income category showed the same type of result, with 51.6 percent believing the police were okay in this story and only five respondents (16.1 percent) believing the police overstepped their limits. Again, the greatest shift in opinion occurred with respondents over the age of 36. The identical pattern emerged in the \$5000-6500 income level, where 39.1 percent said the police in the second story were okay, but a shift occurred in the \$6500-8500 category, where 41.2 percent gave a neutral response to the question. This income level, it may be noted, was somewhat upwardly mobile, but not totally removed from the ghetto. They seemed in this instance and in some others to be less concerned about the police treatment of ghetto residents than those in other income groups. This factor showed up in the over \$8500 income category responses as well, with 30.8 percent giving neutral responses and no pattern by age being established.

In determining if there was any other factor which might influence the opinions of ghetto residents about the police, their own personal experiences with police were important. The question on number of arrests of the respondents was particularly enlightening. In the under \$3000 category, 63.3 percent stated they had never been arrested. The highest arrest frequency was in the 31-35 age group, where 50 percent stated they had been arrested twice. Also, 33.3 percent of the 22-26 age group had been arrested five or more times. Only one of the 18-21 year old respondents, who showed some of the most negative views, had been arrested five or more times. The group least arrested was the over 60 age group, with 90.9 percent of the respondents stating they had never been arrested, and only one respondent (9.1 percent) stating that he or she had been arrested once.

In the next income group, 80.6 percent of all respondents had never been arrested, and the same sort of pattern emerged as with the previous income group. In the third income category, 56.5 percent had never been arrested, a statistic which included 100 percent of the respondents over the age of 46. But the problem of upward mobility of the respondents in the \$6500-8500 income level emerged again, showing up in a relatively high arrest rate of 14.7 percent having been arrested five or more times, although 52.9 percent said they had never been arrested. There were no significant statistics evident in the highest income group.

Although the criterion of age and the criterion of income level should have no bearing on the number of arrests of members of the family,

some interesting factors came out in the responses to the next question, which asked how many times members of the family had been arrested. It must be stated again that the family was not specifically stated to be the members of that immediate household, but rather, "whoever you consider to be members of your family". Now, in the lowest income group, 37.5 percent of the 18-21 year old respondents and 33.3 percent of the 22-26 year old respondents said members of their family had been arrested five or more times. This did not emerge in any other age group. No other age group or income level gave such responses, and it is hard to determine whether this reflects a sentiment of heroism of the young for those who have fought "the System" or if it is an accurate reflection of reality. There is a significant difference in the responses of this income level and those of the previous one. Perhaps this group is upwardly mobile and is trying to create a good image. Perhaps the responses are accurate. Nevertheless, only 54.8 percent said that no one in their family had ever been arrested.

This same pattern could be seen in the \$5000-6500 income group, where 52.2 percent said people in their family had never been arrested in Newark. But another 21.7 percent said such arrests had occurred twice. Family arrests a couple of times are still okay, but not totally within the social norms of this group. In the \$6500-8500 income level group, no one knew of anyone in their family who had been arrested five or more times. And in the over \$8500 income level, the responses were evenly spread among the various age groups, and the various possible responses. Perhaps this is an indication that this group felt more secure about their income and their image.

When asked if there had been any police brutality in the above cases, the only age group in the lowest income level which said there was definitely brutality was the 18-21 age group, where 37.5 percent of the respondents believed this was the case. But 75.5 percent of respondents said there was none. In the next income level, 75 percent of the 18-21 age group said there was no police brutality at all, and 57.1 percent of the 22-26 age group felt this way. This was compatible with the total response of 67.7 percent who said there was no police brutality at all.

But the next income level again showed deviant attitudes from the norm and some value conflict. Although 60.9 percent said there was no brutality at all, responses in the lowest income level indicated there was definitely brutality (100 percent) and other responses followed no pattern whatsoever.

While there were no significant statistics in the next income level, 69.2 percent of the group with over \$8500 income said there was no brutality at all. The one who said there definitely was brutality was in the 27-30 age group. This person may have had a change of income status and may still identify with a lower income level.

Another interesting phenomenon was recorded on the next question, which asked whether members of the respondents' families had been hit or shoved by the police, and how often. In the lowest income group, 75 percent of the respondents aged 18-21 said this sometimes happened, but 80 percent of those between 36 and 45, 50 percent of those 46-60 and 81.8 percent of those over 60 said they had never been hit or shoved by the police. In the second income group, there were no neutral

responses, 67.7 percent said it never happened, and this included 75 percent of those in the 18-21 age group. In the third income group, there was a split again, which may be a result of the identity crisis we noted earlier in this upwardly mobile group. In the \$6500-8500 income group, only three said they had often been hit by the police, and responses did not accumulate in any of the response categories to a great amount. An even distribution of the responses also existed in the over \$8500 income group. Here, the youth were not negative toward the police. This gives rise to the question, Do the police distinguish between the rich and the poor? Concomitantly, this may be an indication that the children of families which are financially better off monitor their own behavior and therefore have a better opinion of the police because they do not have the same type of negative experiences with them as lower income level youth.

No respondents in the lowest income level and over the age of 60 said the police talked abusively to them or their families. The only age group which gave the response of "always" was the 22-26 group, with only one such response. Youth had a much more positive attitude on this variable than on many of the others. In the next income level, 100 percent of the 18-21 age group said the police never talked abusively to them or their families, and the overall statistic for this question was 74.2 percent responding "never".

In the \$5000-6500 income group, 52.2 percent said this never occurred, which was a slightly lower amount than the other income levels. Again, we may be seeing identity crisis resulting from upward mobility. Upper class standards do not fit in middle class society. The same

problem in evaluating the statistics of the next income level could be seen. The over \$8500 income group showed a slightly higher percentage of "never" responses, but the statistics were not significant.

When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, the responses of the lowest income group showed no pattern by age, nor did the second income level. With the third income group, \$5000-6500, a slight pattern began to emerge. This group said by 39.1 percent that this was probably not the case. The next income level found responding to this question quite difficult, and 35.3 percent said they couldn't say. They seemed torn between commitment to lower-class or upper-class values. A definite pattern emerged in the highest income group, with 30.8 percent saying the police probably do not pick on people in their neighborhood and 30.8 percent saying they definitely do not.

We have seen that the residents of the ghetto area in Newark read the newspaper regularly. The next set of questions dealt with the television viewership of the residents. In the lowest income group, 44.9 percent said they watched television between 5 to 10 hours per day. This included 75 percent of the 18-21 age group, 66.7 percent of those between 22 and 26 and 45.5 percent of those over 60. In the next income group, there was a little less viewing, but the overall viewership was still high, with 75 percent of the 18-21 age group and 28.6 percent of the 22-26 age group watching 5-10 hours per day, and an overall average of 35.5 percent who watched 5-10 hours per day, and an additional 35.5 percent who watched 3-5 hours per day. The middle age group had an extremely low viewership, but this may be the result of this age group joining the work force.

The \$5000-6500 income group was the first group which registered a majority viewership of 3-5 hours per day instead of 5-10 hours. This group registered 47.8 percent in the 3-5 hours per day response category. With more work, and a higher income level, this group seemed to find less time to watch television. The next category began to show more leisure time, with 35.3 percent of the respondents watching more than five hours of television per day, and with 50 percent of the respondents under 26 watching more than five hours. The highest income group showed the same sort of pattern.

Upon presentation of the names of the five programs about the police, another interesting set of responses emerged. On this question, the youngest groups in the lowest income category were the most familiar with the programs. When the respondents reached the age of 27, their knowledge of the contents and their familiarity with the programs decreased. But in the second income category, \$3000-5000, the most aware group was the 31-35 age group, where the majority (66.7 percent) were familiar with four of the programs. The original pattern was repeated in the next income group, where the young people under 30 were very familiar with the programs, and familiarity was decreased with an increase in the age of the respondents. This identical pattern was found in the next income level, and a strange phenomenon was apparent in the last income level: the young and the old were both very familiar with the programs and the middle age group was not. This may have some relationship to the fact that this is the working age (27-45), but there is no apparent reason why this should have occurred in this income group and not in the others.

All ages in the lowest income group watched the news daily (75.5 percent overall), and only four respondents in the entire sample watched once a week or less. The same was true for the second income category, where five watched rarely or never. This pattern was repeated in the \$5000-6500 income group, with six watching once a week or less. But in the next income level, less than half watched the news daily, and in the highest income group, slightly more than half watched daily. This group found leisure time available and seemed to not be struggling to achieve their income level.

When the lowest income group was surveyed, 77.6 percent believed that the news rarely or never related to their neighborhood. Responses in all age groups indicated this was the case. But the second income category said in 64.5 percent of the cases that it rarely related to their neighborhood, also with no pattern by age group. The third income group felt this way, too, with 43.5 percent saying it related rarely and 34.8 percent saying it related never. The \$6500-8500 income level showed an even spread among the possible answers and all of the age groups. This group again demonstrated an identity crisis, which could best be defined as a questioning of what the outlines of their neighborhood might be. The highest income group did not experience this difficulty, and 46.7 percent responded that the news rarely related to their neighborhood. The only response of "never" in this income group came from the one respondent in the 18-21 age group.

The lowest two income groups both took a neutral stance on the accuracy of the news, while the third income group felt that the news was somewhat accurate, and the \$6500-8500 income group spread its

responses evenly among all categories. The highest income group felt that such news reports were neutral to somewhat accurate. None of the responses took a significant percentage of any age group's respondents in a consistent pattern.

The next question was phrased, "How much of the news shows the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents?" This led most respondents to think deeply about what they were viewing on the television news. In the lowest income group, the majority felt that very little of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents, but three respondents did feel that all of the news showed this. They were from varied age groups. The second income category showed a relatively even distribution of the responses, with the same number feeling that all of the news showed this, and with the largest response group being the 38.7 percent who said that very little of the news showed this aspect. In the \$5000-6500 income level, the two youngest groups said that very little or none of the news showed this, which is in agreement with the overall responses, but in a slightly higher percentage than other age groups. In the \$6500-8500 income group, 38.2 percent, the largest response group, said they didn't know. This is a re-emergence of the identity problem which we have been noting. We must recall that this is the group with the lowest viewership of television as well. And in the top income level, 30.8 percent said they didn't know how much of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents, while two people said most of it does and none said that all of it does. This was the only group with no responses in the "none" category, and there was some indication that this group did not identify with the ghetto and therefore felt that this did not concern them.

"How do you feel when you see filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest?" was the next question. In the lowest income group, 42.9 percent felt anger and 24.5 percent felt distrust of the police. Two of these respondents (both between 22-26 years old) said they wanted to cheer the police on. The most anger was registered by the younger groups, and the percentage responses in the anger and distrust categories by those in the over 60 age group were only half as high as those of the lowest age group.

In the second income category, 38.7 percent felt anger and 29 percent felt distrust of the police, for a total of 67.7 percent of the respondents. In this income group, the older respondents were more angry than the younger ones, although there is no explanation for this phenomenon. The third income category showed a 47.8 percent anger response and a 26.1 percent distrust response, for a total of 73.9 percent of respondents. A return to the original pattern of the most anger being registered by the youngest respondents was seen here.

In the fourth income group, \$6500-8500, there was an even distribution of the total responses among the five possible answers, but 83.3 percent of the 18-21 age group felt anger at the police, and 42.9 percent of those in the age group of 36-45 felt the police were doing a job they didn't like to do. The highest income group showed an agreement among all age groups, with 46.2 percent of all respondents registering anger at the police when they viewed the police using force to make an arrest in a filmed news report.

What sort of an image do the programs about the police give to the ghetto viewers? On the question of consistency of the image, 42.9

percent believed the television image was a very consistent one. This was most strongly felt by the youngest group, who gave this response in 75 percent of the cases when the lowest income level was surveyed. The same pattern emerged in the second income level, with 51.6 percent of the overall responses indicating a very consistent image and the youngest group feeling this the most strongly. Then, in the \$5000-6500 income level, 52.2 percent said the image was very consistent, but the strongest group was the 31-35 age group, with 66.7 percent of the respondents saying this; although both of the respondents in the 18-21 age group stated this as their answer, for 100 percent in that age group, the sample size in that group was too small to generalize from. The next income group, which we have noted earlier showing some identity problems, came up with a well-distributed response pattern, and a bell curve (16.7 percent of all responses except the neutral response which garnered 33.3 percent of the responses) in the lowest age group. Also, in the highest income level, there was no pattern to the distribution of responses by age, but the responses tended to support the theory that the image which is projected is a consistent one.

When asked what sort of image this was, 51 percent of the lowest income group said it was the image of a good guy. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents in this income group said the image was that of a tough guy or a bully, and that 50 percent or more of all respondents under 45 said the image was that of a good guy, including 75 percent of those between 18 and 21 years of age. The second income category yielded a 48.4 percent good guy result and all age groups gave

this response in approximately half of the cases. The next income level, where no pattern was established by age, also felt it was a good guy image (43.5 percent).

A shift in the opinions of the respondents occurred at the \$6500-8500 income level, with 41.2 percent saying the image was that of a "not so bad guy" and only 17.6 percent saying it was the image of a good guy. There was no pattern in responses by age. The highest income level showed an even split between responses of good guy and kind of tough, with both receiving 30.8 percent of all responses. It must be recalled here that there were only a few who stated that the image was "kind of tough" in any other income category.

In considering how accurate the image was, each respondent had to make his or her statement in relation to the image which he saw. In the lowest income group, most said the good guy image which they saw was not at all accurate or just somewhat accurate. The youngest respondents again felt the most strongly that it was not an accurate image at all. The same type of response was registered in the second income category, where 32.3 percent of the respondents said it was not a very accurate image. The difference here was that the strongest believers in this were in the group over 60. There was an even split in the responses of the \$5000-6500 income group, and a predominantly neutral response in the next income category, whereas the highest income group showed a shift from not very accurate to very accurate and sort of accurate, with the first of these categories getting 30.8 percent of the responses and the second receiving 23.1 percent of them.

Although eliminating personal experience from their opinions was a difficult thing to attempt, 46.9 percent of the lowest income group said that, if the media were their only way to measure the quality of the police, they would think the police were really nice guys. Still, 30.6 percent gave neutral responses and it must also be noted that the most favorable opinions came from the older respondents. In the second income level, 41.9 percent said they saw the media image of the police, without any real-life influence, as being that of nice guys, although the younger group of respondents here had a slightly better opinion than that of the youngest age group within the lowest income group.

When the \$5000-6500 income group was asked its opinion of the police, based only on the media, most thought the police in the media were really nice guys. It is interesting that two of the respondents in the 18-21 age group were widely split on the question, with one saying that they were really nice guys and the other saying that they were bad men who liked to hurt people. All of the other responses were evenly distributed, with the perception of the police in the media being a better opinion with the increasing age of the respondents.

In the next income category, about one third of the respondents said that, from the media only, they could understand why the police act as they do. Another 26.5 percent said they were really nice guys and 23.5 percent felt neutral about them. The youngest group had a neutral opinion from the media, with no extremely good or extremely bad opinions. The highest income level found 38.5 percent of the respondents indicating that the media show an image of the police as nice guys. Each other response category got 15.4 percent of the responses.

Moving from the media, we questioned the frequency of seeing the police in the interviewees' neighborhood. In the lowest income group, 59.2 percent of the respondents indicated they saw the police several times a day, while 24.5 percent saw them regularly. The very young and the very old accounted for the greatest number of the "several times a day" responses and 21 of the 29 who gave this response were under 26 or over 46. Only eight were in the 20 years falling between these levels.

In the second income group, 64.5 percent saw the police several times a day. All age groups registered a relatively high frequency in this response category. Although 43.5 percent of the respondents in the next income level said they saw the police several times a day, there was no real pattern of responses by age group. Then, people in the \$6500-8500 income level reported that they saw the police regularly (41.2 percent), with a greater frequency (several times a day) reported more often by the two youngest age groups. In the top income category, 30.8 percent said they saw the police several times a day, and another 30.8 percent saw them regularly. The youngest respondents in this income group said they saw the police with the most frequency, although one elderly respondent reported seeing the police several times a day.

Since the residents of the Newark sample reported a high frequency of observing the police, the next few questions brought about some very interesting responses. It was learned that 51 percent of the lowest income group said they had never seen the police roughing up citizens in their neighborhood. Another 20.4 percent said they only rarely saw this. Seven of the nine who responded that they often saw the police roughing up citizens were under the age of 30. The elderly

did not see this, possibly due to their infrequency of going out at night, and possibly because more of these incidents took place at this time.

In the second income category, only 32.3 percent said they never saw the police roughing up citizens in their neighborhood, while 38.7 percent said they rarely saw it. Four of the five who saw it often were aged 26 or less. In the next income group, 39.1 percent said they had never seen the police rough up anyone in their neighborhood, and 26.1 percent said they had rarely seen it. None of the youngest response group saw this happen sometimes or often.

When the income group \$6500-8500 was queried on this item, there was an even distribution in all categories except often, which only had three responses. None of these often responses were in the youngest three age categories. In the highest income category, 38.5 percent said they had never seen the police roughing anyone up in their neighborhood. The largest category was still never, but the largest number of neutral responses occurred in this income group (23.1 percent felt neutral), and the only group which often saw the police roughing people up was the group aged between 27 and 30 years.

Contrasting the previous responses, 49 percent of the respondents in the lowest income group said that the police never go out of their way to help the ghetto residents. Only four people said they often do, while 15 said they sometimes do. The most negative responses came in the groups under the age of 30, with 11 of the 24 never responses coming from this younger group.

A slight reversal of the lowest income level's responses occurred in the \$3000-5000 income level. Here, 45.2 percent said the police never

went out of their way to help, which was an expected response rate, and another 32.3 percent said they sometimes did. But surprisingly, seven of the ten who said they sometimes helped were aged under 30. This would not have been indicated by the responses of the previous group.

As if this was not confusing enough, the third income group found 34.8 percent saying they never help, 30.4 saying they didn't know, and only one (age category 22-26) saying they often help. There was absolutely no way to measure a pattern of responses here, nor in the next two income groups, where responses were evenly distributed among income level and sex.

The final multiple choice question presented to the respondents was designed to get a sincere response, based on individual experience, and was anticipated to be a logical consequence of the responses to the previous questions. But the results did not indicate this was the case. In the lowest income group, 34.7 percent said the police were okay, and 30.6 percent felt neutral about them. Three respondents said they hated the police, six said they could get along without them, and only eight said they liked the police in their neighborhood. Of these eight, seven were over the age of 45.

The second income category gave a slightly more definitive response, with 51.6 percent saying the police in their neighborhood were okay. No one in this income group said they hated the police. The older respondents were more neutral, while the younger respondents felt more that the police were okay. This is in spite of the responses to earlier questions, which might have indicated a distrust of the police, as well as an opinion that the police did not help, but rather they

tended to present a tough image in real life. We can contrast this to the television and the newspaper images projected.

The most significant statistic emerging from the largely neutral responses of the next income group was that seven of the nine who felt that the police were okay were over the age of 30. This variable does not seem to be strictly influenced by age or income level. The next income group felt in 38.2 percent of the cases that the police were neutral. Other responses were fairly evenly distributed between "I like them," "they're okay," and "I can get along without them". There was no pattern by age. In the top income group, 61.5 percent felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood, and the only respondent who said "I hate them" was in the 27-30 age group.

Age Level Cross-Tabulated with Sex

With these variables cross-tabulated by the computer, it was still felt that there must be more causal factors in the opinions reflected in responses of the interviewees. The next set of cross-tabulations undertaken involved the cross-tabulation of the data by age level and sex. Significant responses were, indeed, noted in several categories, indicating that men and women do feel differently about the media reporting of police-related activity.

It was learned that 47.3 percent of the men read the news once a day. The readership increased steadily with age, except in the 31-35 group, where it dropped off temporarily, probably because this is the group most likely to be employed and upwardly mobile and, therefore, to have little time to read the news. When the women were surveyed, 50 percent said they read the newspaper once a day and 22.3 percent said

they read it at least three times per week. There was no pattern among women by age group.

Of the men, 36.4 percent always read the news about crime; 21.8 percent said they often read it; and 27.3 percent said they sometimes read the news about crime and the police. In the 18-21 age group, 40 percent said they read the news about crime often and 20 percent said they always read the news about crime. This group formed the highest readership group, except the 46-60 year olds. The youth seemed to be interested quite avidly in news about the police. On this same question, 39.4 percent of the women said they always read the news about crime, 17 percent said they often read it, and 31.9 percent said they sometimes read the news about crime. The youngest two age groups had high readership of such news (45.5 percent in the 18-21 age group and 46.2 percent in the 22-26 age group), as did all the age groups over 36.

Therefore, we see that the public under study in Newark, New Jersey was quite aware of how the stories are written in the newspapers. When the accuracy of these news reports was questioned, 34.5 percent of the men said the reporting was not very accurate and 23.6 percent said it was totally inaccurate. The older men seemed more likely to say it was not very accurate and the men under 30 seemed more likely to say it was totally inaccurate. On the same question, 28.7 percent of the women said the news was reported neutrally, while 22.3 percent said it was not very accurate and 19.1 percent said it was totally inaccurate. The group between 18-21 felt most strongly that it was totally inaccurate (45.5 percent), while the group which gave the

strongest single response was the women over 60, who felt the news reporting was neutral (70 percent).

When asked how consistent the news reporting about the media was, 34.5 percent of the men said the news about the police is not very consistent, while 29.1 percent said it was very consistent. In the 18-21 age group, 50 percent said it was very consistent, as did 42.9 percent of the 22-26 age group and 50 percent of the 27-30 age group. In the older age groups, the majority of respondents said it was not very consistent. When the women were asked the same question, 37.2 percent of them said the news about the police was not very consistent, while 23.4 percent said it was neutral, and 20.2 percent said it was very consistent. In the 22-26 age group, 61.5 percent of the women said it was not very consistent, and 40 percent of the women over 60 said it was very consistent. This shows only a slight correlation by age.

What sort of an image is projected in the newspaper? Of the men, 25.5 percent said the image of the police was that of good guys, while another 23.6 percent said they were shown as not too bad, and 27.3 percent said they were neutral. The younger groups of men felt more strongly that the police were portrayed in the newspaper as neutral. Of the women, 39.4 percent believed the image portrayed was a neutral one, followed closely by 23.4 percent who said they were portrayed as not too bad and 21.3 percent who said they were shown as good guys. There was no pattern when the data was analyzed by age.

On the question of accuracy of this image, 30.9 percent of the men said the image is an accurate one, while 23.6 percent said it was not at all true. It was not possible to evaluate this question by age,

nor was it possible to be certain which respondents gave particular responses to the previous question. The only conclusion we could draw was that the greatest number of male interviewees felt that the image they saw was an accurate one, while nearly as many of them felt it was not accurate. Of the women, 29.8 percent said that the image they saw of the police in the newspaper was a very accurate one, and another 21.3 percent said it was sometimes true. In both the male and female responses, the group over 60 was most likely to believe the image they saw was a very accurate one.

The crux of the questioning was found in the two stories which were read to the respondents. It was theorized that the changing of the manner in which these stories were presented would change the opinions of ghetto or barrio residents regarding the police who were mentioned in the stories. In the first story, where the police used a great deal of force to make an arrest, 52.7 percent of the men felt the police were overstepping their limits. The over 60 group felt most strongly (83.3 percent) that the police should not break down people's doors, followed closely by the 22-26 age group with 71.4 percent. There were no respondents in the 31-35 age group who gave this response and, in fact, this particular age group remained neutral regarding the police in the story.

On the same story, 57.4 percent of the women felt that the police were overstepping their limits, with all age groups except the 31-35 group having a better than 50 percent response in this category. As with the men in the 31-35 age group, the women in this age group gave a neutral response on this question. This may again be the reflection

of the entry of this age group into the job market, a struggle to move upward in income, join the mainstream of the society (which is perceived as being pro-law enforcement), etc.

On the second story, 45.5 percent of the men felt that the police were okay and 27.3 percent felt neutral about them, a marked improvement over the 25.5 percent who said they were okay in the first story and 7.3 percent who were neutral. On the same story, 41.5 percent of the women felt the police were okay. This was also a marked improvement over the 17 percent who felt this way regarding the first story. Another 22.3 percent felt the police in the second story were nice guys, whereas only 4.3 percent felt that way about the police in the first story. This is an indication that the way stories about the police are written has an effect on the ghetto residents who read them. The use of certain "loaded" words in the first story invoked an angry response from the respondents, both male and female, and the elimination of such words from the second story had the anticipated effect of improving the opinion of respondents regarding the police written about.

In the Newark sample, 32.7 percent of the men said they had never been arrested, while 21.8 percent said they had been arrested once. Only 12.7 percent had been arrested five or more times. The elderly were most likely to have not been arrested, but the youth did not show a significantly higher percentage of arrests in a pattern indicative that their age was the factor influencing those arrests. At the same time, 77.7 percent of the women said they had never been arrested. This is about double the percentage of men who gave this response. All of the women who had been arrested more than five times

were under the age of 35. No one over 46 had been arrested more than one time. Although this looks like an easy factor to evaluate, it is possible that the recent trend to arrest women shows a lifting of a previous taboo which, in its practice, led to the "warning" of women who were stopped by the police, in the same instances which would lead to arrest if the subject were male.

Although it should not influence the responses very much, we have calculated statistics on how many members of the family have been arrested, and cross-tabulated them with sex and age. The only thing which this would indicate would be the awareness of the men or women about whether or not members of their family had been arrested. Such awareness might be the only factor to influence the opinion of some respondents regarding the question on police brutality which followed.

It was learned that 49.1 percent of the men thought no one in their family had been arrested, and all of the other categories of response were evenly divided among the men. There was no pattern by age. Additionally, 51.1 percent of the women said that no one in their family had been arrested, and there was also no pattern by age. This indicated that both men and women were about equally aware of the arrest records of their family members.

Given the above information on the arrests of the respondents and the arrest records of their family members, 65.5 percent of the men said there was no brutality in the cases of their own or family member arrests. But 21.8 percent said that there definitely was brutality in these cases. One-third of the men who indicated there was brutality were in the 18-21 age group.

Of the women, 69.1 percent said there was no brutality at all in the cases of their own or family members' arrests. Three of the female respondents who felt there definitely was brutality were between 46-60; the rest were under 26. Perhaps these older women were referring to some incidents which involved their children, as their responses did not fit the pattern.

When asked if they or their families had been hit by the police, or shoved, 40 percent of the men said this had never happened. Another 38.2 percent said this sometimes had happened. There was no pattern by age. Meanwhile, 59.6 percent of the female respondents said they and members of their family had never been hit by the police and another 10.6 percent said this had probably never happened. In 90 percent of the responses of the over 60 age group, this same thing was indicated, as compared with 45.5 percent of the 18-21 group. A total of only eight respondents said this happened often.

If the police did not appear to hit the ghetto residents with a great deal of frequency, it is logical to ask whether they talked abusively to the residents of such areas. In 41.8 percent of the male responses, the police were said to never talk abusively to them or their families, while 30.9 percent said they sometimes did. Only one man said the police always talked abusively. He was in the 36-45 age group. The older groups felt most strongly that this did not take place. On the same question, 66 percent of the women said the police never talked abusively to them or their families. Only one woman in the 18-21 group did not give this response, but she said the police only did so rarely. All of the women over 60 said the police never did.

Four of the women felt that the police always talked abusively to them or their families.

When asked if the police pick on people who live in their neighborhood, 29.1 percent of the men said the police probably do not pick on these people, while 20 percent said they definitely do not. But another 21.8 percent said the police definitely pick on people in their neighborhood. No one over 46 felt that the police definitely pick on people. Other responses were evenly divided. Comparatively few of the women responded on either of the extremes to this question and the rest of the respondents were evenly divided between the three middle responses. This pattern was consistent for all age groups. Several female respondents indicated that they had no experience with other neighborhoods and had no basis of comparison regarding how the police treated other people.

Viewership was the next variable questioned, and it was learned that 81 percent of the men surveyed watched more than one hour of television daily. Of these, one third watched between 5-10 hours per day. Viewership was well divided among the different age groups. Of the women, 41.5 percent watched between 5-10 hours per day, with 90.9 percent of those in the 18-21 age group watching this much. The only two women who never watched television were over 60.

Most respondents were fairly familiar with the programs which were listed as depicting the police in action, with 29.1 percent of the men being familiar with all five programs, 21.8 percent with four of the five, and 21.8 percent with three of them. The highest familiarity was 50 percent of the men over 60, who stated they knew all five.

There was no pattern by age. The female respondents to this question distributed their answers evenly through all possible ages and all possible responses.

High news viewership of the men was evident in all age groups, with 60 percent of the men watching the news daily and no man over 46 stating that he watched the news less frequently than once a week. Approximately the same statistic was seen with the women, with 59.6 percent of them watching the news daily and only the 27-30 age group showing a lower viewership. Three of the four women who stated they never watched the news were over 60.

Of the men, 47.3 percent said the news rarely related to police activity in their neighborhood, while another 18.2 percent said it never did. There was no response pattern by age on this question. Likewise, 44.7 percent of the women said the news rarely related to police activity in their neighborhood and another 25.5 percent said it never did. Again, this question demonstrated no pattern by age group.

When asked how accurate the news was, 29.1 percent of the men said the news was somewhat accurate, and another 25.5 percent said it was neutral. But 18.2 percent of the male respondents said it was totally wrong and only 10.9 percent said it was very accurate. Responses were scattered throughout the age groups. The statistics for the women were almost identical to those for the men, except that only 10.6 percent felt the news was totally inaccurate, and 20.2 percent felt it was not too accurate.

Only 9.1 percent of the men felt that all of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents. Another 12.7 percent said they didn't know, very little showed this, or none of it showed this.

The largest response group said very little shows it--34.5 percent of the male respondents. No pattern was established by age. Only 6.4 percent of the women felt all the news shows the police as disliking ghetto residents. Another 17 percent said most of the news showed this. The responses in the other three categories were about equal, with 21.3 percent saying none of the news showed this. Again, no pattern by age was seen.

When asked for their reaction when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, 45.5 percent of the men felt anger at the police, another 21.8 percent felt distrust of the police. Most anger came from the 18-21 age group (80 percent), but there was no other pattern by age. On the same question, 34 percent of the women felt anger in that circumstance, and 25.5 percent felt distrust of the police. The women were slightly more likely to feel that the police had a reason for doing what they were doing. They were more likely to give the police the benefit of the doubt about this. Again, there was no logic to the responses when grouped by age.

A very consistent image of the police on the television series was felt by 49.1 percent of the men to be shown. In the 36-45 age group 40 percent said the image was neutral and 40 percent said the image was not very consistent. But this was the only age group at variance with the others. Women felt by 39.4 percent that the image of the police in the television series was somewhat consistent. Half of the over 60 age group said it was a neutral image. This is the only deviation by age from the pattern noted above.

When asked what sort of an image this was, 43.6 percent of the men said the image was that of a good guy, with only the over 60 group disagreeing. In that group, 50 percent said the police were portrayed as neutral fellows. Only two respondents among the men felt the police were shown as bullies. There was no pattern by age. Of the women, 38.3 percent said the police were portrayed as good guys, 22.3 percent said they were not such bad guys, and 31.9 percent said they were neutral fellows. The younger women saw the good guy image to a greater degree than did their counterparts over 46.

The accuracy of this image was difficult to determine, with 25.5 percent of the men saying it was somewhat accurate, and 25.5 percent saying it was not at all accurate. There was no strong pattern by age among the men. The women followed the same sort of breakdown, with 23.4 percent falling into the somewhat accurate and 23.4 percent into the not at all accurate categories and showing no pattern when evaluated by age.

In 41.8 percent of the cases, male interviewees stated that the media image would lead them to believe the police were really nice guys, if they did not count personal experience. Slightly less, 37.2 percent, of the women would feel that the police were nice guys if they had only the media to base their opinions upon. The women over 60 had the strongest feelings in this regard.

It was believed that the men would have more direct encounters with the police, and the statistics bore this out, but the frequency of seeing the police did not vary as greatly as was anticipated. Of the men, 49.1 percent said they saw the police several times a day. The

elderly men showed a very strong awareness of police presence, even more so than the youth. When this question was presented to the women, 42.6 percent said they saw the police several times a day. All age groups except 31-35 had a high awareness of the police presence.

Only 16.4 percent of the men said they often saw the police roughing people up, while 56.4 percent said they rarely or never saw it--although some implied in comments that the reason they didn't see it was because the police took care not to be witnessed and that they had seen the results of people being beaten up by the police. The women were less apt to see this, with 43.6 percent of them saying that they never saw the police roughing people up and another 23.4 percent saying this rarely happened. But 14.9 percent said they often saw it, and two thirds of these responses came from the women under the age of 26.

When the men were queried, 43.6 percent said the police never went out of their way to help citizens in their neighborhood. Only 7.3 percent felt the police often did so. There was no pattern by age. Additionally, 31.9 percent of the women felt that police never helped ghetto residents, while only 6.4 percent said they often helped. Another 29.8 percent said they sometimes helped. Most of the women who said they often or sometimes helped were able to cite incidents when they were helped by the local police.

When asked their opinion of the police, 36.4 percent of the men felt neutral about them, another 29.1 percent said they were okay. Six of the men (10.9 percent) said they liked the police and three (5.5 percent) said they hated them. The responses indicated that the police were "doing a good job considering what they have to work with". When

asked the same question, 38.3 percent of the women thought the police were okay, 30.9 percent felt neutral about them, but 13 (13.8 percent) said they liked them and two (2.1 percent) said they hated them.

Education Correlated with Age

The next categories cross-tabulated by the computer for analysis were education and age. It was felt that, when age was controlled, the educational level of the respondents might make a significant difference in their attitudes regarding the questions.

On the first question, only four respondents with less than an eighth grade education were under the age of 35, and 53.1 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education read the news once a day. Only six read the news rarely or never, and another six read the news once a week. Age was not a significant factor in the responses.

Of those with a ninth to tenth grade education, the responses were evenly distributed by age. Among these respondents, 41.9 percent read the news once a day. Respondents over the age of 30 were far more likely to read the news daily than those under 30.

There were 73 respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education. It was learned that 49.3 percent of them read the news once a day. Only 12 of the respondents read the news less often than once a week and there was no pattern by age. Only five respondents had one year of college education, and of these three read the paper once a day and the other two (who were both under 21) read it three times a week. All of these respondents were under 35. Four respondents stated they had completed two years of college. Two were between 22-26 years

of age and the other two between 36-45 years of age. One read the news once a week and one once a day, but two said they read the news twice a day. Three of the four people with three years of college read the news once a day. The other one read once a week. Although three of the four were under 26, the fourth was over 60. Only one of the respondents, who read the news daily, had achieved a Bachelor's degree.

When the respondents with less than an eighth grade education were asked how often they read the news about the police and about crime, 37.5 percent of the respondents said they always do, and another 37.5 percent said they sometimes read it. There was no pattern by age. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 38.7 percent said they sometimes read the news about the police and crime and 35.5 percent said they always read it. No pattern emerged by age. Of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 41.1 percent said they always read such news and another 26 percent said they read it often, while 27.4 percent read it sometimes. Only four of the 73 respondents said they read it rarely or never. There was no pattern by age. Again, only one of the five interviewees with one year of college read the news rarely. The other four read it sometimes, often or always. All four respondents with two years of college said they read the news sometimes, often or always, but in the group with three years of college, the one person who always read the news about crime was over 60 and the two between 18-21 read it rarely or never. The one person with a Bachelor's degree professed to reading such news sometimes.

When the group with less than an eighth grade education was asked about the accuracy of this reporting, 56.2 percent said the news was not very accurate or totally inaccurate. The six who said it was sort of accurate or very accurate were all over 30, but no other pattern by age appeared. Of those with a ninth or tenth grade education, 22.6 percent said the news about crime is very accurate in the newspaper, and another 29 percent said the news is sort of accurate, but 22.6 percent indicated it was not very accurate and 12.9 percent said it was totally inaccurate. There was again no pattern by age.

When the accuracy was evaluated by those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, only 16 of the 73 respondents (21.9 percent) responded in the very or sort of accurate categories. The rest said it was neutral, not very accurate, or totally inaccurate. More of the very young felt it was totally inaccurate, but this does not mean that the elderly felt the reporting was accurate. They did not. Only one person over 35 said it was very accurate.

In the group with one year of college, the worst score was given to the newspapers on accuracy. One felt neutral, three said it was not very accurate and one said it was totally inaccurate. In the group with two years of college, two said it was sort of accurate, one said it was neutral and one said it was totally inaccurate. The three years of college group also gave the press a low rating, with two saying the news reports were neutral, one saying they were not very accurate, and one saying they were totally inaccurate. The person with the Bachelor's degree said they were sort of accurate.

How consistent did the respondents think the image of the police was in newspaper accounts? Regarding this question, those with less than an eighth grade education said in 37.5 percent of the cases that the reporting was not very consistent, 28.1 percent said it was very consistent, and the youthful groups felt most strongly that the image was very consistent. In 38.7 percent of the cases among the ninth to tenth grade educational group, the newspaper image was considered neutral, and in 35.5 percent it was not very consistent. There was no response pattern by age. Meanwhile, 41.1 percent of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the picture of the police shown in the newspaper is not very consistent. Another 8.2 percent said it was totally inconsistent. There was no pattern by age.

Although one of the respondents with one year of college felt the reporting was neutral, the rest felt it was sort of or very consistent. One in the two years of college group said it was not very consistent and one said it was sort of consistent, while the other two said it was very consistent. The three years of college group responded in exactly the same way as the two years of college group. The respondent with the Bachelor's degree said the image was neutral.

This image, said 43.7 percent of the group with less than an eighth grade education, was a neutral one; 21.9 percent of this group said it was the image of a good guy. No one felt the newspaper image of the police was as a violent man but 15.6 percent said they were sometimes too rough in the newspapers. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 32.2 percent said the image was neutral, but 25.8 percent said they were not too bad and 22.6 percent said they were sometimes too rough. Two respondents said they were violent men and

only four said they were shown as good guys. The four who said they were good guys were all in the age group of 36-45. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 37 percent said the newspaper image of the police is a neutral one. Another 26 percent said they are not too bad and 19.2 percent said they are shown as good guys. This is more affirmative than the opinion of those with less education, but there is no pattern by age. When the group with one year of college was surveyed, three of the five respondents said the newspaper showed the police to be good guys. The other two felt the police were not too bad or neutral. In the group with two years of college, three of the four said the police were shown as good guys and one said they were neutral. Three of the respondents in the three years of college group said the police image is that of good guys and one said they were not too bad. The person with the Bachelor's degree said the newspapers showed the police to be sometimes too rough.

When asked how accurate this image was, 34.4 percent of those in the less than eighth grade educational group said the image they saw was very accurate. Only 25 percent said it was not very true or not at all true. There was no pattern by age. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 48.4 percent of the respondents believed the image they were reading and perceiving was very accurate, but 22.6 percent said it was not at all true. There was again no pattern by age. In the next educational group, 28.8 percent said the image was sometimes true, 23.3 percent said it was very accurate and 21.9 percent said it was not very true. This was also not influenced by age of the respondents.

Three of those with one year of college said the image they saw in the newspapers was not at all true, one said it was not very true and one said it was sometimes true. In the group with three years of college, two said it was very accurate, one said it was sometimes true, and one said it was not at all true. The one respondent with a Bachelor's degree said the image was not at all true.

When the first story was read to the respondents in the less than eighth grade educational group, 71.9 percent said the police in the story were overstepping their limits. All who said they were nice guys in the story (12.5 percent) were over 36. There was no other pattern by age. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 54.8 percent said the police were overstepping their limits, 25.8 percent said they were okay, and 19.4 percent said they were neutral. There was no difference in the responses of the various age groups.

In the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 52.1 percent said the police in the first story were overstepping their limits. Another 21.9 percent said the police in the story were okay and five people (6.8 percent) said they hated the police in the story. All of these respondents were under 30.

Two respondents in the group with one year of college said the police had overstepped their limits in the first story and three said they hated the police in the story. One in the two years of college group said the police were okay, two said they overstepped their limits and one said that he or she hated the police. In the three years of college group, the one respondent over 60 said the police were nice

guys, one respondent said they were okay, and two said they had overstepped their limits. The person with a Bachelor's degree said they were okay.

When read the revised story, 56.2 percent of those in the less than eighth grade educational group said the police in this story were okay, while 21.9 percent said they felt neutral. Still no one hated the police and only three (9.4 percent) said the police had overstepped their limits. There was no pattern by age grouping. In the second educational group, 45.2 percent said the police were okay, 22.6 percent felt neutral about them, and 19.4 percent (six people) said the police in this second story had overstepped their limits. No one hated them and there was no pattern by age, except that no one under 30 said the police were nice guys.

Of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 42.5 percent said the police in the second story were okay, 26 percent said neutral and three people (4.1 percent) said they hated the police. Although this sounds somewhat more negative than we might expect, it must be noted that two respondents who had hated the police in the first story had changed their opinion this time.

Two people in the one year of college group said the police were nice guys, while the other three were divided between okay, neutral and overstepping their limits. In the two years of college group, one respondent said they were nice guys, one said they were okay, and two felt neutral. In the group with three years of college, all four said the police in the second story were nice guys, as did the one respondent with a Bachelor's degree.

When asked about their own arrest records, 53.1 percent of the group with less than an eighth grade education had never been arrested. Another 21.9 percent had been arrested once and only four respondents had been arrested five or more times (12.5 percent). One of these four was between 18-21 years of age. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 67.7 percent had never been arrested, but 19.4 percent had been arrested three or four times. There was again no pattern by age. When the group with an eleventh or twelfth grade education was questioned, 65.8 percent said they had never been arrested and only one person over 36 with this much education had been arrested more than once. Three of the five who had one year of college had been arrested once, while one had been arrested more than five times and one never. With two years of college education, only one had been arrested four times, one claimed two or three arrests and the other two said they had never been arrested. With three years of college, one respondent said he or she had been arrested once and three said this had never happened. The person with a Bachelor's degree claimed to have been arrested twice.

The statistical data on the number of arrests of family members was impossible to evaluate on the criteria of age and education, which would have no direct influence on the data. Respondents in all educational and age groups were aware of the arrests of various family members.

When the respondents were asked if there had been police brutality in the cases of their own or family members' arrests, 78.1 percent of those in the less than eighth grade educational group said no

police brutality had occurred at all. Four people (12.5 percent) said there definitely had been police brutality. Half of those who said there definitely was brutality were under 26. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 74.2 percent said there was no police brutality at all, but three people (9.7 percent) said there definitely was brutality. All of those who said there was brutality were under 26. Both who responded that there was possibly some brutality were under 30. No one under 35 stated that the police only reacted to the person resisting arrest. Again, in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 63 percent said there was no police brutality at all, but 13.7 percent said there was definitely brutality. There was no pattern established by age.

The group with one year of college formed a bell-shaped curve in its responses, with two answering that there definitely was brutality and two saying there was none at all, while the fifth respondent said the police reacted to the person resisting arrest. With a second year of college, the respondents were split on this issue, with one saying there definitely was brutality, one saying there possibly was, and two stating that there was none at all. Those with three years of college mostly agreed there was no police brutality at all in the incidents cited, with one respondent saying that he or she didn't know if there was brutality or not. The person with a Bachelor's degree said there had been no police brutality at all.

On the question of whether they or family members had been hit or shoved by the police, 62.5 percent of those in the less than eighth

grade educational group said they and their family were never hit or shoved by the police. One 18-21 year old respondent said this happened often and seven (21.9 percent) said this sometimes took place. Older people in this group were more likely to say this never took place. In the second educational group, 48.4 percent of the interviewees said the police never hit them or their family members. Two respondents (6.5 percent), one 18-21 and the other 31-35, said they often did. Another 22.6 percent said this sometimes happened. Those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education said in 50.7 percent of the interviews that the police never hit them and 6.8 percent (five people) said the police often hit or shoved them, while 23.3 percent (17 respondents) said this sometimes happened. Youthful members of the sample were more affirmative regarding the police in this educational group than were youthful respondents in other groups.

The one year of college group formed another bell curve here, with two saying the police sometimes hit them or their family, one not knowing if this took place, and two saying it never took place. The group with two years of college was very non-committal on this question, with one saying it sometimes happened, two not knowing if it did and one saying it probably did not happen. But all four of the respondents with three years of college said the police never hit them and the one person with a Bachelor's degree said this happened sometimes. Age was not a significant factor in any of the response groups.

When asked if the police talked abusively to them or to their families, 68.8 percent of the respondents said the police never did, but

21.9 percent said the police sometimes did. There was again no pattern by age in this lowest educational group. In the second educational grouping, 51.6 percent of the respondents said the police never talked abusively to them or their families. Two people, or 6.5 percent of the sample, said they always did, and 19.4 percent said they sometimes did, while another 19.4 percent said they rarely did. There was again no pattern by age.

Forty-four respondents, or 60.3 percent of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, said the police never talked abusively to them or their families. Three said they always did and 15.1 percent said they sometimes did. No one under 35 said the police always did and the clear majority of the youthful interviewees felt that the police never did so. In the group with one year of college, two said the police sometimes talked abusively to them, two said this only rarely took place and one said it never happened. With two years of college, two respondents said it rarely took place and two said it sometimes took place. Three respondents with three years of college indicated that it never took place, while the other one said it sometimes happened. The person with a Bachelor's degree did not know if it took place or not.

Upon being asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, 31.2 percent of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education said the police probably did not pick on people in their neighborhood or treat them worse than people living elsewhere. Another 21.9 percent said definitely not. Only four (12.5 percent) said the

police definitely did pick on people in their neighborhood, but the statistics did not correlate with respondent age.

Of those in the second educational group, 35.5 percent said the police probably did not pick on people in their neighborhood, while another 22.6 percent said the police possibly do, and 12.9 percent (four people) said the police definitely pick on people in their neighborhood. There was no pattern by age. Meanwhile, in the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 27.4 percent said they could not say whether the police picked on people in their neighborhood or not, while another 23.3 percent said they probably did not, and 20.5 percent said they possibly do. And while 15.1 percent said they definitely do not, 13.7 percent said they definitely do. All who said they definitely do were under the age of 35.

One person with a year of college said the police definitely picked on ghetto residents, while one couldn't say and two said the police probably do not pick on ghetto residents, while only one said they definitely do not. With two years of college, a bell curve formed, with one saying the police definitely pick on people in their neighborhood, one saying they definitely do not, and two unable to say whether they did or did not. This was the same response given by the group with three years of college, while the person with a Bachelor's degree said they probably do not treat ghetto residents any differently than they do any other persons.

The group with less than an eighth grade education were not the greatest viewers of television, with 31.2 percent of the respondents

watching 5-10 hours per day, and all of them being in age groups over 30. Another 31.2 percent of those interviewed watched 1-3 hours per day, while 18.7 percent watched 3-5 hours per day. Only two of the interviewees stated they never watch television. In the second educational group, 41.9 percent watched 5-10 hours of television per day, and another 29 percent watched 1-3 hours per day, while 19.4 percent watched 3-5 hours per day. One person over 60 never watched television and the young people in this educational group watched the highest number of hours of television.

The third educational group showed a high viewership among those under 30 and those over 60, with overall statistics of 35.6 percent watching 5-10 hours per day and 32.9 percent watching 3-5 hours per day. In the group with one year of college, both who watched 5-10 hours per day were between 18-21, but there were no other significant statistics on viewership. In the group with two years of college education, two in the 22-26 age group watched between five and ten hours per day, and in the group with three years of college, two of the three interviewees under 26 watched less than one hour per day of television, while the other watched 1-3 hours per day. The one person over 60 watched 5-10 hours per day, as did the one respondent with a Bachelor's degree. It became evident that the age and the educational level were not primary factors influencing television viewing.

The group with less than an eighth grade education was probably the most familiar with the five television series mentioned which pertained to the police, with 21.9 percent saying they knew all five of the programs. In addition, 34.4 percent said they were familiar with

one or none of the five programs, all of these respondents being over 35. The two people under 26 knew three and five of the programs respectively, while 21.9 percent of the respondents knew three of them. Youth were more familiar than older respondents. This same general pattern pertained in the group with the ninth to tenth grade education, where 29 percent knew two of the programs, 25.8 percent knew three programs, 16.1 percent knew four and 19.4 percent knew all five.

When those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education were queried, 28.8 percent said they knew four of the programs, 20.8 percent knew three of the programs, and 17.8 percent knew all five. There were 12 respondents, mostly in the middle years, who knew one or none of the programs. The youngest group was the most familiar with the programs, but there was fair familiarity in all age groups. With one year of college, one person between 18-21 knew all five of the programs, and the one between 31-35 knew four. The other three of the interviewees knew two of the programs.

Three respondents with two years of college knew all five programs and the other respondent in this group knew four of them, making this group the most familiar with the programs, even though they were only a small sample. The group with three years of college had one who knew four of the programs and two who knew one or none of them. One of the latter was over 60 and the other 18-21. The respondent with a Bachelor's degree was familiar with four of the five programs. This data indicates that, overall, the youth were slightly more familiar with the programs than the elderly, but not significantly, and all were at least somewhat familiar with them.

When asked how often they watch the news, 68.8 percent of the less than eighth grade educational group said they watched the news daily. Two over 60 never watched the news. There was a high viewership in all age groups except 31-35, where one respondent watched twice a week and one rarely. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 54.8 percent watched the news daily, and 25.8 percent said they saw the news at least twice a week. Three respondents (two between 18-21 and one over 60) never watched the news. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 58.9 percent watched the news daily. Viewership in this educational group increased with age, generally, but all of the people from 18-21 watched the news at least once a week. Only one respondent (age 27-30) did not watch the news at all.

In the college-educated group, those with one year of college had a fairly high viewership, with three watching daily, one twice a week and one once a week. In the group with two years of college, two watched daily, one rarely and one never. With three years of college, three watched daily and one rarely. The person with a Bachelor's degree watched the news once a week.

How much of this news did the respondents feel related to their own neighborhood? In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 56.2 percent said the news on television rarely related to their neighborhood, and 18.7 percent said it never did. Only two respondents thought it related daily. They were both over the age of 46. No one under 35 gave responses other than rarely or never. In the second educational grouping, 38.7 percent said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, while five people gave the response of daily, five

gave neutral, and five said never, and four said it often related to their neighborhood. There was no clear pattern by age.

Of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 46.6 percent said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, while another 21.9 percent said it never did. No one over 35 said the news often or daily related to their neighborhood. With one year of college, four said the news never related to their neighborhood, and one who was aged between 31-35 said it related to his/her neighborhood daily. Two respondents with two years of college said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, one was neutral on the question, and one said it never related. In the group with three years of college, one said the news rarely related to his/her neighborhood and three said it never did.

When asked how often the police talked abusively to them or to their families, 68.8 percent of the group with less than an eighth grade education said the police never talked abusively to them. No one said they always did, and 21.9 percent said they sometimes did. There was no pattern by age, except that those over 60 believed unani- mously that this never happened. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 51.6 percent said the police never talked abusively to them or their families, and 19.4 percent said it happened only rarely. Two said it always happened and the rest of the responses varied. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 60.3 percent said the police never talked abusively to them or their families. All age groups gave high ratings to the police here. The three who said the police always talked abusively to them or their families were between 36-60.

Two in the group with one year of college said the police sometimes talked abusively to them or their families, two said this rarely took place and one said it never happened. In the group with two years of college, two said the police sometimes talked abusively to them and two said this rarely happened. Of the four respondents with three years of college, one responded that the police sometimes talked abusively to him/her or his/her family, and three said this never happened. The person with a Bachelor's degree said he didn't know if this took place or not.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 31.2 percent of the respondents said the police probably did not pick on people in their neighborhood. Another 21.9 percent said they definitely did not, 12.5 percent said they definitely did. One of those who said they did was between 18-21, the others 36-45. When the educational level increased to ninth-tenth grade, 35.5 percent said the police probably do not pick on people in their neighborhood, 22.6 percent said they possibly do. Four people (12.9 percent of this group) said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood. All of these were in the middle age groups.

Of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 27.4 percent couldn't say if the police picked on people or not, followed closely by the 23.3 percent who said they probably do not. Another 15.1 percent said they definitely do not pick on people in their neighborhood, 20.5 percent said they possibly did and 13.7 percent said they definitely did. Nine of the ten who said definitely were under the age of 35, indicating that the age of the respondents might have some

influence on the feeling of how the police were treating the respondents.

With one year of college, only one said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, and that person was under 21. Two of the five respondents in this group said the police probably do not pick on the people in their neighborhood and one said they definitely do not. One of the respondents with two years of college said the police definitely pick on people in their neighborhood, two couldn't say if this was true and one said it definitely wasn't true. Two respondents with three years of college could not say if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, while one said they definitely did so, and one said they definitely did not. The person with the Bachelor's degree said the police probably did not pick on people living in the ghetto neighborhood.

Of those with less than an eighth grade education, 40.6 percent said the news was reported in a neutral manner, while 21.9 percent of the respondents in this educational group said the news was somewhat accurate and 21.9 percent said it was not too accurate. There was no pattern by age. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 38.7 percent of the respondents said the news was somewhat accurate, and only one person under 35 thought the news was very accurate, while only one thought it was totally wrong. There was a wide range in the viewpoints of members of the same age group on this question.

In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 31.5 percent said the news was somewhat accurate, 20.5 percent said it was neutral, and 19.2 percent said it was not too accurate. The results

were distributed evenly among all ages of respondents. With one year of college, three respondents felt the news reporting was totally wrong, one felt it was neutral and one (aged 31-35) said the news reporting was very accurate. Two of the respondents in the group with two years of college said the news reporting was neutral and one said it was somewhat accurate, while another said it was very accurate. With three years of college, three respondents said the news reporting was neutral, and one said it was totally wrong. The respondent with a Bachelor's degree said the news was not too accurate. Although all educational groups agreed that this question was a difficult one, the lower educational groups saw the news as less accurate than the higher educational groups and those with the lowest age and education had the most negative opinions of accuracy.

When asked how much of the news shows the police as disliking ghetto residents, 34.4 percent of the group with less than an eighth grade education said none of the news shows this, while 31.2 percent said very little shows this. Two respondents, both in the middle age groups, said all of the news shows this. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 41.9 percent said they didn't know how much of this is shown, while 32.3 percent said very little of this is shown. Three people felt most of the news showed this aspect. With an eleventh or twelfth grade education, the respondents were very evenly split, but 45.2 percent said that very little or none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents. Eight of the respondents said all of the news shows this, but they were spread out among various ages.

Four of the five in the group with one year of college said very little news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents, and one stated that he or she didn't know how much showed this. Two in the group with two years of college didn't know how much news showed this, and one said very little, while the other said none of it showed this. The group with three years of college split evenly among the various categories and the person with a Bachelor's degree said very little news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents.

When respondents with less than an eighth grade education were asked their opinion of the police using force to make an arrest, 34.4 percent said they distrusted the police in this type of incident, and another 28.1 percent felt anger at the police. One respondent over 60 wanted to cheer the police on and seven over 35 thought the police were doing a job they didn't like. The youthful respondents gave no such responses.

Of the respondents with a ninth or tenth grade education, 38.7 percent felt anger at the police and 35.5 percent distrusted the police. There was no pattern by age. When the group with an eleventh or twelfth grade education was queried, 41.1 percent said they felt anger when they saw the police using force to make an arrest on television. There was, again, no pattern by age group. This pattern obtained when the group with one year of college felt anger at the police in 60 percent of the responses, and again when the group with two years of college felt in 50 percent of cases an anger at the police and 25 percent of them distrusted the police. The three years of college group produced a bell-shaped curve of anger at the police, thinking the police were doing a

job they didn't enjoy, and wanting to cheer them on. The respondent with a Bachelor's degree felt anger at the police in these circumstances.

The television image of the police, in the opinion of those with less than an eighth grade education, was very consistent, according to 43.7 percent of the respondents. Another 25 percent said it was not very consistent and, of this last group, all were over 35. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 38.7 percent of the respondents said the image was very consistent, while 29 percent said it was not very consistent. No pattern by age was seen in the responses. This was also the case when the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group was studied, where 38.4 percent of the respondents said the image was very consistent.

When those with a college education were polled, 80 percent with one year of college said the image was a very consistent one and the other 20 percent said it was somewhat consistent. This pattern obtained throughout the upper educational level, with 75 percent of those with both two and three years of college saying the image was very consistent and 25 percent in both groups saying it was neutral. The respondent with a Bachelor's degree said the image was a somewhat consistent one. The difference in the responses of those with less than one year of college and those with more was significant here, and it was noted that educational level influenced the degree to which the respondents noted consistency in the portraying of the police on television.

The television image of the police is of a good guy, according to 46.9 percent of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education, while 34.4 percent said he was shown as a neutral fellow. Most people with this opinion were over 60, while all respondents under 35 saw the police on television as good guys. Much in agreement with these responses was the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, where 45.2 percent said the image was that of a good guy, and 22.6 percent said it was not so bad. The youthful respondents again felt slightly more strongly that the image was that of a good guy. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, the trend established by the two lower educational groups disappeared, with 31.5 percent of the respondents saying the image was that of a good guy, 26 percent saying it was not so bad, and 31.5 percent saying the image was that of a neutral fellow, while no pattern established itself by the age of the respondents.

In the group with one year of college, two respondents saw the image as that of a good guy, one as not so bad and two as that of a bully. With a second year of college, two respondents said the image was that of a good guy, one said not so bad, and one said kind of tough. Three of the four with three years of college said the police on television were good guys, and one said they were neutral fellows, while the person with a Bachelor's degree felt the image was that of a good guy.

When asked how accurate the projected image of the police was, 31.2 percent of those in the less than eighth grade educational group said the image was somewhat accurate, 28.1 percent said it was not at

all accurate, and no one under the age of 35 said the image was very accurate. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 25.8 percent said the image was not a very accurate one and 25.8 percent said it was not at all accurate, accounting for more than half of the respondents. No one under 35 said the image was very accurate here, either. In the third group, 27.4 percent of the respondents said the image was not very accurate, and 20.5 percent said it was not at all accurate. There was no pattern by age. On this question, the lower educational groups gave the most definitive responses, largely agreeing that the image of the police as good guys was not an accurate one. Other educational groups were divided almost evenly on this question.

One elderly person with less than an eighth grade education said that, were personal experience ignored, the media image of the police would still lead him/her to believe that the police were very bad men, but this was a minority view, considering that 53.1 percent of this educational group said the police in the media were really nice guys. Another 28.1 percent said they would feel neutral (some said confused) about the police if they had to base their opinion solely on the media.

In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 38.7 percent of the respondents said the press showed the police as really nice guys, while 22.6 percent said they could understand police behavior from the press presentation of them. But it is important to note that only one respondent under the age of 30 could understand this. With an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 27.4 percent said the press showed the police as really nice guys, 20.5 percent could understand how they act and why, and 21.9 percent said they felt neutral about the police given only the

media interpretation. The elderly in this educational group were more likely to think of the police in the press as nice guys.

Two-thirds of the respondents with one year of college said if they had only the press to rely on, they would think the police were really nice guys, as did three quarters of the respondents with two and three years of college. The person with the Bachelor's degree said, given this press information, that the police should not act as they do.

The elderly and the youth with less than an eighth grade education both reported seeing the police often, with 59.4 percent of all respondents in this group saying they saw the police several times daily. The elderly in the next educational group reported more frequent seeing of the police, and 48.4 percent of all respondents in this group said they saw the police several times a day, while 25.8 percent saw them regularly. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 41.1 percent saw the police several times a day, 23.3 percent saw them regularly and the young people with this amount of education were more likely to say they rarely or never saw the police in their neighborhood. Two respondents with one year of college saw the police several times a day and two said they saw the police frequently (regularly), while one in the two years of college group saw them regularly and three rarely. With a third year of college, one saw them several times a day and three regularly.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 56.2 percent of the respondents said they had never seen the police rough anyone up in their neighborhood, while 12.5 percent said they often saw this. Another 25 percent said they only rarely saw this. No pattern

can be found statistically by age. In the ninth to tenth grade group, 38.7 percent said they never saw this. None who responded this way were under 26. None of the 19.4 percent who said they often saw this were over 46. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 31.5 percent said they never saw the police roughing anyone up, but 15.1 percent said they often saw it. Another 26 percent said they rarely saw it. No one over 36 in this group said they often saw it.

With a college education of one year, 60 percent said they rarely saw the police roughing anyone up, and only one person (in the 18-21 group) saw this often. With a second year of college, two said they never saw this, one saw it rarely and one sometimes. The group with three years of college responded in two cases with never, one with rarely and one with often. This last person was, again, in the 18-21 age group. The person with a Bachelor's degree felt neutral on the question.

But when asked if the police helped the citizens of their neighborhood, 46.9 percent said the police never went out of their way to help. Only one (over 60) said the police often helped, but 34.4 percent said the police sometimes helped. The people who said they sometimes helped were all over 30. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 35.5 percent said the police never helped citizens of their neighborhood and only one respondent (aged 46-60) said they often did. Another 35.5 percent said they sometimes helped, but there was no pattern by age.

Twenty-two respondents (30.1 percent) in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group said the police never helped, 23.3 percent were

neutral, and 21.9 percent said they sometimes helped. With one year of college, 60 percent of the respondents said the police never helped and 40 percent said they often did. With a second year of college, one said they often helped, two were neutral and one said they never helped. Two respondents in the three years of college group said the police never went out of their way to help, one said they often did and one said they sometimes did. The person with a Bachelor's degree said they rarely helped. There was no significant finding here by either age or educational grouping.

When asked what they thought of the police, 37.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education said they were okay, 31.2 percent said they felt neutral about them, and two people hated them. One of those who hated the police was between 18 and 21 and the other was 36-45. No one under the age of 45 said they liked the police. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, 38.7 percent felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood, 29 percent said the police were okay, and 22.6 percent said they could get along without them. The responses were insignificant when grouped by age. Among those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 41.1 percent said the police in their neighborhood were okay, 30.1 percent felt neutral about them, and 11 percent said they liked the police. No one over 35 said they could get along without them or that they hated them.

When the college-educated respondents were asked for their opinions about the police in their neighborhood, those with one year of college felt (60 percent) that they could get along without them, while the others in this educational group felt neutral about them. In the

group with two years of college, three were neutral and one liked the police, and with three years of college, two liked the police, one said they were okay, and one could get along without them. The respondent with a Bachelor's degree felt neutral.

Income Correlated with Sex

The next criterion of evaluation involved the cross-tabulation of income data with the sex of the respondents. It was learned that 47.3 percent of the male respondents read the news once a day. The two lowest income groups and the highest income group had the greatest readership. No one with less than \$5000 annual income stated that they read the news twice daily. When the women were asked the same question, 50 percent of them said they read the news once a day. There was an increasing readership with increased income level.

When the men were asked how often they read the news about crime or the police, they responded in 36.4 percent of the cases that they always did. Readership of this type of news decreased among the male respondents with an increase in income. Meanwhile, for the women, 39.4 percent said they always read such news, and there was a decrease in readership of such news with an increase in income, except in the case of the highest income group, who had the highest readership.

The concept of the accuracy of this news was not influenced by the income level of the male respondents, who reported in 34.5 percent of the cases that such news was not reported very accurately. It was evident that the female respondents did not claim to know how accurate the news was, when 28.7 percent of them gave neutral responses, although significant numbers felt it was not very accurate or totally inaccurate.

This pattern was seen in all of the income groups among the female respondents.

A total of 34.5 percent of the male respondents said the press did not give a consistent picture of the police, and 29.1 percent said it was very consistent. The responses showed no pattern by income. In the poll of the female respondents, 37.2 percent said the picture was not very consistent, while 20.2 percent said it was very consistent. There was again no pattern by income.

According to 27.3 percent of the male respondents, the image of the police which is given in the newspaper is neutral, while 25.5 percent of them said it was as a good guy, and 23.6 percent said it was not too bad. The responses were not influenced by income. The women, on the other hand, felt more strongly that the image was neutral (39.4 percent), while 23.4 percent said it was not too bad and 21.3 percent said the image was that of good guys. While a third of the women were in the lowest income group, they represented half of the good guy responses. This is significant when we consider the responses to the next question, where the accuracy of the image is questioned.

In the next question, 30.9 percent of the men said the image they saw was a very accurate one, while 23.6 percent said it was not at all true. Most who said it was not true said the image they saw was that the police were shown as good guys. There was no pattern by income group. But, while 29.8 percent of the women said the image they saw was very accurate, 21.3 percent said it was only sometimes true and all of the women who said the image was as a good guy also said this

was an accurate image. This is the question on which the men and the women disagreed the most.

More than half of the men, 52.7 percent, said the police in the first story overstepped their limits. This was most strongly felt by the lower income groups. No one with an income under \$5000 said the police were nice. Women said in 57.4 percent of cases they were overstepping their limits in the story. Income level was transcended in this opinion. All levels were in close agreement regarding this.

But in the second story, 45.5 percent of the men said the police were okay and 27.3 percent felt neutral about them. Only 14.5 percent said the police overstepped their limits. This is an improvement in the opinion of 38 percent of the respondents. None of the male respondents hated the police. Police in the second story were okay according to 41.5 percent of the female respondents, while 22.3 percent said they were nice and 22.3 percent said they felt neutral about the police. But three of the women still hated the police. All of these women came from the three lowest income groups. Ten women still believed the police overstepped their limits. Most responses did not seem to be influenced by income level.

The variable which stated the number of times the respondents had been arrested was not influenced by the income level of the respondents, and approximately one-third of the male respondents had never been arrested, while 77.7 percent of the women had not been arrested. Sex itself seemed to be the primary factor here.

Nearly half of the men (49.1 percent) said no member of their family had been arrested and this did not seem to be influenced by

income level. Just over half of the women (51.1 percent) said that no member of their family had been arrested.

When asked if there had been brutality in the cases where they had been arrested or members of their family had, 65.5 percent of the men said there was none. But 21.8 percent of the men said there definitely was and only two of these had incomes over \$6500. This same trend held with the female respondents, with 69.1 percent saying there was no brutality at all and 8.5 percent saying there definitely was. No woman with over \$6500 income said there was any police brutality.

They or their family had never been hit or shoved by the police, according to 40 percent of the male respondents. Only one respondent said this happened often. This person was in the lowest income group.

Seven of the women said this often happened, although 59.6 percent of them said it never took place. They varied in income level.

The police never talked abusively to 41.8 percent of the men or their families, but the one man who said they often did was in a fairly high income group, \$6500-8500. This was in contrast to the four women who said the police always talked abusively to them, and who came from four different income groups. But they were a small voice in the female group, where 66 percent said the police never talked abusively to them.

According to 29.1 percent of the men, the police probably did not pick on people in their neighborhood, but 21.8 percent said they definitely did, while 20 percent said they definitely did not. This was not influenced by income, and was not apparently influenced by sex, because the female responses were somewhat close to those of the men. For the women, 28.7 percent said they couldn't say, which is a higher

percentage than the men, but 26.6 percent said this probably did not take place, and 21.3 percent said it possibly did. All of the responses tended to group near the center of the possible response categories.

Men with higher incomes watched more television than those with lower income levels, and 30.9 percent of the men watched 3-5 hours per day, while 27.3 percent watched 5-10 hours per day and 23.6 percent watched 1-3 hours per day. The women were slightly greater television viewers than men, which may have related to the employment factor, and it was shown that 41.5 percent of the women watched 5-10 hours of television per day, while 23.4 percent watched 3-5 hours. The lower income women watched more hours of television than did the upper income women, the exact opposite of the male viewers.

Male familiarity with the five programs about the police was fairly high, 29.1 percent, and another 21.8 percent knew four of the five, while 21.8 percent knew three of the programs. There was no pattern by income level. The women were much less familiar with the programs, with 25.5 percent knowing four and 22.3 percent one or none. This was also not influenced by the income level of the respondents.

Sixty percent of the men watched the news daily, with the highest viewership in the lowest two income groups, although there was high viewership in all categories except \$6500-8500, which showed only a 31.2 percent viewership. The three male respondents who never watched the news were all in income groups over \$6500. Daily viewership of the news was also predominant for the women, where 59.6 percent said they always watched. The four women who never watched the news were in income groups under \$6500, which is again a reversal of the trend set by the men.

The news rarely related to their neighborhood, according to 47.3 percent of the men surveyed. The lower income groups felt this more strongly than did the upper income levels. The women failed to distribute themselves into a pattern by income on this question, with 44.7 percent of them saying that the news rarely related to their neighborhood, nearly as many as the men.

The news was somewhat accurate, according to 29.1 percent of the men, but nearly as many (25.5 percent) of them said it was neutral. No pattern emerged here. It was somewhat accurate according to the women, also, with 28.7 percent giving it this rating and 26.6 percent saying it was neutral. Income did not influence these responses.

According to the men, very little news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents (34.5 percent), while another 21.8 percent said none of the news showed this. The responses were not influenced by income. The women agreed with this to a certain extent, with 27.7 percent of them saying that very little showed this, while another 27.7 percent said they didn't know how much of this was shown, and 21.3 percent said none of this was shown. Income did not influence their opinions, either.

When the police were shown using force, such as in a television program, 45.5 percent of the men felt anger at the police. The only two male respondents who wanted to cheer the police on when they saw this were in the lowest two income categories. When the women were queried, 34 percent felt anger at the police when they saw this on television and 25.5 percent felt distrust of them. Income did not influence their responses.

The greatest number of men felt that the television image of the police was very consistent, 49.1 percent. Responses were not influenced by income. Although a large number of women agreed, 39.4 percent, there was still no pattern established by income level.

The image was that of a good guy, according to 43.6 percent of the men, with the lowest income group feeling this the most strongly. Slightly less women, 38.3 percent, said the television cop was a good guy, while 31.9 percent said he was neutral, and 22.3 percent said he was not such a bad guy. The lower income levels of women were also more likely to see the television image of police as a good guy.

Only 12.7 percent of the men felt that this image was very accurate, while 25.5 percent said it was not at all accurate and 25.5 percent said it was somewhat accurate. The women's responses were nearly identical to the men's on this question.

The opinion of the men regarding the image of the police in the press, if they were to disregard their personal experiences with the police, was that the police seemed to be really nice guys. All income groups gave this response except \$6500-8500, where the typical response (43.7 percent) was "I can understand why they act the way they do". The majority of the women (37.2 percent) said they were really nice guys, but 27.7 percent said they felt neutral about the police, if only based on the media interpretation of their behavior. Women in the lower income groups were more likely to say the image was as a really nice guy, while the upper income levels were more likely to believe the police were really bad men who liked to hurt citizens. Nearly half of the men, meanwhile, reported seeing the police several times a day (49.1 percent),

and the visibility of the police decreased with an increased income of the men, while 42.6 percent of the women saw the police several times a day and visibility decreased when the income level rose above \$5000 annually.

Although most of the men fell into the lower income levels, 56.4 percent of them said they rarely or never saw the police roughing someone up. Since this would indicate that the people who saw the police most frequently did not see this occur, this response is significant. The highest percentage of men seeing the police roughing people up was 25 percent of those earning over \$8500 and 22.2 percent of those earning under \$3000. While 43.6 percent of the women said they never saw this, 23.4 percent said they rarely saw it. Women in the upper income brackets of those surveyed were much less likely to see this type of behavior.

Of the male respondents, 43.6 percent said the police never went out of their way to help people in this neighborhood. Three of the four who said they often helped were in the \$6500-8500 income group. The likelihood of responding that they never helped if you were in the lowest income group was double that of the highest income group (77.8 percent as contrasted to 37.5 percent). Then female respondents were asked this same question, 31.9 percent said the police never helped, and there was agreement in all income groups.

When asked what they thought of the police in their neighborhood, 36.4 percent of the men felt neutral about them, 39.1 percent said they were okay, and only one with income under \$6500 said he liked the police, although 11.1 percent of the lowest income group and

12.5 percent of the highest said they hated the police. At the same time, 38.3 percent of the women said the police were okay, 30.9 percent felt neutral about them, but 25.8 percent of the lowest income level liked them, which is a higher rating than in any other income group. No negative responses were found in the highest income level.

Education Correlated with Income

When educational level was cross-tabulated with the income data, it was learned that 53.1 percent of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education read the news once a day and that all income groups except that of \$5000-6500 read with about this frequency. Of those with a ninth or tenth grade education, 41.9 percent read the news once daily, and 35.5 percent read three times a week. The highest income level read with a greater frequency (66.7 percent read twice a day). In the third educational group, 49.3 percent of the respondents read the news once a day, while 21.9 percent read three times a week. The higher income level read with a slightly greater frequency than the lower income group, and were more likely to read the news daily (five times as likely) as the lowest income group. With one year of college, 60 percent read the news once a day and 40 percent read three times a week, with no one under \$3000 reading daily. With a second year of college, the highest income level read the news twice daily, and the others read the news once a week and once a day respectively. With three years of college, 75 percent of the respondents read the news once a day. All of these were in the under \$3000 income level. The news was read once a week by the one respondent in the \$6500-8500 income

group. The one respondent with a Bachelor's degree read daily. It appears that a combined high income and education beyond high school led to a greater readership of the newspaper, with daily readership of the news taking place also in the two lowest educational and income groups combined.

In the lowest educational group, 37.5 percent of the respondents always read the news about crime and the police, while 28.1 percent read it sometimes. There was no pattern by income level. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 38.7 percent read the news about crime sometimes and 35.5 percent always read it. The highest readership of this sort of news was in the lowest income level (70 percent). Those who had an eleventh or twelfth grade education said in 41.1 percent of the cases they always read the news about crime. There is a high readership level in all income groups at this educational level. With one year of college, 40 percent of the respondents sometimes read the news about crime, and all others were split evenly between possible responses. The 50 percent of the respondents with two years of college education who said they always read the news were in the middle income levels. Those with three years of college were evenly split among the categories of response, while the person with a Bachelor's degree sometimes read such news.

Of those with less than an eighth grade education, 28.1 percent said news reporting was not very accurate, while 28.1 percent said it was totally inaccurate. All income levels were skeptical about the reporting. In the group with a ninth or tenth grade education, the responses were evenly distributed among the income levels, as they were

in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group. With one year of college, 60 percent of the respondents said it was not very accurate, 20 percent said it was totally inaccurate and no one replied that it was at all accurate. With a second year of college, 50 percent of the respondents (all with income levels over \$6500) said the reporting was sort of accurate. With three years of college, 50 percent answered that reporting was neutral; they were all in the under \$3000 annual income group. The person with a Bachelor's degree said it was sort of accurate.

There is not a very consistent picture of the police shown in the newspaper, according to 37.5 percent of the group with less than an eighth grade education. But 28.1 percent said it was very consistent. None who said it was very consistent were in income levels higher than \$5000 per year. In the second income group, 38.7 percent of the respondents said a neutral picture was shown, while 35.5 percent said the picture was not very consistent. The lower income levels were somewhat more likely to doubt the consistency. The next two educational groups showed no pattern by income level, nor did any of the other educational groups.

The lower income levels agreed that the image of the police was as good guys (21.9 percent), while the rest of the respondents said it was a neutral one, according to the least educated group, while the second group was split on this question. Half of those in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group who saw the police as good guys were in the income levels below \$3000, again following the pattern established earlier. No pattern emerged among the college educated.

Ten respondents in the income level under \$3000 and with an education of less than the eighth grade saw the image as an accurate one. Only one other respondent felt this way in this lowest educational group. But the second educational group failed to line up by income level into a pattern. In the third educational group, those in the upper income level were somewhat more likely to believe the newspaper image was an accurate one. Patterns were not found in the other educational groups.

No one in the lowest educational group with an income level over \$6500 said they felt neutral about the police in the first story, that the police overstepped their limits, or that they hated the police, but four of the respondents in the lowest income level said they hated the police in the story. Additionally, 54.8 percent of the respondents with a ninth or tenth grade education said the police in the first story were overstepping their limits, as did 52.1 percent in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group. A high percentage of the group with income over \$8500 felt that the police had overstepped their limits (66.7 percent). No one with an income level over \$6500 said they hated the police.

With a single year of college, 60 percent of the respondents said they hated the police, while 40 percent said the police had overstepped their limits. This pattern was carried through in the upper educational groups, where the greatest number of people responded that they hated the police and it was far more likely that they came from higher income levels than from the lower income levels.

The second story drew a quite different response. In the lowest educational group, no one said they hated the police in that story, while 56.2 percent said the police were okay. Four (17.4 percent) said they liked the police in this story and all of these were in the under \$3000 income level. In the second educational group, 45.2 percent said the police were okay and 22.6 percent said they felt neutral about them. The eleventh to twelfth grade educational group gave similar responses, but three people in this group still hated the police, and all of them had incomes under \$6500 annually. The upper educational groups agreed that the police in the story were okay or nice, without exception.

While 53.1 percent of the lowest educational group had never been arrested, four people (12.5 percent) had been arrested five or more times. Three of these four persons had income levels under \$3000 annually. Only two respondents with an income of over \$5000 annually had ever been arrested, according to the data. It appears from the data that a combination of low income and low education increases the chances of arrest significantly, while a high income is not a guarantee against arrest, but appears to have a bearing on this factor.

Those respondents with a ninth or tenth grade education showed a pattern change. Although 67.7 percent of these respondents had never been arrested, only one respondent had been arrested more than five times. This person was in the under \$3000 income group, but the other responses fit no pattern and it was noted that chance could have been the only influencing factor here. Of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 65.8 percent had never been arrested, and there was no consistent pattern of responses. Here, the lower income groups had a

slightly higher percentage of persons who had never been arrested than did the upper income groups, a factor which does not fit the data acquired earlier.

When those with a college education were surveyed, the results were even less decisive. There was no pattern established in any of the responses, and the one person in the group with one year of college who had been picked up and arrested by the police was in the \$6500-8500 income group, a fairly high income level for the time of the survey.

It was felt that the educational level and income grouping of the respondents would not have any significant effect on whether or not members of the respondents' families were arrested. This data was only significant in terms of the familiarity with the arrest procedures which was the topic of the next question. Therefore, when asked if there was any brutality in the arrest cases of self or family members, 78.1 percent of the respondents in the lowest educational group said there was no brutality at all. Four respondents in this educational group said there was definitely police brutality (12.5 percent), and all of these were in the two lowest income levels. No one in any income level except the lowest one gave any response except "not at all," with the exception of the two in the \$3000-5000 income group included in the 12.5 percent mentioned above. But the results in the next two educational groups again were scattered throughout the various income levels, as were the responses of all of the college-educated respondents.

When asked if they or any member of their family had ever been hit or shoved by the police, 62.5 percent of the respondents in the less than eighth grade category said this had never happened. The one

respondent who said this often happened was in the under \$3000 income level, although two of the respondents with over \$6500 income annually said it sometimes had taken place. The second educational group showed no pattern in responses, nor did the group with an eleventh or twelfth grade education. Responses of all college-educated interviewees were mixed as well. It appears that, in all of the previous three questions, a combination of low income and low education produced a more negative type of encounter between the police and the ghetto residents. Where either factor is raised, the effect of such encounters is not such a negative one, with few exceptions. It must be pointed out that, in all income and educational categories, the majority of the respondents said that they had never been arrested, that the police had not arrested members of their family, and that there was no instance of police brutality in the arrest incidents of themselves or family members that they knew of. It was only the minority of respondents who had been affected by such contacts, but it was a significant minority.

Those respondents with less than an eighth grade education mostly believed that the police did not talk abusively to them or to their families. No one said the police always talked abusively. All of the 21.9 percent who said the police sometimes did were in income levels under \$5000 annually. Two-thirds of the respondents in income levels over \$6500 responded that they did not know if this occurred. This indicates very little direct contact with the police. In the next educational group, slightly more than half of the respondents said the police never talked abusively to them or to their families, while other responses were mixed. Other educational groups gave similar responses.

When asked if the police picked on people who lived in their neighborhood, interviewees with less than an eighth grade education were less certain of their responses. While 31.2 percent said the police probably don't pick on the people, 21.9 percent said they definitely do not. But four people (all in the under \$3000 income group) said they definitely do. Five of the six people who said possibly were in the under \$3000 income group. The next two educational groups showed mixed reactions, following the same general pattern as the original responses, but not lining up definitively by income group. Those respondents with college in their educational background did not demonstrate any patterns in their responses.

In the lowest educational group, 31.2 percent watched television between five and ten hours per day. Only one respondent with an income level over \$6500 watched more than a single hour per day of television. This pattern was reversed in the next educational group, where 41.9 percent of respondents watched 5-10 hours per day, and no one with income over \$5000 watched less than one hour per day. Mixed responses were registered by those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, but viewership decreased again with a rising income level when respondents with one year of college were queried. Other responses to this question were mixed when separated by educational level.

None of the responses regarding the number of the programs about the police which the respondents were familiar with could be considered significant when evaluated by cross-tabulation of the income level and educational data.

There was also a high viewership of the news in all income levels. The only group with less than an eighth grade education where any of the respondents indicated they never watched the news was the group with incomes of under \$3000. Responses in other educational groups again failed to follow a pattern by income level.

Although 56.2 percent of the respondents in the lowest educational group said the news rarely related to their neighborhood and another 18.7 percent said it never did, only one respondent with an income level over \$6500 gave the response of rarely. Also, only one with income level under \$3000 said the news daily related to his or her neighborhood and only two in this income category said it often related to their neighborhood. There were no significant response patterns noted within the data collected for those with a ninth grade through a twelfth grade education. Of those with one year of college, one respondent said it related daily and this person had an income level between \$6500-8500, while 80 percent of the respondents in this educational group said it was never related. No other response patterns were noted in any educational or income group.

Of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education, 34.4 percent said none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents, while 31.2 percent of the respondents said very little of the news shows this. The two respondents who said all of the news shows this were both in the income group under \$3000. Only one person with income over \$5000 said most of the news shows this. All other educational groups showed no significant answers when evaluated on the criterion of income level on this question.

In the lowest educational group, 34.4 percent of the respondents distrusted the police when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, while another 28.1 percent felt anger at the police. All of these respondents had income levels under \$6500. While those with an eighth or ninth grade education did not show significant response patterns when evaluated on the basis of income level, 41.1 percent of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education felt anger at the police when they saw these films, and the lowest income level in this educational group were twice as likely to feel anger at the police as those in the highest income group. Other educational groups failed to show any patterns on these criteria.

All of the respondents in the first educational group who said the television shows a consistent image of the police (43.7 percent) were in income levels under \$6500 annually, but other educational groups failed to show any patterns whatsoever in their responses. When asked what sort of an image this was, 46.9 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education said the image of the police was that of a good guy. This was felt most strongly by the lower income levels. No other educational group showed this sort of consistent pattern.

When asked how accurate the image of the police was on television, the respondents failed to group themselves by education and income level in any pattern whatsoever. But when they were asked to evaluate the police on the basis of the media and to eliminate their personal experiences, they showed some grouping within the lowest educational group, where no one with an income level above \$5000 said the police in the media were bad men or that they shouldn't act as they do. All other

groups were in great agreement that the police were portrayed in the media as really nice guys.

In the lowest educational group, 59.4 percent of the respondents said they saw the police several times a day. The lowest two income groups saw the police most frequently, although five respondents in the lowest income group said they rarely saw them. In the second educational group, the two respondents who never saw the police were in income levels over \$6500, but this pattern did not emerge again until the data on the group with two years of college was tabulated. Here, 75 percent of the respondents said they rarely saw the police, and two of the three people included in that percentage were in the over \$8500 income level. But this group was not sufficient to provide data for a conclusion that the visibility of the police is greater for those with low incomes and low education, although the data hints that this might be the case.

Three of the four respondents with less than an eighth grade education who said the police often roughed up people in their neighborhood had incomes under \$5000. Both respondents who said this sometimes happened had incomes under \$5000 also. All of the respondents with a ninth or tenth grade education who said the police often roughed people up had incomes under \$6000 annually. But responses in the other educational groups again failed to form any pattern when analyzed in relationship to the income levels of the respondents.

Although most of our data so far showed a tendency to correlate negative opinions of the police with a combined low income level and low educational level, the only respondent with less than an eighth

grade education who said the police often went out of their way to help people in the ghetto neighborhood had an income level under \$3000. This was again the case in the second educational group. Although the data in most of the educational groups was not definitive, three of the four respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group who said the police often helped people had over \$5000 income level, and while 54.5 percent of those with incomes under \$3000 said they had never helped, only 16.7 percent of those with incomes over \$8500 said this. Other responses were evenly distributed and it was not possible with this size sample to determine whether this pattern was truly indicative of the greater population.

The two respondents with less than an eighth grade education who said they hated the police in their neighborhood had incomes of under \$3000, but another five in that income group said they liked the police in their neighborhood. All income groups gave mixed answers to the question, with the higher educational groups giving a greater number of neutral responses and the lower educational groups feeling more strongly that they either liked the police in their neighborhood or they hated them. It appears that the negative opinions expressed earlier in the survey had only a slight effect on the opinions of the respondents regarding the behavior of their police on an overall scale.

Education Cross-Tabulated with Sex

When the data were cross-tabulated by educational level and sex of the respondents, it was learned that, in the lowest educational group, men read with a slightly higher frequency than women, with 62.5 percent of them saying they read the newspaper once a day, and 43.7

percent of the women giving this response. With a ninth or tenth grade education, men still read with a slightly higher frequency, but the trend reversed with an eleventh or twelfth grade education. In this last group, women read with a higher frequency than men. This pattern was carried through with all of the respondents who had a college education.

When asked if they read the news about crime and about the police, men in the lowest educational group read with a slightly higher frequency than did the women. More of the women in the second educational group said they always read such news than did the men, but the male respondents' overall readership was more consistent than that of the women. The rest of the results failed to show a pattern on this question.

The accuracy of such news about crime was the next topic. More women in the lowest educational group said the news was neutral, while more men said it was not very accurate or totally inaccurate. In the second educational group, more women said the news reporting was very accurate, but more also said it was totally inaccurate. Women tended to say it was sort of accurate (33.3 percent of them), while more men said it was not very accurate (57.1 percent). More men in the group with an eleventh or twelfth grade education said the reporting was totally inaccurate and more women said it was neutral. The other educational groups did not indicate any pattern by sex.

In the cross-tabulation of sex with education, men with less than an eighth grade education felt slightly more than women that the image of police was very consistent (31.2 percent to 25 percent). But 43.7 percent of men and 31.2 percent of women said it was not very

consistent and 6.3 percent of the men said it was totally inaccurate, while no women in this group said it was totally inaccurate. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 38.7 percent of respondents said the image was a neutral one. Men said it was not very consistent by 42.9 percent as compared with the female respondents who stated this in 33.3 percent of responses. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 41.1 percent said the image was not very consistent. Women in this group were far more likely to say it was not very consistent (42 percent as compared to men at 36.4 percent) or totally inconsistent (10 percent as compared to men at 4.5 percent). There were not enough respondents in the one year of college group to evaluate on this variable, and all except one of the respondents with two years or above of college were men.

When asked what sort of an image this was, 43.7 percent of respondents said it was a neutral one, when the group with less than an eighth grade education was queried. Men were more inclined to see the image as that of good guys than women were. Women were more likely to give a neutral response. In the next educational group, although 16.7 percent of the women saw the police image as that of good guys, no men saw this. Women were still more inclined in this group to see a neutral image projected.

In the third educational group, women were more likely to see the image of the police as that of good guys and as a neutral one than were the men. In the next groups, with higher education, much agreement was found, with 75 percent of all respondents saying the image was as good guys.

When the accuracy of the image viewed by these respondents was questioned, 34.4 percent of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education said they saw an accurate image. Men felt this more strongly than women. Also, more men said it was not a very true image. The same number of women said the image was accurate as said it was neutral (31.2 percent or five women). In the second educational group, 48.4 percent said the image was very accurate. Of these, 85.7 percent of the men felt this was true, while 37.5 percent of women felt this, and 29.2 percent of women said it was not at all true. Women in the next educational group felt slightly more than men that the image was very accurate, while more women also believed it was not at all true. The higher educational groups felt that the image was not at all true in respect to real life in more than half of all cases, regardless of the sex of the respondents.

When respondents were asked their opinions of the police in the first story which was read to them, 71.9 percent of those with under an eighth grade education felt that the police had overstepped their limits. Men felt this only slightly more strongly than women (75 percent to 68.8 percent). But the percentages declined in the second educational group, with 54.8 percent saying they had overstepped their limits (58.3 percent of men and 47.9 percent of women). In the third group, those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 52.1 percent said the police had overstepped their limits, with a slight reversal in the emerging trend by sex. Here, 56 percent of the women felt this was the case, while only 40.9 percent said it was true when the men were queried. With one year of college, 60 percent of respondents disliked the police

in the first story, while 40 percent said they had overstepped their limits. The higher educational groups could not fairly be cross-tabulated due to sample size and distribution by sex.

A change of opinion was noted in all groups when the second story was evaluated. The lowest educational group felt in 56.2 percent of the cases that the police in that story were okay (62.5 percent of men and 50 percent of women), while the second educational group showed the greatest consistency with 45.2 percent of all responding saying that police in that story were okay (42.9 percent of men and 45.8 percent of women). With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 42.5 percent said the police here were okay. This was 50 percent of the women and 38 percent of the men. Twenty-two percent of the women in this sample group thought the police in this story were nice guys. With one year of college, 40 percent of respondents felt the police in the story were nice guys, while 50 percent of those with two years of college felt neutral and all four of the respondents with three years of college felt that the police shown in the second story were nice guys.

Although 75 percent of the women and 31.2 percent of the men in the group with less than an eighth grade education had never been arrested, 25 percent of the men had been arrested once and 25 percent had been arrested more than five times, while no woman in this group had been arrested more than twice. In the second group, 83.3 percent of the women, but only 14.3 percent of the men, had never been arrested. In this group, 57.1 percent of the men had been arrested three or four times. Within the group with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 78 percent of the women had never been arrested, while 36.4 percent of

the men had not. This group reported that 13.6 percent of men had been arrested five or more times, while 22.7 percent of the men had been arrested twice. No significant statistics could be drawn from the groups with any amount of college education.

Since there was no actual relationship between the educational background or sex of the respondents and the number of times members of their families had been arrested, these statistics do not appear here. But when respondents in the group with less than an eighth grade education were asked if there was any police brutality in cases where they or members of their families had been arrested, 75 percent of the men and 81.3 percent of the women said there was none. This was in spite of the fact that 25 percent of the men said there was definitely some brutality, while none of the women felt this was the case.

In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 100 percent of the men said there was no brutality at all, while three female respondents said there definitely was. A total of 66.7 percent of respondents in this educational group said there was none. With an eleventh or twelfth grade education, the statistics again reversed, with 50 percent of men and 68 percent of women saying there had been no brutality at all. Six men (27.3 percent) said there definitely was brutality, while four women (8 percent) said that was the case. The group with one year of college formed a perfect bell-shaped curve, showing for the first time a significant number of people who felt that the police reacted to the person resisting arrest. The next groups tended to feel that there had been no police brutality in family arrest incidents they knew about.

Only one respondent with less than an eighth grade education said he was often hit by the police in response to the next question. In that group, 62.5 percent of all respondents said they had never been hit by the police. There was no pattern by sex. In the second educational group, 48.4 percent said they had never been hit by the police. Women were more likely to say this never had happened to them. Two women in this group said they were often hit or shoved by the police. Just over half (50.7 percent) of the respondents with an eleventh or twelfth grade education said they had never been hit or shoved by the police. Only 27.8 percent of the men said this, while 50 percent of the men said that sometimes this happens, and 10 percent of women in this group said this often occurs. There were no trends set in the responses of groups with higher than a twelfth grade education.

When the respondents were asked if the police ever talked abusively to them or their families, 68.8 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education said this never happened. But 31.2 percent of the men said the police sometimes talked abusively to them and 12.5 percent of the women said they sometimes did so. The responses for men and women in the ninth to tenth grade group on this variable were nearly identical, with 51.6 percent saying the police never talked abusively to them. A change in this trend occurred in the next educational group, where 60.3 percent of the sample said the police never talked abusively to them. This represents 70 percent of the women, but only 36.4 percent of the men. Again, no trends were established in the group with a college education.

Of those with less than an eighth grade education, 31.2 percent said the police probably did not pick on people in their neighborhood, while 21.9 percent said they definitely did not. Male and female responses were very similar here. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 35.5 percent said they probably did not, while 22.6 percent said they possibly did. Here, 12.9 percent said they definitely did. All of these last responses came from women. In the next educational groups, the responses tended toward neutrality, with no trends by sex or by education.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 31.2 percent of the respondents watched 5-10 hours per day of television. This includes 50 percent of women but only 12.5 percent of men. The reverse of this is true of the group who watched 1-3 hours per day, which included 50 percent of the men and 12.5 percent of the women. In the next educational group, three women watched less than one hour per day, while 41.9 percent of all respondents watched 5-10 hours per day of television. Statistics were fairly evenly distributed between male and female respondents in this educational group.

With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, only 35.6 percent of respondents watched 5-10 hours per day. This is 38 percent of the women and 27.3 percent of the men. Men and women evenly split their television viewing hours in the other educational groups.

Among these respondents, 34.4 percent in the lowest educational group knew one or none of the programs about police which were mentioned in the next question. This represented 50 percent of the women and 18.7 percent of the men in the sample. But 37.5 percent of the men

knew all five programs, as compared to 6.3 percent of the women who knew all five. Men and women in the next group knew two or three of the programs in over a quarter of the cases, but 28.6 percent of the men knew all five shows, while 28.8 percent in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group knew four of the programs mentioned. The men in this last group were slightly more familiar with the programs about police and crime than were the women. With a single year of college, 60 percent of respondents were familiar with two programs, while familiarity tended to increase with an increase in education beyond that level.

A high viewership of the news was evident in all educational groups. Particularly, 68.8 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education watched the news daily. Both men and women watched with this frequency, while women in the second educational group watched more frequently than did the men. Again, in the third educational group, the rates for women and men were almost identical. The only group where a variation from this pattern was noted was the group with one year of college, where men were three times more likely to watch the news daily than were the women.

Just more than half of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education (56.2 percent) said that the news on television rarely related to occurrences in their neighborhood. In addition, 25 percent of the women and 12.5 percent of the men in this group said the news never related to their neighborhood. In the second educational group, 38.7 percent said the news rarely related to their neighborhood. While no men said it never related to their neighborhood, 20.8 percent of the

women felt this was the case. The third educational group had 46.6 percent of all respondents in the rarely relates category, while 24 percent of the women and 13.6 percent of the men felt it never related to their neighborhood. Significantly, respondents with one year of college said in 80 percent of the cases that the news never related to their neighborhood. Half of the respondents with two years of college said it rarely did, while 75 percent with three years of college said it never did.

In attempting to discover respondents' opinions as to how accurate the news reports about incidents in their neighborhood were, some interesting results were discovered. Of those with less than an eighth grade education, 40.6 percent said the news was neutral. Men said (31.2 percent) that it was somewhat accurate, while 56.2 percent of women felt it was neutral and 25 percent that it was not too accurate. Women in the second educational group felt (41.7 percent) that the news was somewhat accurate, while only 28.6 percent of men said it was. All responses in the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education were quite similar, men and women agreeing that reporting was somewhat accurate. A significant 22.7 percent of the men in this group said it was totally wrong. Most of those with a college education felt it was either neutral or totally wrong.

Moving into the area of prejudicial news, 34.4 percent of respondents with less than an eighth grade education said none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto residents. This was 31.2 percent of the men and 37.5 percent of the women. Another 43.7 percent of men said very little showed this, while 25 percent of women didn't know.

In the second educational group, 41.9 percent of respondents couldn't say or didn't know. This is 57.1 percent of men and 37.5 percent of women respondents. Another 32.3 percent said very little showed this (28.6 percent of men and 33.3 percent of women). Slightly more men than women felt that very little or none of the news showed that police disliked ghetto residents. Men were more inclined to say news didn't show this aspect and women to take a neutral position on this question. In the next group, 80 percent of respondents said very little of the news showed this.

The next question asked respondents for their opinions regarding news reports of the police using force to make an arrest. In the first educational group, 34.4 percent said they distrusted the police when they saw such filmed reports. In this group, 31.2 percent of men felt anger at the police in such cases and 25 percent of women felt anger. Men had more negative opinions than the women did, but not much more. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 38.7 percent felt anger when they saw such reports. This was 42.9 percent of men and 37.5 percent of women. Another 42.9 percent of men and 33.3 percent of women distrusted the police in such instances. Passing on to the third educational group, we learned that 41.1 percent felt anger at the police in this sort of instance, which included 50 percent of the men and 36 percent of the women. Meanwhile, another 22 percent of the women felt distrust of the police in these instances. In all groups with a college education, over half of responses were angry toward such police activity.

When asked how consistent the image of the police portrayed on television was, 43.7 percent of the group with less than an eighth grade education said the television image was very consistent (50 percent of women and 37.5 percent of men). But 43.7 percent of the men said that the image was not very consistent. In the next educational group, 38.7 percent said it was very consistent. This included 42.9 percent of male responses, but another 42.9 percent said a neutral image was portrayed. The other responses did not line up in any patterns, but respondents tended to believe that the image portrayed was either very consistent or somewhat consistent in the majority of cases, regardless of education or sex of the respondents.

According to respondents in the under eighth grade educational group, the image portrayed is that of a good guy (46.9 percent said this). Another 34.4 percent said it was the image of a neutral fellow. Men felt by 56.2 percent that the image was that of a good guy, whereas 43.7 percent of women felt it was that of a neutral fellow.

The group with a ninth grade or tenth grade education felt in 45.2 percent of the cases that the image was that of a good guy, which represented 54.2 percent of female responses and only 14.3 percent of male responses. In this group, 42.9 percent of men said the image was as a good guy, while 31.8 percent said it was as not such a bad guy. Of the women, 32 percent said it was the image of a good guy, while 24 percent said it was as not such a bad guy, and 36 percent said it was that of a neutral fellow. Data for those with some college education was impossible to interpret on the criteria of sex and education regarding this question.

Respondents were next asked about the accuracy of this image that they saw on television news as related to real life. In 31.2 percent of the cases respondents with less than an eighth grade education said the news image was somewhat accurate, while 28.1 percent said it was not at all accurate. This latter percentage includes 37.5 percent of the men and 18.7 percent of the women. With a slightly higher education, 25.8 percent answered that the image was not at all accurate, most of these responses coming from female respondents, while 42.9 percent of the men said the image was somewhat accurate. Of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 40.9 percent of the men said the image was not very accurate, and 18.2 percent said it was not at all accurate, while the women were almost evenly divided, with the very accurate response getting the least support. Other responses did not line up into any significant pattern.

The next question regarded personal opinion of the police, if only the media presentations were to be considered. A majority (53.1 percent) of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education said their opinion of the police, based solely on the media, would be that they were really nice guys. This included 50 percent of women and 56.2 percent of the men. While no women thought the police were very bad or they shouldn't act as they did, 43.7 percent said they would feel neutral or confused by the reporting if they did not experience the presence of police except in the media.

The second educational group felt in 38.7 percent of the cases that police appeared in the press as really nice guys. This included 41.7 percent of the women and 28.6 percent of the men. But 42.9 percent

of the men said that, from the media, they could understand why the police act as they do. In the third group, 22.7 percent of the men felt the police would be really nice guys and 31.8 percent said they could understand why the police act as they do. But 30 percent of the women saw them as nice and 24 percent said they felt neutral. Those with a college education were in great agreement that they would believe the police were really nice guys if they had only the media to depend upon for their impression of the police.

In attempting to discover how much contact residents had with the police in real life, a series of questions were asked. First, residents were asked how often they saw the police in their neighborhood. On this question, 59.4 percent of those in the less than eighth grade educational group saw the police several times per day. This is 68.8 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women. The second educational group had a total of 48.4 percent who saw the police several times daily. This group's statistics were similar to the first educational group on this variable. The group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education saw the police several times a day. This includes half of the men and 36 percent of the women, while an additional 28 percent saw them regularly. With one year of college, respondents tended to see the police several times a day, but the group with two years of college saw the police rarely, while those with three years or a Bachelor's degree saw the police regularly.

With such high frequencies of seeing the police in their neighborhood, we might expect that the respondents would see the police roughing people up at various times. The next question explored this.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 56 percent said they had never seen the police roughing up people in their neighborhood. This included 75 percent of the women and 37.5 percent of the men, as might be expected, since the men were more likely to be out of doors or in bars or other areas where such incidents might take place. Also, 37.5 percent of the men said it rarely happened. Another 18.7 percent of the men said it often occurred. The second educational group responded in 38.7 percent of the cases that this never happened. This included 41.7 percent of the women and 28.6 percent of the men. But 25 percent of the women in this group said they often saw it and 28.6 percent of the men said they sometimes saw it.

With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 31.5 percent said it never happened, which included 36 percent of the women and 18.2 percent of the men. But 22.7 percent of the men and 12 percent of the women said it often happened. But, with one year of college, 60 percent said it rarely happened, while 50 percent of all other respondents said it never occurred.

In response to the question, "Do the police go out of their way to help people in your neighborhood?" 46.9 percent of the respondents in the first educational group said the police never helped. This included 62.5 percent of the men and 31.2 percent of the women, a significant difference. This may be accounted for by the fact that women tended to ask for help more than did the men. In the second group, equal numbers of respondents (35.5 percent) said the police never helped as said they sometimes helped. Of women, 33.3 percent said sometimes and 37.5 percent said never. In this group, 42.9 percent of men said they

sometimes helped, while 28.6 percent said they never did. These statistics did not reinforce those from the first educational group. With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 30.1 percent of the respondents told us that the police never helped. This included 31.8 percent of the men and 30 percent of the women. But while 28 percent of women said they sometimes helped, only 4.5 percent of men said this, returning to the trend originally set. More than half of all other respondents felt the police never tried to help people in their neighborhood, with no strong trends being registered according to sex of the respondents.

The question which came next asked the respondents what they thought of police in their neighborhood. In the lowest educational group, 37.5 percent said the police were okay, while 31.2 percent of the women said they liked the police and none of the men said this. But 43.7 percent of the men felt neutral about the police. With a ninth to tenth grade education, 38.7 percent felt neutral about the police, including 42.9 percent of men and 37.5 percent of women. While 14.3 percent of men liked the police, only 8.3 percent of women did. Also, 33.3 percent of women and 14.3 percent of men said they were okay. Of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 41.1 percent said the police were okay. This figure included 44 percent of the women and 36.4 percent of the men. Surprisingly enough, 60 percent of those with one year of college said they could get along without them. Of those with a second year of college, 75 percent felt neutral and 59 percent of those with a third year of college said they liked the police.

Conclusions

The final question on the survey was open-ended in nature, asking respondents what, if anything, they would suggest to change in the manner of media reporting about the police. Not all respondents made suggestions. Some indicated that they were content with reporting. Many of those who listed suggestions had indicated a vast discrepancy between reporting and real life experiences during the course of the interviews. The most common suggestion, although often stated in a vague manner, was that "the papers and television should report what really happens and not hide the facts". Other suggestions were that the press should encourage the police, should "stop telling lies about them and stop painting them as good guys when we know they're not," should show less violence to give the police a better image, give more neighborhood coverage, not criticize the police so much, cover the good things they do instead of just the bad, and cover the opinion of the person who is arrested also, in case he is innocent.

Many respondents felt that their opinion of the police would change if reporting changed, and some stated that accurate reporting would force people to think about what the police were doing and push the police to enforce the laws. One woman summarized by saying, "I have a good image of police as long as they treat citizens like humans".

There was an earnest desire on the part of respondents to learn about the police activity in their neighborhood, and to "be aware" of what was going on. Some suggested that presentation of both the good and the bad sides of the situation would improve reporting because the people could then evaluate for themselves. Several elderly respondents

stated that news reports indicating police were out walking their beats would make them feel more safe, as did several mothers who were concerned for the safety of their children.

Many felt that the media were not telling the truth about the police. One said that more thorough coverage was needed: "They don't show stories that show the police to be wrong or that really show the police doing their job". One young female respondent stated bluntly, "They should show the people what the cops really are--that some are weak and easily bribed. Maybe the people would get themselves together and change the system themselves". Another woman stated, "The news media is far from the people. They shouldn't just print what sells. They should print more of the truth".

Conviction by press was also criticized. Some felt that the press made it impossible for some suspects to receive a fair trial. Response time was criticized and news that reported a faster police response was encouraged. One respondent said that the press should see that "they punish the police if they're wrong," a comment aimed specifically at police brutality.

Another respondent stated that she would like to "see the police on t.v. make the same mistakes they make in real life". Showing the police as human beings dealing with human beings got a great deal of encouragement from respondents in the Newark, New Jersey sample.

Most respondents, regardless of age, sex, educational group or other factors, wished that the police would "crack down on crime," and that the press would report this. It was indicated that such reporting would encourage the people to assist and cooperate with police in

cleaning up the neighborhood, because they would feel that the police were really trying to improve the life situation of the ghetto residents.

The newspaper (The Star Ledger) received the greatest amount of criticism for inaccuracy, although the television was not blameless. The people felt betrayed by a press "coverup" of corruption on the police force. They felt that a significant role of the press was to bring facts about such corruption to light and to see that the citizens and the police were on the same side of the law. A feeling of mutual respect should exist, they felt, between police, the public and the press.

One respondent went so far as to suggest that citizens would feel safer if they knew that psychiatric tests had been given to police who were being brutal. The same respondent said that the press should make it clear when someone had taken a bribe that it was an individual who had done it and that not all police were like that.

Another woman said that it was unwise to "teach everyone all the tricks". She felt they showed too much about how to commit crimes on many television programs. A young woman said that the press reports "an altogether different story from what I see when I'm right there," leading her to disbelieve what she read and saw on television. Another respondent said, "The people would like to hear that the police are not just out there busting heads but are out there to protect us".

This last respondent's comments seemed to reflect the opinions of the majority of respondents in the Newark sample, who wanted responsible reporting from the media regarding the activities of police, as

well as protection for their families and their property. There was a mood prevailing in the interviews which was not what might be expected from ghetto residents. The mood was not one of hatred for the police, but one of understanding that the police had a tough job to do, and of being frustrated in realizing that the police did not know that the people they were serving in this area wanted strong enforcement in order to better the living conditions in their neighborhood. The press, many felt, could be a valuable instrument in helping to bridge this communication gap and end the frustration of both ghetto residents and police officers who often feared one another without just cause.

CHAPTER III

THE BRONX: GHETTO WITH ETHNIC/LANGUAGE MIX

Puerto Rican and Black neighbors who frequently could not understand one another and who feared each other in spite of common problems characterized the second area of study, Morrisania Houses in The Bronx, New York. This combined Federal/City financed high-rise housing project encompasses the largest area of New York City to be devoted to such a housing development. The Morrisania projects adjoin three other projects, located next to the Third Avenue elevated subway, referred to as the "EL". In order to build the housing projects, an area of four blocks by eight blocks of slum housing was torn down. After several years' wait, the housing projects were constructed and the new tenants moved in. Most of these tenants were not the original tenants of the area. The area immediately adjacent to the project buildings still contains slums equivalent to those which existed prior to the demolition of the area, and subsequent building of the projects. There is a good deal of conflict between project dwellers and nearby slum residents.

Within the projects themselves, a peculiar ethnic mix exists. The breakdown by ethnic group is approximately 45 percent Black, 45 percent Puerto Rican, and 10 percent "other", which includes a few elderly Jewish residents, some whites who are non-Jewish and an even smaller number of other ethnic groups. Our sample for this study included

92 respondents. Of these respondents, 47 were Black, 34 Puerto Rican, eight white, one Mexican-American and one Oriental. By age, there were 13 respondents in the group from 18-21 years of age, six who were 22-26, eleven who stated that they were between 27-30, 14 who were 31-35, 23 who were 36-45, 13 who were 46-60, and 12 who were over 60.

Roughly in relationship to the total population of the high-rise housing project, 18 of the respondents were men and 74 were women. In the project at the time of the survey, approximately 80 percent of the residents were female, either divorced, never married or widowed. This statistic is of interest in itself, since it reflects a peculiar trait within the housing projects. The reader should keep it in mind when studying the survey results, since it is indicative of several things: the breakdown of the family within ghetto areas, the vulnerability of housing projects to crime attacks due to lack of a strong male presence within the area, economic factors leading to the continuance of a cycle of poverty wherein the parent (in this case, the mother) is unable to work and earn the living needed to adequately support her family and thereby enable herself and the family to move out of the area, and the problems inherent in the guidelines set for choice of housing project residents, e.g., financial stipulations which make it impossible for married couples with marginal income to reside within such projects.

Only eight of the respondents in the sample had any college education, while 33 had less than an eighth grade education, 26 had been to the ninth or tenth grade and 25 had completed the eleventh or

twelfth grade. When the income level for the family was analyzed, it was learned that 28 of the families surveyed had an income of under \$3000 annually at the time of the survey. Another 24 listed their income at between \$3000 - 5000, while 19 listed theirs at \$5000-6500, 12 at \$6500-8500 and only nine at over \$8500 annually.

Respondents in this sample were asked the same questions as those in the Newark sample. Approximately one-third of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, using the Spanish translation of the questionnaire. The respondents who were Spanish-speaking were asked which language they found easier to respond in. In a few instances, teenage children in the household assisted during the interview process by translating unfamiliar words for parents who did not totally comprehend the questions in English, but had wished to be interviewed using the English version of the questionnaire.

Results were gathered on individual variables, using the SPSS computer program, and cross-tabulations were run on significant variables such as age/sex, age/ethnicity, income level/sex, etc. For this city's results, instead of the detailed analysis which was utilized in the previous chapter, significant responses were used. Both the New York sample and the Newark, New Jersey sample utilized the same television stations for their television viewership, while the New York sample primarily read the New York Daily News, or, in the case of many Spanish-speaking families, Diario, both of which may be classified as "picture-papers" to a greater extent than other publications serving the metropolitan New York area.

Within the sample in the Bronx, the highest readership (85.7 percent) fell in the group aged 31-35, while the lowest news readership was in the group over 60, who claimed in only 33.3 percent of cases to read the news daily. Of all readers in the sample, 64.1 percent stated that they read the news daily. From the sample, 58.7 percent of all readers always read the news about crime or about the police, but only 5.4 percent of respondents said that such news was very accurate. Contrast this to 41.3 percent who said the news was not very accurate and the potential for conflict becomes apparent.

Of all respondents, 47.8 percent said the image of the police portrayed in the newspapers is not very consistent, which was born out by the answers to the following question regarding what sort of image this might be. Here, there was very little agreement, although the youngest age group felt in 46.2 percent of the cases that the police in the newspapers appeared to be good guys. Regardless of the image they believed was portrayed, 34.8 percent of respondents said the image they saw was very accurate, while 22.8 percent said it was sometimes true.

When the first story, which portrayed the police using force to make an arrest, and breaking down a door to gain access to the suspects, was read, 38 percent of respondents in this sample were of the opinion that the police in the story were okay, while 34.8 percent said they had overstepped their limits. It was interesting to note what factors influenced this opinion, which varied a good deal from the opinion of the predominantly Black residents of the Newark sample. The two youngest groups had the highest percentage agreement that police had overstepped.

When the second story, which gave reasons for the police behavior, and left little doubt as to the identification of suspects being accurate, was read, an improved opinion emerged. No one in this instance stated that they hated the police in this revised story. One-third of those between 22 and 26 years of age still felt the police had overstepped their limits.

In gathering personal data about the respondents' experiences with law enforcement officials, it was learned that 92.4 percent of respondents had never been arrested, and that only one respondent had been arrested more than five times. This statistic did not reflect properly into the general population, although it seemed to reflect the population of the housing project. In spite of this low rate of crime perpetrators, these residents were quite frequently victimized by crime, which they felt had been perpetrated by residents of the surrounding areas. Frequent complaints about the bars, lack of police on foot patrol, and the proximity of the "EL" were heard during the course of the interviews.

Respondents were not totally unfamiliar, though, with the legal process, because 20.7 percent of respondents stated that a member of their family had been arrested one or more times. Still, 90.2 percent stated that there had been no case of police brutality against them or members of their family who had been arrested. A slightly smaller number, 82.6 percent, stated that they had never been hit or shoved by a policeman, but even fewer, 76.1 percent, stated that police never talked abusively to them or their children.

When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, which was defined as "treat people here worse than people who live in other neighborhoods," 38 percent said the police definitely did not pick on them, while the older respondents tended to say that they couldn't tell if this was the case or not.

In the set of questions regarding television, the elderly seemed to have the highest viewership, although there was a wide distribution among all age groups in each of the time ranges delineated. A total of 76 percent of the respondents were familiar with three or less of the programs about crime which were mentioned, but 46.2 percent of those from 18-21 were familiar with all five programs. All age groups tended to watch news quite regularly, while 68.5 percent of all respondents stated that they watched the news daily. Only slightly fewer respondents (66.3 percent) stated that the news rarely or never related to their neighborhood.

Very little or none of the news on television shows the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, according to 67.3 percent of respondents in the sample. But when this is shown by the media, as in cases when the police use force in making an arrest, most respondents become angry. A total of 35.9 percent said they felt anger at the police in such instances, while 31.5 percent said they felt the police were doing a job they didn't really like to do. The most vehemently angry group were those aged 22-26, where 83.3 percent of respondents expressed anger.

Nearly half of respondents in this sample said the image of police on television was very consistent. It is interesting to note

that 100 percent of those in the lowest age group said the image of the police on television is that of good guys. Other groups agreed, with 56.5 percent of all respondents giving this as their answer. There were no definitive responses as to the accuracy of this image.

When asked for their opinion regarding the police, if they were to rely only on the media, two peaks emerged on the statistical data. A slightly higher number of respondents felt neutral or undecided, while nearly the same amount (28.3 percent) said they would feel the police really were nice guys, if they based their opinion solely on the media.

Personal Experience

But, obviously, opinions are not based solely on the media. In the sample, 63 percent stated that they saw the police several times per day, while 41.7 percent of the elderly stated that they rarely saw the police. While 70.7 percent said the police never roughed up people in their vision, 30.8 percent of the group aged 18-21 said they often saw this. And, on the other side of the coin, 28.3 percent of these respondents said that the police in their neighborhood never went out of their way to help.

The final multiple-choice question on the survey inquired, "What do you think of the police in your neighborhood?" To this question, 35.9 percent said the police were okay, while 31.5 percent said they felt neutral about the police. Half of those over 60 liked the police they saw in their neighborhood.

Sex of Respondents

When the same questions were analyzed by sex of respondents, only a few surprising results were found. Men and women gave nearly

equal responses by percentage to most questions, but men were more likely to say that the police were overstepping their limits in the first story than were women. Women were three times more likely in this story to say that the police were okay. When the second story was read, men drastically changed their opinion to okay, while women gave an only slightly more favorable response.

Both of the respondents with four or five arrests were men, while 97.3 percent of the women were never arrested, as contrasted with 72.2 percent of men who had not been incarcerated. Surprisingly, though, women were more likely than men to say that members of their family had been arrested, although men were slightly more inclined to say there was no brutality in arrest cases of themselves or family than were women. All male respondents to that question stated that there was no brutality or that police reacted to the person resisting arrest.

Again, women were more likely to say that they or their families had not been hit or shoved by the police (87.8 percent vs. 61.1 percent of men) while one-third of the male respondents said this sometimes happened. Women said in 82.4 percent of cases that police never talked abusively to them or their children, but 11.1 percent of the men said they always did so, and 22.2 percent of the men said this sometimes happened.

It was not conclusive whether respondents thought that the police in their neighborhood treated them worse than those living elsewhere, but 44.4 percent of men and 36.5 percent of women said the police definitely did not pick on them or their neighbors.

Slightly more than half of the respondents in this sample (57.6 percent) said they knew two or less of the five programs mentioned, but 83.3 percent of men and 64.9 percent of women watched the news daily. Of the four respondents who stated that they never watched the news, all were women. No man stated that the news related daily to his neighborhood, while two said it often did. At the same time, seven women said the news daily related to their neighborhood and another 13 said it often did. This may be due to the fact that the term neighborhood was not clearly defined. When respondents questioned the interviewer regarding the meaning of this term, they were told, "Whatever you consider to be your neighborhood".

Regarding the accuracy of the news, the largest percentage of responses was found in the neutral category. And, when asked how much of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, 88.9 percent of the men said that little or none of it did so. Men were slightly more likely to be angry at the police than were women when they viewed a filmed report of the police using force to make an arrest.

Television, according to 48.9 percent of respondents, showed a very consistent picture of the police. A slightly higher percentage of men felt this than did women, while 72.2 percent of the men and 52.7 percent of the women said this was the image of good guys. An additional large percentage of women (31.1 percent) saw the image as that of a neutral fellow. In terms of the accuracy of this image in relationship to real life, the distribution was mostly even, except that 38.9 percent of the men queried said it was not at all accurate.

Respondents' opinions of the police if the newspapers and television were their only source of information tended toward neutral, with the women most neutral, except that 29.7 percent of women felt that media portrayal of the police would lead them to believe the police were really nice guys.

Men in the sample stated that they saw the police only slightly more frequently than did women, while 70.7 percent of all respondents said the police never roughed up anyone in their sight. Still, 11.1 percent of the men said that this often took place. Only 28.3 percent of the respondents in the sample said that the police never helped, with only 5.6 percent of the men saying that they often helped, while 23 percent of the women seemed to think that the police often went out of their way to help. In nearly the same percentages, 5.6 percent of the men said they liked the police in their neighborhood, while 20.3 percent of the women did so.

Educational Level

The next variable under study was level of education, and it was learned that 80 percent of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education read the newspaper once a day, while 21.2 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education never read the paper. Educational level had very little influence on responses to other questions by members of this sample. The level of education did not again show significance until the two stories were read to respondents. According to 54.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education, the police in the first story were okay, while 44 percent of those with

an eleventh to twelfth grade education felt that the police were overstepping their limits in that story. Increased education seemed to influence awareness of both the rights of individual citizens and the responsibilities of those entrusted with enforcing the law. When the second story was read to the respondents, a change of several percentage points to a response saying that police in that story were okay was indicated. A shift by 18 percent of those who said they had overstepped was seen within the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, indicating that changes in reporting methods might have a stronger effect on this educational group than on others.

Another area where education may have been a factor was in the arrest record of respondents. The only respondent who stated that he or she had been arrested more than five times had less than an eighth grade education. This same respondent also stated that he had often been hit or shoved by the police.

Continuing to the area of television, 51.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education watched 5-10 hours per day of television, which may reflect a high level of unemployment which often accompanies lower educational level. Also, it was noted that those with a higher level of education felt that the image of the police portrayed on television was more consistent than did those with a lower educational level.

In the area of personal experience, those with a lower educational level stated that they saw the police with the greatest regularity. This may have been influenced by unemployment, more time spent out-of-doors, or even the age of the respondents which may have been

lower and therefore more mobile. Later cross-tabulation might clarify the trend established here. There were no other strong tendencies noted by educational group.

Ethnicity

The next variable under study was that of ethnicity. It was found that Puerto Ricans were less familiar with the five programs, with 70 percent of them knowing two or less. The language barrier was in evidence here.

In spite of the lack of familiarity with the programs about the police, Puerto Ricans watched the news with a high frequency, which was probably due to the fact that there is a Spanish newscast in the New York metropolitan area. Differences in the news delivery, as well as cultural differences, may have had some influence on responses of the Puerto Rican members of the sample, some of whom watched the news in Spanish and others of whom watched the English language news, while still others tuned in to both types of presentation. Both Puerto Rican and white respondents in the sample believed that the news did not relate to their neighborhood. Blacks also felt this, but not as strongly as did these other ethnic groups.

Another difference was in the view of the accuracy of these news reports. Puerto Ricans believed the news was more accurate or not worse than neutral, while Black respondents believed it was only somewhat accurate, neutral or not too accurate.

When filmed reports of police using force to make an arrest were shown, Puerto Ricans stated that their response was that police were

doing a job they didn't like to do (45 percent), while 45.9 percent of Blacks surveyed indicated that they felt anger at the police shown in these reports. In spite of this response, the only two respondents who said that there definitely was brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested were Puerto Rican. In comments made by respondents, there was some fear of the police by non-English-speaking Puerto Ricans, who felt that police might not treat them fairly because they did not understand what the Puerto Ricans were trying to say. Still, Puerto Ricans felt that the police in their neighborhood sometimes helped. Ethnicity may not have been the only factor coming into play here. This may have been influenced by the age or the sex of the respondents.

It was discovered that 60 percent of the Puerto Ricans read the newspaper once a day, while 68.1 percent of the Blacks did so. Most Puerto Ricans stated that the newspaper which they read was Diario; most Blacks stated that they read the Daily News. The groups as separated by ethnicity showed a marked contrast in their responses to the same newspaper articles, in spite of the similarity in their readership rates. While 48.9 percent of Blacks said that the police in the first (negatively written) story had overstepped their limits, 42.5 percent of the Puerto Ricans said the police in that story were okay. Puerto Ricans were more likely to approve of using force to make an arrest, the evidence seemed to indicate. When the second story was read to the two response groups, Blacks improved their opinions in most cases, while the opinions of the Puerto Rican respondents remained almost identical to those regarding the first story. Overall, it might be noted that Puerto Rican respondents

were much more likely to feel that the police were justified in whatever actions they might take in an arrest situation, whereas the Black respondents were more likely to question behavior which had tended to restrict the freedom of the ghetto residents who might very well be their neighbors or themselves.

It is significant that only Black respondents and no member of any other ethnic group in the New York sample had ever been arrested. Later statistics indicated that this personal exposure to the police may have had some influence on overall opinion of respondents regarding the police.

Black members of the sample watched television more than other groups, although a high percentage (32.5 percent) of Puerto Ricans watched 5-10 hours per day.

Income Level

When the factor of income level was considered aside from other factors, it was discovered that respondents with higher income levels in the New York sample tended to read the news more often than those in lower income levels. They also tended to read the news about crime more frequently. While very few of the variables seemed to be influenced by the income level of the respondents, those in the top two income groups believed with a much greater frequency that the news rarely or never related to their neighborhood. This might have had something to do with the concept of neighborhood as interpreted by the respondents, since the term was not specifically defined in the survey.

Another interesting aspect related to income level was discovered in the statistics relating to the accuracy of the news. It was learned that, in opposition to the responses of those in other income levels, 44.4 percent of those in the highest income level (over \$8500 annually) believed the news to be very accurate. Also, the lowest income level respondents were the most inclined to think that their opinion of the police, if only the media were considered, would be that the police were really nice guys.

Age of Respondents vs. Ethnicity

With age as the factor under consideration, and cross-tabulating for ethnicity, it was discovered that the group least likely to read the news daily were Blacks over the age of 60, although Puerto Ricans over the age of 60 also had a low readership rate. These groups were also least likely to read the news about crime and the police.

The members of all ethnic groups over the age of 30 were less likely to believe that the image of the police presented in the media was that of a good guy. But when the first story was read to the various groups, 75 percent of the Puerto Rican respondents in the age group 46-60 said that the police in the story were nice guys. The young Puerto Ricans gave the opposite response, agreeing with the majority of Black respondents that the police in the story had overstepped their limits. But when the second story was read to the respondents, the majority of the Blacks over the age of 45 said the police in that story were nice guys, while no Puerto Rican under the age of 30 liked the police in that story.

It was previously mentioned that only Black respondents had been arrested in this sample. In spite of this, there were three Puerto Rican respondents who stated that they knew of family members who had been arrested more than twice. Also, the one Black respondent who said there was possibly some brutality in his or a family member's arrest case was in the age group 36-45, while all of the white respondents said there had been no brutality in any arrest cases of family members.

One discouraging find was that 14.9 percent of the Blacks surveyed said that they or a family member had been hit or shoved by the police sometimes. The rest said it never happened. This was not influenced by age. Two of the young Black respondents (under 26) said the police always talked abusively to them, as did one person aged 46-60. No one over 60 in the Black group felt this happened. All others said it happened rarely or never. Perhaps because of the language barrier, only one Puerto Rican, who was aged 27-30, said the police always talked abusively to him or to his family. All Puerto Rican respondents over the age of 45 said the police never did so.

Young people (66.7 percent of those 18-21) among the Black respondents were the most familiar with all five television programs about the police. Language was a definite factor influencing the Puerto Rican response to this question. Spanish-speaking respondents were much less inclined to understand or to pay any attention to the programs under consideration.

Sex and Ethnicity as Variables

The statistics showed that Black men were slightly more likely than women to read the news once a day (30 percent vs. 64.9 percent),

while Puerto Rican women were more likely to read the news once a day than were the men (62.5 percent vs. 60 percent). It was also shown that Black men were more likely to read the news about crime or the police than were the women, while both male and female respondents in the Puerto Rican group had a high readership of the news of this type. Again, many variables were not influenced by the sex of the respondents, and the next question which was influenced by this factor was the question regarding the use of force by the police in making an arrest. Here, Black men were slightly more likely to feel anger at the police in this circumstance (60 percent of men), than were the women (45.9 percent), and also more likely to feel distrust of the police in the situation (20 percent of men vs. 10.8 percent of women). Again, Puerto Rican men and women gave quite similar responses to this question.

Continuing in the evaluation by sex of respondents, it was learned that 70 percent of the Black men felt the image of police on television was that of a good guy, while 54.1 percent of the Black women felt this was the image they saw. This was quite similar to the responses of the Puerto Rican sample, where 75 percent of the Puerto Rican men and 53.1 percent of the Puerto Rican women felt this was the image that they saw. As to the accuracy of this image, 18.9 percent of the Black women said the image they saw was accurate, while no men felt that the image they viewed was an accurate one. There was no significant statistic to be found in the responses of other interviewees.

When the first story was read to the respondents, 40.5 percent of the Black women thought that the police in that story were okay,

while another 45.9 percent of the women said that the police in that story had overstepped their limits. Very few men had good feelings about the police in this story, and 60 percent of the Black male respondents said the police had overstepped their limits in the presentation which they were read. Both male and female respondents in the Puerto Rican group gave quite similar responses, tending toward a favorable impression of the police, although some were skeptical about the tactics being used.

It was interesting to note that all of the Black respondents who stated that they liked the police in the second story were women. Men were more inclined to improve their opinions of the police to the point of saying that the police were okay. On this question, Puerto Rican women had the same reaction as Black women, with 31.2 percent saying they liked the police in this story, while 40.6 percent said the police were okay. This is compared to 62.5 percent of the Puerto Rican men who said the police in this story were okay.

No Black female in the sample had been arrested more than once, and 94.6 percent of the Black women had never been arrested, while only 50 percent of the Black male respondents had never been arrested. As mentioned earlier, the only respondents in the sample who said they had been arrested were Black. No significant statistics appeared again until respondents were asked if they or members of their family had been hit or shoved by the police. Here, 40 percent of the Black men said that they were sometimes hit or shoved, while only 8.1 percent of the women gave this response. All other Black respondents said this

never happened. Puerto Rican and other respondents felt that this was something which they had not experienced and was not familiar to other members of their family either.

Similarly, 50 percent of the Black men in the sample said the police sometimes or always talked abusively to them or their family, while only 10.8 percent of the women gave this response. The police never talked abusively to the other ethnic groups in the sample. Significantly, 20 percent of the Black males in the sample said the police definitely did pick on people who lived in their neighborhood, while no other ethnic group and no women at all said that this was the case.

When asked what their opinion of the police would be if based solely upon the media's presentation, Black women were more inclined to believe that the police were really nice guys. Only 10 percent of the men felt that this was the case. Other groups were not opinionated to any great extent in regard to this question.

In the realm of personal experience, 81.3 percent of the Puerto Rican women said they had never seen the police rough anyone up, while only 50 percent of the men said this. Both men and women in the Black sample had witnessed this sort of behavior. In light of this, it was interesting to note that 25 percent of the Puerto Rican women said the police often helped people in their neighborhood, while no Puerto Rican men said this, and to note that 24.3 percent of Black women said the police often helped, while only 10 percent of the men said this. Again, we must note that women are possibly more inclined to seek the assistance

of the police for problems than are men, who often feel that they can solve the problems themselves, or whose type of problems vary from those which women might experience.

Black women were more likely to watch television for a period of 5-10 hours per day than were men, with 43.2 percent of women giving this response and only 20 percent of the men saying this was the case. The same sort of split existed between Puerto Rican men and women, although the gap between the male and female frequencies in this category was not quite as great. Black women were more familiar with the programs specifically mentioned than were the men, while Puerto Rican men were more familiar with these programs than were the women.

Both Black men and women watched the news daily, but men with a greater frequency than women. This was also the case in the Puerto Rican response group. While 40 percent of the Black men sampled said the news was very accurate, only 13.5 percent of the females gave this response.

Age and Ethnicity

The age of respondents was next correlated with their ethnic group to see if any significant statistics would emerge. It was learned that no Black respondent under 35 never watched the news and only two Black respondents said they watched less than once a week in the younger age groups. Approximately equal numbers of Puerto Rican respondents in all age groups watched the news, with no variation which would show a trend of any sort. The age of respondents did not have any significant bearing upon whether or not they watched news about the police or crime,

either. Few factors on the questionnaire were influenced by the age of respondents, but it was indicated that those Blacks over 35 were more likely to believe that the television image of the police was accurate than were those under 35, where 66.7 percent of those 18-21 and 60 percent of those 22-26 said that the image was not at all accurate, in the Black response group. Puerto Rican respondents did not indicate any trends in regard to this question.

Again, the age of Black respondents had a bearing on the opinion of respondents regarding the police in their neighborhood, with 55.6 percent of the Blacks over the age of 60 saying they liked the police in their neighborhood, while only one Black responded that he hated the police, and he was in the group aged 18-21.

Education and Ethnicity

When the factor of education was taken into consideration, and cross-tabulated with the results by ethnic group, all respondents with less than an eighth grade education except the Puerto Ricans believed that reports of crime in the newspapers were not accurate. In this same educational group, Puerto Ricans thought that the news was neutral or not very inconsistent, while most Blacks believed it was not very consistent. This same division existed in the group with a ninth to tenth grade education.

While 54.5 percent of the Blacks with a ninth to tenth grade education thought that the newspaper reports about the police were very accurate, only 26.7 percent of the Puerto Ricans felt this. In regard to the first story, Puerto Ricans with less than an eighth grade

education felt that the police did not overstep their limits, and only Puerto Ricans responded that the police in this story were good guys. While 66.7 percent of the respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education believed the police in this story were nice guys, only 16.7 percent of the Blacks in this educational group felt this was true. When the second story was read, the opinions expressed by the Puerto Rican respondents in the lowest educational group did not improve much, but the opinions of the Black respondents in this group were greatly improved. It was extremely difficult to discover the reason for the change in one group which did not carry over to the other.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, the only person who had been arrested more than twice was a Black respondent who had been arrested more than five times. The only respondents who had an eleventh or twelfth grade education who had been arrested were Black, but this statistic tells us very little since all of the respondents who admitted they had been arrested were Black. The only person in the lowest educational group who said he was often hit by the police was the same person who had been arrested more than five times, although both Puerto Rican and Black respondents in this educational group said that this sometimes took place. In the second educational group, the only respondents saying they were sometimes hit or shoved by the police were Puerto Rican.

Only two respondents with less than an eighth grade education said the police sometimes or always talked abusively to them, and both were Black. All four respondents with an eleventh or twelfth grade education who said the police talked abusively to them were Black.

Age and Income Level

Next, age and income were correlated to see if these two factors in combination had any significant bearing upon the responses of the interviewees. Only 11 percent of those over 60 in the under \$3000 income level read the news daily. This is in marked contrast to the other groups, where a high readership in all age groups existed. It was also shown that no one over 26 in the income level of \$5000-6500 thought the news was totally inaccurate. The only person in the group with income level of \$6500-8500 who thought the reports of crime were accurate was aged 36-45, so that a moderate income and a median age person was probably more likely to be the type of person at whom the press might aim their coverage. Other statistics tended to lean toward this interpretation, although there were no significant trends which would make this into a definite conclusion.

In the income level of \$5000-6500, no one over 26 saw the police image on television as that of good guys, but again this was not indicative of any particular trend.

Another interesting piece of information which emerged from the statistics is that the only person in the \$6500-8500 income level who liked the police in the first story was over 60 years of age. This was also the only person who liked the police in the second story in that income level. Other statistics regarding the two stories about the police did not seem to be influenced by the combination of income level and age.

Income level had some significance on the arrest record of the respondents, though, in that no one in the top two income levels had

been arrested. A larger sample might have shown arrests in these groups, but a total of 21 respondents were included in these two income levels, and all age groups were represented, so it might be concluded that income level has an affect on whether or not persons residing within ghetto areas will be picked up by the police and held. Conversely, it might be concluded that the behavior of persons in the top two income levels might be such that they would not come under the scrutiny of the police.

It was interesting to note that the one respondent with an income of under \$3000 annually who stated he had sometimes been hit by the police was also in the age group 18-21. While some respondents in the other income levels said they had been hit or shoved by the police, no one over 30 in the \$6500-8500 income level said they had been so treated. The same respondent who stated above that he had sometimes been hit by the police also stated that the police sometimes talked abusively to him or to his family. In the income level \$3000-5000, the one respondent who said the police always talked abusively to him was also in the 18-21 age group. The same respondent in the lowest income level who gave the negative responses above again said that the police picked on people in his neighborhood. In the second income level, no one over 30 said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, while no one under 30 in the next income level felt the police picked on people there. It is significant that only one person in the highest income level said the police picked on people there, and that this person was middle aged, in the group between 46-60.

Only two respondents in the income level of \$5000-6500 said they watched less than one hour of television per day, and it was

significant that they were not elderly respondents. One was 18-21 and the other was 36-45. There is no apparent explanation for this data other than personal habits. While most respondents watched a fair amount of television, no one over 30 in the lowest income level was familiar with all five of the programs presented regarding the police. Other groups did not show a great number of responses within any singular category.

No one in the lowest age level of the lowest income group believed the news related to their neighborhood, except rarely, as did only three in the lowest two age groups in the second income level. Although there were a variety of opinions on this variable, it appeared that most of the respondents did not feel that the news on television was related to their neighborhood very often.

In spite of this lack of local news, 80 percent of the respondents of age 18-21 in the second income level felt that the news was very accurate. This is a somewhat surprising find, and did not set any trend in other income levels. In the highest income level, only one person (aged 31-35) felt that the news was not too accurate, while none felt it was totally inaccurate, which shows a greater tendency of those with a higher income to feel that the media are giving a highly accurate picture of what is happening in the world. From other responses, it was noted that several respondents in the upper income groups had very little contact with the police, and that those lower income level persons who had made direct contacts with the police had formed opinions which made them wary of the reporting about police activity in the media.

Again, all respondents under the age of 21 in the lowest income level saw the police image on television as that of good guys, as did all members of the lowest age group in the second income level. In the third income group, 78.9 percent of all respondents, regardless of age, saw the police image as that of good guy. It was also noted that 44.4 percent of all respondents in the highest income level said the police image they saw on television was an accurate one.

Although age was not a factor in the frequency with which people saw the police, 57.1 percent in the lowest income level saw them several times a day, as did 83.3 percent of those in the second income group, 63.2 percent of those in the \$5000-6500 income group and 41.7 percent of those in the \$6500-8500 income group. This was the group where a change in the trend became obvious, as we saw another 41.7 percent stating that they saw the police rarely in their neighborhood.

Meanwhile, the only person in the lowest income level who said the police often roughed up citizens in his neighborhood was in the age group 36-45. All others said this rarely or never happened. Progressing to the income level of \$5000-6500, both respondents who said that the police often or sometimes roughed people up were aged 18-21, while no one over 30 in the next income level said the police often did this. Most importantly, no one in the highest income level stated that they had ever seen the police rough people up in their neighborhood, except one who said this rarely happened.

After gathering all of these responses, respondents were asked if the police ever went out of their way to help citizens in their neighborhood. No significant statistics emerged on this question until

the income level of \$6500-8500, where two persons over 45 said the police often helped. If we consider this along with the following question, as to the opinion of the respondents regarding the police in their neighborhood, we can note that no one under 35 in the lowest income level said they liked the police, and the only person in the \$6500-8500 income level who liked them was over 60, while the only person with an income over \$8500 who liked the police was aged 46-60.

Sex Correlated Against Age

Next, sex was correlated against age, and it was learned that the only man who never read the news in the sample was 46-60, that the majority of men under 45 always read the news about crime and the police, but that most of those over 45 said they only sometimes read this type of news, and that men under 26 were more likely to believe that newspaper reporting about the police was totally inaccurate. The statistics for women on these three questions did not set any patterns.

Women under 30 were more inclined to believe that the image of the police in the newspapers was not very consistent, and the only man who said that the news was not at all accurate was 18-21. Other individual answers seemed to be deviations from the norm, such as the one man aged 46-60 who liked the police in the first story; but other patterns emerged, such as the fact that no woman under 30 liked the police in that story. With the second story, there was still only one man who liked the police, while many who felt that the police in the first story had overstepped their limits now said that the police were okay. In the second story, we also saw that some of the women liked the police and none of them hated the police. General trends of

improvement were noted for both men and women in the changed story, and age was not a factor.

While no men under 45 had been arrested more than once, no woman of any age had been arrested more than one time. All men except one (aged 22-26) said there was no brutality in cases where they had been arrested. The one who said there was responded that the police had reacted to the suspect resisting arrest. But two women in the sample between the ages of 27 and 35 said that there had definitely been brutality in cases where a family member had been arrested. In the age group 18-21, 80 percent of the male respondents said the police sometimes hit them or their family, while one woman in the 36-45 age group, but no other woman in the sample said the police often hit her or her family.

It was significant to note that, of the six male respondents who said the police sometimes or always talked abusively to them, five were under the age of 26, and that four of the five women who said the police sometimes or always talked abusively to them or their family were under 30.

Regarding viewership of television, 60 percent of the men 18-21 were familiar with all five programs specifically mentioned as being programs pertaining to the police. No other age group was that familiar with these shows on television, nor were the women. All men under the age of 45 in our sample watched the news daily, while other men watched less frequently. Women under 26 were not likely to watch the news daily, while women over 27 were likely to do so.

Three female respondents under the age of 30 also felt that all of the news on television depicted the police as disliking ghetto residents, although the other respondents, male or female, seemed to feel that this was not depicted on television.

In terms of their real-life encounters with the police, all of the male respondents under 30 except one saw the police several times daily, while the only woman who said she never saw the police was 46-60 years of age. The only man who said the police often roughed up people in his neighborhood was 18-21, as was the one male respondent who said that they sometimes did this. But, on the other hand, the only man who said the police often helped people in that neighborhood was 22-26 years of age. Older women were far more likely than younger ones to say that the police often helped, as was the case in the other city samples. The one man who stated that he liked the police in his neighborhood was 18-21, as was the one man who stated that he hated the police. The one woman who hated the police was 31-35, and did not fit into any pattern of responses by age.

Age Correlated with Education

Age was next cross-tabulated with education, and it was learned that news readership in the educational group with less than an eighth grade accomplishment declined sharply after age 45, while no one in the second educational group (ninth to tenth grade) under the age of 26 read the news daily. The highest readership in all age groups with an eleventh to twelfth grade education or a college education could be seen.

In spite of this, there was a high readership of the news about crime and the police by all groups with less than an eighth grade education. Also, those respondents over 26 who had a ninth or tenth grade education had the greatest readership.

When asked about the accuracy of the reporting, 66.7 percent of those 18-21 with a ninth to tenth grade education said it was totally inaccurate, even though no other educational group set any trend on this question.

Another astonishing result of the survey was that 54.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education said the police in the first story were okay, with the younger groups feeling so more than the older ones. There was absolutely no evidence that this would be the case from the other statistics gathered in the survey of this sample. The majority of respondents with any college education agreed with the respondents in most other categories that the police in the first story had overstepped their limits.

But, the only person with a ninth to tenth grade education who felt the police in the second story were overstepping their limits was 22-26, and no other trends appeared in regard to the second story on the criterion of age cross-tabulated with education.

The only respondent with less than an eighth grade education who had been arrested more than once was aged 46-60 and said he had been arrested more than five times, while no one in the ninth to tenth grade educational group had been arrested more than once. Only one respondent with an eleventh to twelfth grade education (aged 46-60) had been arrested more than once, while no one with a college education had been arrested more than one time, either.

When asked if there had been any police brutality in cases when they or members of their family had been arrested, two respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education and aged 27-35 said there definitely had been, while one respondent with an eleventh to twelfth grade education and also young, 22-26, said the police had only reacted to the person resisting arrest. The only respondent with less than an eighth grade education who said he/she had often been hit or shoved by the police was aged 36-45.

Again, the only four people with an eleventh to twelfth grade education who said the police always or sometimes talked abusively to them or to their families were under the age of 26. It would appear that education was not a factor in the eyes of the police, although age was, and that the educational level of the respondents who were also young and who were, nevertheless, singled out for such treatment by the police would make them much more inclined toward a negative feeling about the police than it would if they had less education.

The only person with an eleventh to twelfth grade education who said the police definitely picked on people in that neighborhood was under 21.

No one with less than an eighth grade education and under the age of 35 believed the news was very accurate. The only person in the educational group who believed that all of the news on television showed the police as disliking ghetto residents was 27-30. And the only person with a ninth to tenth grade education who wanted to cheer the police on when using force to make an arrest was over 60.

All respondents in the ninth to tenth grade educational group and in the youngest age group (18-21) said the police image on television was that of a good guy, as did all of those under 26 with an eleventh to twelfth grade education. Those with less than an eighth grade education and 27-30 felt that this television image of the police was very accurate, but they were nearly alone among the respondents.

Most respondents with less than an eighth grade education saw the police in their neighborhood several times a day, except in the age group 31-35 and that over 60, but education and age did not form any other patterns in the cross-tabulation. Two respondents with less than an eighth grade education saw the police rough people up often. One was 27-30 years of age and the other was 36-45 years of age. One person with a ninth to tenth grade education who saw the police rough people up often was 27-30. Only two respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the police often roughed people up, and both of them were under 21. Again, it was difficult to tell if this was influenced by education at all, but age did seem to be the important factor in this variable.

As might be expected, no one under the age of 30 with a ninth to tenth grade education said that the police often helped people in their neighborhood, but this pattern was not carried through in other educational groups. Contrary to expectations, though, 66.7 percent of the group aged 27-30 with less than an eighth grade education said they liked the police. No one over the age of 45 hated the police in this educational group, and the next educational group gave very similar responses on this question. But the higher educational groups again formed no pattern.

Income Cross-Tabulated with Sex

When income was cross-tabulated with the sex of respondents, it was learned that the higher income women were more likely to read the news daily, although readership for men did not fall into any patterns by income level. No men in the sample said that they rarely or never read the news about the crime and an increased income led to a greater readership of such news. The only women who rarely or never read the news about crime were in the two lowest income groups. Although female respondents did not show any patterns by income level, the only male respondents who thought the news about the police was presented in a consistent manner were those who earned less than \$5000 per year. These men believed that this image was that of good guys.

Actual contact with the police seemed to be influenced, though, by the income level of respondents. Of the two men who had been arrested more than once, one had an income of under \$3000 annually and the other between \$5000-6500. The one man who said there was brutality in the case where he or a member of his family had been arrested was in the \$5000-6500 income level. He stated that the police had actually reacted to the person in custody resisting arrest. Both women who said there was brutality had an income level over \$6500. Also, all of the men who felt the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood had income levels under \$6500. It was apparent that the lower income levels led to more negative contacts and therefore more negative opinions about the police. But as the pattern emerged, it became apparent that this negative opinion carried over to the upwardly mobile population and not

just to the lowest income groups. The opinions of women, for the most part, were not influenced by income level to the extent that those of the men were.

Men in the higher income levels tended to watch more television than those in the lower income groups.⁷ They were also more familiar with the five programs about the police contained in the survey. The lowest male viewership of the news was 50 percent of those in the income group under \$3000 watching the news daily. All other groups watched daily to a higher percentage level than this. This was reflected in the responses of the men to the next question, where it was shown that no man with an income of under \$3000 annually felt that the news reporting on television was at all accurate.

For various reasons, no men believed that the news on television showed the police as disliking ghetto residents, while all three women who thought the police on television disliked ghetto or barrio residents were in the lowest two income levels. Half of the men with an income of under \$5000 annually felt anger at the police when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, which held a potential for problems if this sort of reporting continued. This frustration on the part of residents was also reflected in comments at the end of the survey. Many felt that the reporting should lead to investigations and prosecution of those officers who were found guilty of using such force.

Continuing to personal opinions about the police, the only man who responded that the police often helped people in his neighborhood was in the income level \$5000-6500. Other factors were not relevant in

the statistics produced in the survey on these cross-tabulated variables.

Education and Income Level

The only respondent with an eleventh to twelfth grade education who rarely or never read the news was also in the lowest income level, while four respondents with less than an eighth grade education and under \$3000 income never read news about crime or the police. The only person with less than an eighth grade education who felt the news was reported in a totally inaccurate manner was also in the income level under \$3000 annually.

Those respondents in the higher income levels among those with a ninth to tenth grade education believed the news on television gave a consistent picture of the police, but again this failed to be indicative of any pattern.

All of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education who felt the police in the first story had overstepped their limits were in the lowest two income levels, while 83.3 percent of those with a ninth to tenth grade education and under \$3000 annual income felt that the police in that story were okay. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, those with lower income levels were more likely than those with higher income levels to believe the police had overstepped. While income level seemed to have some effect on opinion regarding this story, there was not total agreement that a trend was being set. And, when the second story was evaluated, the criterion data did not indicate any patterns whatsoever.

In correlating education and income level, it was learned that the only person who had less than an eighth grade education and was arrested more than once was in the \$5000-6500 income level. No one with a ninth to tenth grade education had been arrested more than once, while the one person in this educational level who had been arrested once had a medium income level for the ghetto area. But the only person with an eleventh to twelfth grade education who had been arrested more than once had an income level of under \$3000 annually. And, significantly, no one with any college education had been arrested more than one time.

Continuing to the next set of questions, it was learned that the one respondent with less than an eighth grade education who said there possibly was police brutality in the case of his/her arrest or that of a family member had an income level of \$5000-6500. And it is significant that both respondents in the ninth to tenth grade educational group who said there definitely was brutality in such arrest cases were in the relatively high income level of over \$6500. The one person in the group with less than an eighth grade education who said he was often hit by the police was in the \$3000-5000 income level, and indications are that this respondent had not been arrested.

It was also noted that the only people with one year or two years of college who felt that the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood were in the lowest two income levels. Even with a high education, the fact that their income levels were low might be confirmation of this to them. With a high level of education, one might assume, they should be able to qualify for higher paying jobs. In their

interviews, both of these respondents indicated that not only the police but the entire "establishment" was working against their progress.

In terms of viewership of television, the only person with less than an eighth grade education who never watched television also earned less than \$3000 annually, but no other significant correlations were found. It was learned that those with a higher income level but less than an eighth grade education watched the news with the highest frequency. This might be an interesting cause-effect relationship, but highly difficult to analyze in terms of which is the cause and which is the effect. The high motivation of these people with lower educations to achieve the higher income levels may also cause them to attempt to be more aware of events in the world around them.

It was also indicated in the data that 100 percent of those with an income level of \$5000 annually or above and an eleventh to twelfth grade education watched the news daily.

A high level of viewership of television was demonstrated among all respondents, but no one with a ninth to tenth grade education and over \$6500 income level felt the news often related to their neighborhood. This group gave the most hearty endorsement for that point of view, but it was felt strongly in the other groups as well.

The two people with less than an eighth grade education who thought the police in the media alone were shown as very bad men were in the income level of under \$3000 annually. This is interesting in light of the fact that the lowest income levels with less than an eighth grade education saw the police in real life with greatest frequency, while the upper income level respondents saw them least often.

Also of note was the fact that the only two respondents with less than an eighth grade education who stated that they frequently saw the police rough people in their neighborhood up also had income levels well below the median of \$5000.

Sex and Educational Level

When sex and education were cross-tabulated, it was learned that 60 percent of the women with less than an eighth grade education read the news once a day, while the men in the educational group were far less likely to read the newspapers. But, all of the men with a ninth to tenth grade education stated that they read the news once a day. Among the women with less than an eighth grade education, 62.4 percent read the news about crime always or often, while none of the men did. Men and women in higher educational levels read the news about crime in approximately equal percentages. The women gave moderate reports as to the accuracy of these crime reports, but 66.7 percent of the men with a ninth to tenth grade education said crime reports in the newspapers were not very accurate. (We must recall here that men were somewhat more likely to see the police than were the women in the sample). But the same percentage of the men felt that the image of the police given in the newspapers was not very consistent, when that ninth to tenth grade educational group was queried on this aspect, while 87.5 percent of all the respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education gave that response.

While 30 percent of the women with less than an eighth grade education saw the police image in the press as that of good guys or not too bad, none of the men in that educational group agreed. And while

60 percent of the women in that educational group felt that the police in the first story were okay, 66.7 percent of the men felt neutral about them. Regarding the second story, 66.7 percent of the men said police were okay in the group with less than an eighth grade education, as did 62.5 percent of the men with an eleventh to twelfth grade education.

As stated before, the one person with less than an eighth grade education who had been arrested more than once was a man, as were the others in various educational groups who had been arrested more than one time. Educational level had very little bearing on whether or not a Black man in the sample would be arrested. But, when asked if there had been any brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested, the two respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education who said there definitely had been were both women. And the only person with less than an eighth grade education who said they had often been hit or shoved by the police was also a woman, as were the two respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education who gave this question the response that this sometimes happened.

As might be expected from this trend, all three respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education who felt the police sometimes or often talked abusively to them or to their families were women. Although women with a ninth to tenth grade education believed in various degrees that the police picked on residents of their neighborhood, all of the men in this educational group said they definitely did not.

As far as viewership was concerned, 53.3 percent of the women with less than an eighth grade education watched 5-10 hours per day of

television, while only 33.3 percent of men in the educational group did. Other groups did not follow definite patterns. No man with less than an eighth grade education was familiar with more than two of the programs about the police which were mentioned, while several of the women were familiar with three, four or all five of them. The same pattern carried through in most of the educational groups. In the group with the lowest education, 73.3 percent of the women watched the news daily, while only 33.3 percent of the men did so. All men with a ninth to tenth grade education watched the news daily, whereas only 52.2 percent of the women did. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 87.5 percent of the men watched the news daily and 70.6 percent of the women in this group did so.

Women with less than an eighth grade education were more apt to believe that news on television related to their neighborhood, while 66.7 percent of the men in this educational group responded that it never did. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 66.7 percent of the men believed that the news rarely or never related to their neighborhood, while 75 percent of the men with an eleventh to twelfth grade education felt this was the case. In all of the above cases the only respondents who felt that the news related to their neighborhood daily were women.

All male respondents, it was found, with less than an eighth grade education felt that very little or none of the news on television showed that police disliked ghetto or barrio residents, while some of the women responded that all or most of the news showed this. The figures were not significant to prove a definite trend. In the

group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 66.7 percent of the men said none of the news showed this, although women were not so sure that this was the case. This may have been indication of a trend, but the sample size was not large enough to determine if the factors of educational level and sex of the respondents were the only variables affecting this question.

Of the male respondents with less than an eighth grade education, 66.7 percent felt anger at the police when they saw filmed reports of force being used to make an arrest, while women in this group were more inclined to feel that police were doing a job they really didn't like (40 percent). This trend did not carry through to other educational groups.

Men believed slightly more than women in the group with less than an eighth grade education that the police image on television is that of good guys, while the men and women in the second educational group did not differ widely in their opinions on this question. With an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 67.5 percent of the men saw the image as that of a good guy, while 58.8 percent of the women felt this. All except two respondents who had a college education of any amount felt that the police image was that of a good guy on television.

Although no trends were set by educational group, 66.7 percent of the men with a ninth to tenth grade education said the police image was not at all accurate, while 43.5 percent of the women in this group said this image was somewhat or very accurate, a small but perhaps significant difference in viewpoint.

Men and women in the sample tended to see the police with about the same frequency in their neighborhood, and it is interesting to note that none of the men in the group with a ninth to tenth grade education had seen the police rough up citizens in their neighborhood, although some of the women in that educational group had seen this. In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 63.3 percent of the women said the police sometimes or often helped people in their neighborhood, while 66.7 percent of the men in this group said they only rarely helped.

In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 42.1 percent of the women said the police sometimes or often helped, while 66.7 percent of the men said they rarely did and the other 33.3 percent said they never helped. But in spite of these responses, which indicated a negative opinion of the police by the men in the survey sample, 66.7 percent of the men said the police in their neighborhood were okay, while 43.3 percent of the women gave that answer and 20 percent of the women stated their opinion as, "I like them," within the group with less than an eighth grade education. The second educational group also noted favorable responses from several women, with 26.1 percent of the women liking the police in their neighborhood and 39.1 percent saying they were okay, while all of the men in this group stated that they felt neutral about the police who served their neighborhood.

Conclusions

The open-ended question at the end of the survey drew a number of responses which were similar to the responses gleaned in the Newark sample, but there were some differences which might be attributed to the following three factors:

1. Ethnic diversity within this sample (including language).
2. Existence of more competitive media (especially newspapers).
3. Differences in police behavior and police department policy.

Although these factors have been generalized above, the specific responses given by the interviewees would indicate that a certain amount of each of these factors came into play in the functioning of the specific neighborhood interactions. The most obvious difference between this sample and the Newark sample was the ethnic one. The language factor served two separate functions. First was the creation of a different viewpoint of the police in the neighborhood based on cultural concepts of what police should be like. Secondly, it caused different reactions of the police toward the ethnic and language group differences. The survey results showed that the Puerto Ricans had fewer direct encounters with the police. The open-ended question confirmed this, indicating that the police and the Puerto Ricans often did not understand one another and that the police attempted to avoid direct contact with the Puerto Ricans, who tended to also avoid confrontations with the police. One interviewee stated specifically that he did not want the police to stop him because they might misunderstand something he said and shoot him before he could explain that he was innocent.

Whereas the Newark sample almost uniformly read only one newspaper, the Star-Ledger, the New York sample had several newspapers available to them, and they made use of different media at different times. The two most commonly read newspapers in the New York portion of the survey were the Daily News and Diario, which was the Spanish language newspaper available in that area. Both were basically picture-

papers, with a high impact placed on the ability of pictures to tell the story, while few words were used. For enhancement of this, the New York respondents relied heavily on the five major television stations functioning in the New York metropolitan area. It might be noted here that, with varying degrees of reception, all of these stations also service the Newark area, but that Newark's television at the time of the survey devoted a greater proportion of its time to other types of programming than programs regarding police and the news programs which might show police activity as it related to such neighborhoods as the one under study.

Subtle differences between behavior of police officers, how they perceive a neighborhood, and police department policy and procedure exist in all major metropolitan police departments. This is quite normal. No survey of the police was included in this study, but many comments by the respondents would indicate that policy, procedure and attitude were all somewhat different than those found in Newark, New Jersey, when that area was under study. The comments which were included in the open-ended answers probably give the best insight as to the subtleties of these differences.

When asked what changes they would like to see in media reporting about the police, several respondents stated they would like to hear that the police were patrolling more, "talking nicer to people" and that there was a reduction in police brutality. One respondent stated, "You have to show respect for people to get respect from them". Upon hearing these different reports about the police, this respondent felt he might come to the aid of officers in arrest incidents. One

respondent stated that the news should get the facts and was disturbed that each different paper had a different version of the same story.

Another female respondent stated that she would like to hear that the police were responding to every call. She felt they were often afraid to come into housing project buildings. It was noted that several of the Puerto Rican respondents, who had Spanish language media available to them, felt that the police were okay and that the media reporting about them was okay. Other Puerto Rican respondents said they only wanted to hear good news about the police, because it made them feel safer.

One interesting suggestion was that a news story telling the public that police salaries had been raised and that they were not taking graft payments commonly felt to be accepted by police in this area would be highly encouraging. Along this same line, one respondent said she would like to have the corruption among the police exposed, because, she felt, the public would not stand for it. Several other responses followed through with this line, saying that the media should expose the police, show the other peoples' side of the story and point out that the "police are fallible".

Elderly respondents tended to be disturbed that a great deal of violence was shown on television, feeling that this might have an effect on the habits of young people who might accept violence as a way of life. Another elderly respondent asked the media to "tell the facts about the police, the court and the law so the public know more about the law".

Another respondent felt that the media should show which of the police were nice guys and which were bullies "who don't care if they push someone around". Yet another said that it might help if the media would show the reasons behind police brutality. This was interpreted as meaning that police reactions to persons resisting arrest or to harassment from crowds might explain police behavior in a way that would allow for the public to realize whether the fault was with the police officer or with the person being arrested.

Several interviewees stated that they would feel safer if they heard that there were more police around, while some indicated that they would like a new set of police in their neighborhood, perhaps ones who had no preconceived ideas about the neighborhood and its residents. One respondent stated that he didn't expect the police to be "saints," and that it would help if he knew that they had failings and admitted it, so that the police and the community could relate "person-to-person".

The lack of coverage of lesser crimes was criticized by a few of the respondents, who felt that they might benefit from knowing that certain types of crime such as purse-snatching was prevalent in their area. Stories that told of good things that the police did as well as just arrest stories or stories about corruption among the police would inspire confidence, if the respondents were correct in sensing public feeling.

A female respondent stated that she would like to see news reports showing more compassion toward people the police are arresting, and that the police were remaining calm. This Puerto Rican woman felt

that the police should be learning Spanish and that the police department should be more careful about choosing officers.

One young respondent stated she would feel better about the police if she read that they were becoming more active and alert. Another young female respondent with a moderate income and a relatively high education stated that the police should be exposed by the media "for what they really are". She felt the police should be given more authority in making simple arrests and "less leeway in using force or guns".

An interesting sidelight to this set of interviews was the number of comments made about a particular television program which had recently shown how burglars manage to remove chain locks by using a matchbook cover. Such comments, which all were critical of the programming judgment, suggested that it was inadvisable for the media to "put instructions on television on how to commit crimes--or in the paper". This specific criticism did not refer to problems with the police, but with the media reporting. The opinion of respondents noticing this type of reporting tended to be that the police were basically good and that the press should not report negative things about them and make their job harder.

A sizable number of respondents in the New York sample felt that too much criticism of the police by the press was bad. They tended to feel that over-criticism led people to distrust the police and to be unwilling to cooperate with them. News directed at specific incidents, relating to local neighborhood crimes, and naming specific

officers as being good or bad, but not news generalizing to entire populations or all officers, was preferred. Above all, though, the most common comment was that respondents wanted "more truth" from the press. This included information on how the police make arrests and how they get their information, the manner of response to citizen complaints, anticipated response times, and other relevant information which might help citizens to know "what to expect".

One of the most constructive suggestions came from a middle aged Black woman who had lived in the neighborhood for 23 years. She suggested that the media present community forums with the police on television, to inform the people about how the police felt about specific issues. She stated, "That would change my opinion and make a better community."

Many of the respondents noted a lack of police patrolling in the housing project area, and felt that this lack encouraged crime. Several suggested that announcing that the patrols were going to be stepped up would discourage criminals from concentrating in certain areas.

At the time of the interviews, the New York City Police Department was being severely criticized in the media for alleged corruption. Although several interviewees felt that such criticism was necessary, most felt that too much of such criticism was bad for the morale of the police, and that of the community as well. Some suggested taking note of specific nice things that the police did, and not just leaving this "nice guy" image to the programs about the police, such as Mod Squad and the FBI. In addition to criticizing the police in the media, some

respondents felt that they would be safer if they knew that corrupt police had been kicked off the police force.

Another factor that emerged in the open-ended questioning was that a number of the women were afraid to go out at night. This fear was not restricted to women of any particular ethnic or age group. It was related to the small numbers of police patrolling the neighborhoods. Although this factor was mentioned by several respondents, the Black respondents tried to encourage the "beefing up" of the force by media publicity, while the Puerto Rican respondents felt that the media could not accomplish such a change and were quite satisfied with the media reporting.

As in the Newark sample, the group in the Bronx indicated that news noting improved response times and more police walking their beats would be welcomed. It was also suggested that a well-publicized program to hire some unemployed youths as a sort of junior police, or police cadets, squad would be beneficial. As in the Newark segment, a good deal of skepticism about news reports that the police were behaving as "good guys" could be seen in the responses. The respondents in this group were realists in certain ways, indicating that they realized the human fallibility of police officers, that they realized that police work is difficult, and that temptations do exist. They seemed convinced that accurate coverage of the activities of police would mean showing a balance between the good behavior and the bad behavior of police within their city. They took it for granted that police officers were like any other group of people, with some bad members, but the majority basically good.

The matter of trust in the police was significant to the respondents in this sample. One male respondent said that he feared the consequences of assisting the police because the police did not offer adequate protection for informants, although he knew information about crime and wished that he could be of assistance to the police.

An elderly female respondent felt that the mere reporting of cases of police brutality undermined the confidence of the people in the police, while a young male respondent agreed, saying, "If you can't trust the cops, who can you trust?" Another male respondent in his early thirties reasoned that "They shouldn't show police brutality unless they explain why it's happening". This seems to call for more in-depth reporting of specific incidents.

It was pointed out by one respondent that the news tended to show only the bad side of the police behavior in recent times, while the programs about the police which respondents were asked to evaluate showed only the good side. In real life, according to one female respondent, it often happened that the police called citizens "a Black nigger" and the citizens called the police "a racist pig". This, she felt, was not the whole truth. And that, in a nutshell, sums up the request of the majority of the people queried in the New York sample.

Although certain deviations from the pattern were indicated, the only major difference in opinion which appeared in the open-ended question was between Puerto Rican and Black respondents. The majority of Black respondents called for changes in the news reporting, while the majority of Puerto Ricans were satisfied with the reporting. Unfortunately, it was not possible to evaluate the specific cause of this

difference, although it may have been attributed to factors of literacy, differences in manner of news reporting between the English language and Spanish language newspapers, or to cultural differences, such as differing attitudes toward the police as societal norms within the two societies.

The factors of age, sex, educational group and income level did not significantly affect the opinions of respondents in this group, although it might be noted that elderly respondents were more likely to state that there was too much violence on television than were members of other age groups.

In summary, it may be stated that the citizens of New York's Bronx area who were sampled for this survey wished to obtain accurate news reports about the police, fair treatment by the police, and to be able to gain trust in the police. They indicated that reporting should show both the good and the bad incidents involving police, and that specific incidents and officers should be named, thus lending credibility to the reporting and significantly increasing trust in the police as well as accountability.

CHAPTER IV

VENICE: GHETTO IN FLUX

Venice Division of the Los Angeles Police Department serves one of the most diverse areas in terms of population to be found in any major metropolitan area in the United States. Classifying it as a ghetto in flux can best be explained by giving some historical background about the area, as well as describing the ethnic and income level diversity to be found within its borders. This area was known during the 1950s as a haven for the beatnik population. Its proximity to the beach, the number of small cottages which could be rented inexpensively and the generally relaxed atmosphere prevalent in beach communities encouraged the influx of the beatniks at that time, and also served to cause the exit of a number of the wealthier residents who had maintained second homes or retirement homes in the area and who found the beatniks not to their liking.

With the subsidence of the beatnik popularity, the area was hit by waves of low income residents, representing many ethnic groups, and was an area which saw heavy drug traffic in the 1960s and early 1970s. Although some residents of the previous eras remained, the decline of the neighborhoods was steady, and the crime rate steadily rose. To combat this, the police in Venice Division instituted several programs, including stepped-up enforcement and elaborate community

forums to promote better police-community relations. Shortly after these plans were instituted, the city revealed its plans to build a large marina (Marina Del Rey) for the local yachtsmen on the edge of this rapidly deteriorating area. This meant that many of the residents who had struggled to purchase small cottages in the area would be asked to move in order for the marina to be constructed and the area to be built up for it.

Probably the most significant characteristic of the neighborhood in Venice, which is located on the Southern California coast next to Los Angeles, is the direction of mobility of its population. Within Venice can be found both upwardly and downwardly mobile persons. Because of the size of the residences, as well as their age, it is possible to rent a small house at a moderate price. Very few landlords set limitations on the number of persons who can reside in their units. If they did, these regulations would not be obeyed. Large families living in small units are typical in the area. Also, there is a high percentage of non-family units sharing the housing in Venice. Among those surveyed, one cottage was found to be the residence of 18 Mexicans. From information supplied by the respondents, the interviewer learned that more than half of these persons in this two-bedroom home were in the United States illegally and planning to return to Mexico as soon as they had earned some money.

In contrast to this, though, there were upwardly mobile families who were buying into the area because of the proposed marina and using the purchase of property as a wise investment for the future. Some of the larger homes were in the process of renovation, but were side-by-side with run-down shacks. Very few high-rise buildings exist in

the area, with three-story buildings the largest ones to be found. Most of the two and three story dwellings were apartment buildings of six or eight units.

The ethnic diversity of the neighborhood could also be seen, and was reflected in this study's sample, which included 51 Blacks, 26 Mexican-Americans or other Spanish-speaking respondents, 22 whites, and one Oriental. The history of the area as a retirement community and a beach-side resort helped to maintain approximately equal numbers of residents within all age groups. Therefore, the sample included six persons aged 18-21, 18 aged 22-26, seven aged 27-30, fourteen in each of the groups 31-35 and 36-45, 20 who were between 46-60 and 21 over the age of 60. The sample included 42 men and 58 women.

Among those surveyed, 32 had less than an eighth grade education, 18 had achieved ninth or tenth grade, 36 the eleventh or twelfth grades, three had one year of college, five had completed two years and one three years of college, while five stated that they had completed a Bachelor's degree. As far as income level was concerned, there were 42 persons with income of under \$3000 annually, 18 with income level of \$3000-5000, eight between \$5000-6500, nine between \$6500 and \$8500 and 23 with income levels of over \$8500.

There were certain incidents noted by the interviewer which indicated a large degree of friction between residents of the community based upon their color, age or income level. This friction was emphasized by police practices witnessed by the interviewer within the neighborhood. It did appear that the police were cautious about the neighborhood activity and were suspicious of any unusual activity.

They seemed aware of the fact that the interviewer was a stranger in the community, and made it obvious that they were keeping watch over activities in the neighborhood when they drew to a stop in the middle of an intersection to look at the interviewer as she continued to conduct her survey. The conflict between certain residents and the police was obvious in this incident because two young men who had previously noted that they did not care to be interviewed changed their minds when the police stopped to watch the interviewer and agreed to be interviewed in order to bring the interviewer out of the view of the police. These young men called this incident "police harassment," but some of the older residents stated that this was "responsiveness" to their requests to watch the area more closely for drugs.

This sample was asked the identical questions as the sample in the other cities surveyed, with a portion of interviews conducted in Spanish for those who found that language easier to comprehend. It was learned by the interviewer that, although there were some small Spanish-language news media in the area, they did not enjoy the popularity that the Spanish-language journal in New York had, and the Spanish-speaking population did not rely on them for their concepts of the police. When asked how often they read the news, 36 percent of all respondents said they rarely or never read the news, while 37 percent said they read the news daily. This was not a variable which was affected by age of respondents. Also, while 40 percent of all respondents said that they always read the news about crime, 25 percent said they never did. This may be reflected in the fact that 34 percent of all respondents believed crime was not reported in an accurate or an

inaccurate manner, but in a neutral fashion. While 34 percent of all respondents said the image of the police portrayed in the press was a consistent one, 45 percent said that image was one of neutrality, while 37 percent saw it as the image of a good guy. This response differs from that of other cities surveyed, where the opinion seemed to be more strongly that the press portrayed the police as good guys. It was learned that the primary news media relied upon by the citizens of Venice was the Los Angeles Times newspaper.

Overall Responses

When asked to evaluate the police in the first story, 48 percent of all respondents said the police had overstepped their limits in that story, and the age of respondents did not determine the opinion on this variable. When read the second story, 40 percent of the respondents said the police in that story were okay, and 29 percent said that they liked the police as portrayed in that news item.

It was interesting to note that 66 percent of the respondents in this sample said they had never been arrested, and that age did not seem to be the influential variable in responses to this question. Even more of the respondents (74 percent) indicated that no one in their families had been arrested. When asked if there had been any brutality in cases of their own or family members' arrest, 84 percent said there was none at all, while 68 percent indicated they had never been hit or shoved by the police, either. Additionally, 75 percent of the respondents said the police never talked abusively to them or to their family. This was felt strongly by the elderly, but six of the seven who said

that the police always talked abusively to them were in the age groups under 35. Correlated to this, it was noted that 29 percent of the respondents believed the police definitely picked on people who lived in their neighborhood (which was again defined as "treat them worse than people who live in other neighborhoods"). Nearly the same amount of respondents, 27 percent, said the police definitely did not pick on people in their neighborhood.

Moving into the area of television viewership, it was learned that 32 percent of the respondents watched 1-3 hours per day, and that 29 percent watched 5-10 hours per day of television. The youngest age groups tended to watch the most television. In the sample, 37 percent of the respondents were familiar with all five programs, and 34 percent said they knew one or none of the programs. No pattern was established on this variable by age. When asked about their habits regarding viewing the news, 66 percent of all respondents stated that they watched the news daily. Both the youngest and the oldest age groups had high viewership, while the middle age groups had significantly lower viewership rates. With this degree of familiarity with news reports, it was noted that 52 percent of the respondents said the news rarely related to the neighborhood, while 26 percent said it never did. Only five respondents indicated that the news daily related to their neighborhood. The most strong feeling regarding this came from the youngest group where 66.7 percent said the news never related and 33.3 percent said the news only rarely related to their neighborhood. Again, in this city, the neighborhood referred to in the question was left up to the definition of the interviewees. As to the content of the news,

53 percent of respondents said none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents. Again, many respondents answered by saying, "Oh, they don't show that on television."

In this sample, 41 percent felt anger when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, while another 10 percent felt distrust of the police in this instance. Two of the three respondents who said they wanted to cheer the police on were over 45 years of age.

Regarding the television image of the police, 53 percent of the Venice respondents said that the image was a consistent one, and 47 percent of them indicated that it was the image of a good guy. This can be contrasted with the newspaper image of the police, which was construed to be a neutral one. In regard to the accuracy of the image, one-third of respondents said it was very accurate, but 16 percent said it was not at all accurate and 13 percent said it was not very accurate. But, when asked what their opinion of the police would be, if based solely on the news media, 49 percent said they would think the police were really nice guys and 14 percent said they could understand why they act as they do. Only 11 percent of the respondents in this sample gave negative opinions on this question.

The area of personal experience with the police was explored, as in the other samples, and it was discovered that 58 percent of the respondents saw the police several times a day and 25 percent saw them regularly. Both of the respondents who indicated that they never saw the police in their neighborhood were aged 36-45, and this can be accounted for by the fact that they were both in the working age group.

With this relatively high visibility of the police, 63 percent of respondents said they had never seen the police rough up people in their neighborhood. More than 70 percent of respondents over age 40 said this, while the other age groups were split. But, in contrast to this, 38 percent of respondents said the police never went out of their way to help residents of their neighborhood, while only 8 percent said they often did so.

Still, in spite of the above responses, when asked for their feelings about the police in their neighborhood, 31 percent of the respondents said they liked police in their neighborhood, and another 28 percent said they were okay. Again, this was not as affirmative as the responses given by the other cities, but negative responses were not abundant here, as 24 percent of the remaining respondents felt neutral about police in that neighborhood.

Responses by Sex

When simple cross-tabulations of variables (questions) and the sex of respondents were conducted, it was learned that 39.7 percent of women and 33.3 percent of men read the news daily, while two men and one woman said they read the newspapers twice daily. But 48.3 percent of women said they always read the news about crime when they read the newspaper, while 28.6 percent of the men gave this response. In evaluating the image of police, 45.2 percent of men said the image of police was very consistent, as did 25.9 percent of the female respondents, but 57.1 percent of men saw this as the image of a good guy, while only 22.4 percent of women saw this image. Women were also the only

respondents who said the image was that they were sometimes too rough or violent men. Regarding the accuracy of this image, 25.9 percent of women and only 16.7 percent of men said it was an accurate image, while 21.4 percent of men and 13.8 percent of women said it was not at all true.

Upon hearing the news story about police behavior, 54.8 percent of men and 43.1 percent of women believed that the police had overstepped their limits. But 14.3 percent of men and only 5.2 percent of women said they didn't like the police in the story at all. When read the revised story, two of of three women who had hated the police in the first story still hated them in the second story. But 47.5 percent of the men believed the police in this story were okay, as did 34.5 percent of the women.

In the area of personal experience, it was learned that 86.2 percent of the women had never been arrested, but only 38.1 percent of men fell into this category. No woman had been arrested five or more times, but nine men (21.4 percent) had been. Slightly more women than men said there was no police brutality (87.9 percent versus 78.6 percent of men) and more men (16.7 percent) than women (5.2 percent) said there definitely was brutality in the cases when they or family members had been arrested.

Additionally, regarding various types of encounters with the police, 75.9 percent of women said they had never been hit or shoved by the police while only 57.1 percent of men gave this response. The police never talked abusively to 81 percent of the women or to their

families, while 66.7 percent of men said this was the case. But another 11.9 percent of men said that police always did this. Twice as many men indicated that police pick on people in their neighborhood than did women (40.5 percent versus 20.7 percent).

Sex Correlated with Age

The next cross-tabulations conducted were of sex of respondent versus the age of respondents on the various variables. The highest readership of the male respondents was in the 27-30 age group, where 80 percent read the news once a day, while the lowest was in the 22-26 age group where 75 percent said they rarely or never read the news. Women were evenly distributed, except in the 18-21 year old age group where 66.7 percent read the news rarely or never. Women were also slightly more inclined to read the news about crime or the police than were men.

No male respondent under the age of 45 felt that the news about crime or the police was reported very accurately. And no man over the age of 45 felt that such news was totally inaccurate. Only one woman under 45 thought the news reports were very accurate, while other age groups were distributed rather evenly among possible responses. Most men felt the image of the police shown in the newspapers was very consistent, and only one female respondent thought the image was totally inconsistent. The majority of the men felt the image was that of good guys (57.1 percent), and the only male group differing was the over 60 group, where 55.6 percent said it was neutral. No man said the image was too rough or violent. But 55.2 percent of the female

respondents in this sample indicated the image was neutral, while two women in the 18-21 age group said the image was that police were violent men.

Regarding the accuracy of the image the respondents felt they were seeing, 26.2 percent of the men said the news was not very true, while 23.8 percent said it was neutral and 21.4 percent said it was not at all true, leaving only 28.6 percent who said it was sometimes true or very accurate. Women were very evenly split on this variable.

Opinions regarding the first story about police behavior were quite revealing, with 54.8 percent of men indicating the police had overstepped their limits, while 14.3 percent of the men indicated they didn't like the police in this story at all. Only two men (4.8 percent of the sample) said they liked the police in the first story. Female respondents indicated in 43.1 percent of cases that they believed the police had overstepped their limits, and 5.2 percent of the women said they didn't like the police, but 20.7 percent of the female respondents said that they liked the police in this first story. When the second story was read to the respondents, only three men said the police had overstepped their limits, a drastic change from the opinions regarding the first story, and no male respondent said that he hated the police in the story. The large shift in the male response group was to the response "they were okay," which received 47.6 percent of the male responses. Only one woman indicated that the police in the second story had overstepped their limits, but two women indicated that they didn't like the police in the story. A total of 37.9 percent of the women liked the police in the second story and 34.5 percent said they

were okay. In other words, the female shift was to a slightly more affirmative stand than the shift by the male portion of the sample.

Returning to the question of personal experience with the police, 21.4 percent of the men had been arrested five or more times, while 38.1 percent said they had never been arrested. Others were evenly spread among the various responses. But 86.2 percent of the women had never been arrested, and no woman had been arrested five or more times, while only one woman had been arrested more than twice. This respondent was between 18-21 years of age. No woman over the age of 60 had been arrested. Among male interviewees, 76.2 percent indicated that no one in their family had been arrested, while approximately the same percentage of females (72.4 percent) indicated this was the case. The close correlation on this factor seemed to verify the results.

When asked if there had been any brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested, 78.6 percent of men said there had been none at all, while one male respondent indicated police had reacted to the person resisting arrest, and seven (16.7 percent) said there definitely had been brutality in these arrest cases. No woman over the age of 30 said there was definitely any brutality. All but one woman over 30 said there was no brutality at all, while the one who said there was fell in the age group over 60 and stated that the police had reacted to the person resisting arrest. The greatest number of women (87.9 percent) said there was no brutality at all.

More than half of the men (57.1 percent) said they had never been hit or shoved by the police, as was stated by 75.9 percent of the

women in the Venice sample. The only woman who said this often happened was in the age group 22-26. It was also noted that 66.7 percent of the men said the police never talked abusively to them or their families, but 11.9 percent indicated that police always spoke to them in this manner, and another 9.5 percent said they sometimes did, which was over 20 percent of the men in these two categories of response. Still, over 81 percent of the women said the police never talked abusively and the only two women who said this was often the case were under the age of 26.

When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, 40.5 percent of the men said they definitely did, while only 19 percent said they definitely did not. The comparable statistics for women were 20.7 percent saying they definitely picked on people in the neighborhood, while 32.8 percent indicated they definitely did not. Among those who said they definitely did, 66.7 percent of the women in the 18-21 age group were included.

One-third of the men in the sample watched television from 5-10 hours per day and only 19 percent of the men watched less than one hour per day. Two-thirds of the men under the age of 21 watched between 5-10 hours of television per day. In the female sample, only one woman never watched television, while 25.9 percent watched 5-10 hours per day, 25.9 percent watched 3-5 hours per day and 36.2 percent watched 1-2 hours per day. As was noted in the male portion of the sample, two-thirds of the women aged 18-21 watched over five hours per day of television. But it was noted that there was no other pattern prominent

in this variable. In terms of familiarity with the five programs mentioned, 40.5 percent of the men surveyed were familiar with all five of the programs, with the highest rate of familiarity in the 22-26 age group (75 percent) and the lowest in the 31-35 age group, where none knew all five and 40 percent knew one or none of the programs). This unfamiliarity may be related to the upward mobility of that age group within the population and the fact that all males in the sample in that age group were employed at the time of the survey. When women were asked the same question, 34.5 percent of them said they knew all five programs, and 37.9 percent knew one or none of them. The curve was not definitive on this question, but there was a trend toward a lesser degree of familiarity as the age of female respondents increased.

When queried about their habits of viewing the news on television, 66.7 percent of the men indicated that they watched the news daily and 16.7 percent watched the news at least twice a week. Only one male respondent indicated that he never watched the news. Again, this respondent was in the age group between 31-35 years. Among women, 65.6 percent watched the news daily, 13.8 percent watched twice a week. This was just slightly less than men, although four women indicated they never watched the news. Additionally, it was learned that 40.5 percent of the men thought the news only rarely related to their neighborhood and 33.3 percent that it never did, while 60.3 percent of the women said the news rarely related to the neighborhood and 20.7 percent indicated it never did so. This served as a severe indictment of the press for failure to serve its entire public.

Still, when asked about the accuracy of the news reporting, most of the male and female respondents indicated that the reporting was neutral, establishing no patterns by age level of respondents. While 57.1 percent of the male respondents said none of the news showed police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, 9.5 percent said most of the news showed this. Comparable statistics for the female respondents were 50 percent that none showed this aspect, while 10.3 percent said most showed it.

More than half of the men queried (54.8 percent) said they felt anger at the police when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, but 33.3 percent said they thought the police were doing a job they didn't like. The younger respondents among the male group were more angry than those older respondents in the sample. Among female respondents, 31 percent felt anger at the police after such news coverage, while 37.9 percent thought the police were doing a job they didn't really like, and three wanted to cheer them on (a response registered by none of the male respondents). Again, the youngest respondents among the females registered the most anger.

Regarding the television image of the police, 66.7 percent of the men indicated this was a consistent image, as did 43.1 percent of the women, and 52.4 percent of the men said it was the image of good guys. Women tended to agree (43.1 percent), while none thought they were shown as bullies and one (aged 22-26) said they were shown as kind of tough guys. Male respondents could not agree as to whether the image they saw was accurate or not, but 37.9 percent of the women said

the image was very accurate, and only four female respondents (6.9 percent) said it was not at all accurate.

If respondents could only base their opinion of the police on what they read and saw on the media, 57.1 percent of the men said they would think the police were really nice guys and only two male respondents would believe that they were very bad men who liked to hurt people. The female response group agreed, with 43.1 percent saying they would think they were really nice guys, and only two saying they would think police were bad men.

In the area of personal experience, 61.9 percent of the men said they saw the police several times a day. This figure included 100 percent of the men aged 18-21, while 28.6 percent of male respondents said they saw police regularly in their neighborhood. Only one male interviewee said he never saw them, and he was 36-45 years of age. Among female respondents, 55.2 percent said they saw police several times a day, while 22.4 percent saw them regularly. Only one woman said she never saw them.

Although 57.1 percent of the men surveyed said they had never seen the police rough up anybody in their neighborhood, 28.6 percent said they often saw this sort of behavior. There was a much higher frequency of such negative responses in the youngest two age groups than in the older groups. When women were asked about this aspect, 67.2 percent of them said they had never seen the police do this, but 10.3 percent said they often saw it. Only one woman over 45 said she sometimes saw it, and none of the female respondents over 45 indicated that this occurred often.

Exactly one half of the men indicated that the police never went out of their way to help people in that neighborhood, and only four (9.5 percent) said the police often helped. But even less encouraging were the female responses, with only four women (6.9 percent) indicating the police often helped, while 34.5 percent said they sometimes helped. A total of 17 women, or 29.3 percent, said the police never helped. This is another statistic which varies greatly from the data collected in the other cities surveyed. Police efforts at being responsive to the needs of the ghetto/barrio community have evidently not been highly successful in the eyes of that area's residents.

Still, when asked their opinions about the police in their neighborhood, 31 percent of the men felt neutral about them, while 28.6 percent said they were okay. This was not favorable compared with the opinions in the other cities surveyed, especially when it was noted that five men in this sample said they could get along without the police and four said that they hated them. There were no patterns established by age group, which might otherwise have explained such a negative trend. Women, on the other hand, said in 39.7 percent of cases that they liked the police in their neighborhood, while another 27.6 percent said the police were okay. But five women said they could get along without them and three said that they hated the police who serviced their area.

Age Correlated with Education

The next correlation performed was age cross-tabulated against educational level of the respondents on the various questions. In the group with under an eighth grade education, 62.5 percent said they rarely or never read the news, although readership declined with an

increase in age in this group. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 44.4 percent read the news once a day, but 33.3 percent still indicated they rarely or never read the news. Exactly half of the respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group said they read the news once a day, and none of these statistics correlated with age of respondents. Although 80 percent of those with two years of college read the news daily, other college-educated groups failed to form patterns of readership. This failure to form patterns was noted on all of the variables presented to the computer for evaluation, and therefore no evaluation of statistics will follow for those respondents who had any college education. This constituted fourteen percent of the sample, and this figure should be kept in mind when reading the results of this study.

Half of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education stated they never read the news about the police and no one in this educational group indicated they often or always read such news. Among those with a ninth or tenth grade education, 55.6 percent said they always read the news about crime or the police, and half of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education stated that they always read such news. Those with college education had a somewhat higher percentage of responses of always or often on this question than those who had not received any college education.

Regarding the accuracy of news reports about crime, 62.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education believed these reports were neutral, but the second educational group was divided on this question. In the third educational group, 36.1 percent said news

reports of crime were sort of accurate, while only 8.3 percent said they were very accurate, and 33.3 percent said they were either not very accurate or totally inaccurate. The overwhelming majority of college educated respondents believed that such newspaper accounts were not very accurate.

The consistency of the police image as presented in the newspaper was neutral, according to 59.4 percent of those respondents with less than an eighth grade education, and the second educational group failed to form an opinion as to whether the image was consistent or not. But the third educational group felt that the image was very consistent (41.7 percent) and over 60 percent of all those respondents with a college education felt that the image they saw was a very consistent one. When asked about the type of image they saw, 62.5 percent of those surveyed with less than an eighth grade education said the image was a neutral one, while 55.6 percent in the second educational level said it was neutral. But 38.9 percent in this second group said that police were shown as good guys. Those under 26 years of age were most likely to see the image as that of good guys. Half of all respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group said the image was that of good guys and this view was more likely to be held by those over 26 in this educational group. The image of good guys was also the one seen by the large majority of college students, although some indicated that the image was a neutral one.

Was this an accurate image? According to 46.9 percent of those in the lowest educational group, it was neutral regarding accuracy, but 28.1 percent of this group felt it was very accurate. In the second

educational group, 55.6 percent believed that the image was accurate or at least sometimes true. The image was not very true or not at all true in relation to real life, according to 58.3 percent of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, while only 30.5 percent of this group indicated that the image they saw was true sometimes or was very accurate.

After stating their opinions regarding reports in the newspapers they read, respondents were asked to evaluate the two stories about police behavior which were presented in the other samples. Police had overstepped their limits in the first story, according to 43.7 percent of those in the lowest educational group, but 21.9 percent of respondents in this group indicated that the police in that story were nice guys. A third of the interviewees in the second educational group felt police had overstepped, while 27.8 percent said they were nice. And in the third educational group, 52.8 percent said the police had overstepped, while only 5.6 percent said they liked the police in that story. Slightly more than 60 percent of respondents with any college education believed that police had overstepped their limits in the first story, indicating that increased education tends to provide the citizen with more basis for evaluating the legitimacy of police behavior in regard to the public they serve.

When asked for their opinions about the police in the second story, 46.9 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education indicated that they liked the police in that article. Asked the same question, 38.7 percent of those in the second educational level liked the police, and another 22.2 percent said the police were okay. Only one person said they had overstepped their limits in this educational

group. Of those with an eleventh or twelfth grade education, 50 percent said police were okay and 19.4 percent liked them in this second story. The one person who still hated the police in this sample group was under 21. The trend by educational level in the evaluation of the second story continued when 66.7 percent of those with one year of college said the police were okay, and 60 percent in the next college level felt neutral about them, with a peak reached at 80 percent in the next college level, those with a Bachelor's degree, who believed that they could only feel neutral about the police in that story. In analyzing this trend and the one expressed in responses to the previous question, it was noted by the interviewer that persons with less education were probably more likely to be influenced by the media reports than those with a higher level of education. Those with a higher educational level seemed more skeptical and took more time to evaluate and compare the two stories. Some of them accused the press of attempting to "brainwash" people into believing the police were good.

No one in the lowest educational group had been arrested more than once, and 71.9 percent of those in this group had never been arrested, while 66.7 percent of those with a ninth to tenth grade education had never been arrested. Only one person under 35 in this educational group had ever been arrested, and this person was under 21. In the third educational group, 63.9 percent had never been arrested, but 13.9 percent had been arrested five or more times. And, although most of the college educated respondents had never been arrested, two-thirds of those with one year of college had been arrested five or more times.

Approximately three-quarters of the respondents reported that no family members had ever been arrested. This information served to indicate whether the respondents had any experience with the police.

Only one respondent in the lowest educational group indicated that he or she never watched television (aged 31-35), while 34.4 percent with this amount of education watched 1-3 hours per day. The highest viewership in the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education was in the under 30 and the over 60 age group, and 44.4 percent of respondents in this educational level watched 5-10 hours per day. In the group which had completed the first year of college, 66.7 percent watched 5-10 hours per day. The responses did not form a definite pattern by age.

Of those with less than an eighth grade education, 62.5 percent knew one or none of the programs. This includes all respondents under the age of 45. While 44.4 percent of those with a ninth or tenth grade education knew one or none of the programs, 38.9 percent knew all five. And 52.8 percent of the third response group knew all five programs, while only 8.3 percent said they knew one or none. This was a reversal of the trend which had seemed to be developing in the lower educational groups. Education was linked at a high significance level to this question, indicated by a steady rise in the number of respondents who were familiar with all five programs as the level of education became higher.

Daily viewership of the news was common in all educational and age levels, and it was noted that 59.4 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education watched the news daily and that three

respondents in this group (9.4 percent) never watched the news. The daily viewership statistic increased to 72.2 percent in the next two educational groups, which each also had only one respondent who stated that he or she never watched the news. Among those with one year of college, 100 percent stated that they watched the news daily, and 60 percent of those with two years of college said this was the case, while none in that group indicated that they never watched the news. No pattern was established by age in these educational groups.

The news, though, rarely related to the Venice neighborhood, according to the majority of respondents. In the lowest educational group, 40.6 percent said this, and only 12.5 percent of this group believed it related to their neighborhood often. Half of the respondents in the second educational group said it related rarely, and only one respondent replied in each of the two categories, daily and often. Another 27 percent of this group indicated that the news never related to their neighborhood. This trend was continued in the next educational group, where 58.3 percent said it rarely related, and 25 percent said it never related. Three respondents said the news related to their neighborhood daily and one said it related often. In the group with one year of college, though, 66.7 percent said it rarely related to their neighborhood and the other 33.3 percent said it never related. This trend continued further with 80 percent of those in the group with two years of college saying that the news rarely related, and the other 20 percent saying that it never related. In fact, only one respondent with any college indicated any response other than rarely or never to this question.

Among those with less than an eighth grade education, 90.6 percent said they had not experienced any police brutality, nor had any members of their families who had been arrested. Only one respondent in this group believed that the police had merely reacted to a person resisting arrest, and this respondent was over 60. The two interviewees who said there definitely was brutality were between 46-60 years of age. Similarly, in the next educational group, 83.3 percent said there was no brutality, two said there definitely was and one aged 18-21 said the police had reacted to the person resisting arrest. Again, in the third educational group, 77.8 percent said there was no brutality. In this group, five said there definitely was. But 100 percent of those with one year of college and 80 percent of other college educated respondents said there had been none.

When asked if they had been hit or shoved by the police, 84.4 percent said this had never happened in the lowest educational group, and only one respondent (over 60) said he or she had sometimes been hit. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 66.7 percent had never been hit by police, but one person (aged 36-45) said this often happened and four other respondents said this sometimes took place. Following this pattern, the next group had 58.3 percent who said they had never been hit, while two respondents said this often happened and 12 said it sometimes occurred. Slightly more than 60 percent of other respondents said this never took place.

When further information was compiled, it was learned that 62.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education rarely or never read the news. The highest readership was in the groups with one or two years of college, where 66.7 percent and 80 percent

respectively read the news daily. Almost exactly the same percentages by education were found in the responses to the question regarding how often the respondents read the news about police or about crime. Those with a higher education were most likely to believe that the news was not very accurate or was totally inaccurate, it was also learned. Among those with one year or more of college, 60 percent of respondents felt that the image of the police was very consistent, but there was little agreement about what the image was between the various educational groups. No one with a college education felt the news image of the police was very accurate in relationship to real life, and all of those with a Bachelor's degree said the image was either not very true or not at all true.

When read the two stories, interviewees were more likely to say the police had overstepped as their educational level increased, although even in the lowest educational group, 43.7 percent said this was their reaction to the police in the first story. No one with a college education changed their opinion after hearing the second story to the most positive reaction, that of liking the police in the story, although most felt they were okay. People in the lowest educational groups were most likely to change their opinions to the most affirmative one of liking the police. The next few variables were not influenced by the educational level of the respondents, and failed to form any logical patterns.

The next question which was influenced by education had to do with whether the police talked abusively to people in the respondents' families. Only one person with any college education said the police

always talked abusively and in the lowest educational group, 96.9 percent said this never happened, a view not shared by the other groups. Most of the people who felt the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood were in the group with one year of college, while other respondents were split on this question. All eight respondents who indicated that the police often helped people in their neighborhood were in the lowest two educational groups. The lowest educational groups were also more likely to like the police in their neighborhood, although the converse was not necessarily true.

The only respondent who never watched television reported having less than an eighth grade education. No one with more than one year of college found the time to watch more than five hours of television per day. Those in the lowest educational group, though, were most likely to know one of the shows about the police or none of them (62.5 percent of that group gave this response), and it was not possible to determine whether this was caused by lack of interest, lack of available televisions, or inability of the respondents to relate to the content of these programs.

It was interesting to note that the lowest educational groups reported watching the news with the greatest frequency. When asked for their opinion of filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, the only three who wanted to cheer the police on were in the lowest two educational groups. Other groups did not give such pro-police responses.

Higher educational groups in the sample were most likely to believe the television image of the police was consistent and to see

this image as that of a good guy, although a high percentage in all educational groups saw this image. About half of those in the three lowest educational groups would believe police were really nice guys, if based solely on media reports about them, but the higher educational groups were not as likely to give such a positive opinion.

Although all groups saw the police several times daily, those with the highest educational level saw them with the least frequency. Only two who said they never saw them were noted, and both were in the lowest educational group.

Income Level and Age

When the respondents were grouped by income level, another set of statistics emerged. In the lowest income level, under \$3000 annually, 40.5 percent read the news daily. This included 100 percent of respondents in both the age groups 18-21 and 27-30. The second income level contained 55.6 percent who said they rarely or never read the news, which was not distributed in any pattern by age. Proceeding to the \$6500-8500 income level, 55.6 percent indicated that they read the news once a day, while one respondent over the age of 60 said he or she read the news twice daily.

While 45.2 percent of those in the income level under \$3000 always read the news about the police or crime, 23.8 percent indicated that they never did, and 62.5 percent of those in the \$5000-6500 income level said they always read such news, as did 66.7 percent of those in the \$6500-8500 income level. The lowest income group did not form a clear opinion regarding the accuracy of such news, and 38.9 percent

of those in the second income level felt the reporting was either not very accurate or totally inaccurate. Half of those in the \$5000-6500 income level thought news about crime was either sort of accurate or very accurate, while 25 percent of this group felt it was not very accurate or totally inaccurate. Age did not correlate directly on this factor.

The lowest income group felt in 50 percent of cases that the image of the police presented in the press was very consistent or sort of consistent, while 75 percent in the \$5000-6500 income level believed the image was very consistent or sort of consistent. Skipping to the highest income group, those with over \$8500 annual income, 43.5 percent thought the image was very consistent and another 8.7 percent said it was sort of consistent.

What sort of an image did the respondents see? According to those in the lowest income group, 47.6 percent saw a neutral image, but 55.6 percent of those in the group with \$3000-5000 said the image was that of good guys. The third income group found 37.5 percent indicating that the image was that of good guys, while 66.7 percent of those in the \$6500-8500 income group felt it was a neutral image. But in the top income level, 43.5 percent said the image they saw was that of good guys, while another 43.5 percent saw an image of neutrality.

Most income levels could not concur on the accuracy of the image they saw, but 44.4 percent of those with \$6500-8500 annual income said the image was not very true, while 22.2 percent said it was not at all true. A total of 52.1 percent of those in the highest income level

gave those two responses, reinforcing the pattern which was beginning to be established.

Police overstepped their limits in the first story, according to 57.1 percent of those respondents in the group with under \$3000 annual income, but two persons over 60 stated that they liked the police in that story. The next income group did not give conclusive responses, but 37.5 percent of the respondents in the third income group said the police had overstepped, while one-third of those in the \$6500-8500 income level said that they liked the police in that story. The top income level, though, did not agree, and 60.9 percent of these respondents felt the police in that story had overstepped their limits.

In the second story, 35.7 percent of those with under \$3000 annual income said the police were okay, and 31 percent said they liked them. Two respondents aged 22-26 still indicated the police had overstepped and two respondents stated that they didn't like the police at all. In the \$3000-5000 income level, 44.4 percent said the police were okay in the second story, and 22.2 percent said that they liked the police. One respondent in the age group 22-26 said police had overstepped their limits in that story. With an income level of \$5000-6500, 37.5 percent of respondents said the police were okay or that they disliked the police. The police in the second story were liked by 44.4 percent of respondents with an income level of \$6500-8500, but one respondent still indicated that police had overstepped. In the highest income level, 47.8 percent of respondents said the police were okay, and 21.7 percent liked the police. All other respondents in this income level were neutral regarding the police in the second story.

It was learned that 59.5 percent of the respondents in the lowest income level had never been arrested, as was also the case for 72.2 percent of those in the second income group. In the third income level, 62.5 percent had never been arrested and no one had been arrested five or more times. In fact, only three respondents in this group had ever been arrested. One respondent in the \$6500-8500 income level and aged 27-30 had been arrested five or more times, but 55.6 percent of respondents in this income group had never been arrested. In the highest income group, 78.3 percent stated they had never been arrested, and one respondent had been arrested five or more times. This person was in the 46-60 age group, and did not indicate any trend whatsoever.

Most respondents indicated that there had been no arrests in their families, and this answer was given by 71.4 percent of those in the lowest income level, 77.8 percent in the second income group, 62.5 percent in the third, 77.8 percent in the fourth, and 78.3 percent in the highest. There was no real reason to believe that age or income level would correlate with this question, since the persons who might have been arrested would not necessarily have the same income level as those who were answering the questions.

Respondents were asked to evaluate whether there was any brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested. One who said there definitely was indicated that he was aged 36-45, and two were between 46-60, when the lowest income group was surveyed, but 83.3 percent of this group indicated there was no brutality at all. In the second income level, 77.8 percent said there was no brutality, but three respondents who were distributed randomly by age said there

definitely was brutality. The third income level followed this trend, with 75 percent saying there was no brutality, and the remaining two respondents (25 percent) indicating there definitely was. In this case, both respondents were under 26. Although two respondents in the next income level said there definitely was brutality, 77.8 percent said there was none at all. In the highest income level, though, 95.7 percent said there was no brutality, while the remaining respondent said that he did not know if there had been any.

Similarly, when asked if they or members of their family had been hit or shoved by the police, 69 percent in the lowest income level said this never happened, although two respondents said this often happened, and eight said it sometimes did, accounting for a total of 23.8 percent of respondents in this income level. Of those in the second income group, 55.6 percent said they had never been hit by police, and only two said this often happened. Both of these respondents were under 35, as were the two respondents who said it sometimes happened. Three quarters of the respondents in the second income level said that the police had never hit or shoved them, but two respondents (25 percent) said they sometimes had been hit by police. A split occurred in the opinions of the \$6500-8500 income level group, with 44.4 percent saying they had never been hit and 44.4 percent saying this sometimes happened. Those in the highest income level felt in 82.6 percent of the cases that they had never been hit or shoved by police, but the other two respondents in this income level said it sometimes happened.

Did the police talk abusively to people in this survey? Of those in the income level under \$3000, 76.2 percent said the police never talked to them in this fashion, and the only person who indicated they always did so was between 46-60 years of age. In the second income level, 66.7 percent said this never happened, but 22.2 percent (four people) said the police always talked abusively to them. These four people were all under 35 years of age. Three quarters of those in the third income level said the police never talked abusively, and the one person who said they always did was between 18-21. Two-thirds of those in the \$6500-8500 income level said the police never talked abusively to them, but one 27-30 year old respondent said they always did. And, finally, 82.6 percent of those in the highest income level indicated that the police never talked abusively to them, while only one person in this group said they sometimes did (aged 36-45).

When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, all of those in the lowest income level and the lowest age group said the police definitely picked on people, but this did not continue into a noticeable pattern. In the second income level, 55.6 percent felt the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, and only 27.8 percent of these respondents said they definitely did not. The two respondents in the third income level who felt police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood were both under 26, but in the \$6500-8500 income level, 66.6 percent of respondents said the police definitely or possibly picked on residents of their neighborhood. Still, in the highest income level, 34.8 percent said the police definitely did not pick on people in that neighborhood.

Moving to the area of television viewership, 38.1 percent of those in the lowest income level watched 5-10 hours per day of television, and only one respondent (who was aged 31-35) claimed to never watch. No pattern of viewership established itself in the next two income levels and the two highest income levels showed a moderate amount of viewing of television, with no strong patterns emerging.

In the lowest income level, 45.2 percent of the respondents were familiar with all five of the programs about the police and the youngest respondents were the most familiar with them. This pattern did not continue into the other income levels, though. And, in fact, in the \$6500-8500 income level, the older respondents were more familiar with the programs than were the younger ones. This was followed by the highest income group, where 43.5 percent knew only one or none of the programs.

In the lowest income level, 66.7 percent of the respondents watched the news daily, and the middle age groups were very inconsistent in their viewing habits. No pattern by age was established in the second income group, either, although 38.9 percent watched the news daily. A change was noted, however, in the \$5000-6500 income level, when a surge in viewership occurred and 75 percent of respondents indicated that they watched the news daily. The trend continued into the next income level, where 88.9 percent reported watching the news daily, and the highest income level, where 73.9 percent said they watched the news daily.

Regarding the relationship of news to events in their neighborhood, 45.2 percent of those in the lowest income group indicated that

the news only rarely related to their neighborhood, and 26.2 percent said that it never did. Two-thirds of those respondents in the second income level said the news rarely related and 16.7 percent indicated that it never did. An equally discouraging response came from the income level of \$5000-6500, where 50 percent said it rarely related and another 25 percent said it never did. And a total of 88.8 percent of those in the next income group said it rarely or never related, along with the 82.6 percent in the highest income level who gave similar responses.

When asked if the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, half of those respondents in the lowest income level said none of the news showed this, and 28.6 percent said very little showed this, while half of those in the second income level said none showed this, and 27.8 percent said very little did. As income level rose, more negative responses to this question were noted, with 62.5 percent saying none and 37.5 percent saying very little showed this in the next income level, followed by 77.8 percent who said none showed this and 11.1 percent who said very little showed it in the \$6500-8500 income group. But the pattern ended here, because those in the highest income level said in only 47.8 percent of cases that none showed it and in 26.1 percent that very little did. When correlating this question with the one regarding the treatment of police in their neighborhood, a severe contrast occurs between real behavior and what is shown on television. As in the other cities surveyed, many respondents indicated that the press made attempts to hide this aspect of police relationships with the community from the viewing and reading public.

In the lowest income level, 47.6 percent said that they felt anger when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, while 35.7 percent believed the police were doing a job they didn't like. The second income group was divided on this issue, but half of the third income group felt anger and 37.5 percent believed the police were doing a job they didn't like. But in the income group between \$6500-8500, 44.4 percent of respondents said they thought the police were doing a job they didn't enjoy and 33.3 percent felt anger at the police. Of those in the top income level, 43.5 percent thought the police were doing a job they didn't like and 34.8 percent felt anger at the police whenever they saw such film footage.

When asked about the image of police on television, 61.9 percent of the lowest income level said it was very consistent, as did half of the second income group and 37.5 percent of the third income group. In the income group with \$6500-8500 annual income, 44.4 percent said the image of police on television was very consistent, while 47.8 percent of those in the highest income level gave this response.

Only two respondents in the lowest income level and under the age of 30 said they never saw the police rough people up in their neighborhood, while over 78 percent of those over 30 said they never saw this.

Sex of the Respondents

Each variable was also analyzed from the standpoint of sex of the respondents. It was learned that 40.5 percent of male respondents were familiar with all five of the programs about the police, as were

34.5 percent of the female respondents. But 28.6 percent of the men and 37.9 percent of the women knew just one or none of them. Men and women also displayed almost identical frequencies of watching the news in the Venice sample. One third of the male respondents said the news never related to their neighborhood, as did 20.7 percent of the women surveyed, and exactly the same percentage of men as of women (19 percent) felt that the news was very accurate. But 11.9 percent of the men said it was totally wrong, as did 5.2 percent of the women surveyed. Nearly identical percentages of men and of women expressed their opinions in possible categories on the question, "How much of the news shows the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents?"

When they saw the police use force in making an arrest on television, 54.8 percent of the men felt anger at the police, while only 31 percent of the women felt this. No man said he wanted to cheer the police on if they saw such films, but three female respondents (5.2 percent of women) said this. The image of police on television was very consistent, according to 66.7 percent of the men and 43.1 percent of the women, but 52.4 percent of the men believed that this image was that of a good guy, while 43.1 percent of the women said this was the image they were being shown. As to the accuracy of this image, 37.9 percent of the women and 26.2 percent of the men felt it was very accurate, but 28.6 percent of the men said it was not at all accurate, while 6.9 percent of the women surveyed agreed.

If they had only the media to rely upon for their impression of the police, 57.1 percent of the men and 43.1 percent of the women said their opinion of police would be that they were really nice guys.

When asked how frequently they saw the police in their neighborhood, 61.9 percent of the men and 55.2 percent of the women in the sample said they saw the police several times daily. One man and one woman stated they never saw the police. While only 10.3 percent of women surveyed often saw the police rough people up, 28.6 percent of the men reported seeing this often. But 57.1 percent of the men said they never saw it, as did 67.2 percent of women. Exactly half of the male respondents said the police never went out of their way to help people in their neighborhood, while 29.3 percent of women said they never helped. But 34.5 percent of women said the police sometimes helped. Only 19 percent of the men liked the police in their neighborhood, as did 39.7 percent of the women. Slightly more than a quarter of both men and women said the police in their neighborhood were okay.

It was also learned that men and women read the newspaper with almost the identical frequency in this sample area. But from this point onward, the responses differed by sex, with 48.3 percent of women and only 28.6 percent of the men saying they always read the news about crime or the police. While 45.2 percent of the male respondents said the image of the police in the newspapers was very consistent, 25.9 percent of women felt this was the case. Men believed in 57.1 percent of cases that this image was that of good guys, while only 22.4 percent of the women said this, and 55.2 percent of women believed it was a neutral image. While 21.4 percent of the men believed this image was not at all true, 25.9 percent of the women indicated that it was a very accurate image of the police.

When read the first story, 20.7 percent of women stated that they liked the police in that story, but only 4.8 percent of men did, while 54.8 percent of men said the police in that story had overstepped their limits, as did 43.1 percent of the women surveyed. Men were more likely to change their opinion to "They're okay" when read the second story (47.6 percent), while women moved toward both liking them (37.9 percent) and saying that they were okay (34.5 percent).

And while 86.2 percent of women had never been arrested, only 38.1 percent of men gave this response, while 21.4 percent of the men in the research sample had been arrested five or more times. Although 78.6 percent of the men said there was no brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested, 16.7 percent indicated that there definitely was, and 87.9 percent of women indicated that there was none. Only 5.2 percent of the women indicated there was definitely brutality. They or members of their family had never been hit or shoved by the police, according to 75.9 percent of the women surveyed, but only 57.1 percent of men said this. Other respondents were divided on this question. Police had never talked abusively to 81 percent of the women or their families, as was also reported by 66.7 percent of the men surveyed, but another 11.9 percent of the men said the police always talked abusively to them.

When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, 40.5 percent of the men said they definitely did, while 20.7 percent of women said this. This is quite different from the responses of other cities surveyed. Statistics for those in the Venice sample who said police definitely do not pick on neighborhood residents were almost

exactly the opposite, with 32.8 percent of women and 19 percent of men saying they definitely did not.

All five of the programs about the police which were mentioned were known to 40.5 percent of the men surveyed, and to 34.5 percent of the women, but 37.9 percent of the women and 28.6 percent of the men knew only one or none of them. And, while both men and women watched the news quite frequently (nearly the same percentages), one third of the men and one fifth of the women said the news never related to their neighborhood, while 60.3 percent of the women and 40.5 percent of the men said it only rarely related. When these respondents saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, 54.8 percent of the men and 31 percent of the women felt anger at the police. The only three respondents in the Venice sample who wanted to cheer the police on were women.

Two-thirds of the men and 43.1 percent of the women surveyed said the television image of the police was a consistent one, and 52.4 percent of the men and 43.1 percent of the women said the image was that of a good guy. While 37.9 percent of the women and 26.2 percent of the men said this image was very accurate, 28.6 percent of the men but only 6.9 percent of the women said the image they saw was not at all accurate. And, if they could only base their opinion of the police on what they heard from the media, 57.1 percent of men and 43 percent of women would think the police were really nice guys, but another 31 percent of women and 19 percent of men would feel neutral or confused about them.

Men stated they saw police in their neighborhood with a slightly greater frequency than did women --61.9 percent to 55.2 percent--while only one man and one woman indicated they never saw the police. Additionally, police were never seen roughing people up by 67.2 percent of the women and 57.1 percent of the men, but 28.6 percent of the men and 10.3 percent of the women said they often saw this.

Half of the men in the sample said the police never went out of their way to help, as did 29.3 percent of the women. Four each of men and women said police often helped, but 20 women (34.5 percent) and eight men (19 percent) said they sometimes did. In spite of these opinions, 39.7 percent of women and 19 percent of men said they liked the police in their neighborhood, while 28.6 percent of the men and 27.6 percent of the women said they were okay. But 31 percent of the men and 19 percent of the women felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood, which might be construed in this case to be a negative reaction.

Ethnicity of Respondents

A survey of the responses by ethnicity of respondents was also conducted, and it was discovered that more than half (52.9 percent) of the Blacks in the Venice sample knew all five of the programs about the police, while 88.5 percent of Mexican-American respondents knew one or none of them and slightly more than one third of whites knew all five. Among Blacks, 72.5 percent watched the news daily, as did 72.7 percent of white respondents. Only 46.2 percent of Mexican-Americans watched the news daily. The news rarely related to their neighborhood,

according to 56.9 percent of Black interviewees, and 72.7 percent of whites surveyed, while 42.3 percent of the Mexican-American respondents said it never did.

While 46.2 percent of Mexican-American respondents thought the police who used force to make arrests were doing a job they didn't like and 11.5 percent wanted to cheer them on, 54.9 percent of Blacks and 45.5 percent of whites surveyed felt anger at the police when they saw filmed reports of such behavior.

Although 21.6 percent of Blacks had been arrested twice, 60.8 percent reported never having been arrested. Comparable figures for Mexican-American respondents were 88.5 percent never and for whites 86.4 percent never, indicating that Black respondents might have a higher degree of first-hand experience with the police than other ethnic groups. All of the Mexican-American respondents said they had experienced no brutality at all, while 95.5 percent of white respondents said this, but only 70.6 percent of Black interviewees said there was none, while 17.6 percent of Blacks said there definitely was police brutality in cases of their own or family members' arrests. Similarly, 88.5 percent of Mexican-American respondents said they had never been hit or shoved by the police, as did 68.2 percent of whites in the sample and 56.9 percent of Black interviewees. But 7.8 percent of the Blacks surveyed said it often happened and 23.5 percent said it sometimes did, while 27.3 percent of whites said this sometimes took place.

While 62.7 percent of Blacks and 50 percent of whites in the sample said the television image of the police was consistent, only 34.6 percent of Mexican-Americans felt this was the case, while 57.7

percent of Mexican-Americans felt neutral about this. This may be the direct result of the low viewership found in the Mexican-American portion of the sample. According to 47.1 percent of Blacks and 68.2 percent of whites interviewed, the television image of the police was that of a good guy, but 69.2 percent of the Mexican-American respondents gave the neutral response to this question again. As to the accuracy of this image, the ethnicity of respondents was not a factor in responses, except when we again note that the neutral response was given by 61.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans interviewed.

More than half of the Black and Mexican-American respondents stated that they would feel the police were really nice guys if their opinion were based only on the media, as did about one third of the white respondents in the Venice sample. Another third of the white respondents said they could understand why the police act as they do.

Half of the whites, 53.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 64.7 percent of the Blacks in this sample said they saw the police in their neighborhood several times a day and most of the other respondents said they saw them regularly.

While 27.5 percent of the Black respondents said they had seen the police rough up people in their neighborhood, 45.1 percent said this never happened. But 72.7 percent of whites and 88.5 percent of Mexican-American respondents in the sample agreed with the majority of the Black respondents in saying that this never happened in the neighborhood under study.

A drastic difference was noted in the responses to the final evaluation question, What do you think of the police in your neighborhood?

Here, only 15.7 percent of the Blacks surveyed liked the police, while 53.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans liked them and 40.9 percent of the whites gave this response. Six Black respondents and one Mexican-American indicated they hated the police in their neighborhood. Only a small majority (35.3 percent) of Blacks indicated that police were okay, which had been the overwhelming response in the other areas under study. Other opinions were divided on this issue. It must be noted that a large number of Black responses also fell into the neutral category, but the large differences between Black and other responses to this question indicates severe problems between the police and the Black residents of the Venice area.

The ethnicity correlation also gave some more pertinent results. Black respondents, for instance, had the greatest familiarity with the five programs, with 52.9 percent knowing all five, while the Mexican-American respondents had the lowest degree of familiarity, with 88.5 percent knowing one or none of the programs. Nearly two-thirds of the Black and the white respondents in the sample watched the news daily, while only 46.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans surveyed watched that frequently. And while 72.7 percent of the whites and 56.9 percent of the Blacks said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, 42.3 percent of the Mexican-American respondents said the news never related.

Slightly more than half of all of the respondents said the news did not show that the police disliked ghetto or barrio residents, and this was not affected by ethnicity of respondents. And although 46.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans surveyed said they would think the

police were doing a job they didn't like if they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest, 54.9 percent of the Blacks and 45.5 percent of the whites said they would feel anger at the police if they saw this.

Every Mexican-American surveyed said there had been no brutality in cases where they or members of their family had been arrested, as did 95.5 percent of the whites in the sample, but only 70.6 percent of the Blacks said there definitely was not any brutality. When asked if they had been hit or shoved by the police, 56.9 percent of the Blacks, 88.5 percent of Mexican-Americans and 68.2 percent of whites in the sample said this never happened, but 23.5 percent of the Blacks and 27.3 percent of the whites in the sample said it sometimes occurred. And while 62.7 percent of the Blacks and half of the whites surveyed said the television image of the police is very consistent, 57.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans said it was neither consistent nor inconsistent. The image viewed by 68.2 percent of the white respondents on television was that of a good, as also stated by 47.1 percent of Black respondents. But 69.2 percent of the Mexican-American sample and 29.4 percent of the Black respondents saw the image as that of a neutral fellow. Both Black and white respondents felt in approximately 40 percent of cases that the image was very accurate, while only 19.2 percent of Mexican-Americans surveyed said this. Instead, 61.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans felt the image was neutral. Of Black respondents, 23.5 percent felt that the image was not at all accurate.

Slightly more than half of the Blacks surveyed (54.9 percent), half of the Mexican-Americans, but only 36.4 percent of white respondents

said they would think the police were really nice guys, based solely on the media, while another 31.8 percent of the white respondents said they could understand why the police act as they do.

Black respondents reported seeing the police with the highest frequency--64.7 percent saw them several times per day--followed by Mexican-Americans (53.8 percent) and then by the whites (50 percent). Both who said they never saw the police in their neighborhood were Mexican-American. While 88.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they never saw the police rough up people in their neighborhood, as did 72.7 percent of whites, only 45.1 percent of the Blacks responded in this way. Instead, 27.5 percent of the Blacks said they often saw this, as did 18.2 percent of whites. No Mexican-American said he or she saw this often.

Although three Black respondents and five Mexican-American respondents said the police often went out of their way to help people in their neighborhood, over one-third of each ethnic group said they never did so. But, when the final evaluation question was asked, more than half (53.8 percent) of the Mexican-Americans reported liking the police in their neighborhood, as did 40.9 percent of the whites surveyed. But only 15.7 percent of Black respondents said this. Another 35.3 percent of Blacks said they were okay, while 33.3 percent felt neutral about them, a less positive viewpoint than that held by other ethnic groups overall.

Age as a Variable

When the age variable was correlated with the various questions, it was learned that the highest readership of the news was in the 27-30

age group, where 71.4 percent read once a day, while 44.4 percent of the 22-26 age group gave this response, and another 44.4 percent of that group indicated that they rarely or never read the news. The largest number (38.1 percent) of those over 60 read rarely or never. It was also noted that the group which read the least about crime was the age group 31-35. The other groups were evenly divided. And, although no pattern was established by age of respondents on the question of the accuracy of newspaper reporting of crime-related news, half of the group 18-21 said it was totally inaccurate.

About half of the respondents in the three youngest groups believed the image of the police was very consistent, but opinions were divided about what sort of an image it was. Age did not figure into the next few questions, until the questions regarding personal experience were reached. Only half of the respondents in the 18-21 age group said there had been no police brutality in the cases where they or members of their family had been arrested, but higher percentages in other age groups felt this way. The only exception was the group aged 27-30, where 42.9 percent said there definitely was police brutality. The same trend showed itself in the following question, regarding whether respondents or members of their families had been hit or shoved by the police, and in the question regarding whether the police talked abusively to them. When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, 66.7 percent of respondents aged 18-21 thought that they definitely did, although this pattern was not seen in other age groups.

When the area of television viewing was discussed, 66.7 percent of those 18-21 watched 5-10 hours per day. Both of the next two age

groups also had relatively high percentages of respondents who watched that amount of television, but no significant pattern developed for other respondents. It was noted that over 80 percent of those over 45 in the sample watched the news daily, while the next highest viewership of the news was in the group aged 18-21, where 66.7 percent watched daily. All groups indicated watching daily in over half of the cases. The news never related to their neighborhood, according to 66.7 percent of respondents aged 18-21, while the other third of that age group said it rarely related. Again, no other patterns emerged on the age variable on this question.

Two-thirds of the respondents in the lowest age group felt anger at the police when they saw filmed reports of police using force to make an arrest, but no pattern emerged by age again. But, in the highest age group, 52.4 percent said the image of the police on television was very accurate, while 50 percent of those in the lowest age group said it was not at all accurate in respect to real life. There seemed to be a correlation between the responses to this question and the responses to the later question on how often the respondents saw the police in their neighborhood. Older interviewees indicated that they saw the police less frequently than did the younger ones, perhaps leading to more opportunities in the lower age groups to see police in action and to witness behavior which might be depicted either accurately or inaccurately on television.

As mentioned above, 100 percent of those in the 18-21 age group said they saw the police several times a day, while all other groups reported a high viewership of the police. The lowest frequency reported

was 47.6 percent of those over 60 saying that they saw the police several times a day. It was interesting to note that over 70 percent of those over 30 said they had never seen the police roughing up anybody in their neighborhood, while less than half of those under the age of 30 said this. When asked their opinions of the police, only one person over 30 hated the police, although this was the response given by a total of seven respondents.

Educational Level

Two-thirds of those with one year of college read the news twice a day, while others in the group and 80 percent of those with two years of college indicated that they read the news daily. With less than an eighth grade education, 62.5 percent of respondents said they rarely or never read the news, while another 16.6 percent said they read only once a week. Half of the respondents with less than an eighth grade education said they never read crime news, but 55.6 percent of those with a ninth to tenth grade education, 50 percent with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, and all with one year of college indicated they always read such news. With two years of college, 80 percent of the respondents said they always or often read news about the police or about crime. Crime news was reported in a neutral way, according to 62.5 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education, while 80 percent of those with a college education said it was not very accurate or totally inaccurate.

No one with a college education liked the police in the first story and although a majority of respondents believed the police had

overstepped their limits in that story, those with a higher education felt more strongly that this was the case. But a tremendous shift in opinion to liking the police was registered in the lower educational levels as a result of hearing the second story, whereas the respondents with a higher level of education were more likely to say the police were okay or to shift to a neutral position about the police in the second story.

It was interesting to note that 96.9 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education said the police never talked abusively to them, which was one of the strongest single correlations found in the data. The other data did not seem to correlate on the education variable to a very high degree. In the area of personal experience with the police, it was also noted that no one with more than a tenth grade education felt that the police went out of their way to help those people living in ghetto or barrio neighborhoods such as their own.

The only respondent in the sample who never watched television was in the lowest educational group, but this did not set any pattern when the other data was reviewed. The group which was least familiar with the five programs about crime mentioned in the survey were those with less than an eighth grade education, where 62.5 percent knew one or none of the stories, but no pattern was established on this variable. It was also noted that all three of the respondents in the sample who wanted to cheer the police on when they saw films of police using force to make an arrest were in the groups with less than a tenth grade education.

Higher education seemed to lead to stronger opinions that television news reporting about the police showed a consistent image, but

other responses along this line did not follow any pattern. This was indicative of a trend, but insufficient to evaluate.

Education Correlated with Ethnicity

When education was correlated with the ethnicity of respondents, with less than an eighth grade education, half of the white respondents believed the image in the newspapers was very consistent, while only one-quarter of the Mexican-Americans and only 7.1 percent of Blacks said this. But the other half of white respondents, half of Blacks and 68.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans surveyed said the image was neutral. With a ninth to tenth grade education, 57.1 percent of Black respondents felt the image was very consistent, but other groups did not agree. In the third educational group, 52 percent of Blacks said the image was very consistent, while 66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans and half of the whites surveyed said it was sort of consistent.

Although Blacks and Mexican-Americans in the sample agreed within the less than eighth grade educational group that the image was a neutral one, whites in this group saw the image as that of a good guy or not too bad. But with a ninth to tenth grade education, 57.1 percent of Blacks saw the image as that of good guys, while most whites (80 percent) saw the image as neutral, as did two-thirds of the Mexican-American group. With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 52 percent of Blacks and half of the white respondents thought the image was that of good guys, while two-thirds of the Mexican-Americans thought the image was neutral.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 42.9 percent of the Black respondents thought the image they saw was very

accurate, while 68.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans surveyed thought it was neutral, and white respondents could not seem to agree. In the second educational group, 60 percent of the whites thought the image was very accurate, while 42.9 percent of the Blacks thought it was sometimes true, and half of the Mexican-American respondents believed it was neutral.

When read the first story, 43.7 percent of Mexican-Americans in the sample with less than an eighth grade education stated that they liked the police in that story, while 64.3 percent of Blacks in the group said they had overstepped their limits. White respondents were again divided. The same pattern held in the group with a ninth to tenth grade education. With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, Blacks (60 percent) said they had overstepped their limits, but both other groups in this sample were split on the issue.

When the second story was read to those with less than an eighth grade education, 62.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans indicated that they liked the police, as did half of the whites surveyed, but the majority of Black respondents (57.1 percent) only conceded that they were "okay". A similar response was registered by the second educational group, except that Blacks were more likely to take a neutral stand. In the third educational group, 62.5 percent of the whites and 48 percent of Black respondents said the police were okay, while the Mexican-Americans were split on this question.

Although 57.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans with less than an eighth grade education had never been arrested, only 57.1 percent of the Blacks in this educational group gave this response, as did one

of the two white respondents. The other white respondent and 14.5 percent of the Black interviewees had been arrested three or more times, while 21.4 percent of Blacks had one arrest, as did the other 12.5 percent of Mexican-Americans in the sample. No Mexican-American respondent with a ninth to tenth grade education had ever been arrested, while 80 percent of whites stated that they had not been arrested. But only 28.6 percent of the Blacks in the sample gave this response, while the rest of the Blacks were arrested various numbers of times and one white respondent (20 percent of whites in this educational group) had been arrested once.

Again, none of the Mexican-Americans in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group had been arrested, while 75 percent of the whites and 56 percent of the Blacks gave this response. As in the above educational group, Blacks had been arrested various numbers of times, and one white respondent had been arrested once, but another white respondent had been arrested five or more times. In the group with one year of college, two of the three respondents were Black and had been arrested five or more times, and one was white and had not been arrested. With two years of college, there were two Black respondents, one of whom had been arrested three or four times, and one of whom had been arrested five or more times. But of the three whites in the sample group, two had never been arrested and one had been arrested once.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, 100 percent of the Mexican-Americans and whites said there had been no

brutality in any case where they or a member of their family had been arrested, but only 78.6 percent of the Black respondents said this, while one Black respondent said the police had reacted to the person resisting arrest and two said there definitely was brutality. Both one white and one Black respondent in the group with a ninth to tenth grade education said there was definitely brutality, and one Black said police had only reacted, while 71.4 percent of the Blacks surveyed, all of the Mexican-Americans and 80 percent of the whites in this group said there was no brutality at all. Again, with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, all of the white and Mexican-American respondents said there was no brutality at all, while only 68 percent of Blacks gave this response and the rest of Black respondents gave various answers, with 20 percent (five people) saying that there definitely had been brutality.

When respondents with less than an eighth grade education were asked if they had been hit by the police, 31.4 percent of Blacks said never, as did 93.8 percent of Mexican-Americans and 100 percent of the white respondents, but one Mexican-American said he probably was not, as did 21.4 percent of Blacks. Only one Black respondent said this sometimes happened. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 60 percent of whites, 83.3 percent of Mexican-Americans and 57.1 percent of Blacks said they had never been hit by police, while the rest of the white and Mexican-American respondents said this sometimes happened and the rest of the Black respondents were split between various response categories. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, the same pattern emerged, with 75 percent of whites

saying they had never been hit, as did 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans surveyed, and 52 percent of the Black respondents. Again, some white and Mexican-American respondents said it sometimes happened, while two Blacks said it often happened and 10 said it sometimes occurred.

Only one respondent in the group with less than an eighth grade education said anything other than "never" when asked if the police talked abusively to them or to their family. That person, a Mexican-American, said that this happens, but only rarely. Among white and Mexican-American respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education, only one in each ethnic group responded other than "never". The white respondent said rarely and the Mexican-American said it always happened. In the Black response group, 57.1 percent said it never happened, but 42.9 percent said it sometimes happened. Roughly 65 percent of all respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group said the police never talked abusively, but one white and one Black respondent said they always did, while other respondents gave varied responses.

Only 28.5 percent of the Blacks sampled with less than an eighth grade education said the police definitely did not pick on people in their neighborhood, as did 56.2 percent of Mexican-American and half of the white respondents. Other responses were mixed. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 42.9 percent of the Blacks surveyed said police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, but all other responses were spread quite widely. Again, in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 48 percent of Blacks said police definitely picked on residents of their neighborhood, while 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they definitely did not. The other responses were again mixed.

When asked what they thought of the police in their neighborhood, half of the whites within the sample group and 43.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans, but only 28.6 percent of the Blacks with less than an eighth grade education said they liked them, while 42.9 percent of Blacks and 18.7 percent of Mexican-Americans said they were okay. No one in this educational group hated the police. With a ninth to tenth grade education, 42.9 percent of the Blacks surveyed and 60 percent of the whites liked the police, while the other 40 percent of whites said the police were okay. One each of Black and Mexican-American respondents hated the police. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans and half of the whites surveyed said they liked the police in their neighborhood, but only one Black respondent (4 percent) said he or she liked them, while 44 percent of Black respondents said they were okay.

In the lowest educational group, 71.4 percent of the Blacks and half of the Mexican-Americans surveyed, along with half of the whites, said they watched the news daily, while other responses were mixed. Daily viewership of the news was claimed by 85.7 percent of Blacks, 80 percent of whites and half of the Mexican-Americans with a ninth to tenth grade education, while other responses were mixed. The same pattern prevailed in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, where 72 percent of the Blacks, 87.5 percent of whites, and only one-third of the Mexican-Americans watched the news daily. In the group with less than an eighth grade education, more than half of all ethnic populations believed the accuracy of the news to be neutral, but no pattern emerged from other educational groups.

All of the white respondents with less than an eighth grade education and more than half of the Black and Mexican-American respondents believed none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents. The only two respondents who believed most showed this were Black. Half of the Mexican-Americans with a ninth to tenth grade education, 60 percent of whites and 71.4 percent of Blacks in this group said none of the news showed this aspect, while most of the other respondents said very little showed this.

It was also learned that all of the whites with less than an eighth grade education, and 42.9 percent of the Black respondents in this group felt anger when they saw the police using force in filmed reports in order to make an arrest. Only 12.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans in this group said this, while 42.9 percent of the Mexican-Americans thought police were doing a job they didn't like to do. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, the strong feelings of Black respondents became more evident, with 71.4 percent of them feeling anger at seeing this on television, while half of the Mexican-Americans and 80 percent of the whites surveyed felt the police were doing a job they didn't enjoy. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 56 percent of the Blacks and half of the whites felt anger at seeing this, but 66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans and the other half of the whites in this group thought the police were doing a job they didn't like.

When asked if the television image of the police was consistent, 71.4 percent of Blacks in the second educational group said it was very consistent, 60 percent of whites said it was somewhat consistent, and

66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans said it was neutral. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educated group, 72 percent of the Blacks and 62.5 percent of the whites saw a very consistent image, while the Mexican-Americans were divided on this issue.

While more than one-third of those with less than an eighth grade education saw the image as that of a good guy, 57.1 percent of Blacks, 68.8 percent of Mexican-Americans and half of the whites said it was the image of a neutral fellow. With a ninth to tenth grade education, 83.3 percent of the Mexican-Americans saw the image of a neutral fellow, while 57.1 percent of Blacks and 60 percent of whites saw the image as that of a good guy, as did the rest of the Mexican-American group. In the eleventh to twelfth grade group, two Black respondents saw the image as that of a bully, and one saw the image as kind of a tough guy. Also, 52 percent of the Blacks saw them as good guys, as did 62.5 percent of whites in the group. The majority (66.7 percent) of Mexican-Americans saw them as neutral fellows.

In the second educational group, 80 percent of the whites and 42.9 percent of the Blacks surveyed said the image they saw was very accurate, while 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans said it was neutral. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educated group, 40 percent of the Blacks and half of the whites surveyed thought the image was very accurate, but 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans said it was not very accurate.

Based solely on reporting in the press, 42.9 percent of the Blacks with less than an eighth grade education, 56.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans and half of the whites in this group would think

the police were really nice guys, but another 42.9 percent of Blacks in this group would feel neutral about them. In the second educational group, 71.4 percent of Blacks, half of the Mexican-Americans and 40 percent of the whites would think they were really nice guys, while another 40 percent of whites could understand why they would act as they do. Of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 60 percent of the Blacks thought they were really nice guys, while 66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans could understand their behavior and the rest were divided.

When the group with less than an eighth grade education was asked how often they saw the police in their neighborhood, 42.9 percent of the Blacks in the group, 43.7 percent of Mexican-Americans and half of the whites said they saw the police several times a day, but 12.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they never saw them. In the second educational group, all of the respondents saw the police several times a day or regularly, with 85.7 percent of Blacks, 66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans and 80 percent of whites saying it was several times per day. Those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education reported in one-sixth of the cases only rarely seeing the police, but 68 percent of the Blacks, 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans and half of the whites still reported seeing them several times a day.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, all of the Mexican-American and white respondents said they had never seen the police rough anyone up in their neighborhood, but 28.6 percent of the Blacks said this happens rarely and 14.3 percent of Blacks said it happens often. In the second educational group, 80 percent of whites,

66.7 percent of Mexican-Americans and 57.1 percent of Blacks said the police never roughed people up, but 20 percent of the whites and 28.6 percent of the Blacks said this often happened. The next educational group was similar in its responses. Three quarters of the whites and two-thirds of the Mexican-Americans said the police never roughed people up, as did 40 percent of the Blacks. But 28 percent of the Blacks said this often happened.

Half of the whites in the lowest educational group and 42.9 percent of the Blacks knew all five of the programs about the police mentioned, while 93.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans knew one or none of them. But of the ninth to tenth grade group, 71.4 percent of Blacks knew all five programs while 83.3 percent of the Mexican-Americans knew one or none of them, and the whites were familiar with various numbers of programs. Similarly, 56 percent of the Blacks and half of the whites knew all five programs, while 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans knew one or none, when the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group was questioned.

While 80 percent of the whites in the ninth to tenth grade group watched 5-10 hours of television a day, no significant statistics emerged from the other ethnic groups. In the group with eleventh to twelfth grade educational background, 48 percent of the Blacks, one-third of the Mexican-Americans and 37.5 percent of whites watched 5-10 hours of television per day, but no other patterns could be seen.

It also was learned that 81.3 percent of the Mexican-Americans with less than an eighth grade education rarely or never read the news, as was also stated by 50 percent of the Black respondents. There were

only two white respondents with less than an eighth grade education. In the second educational group, 57.1 percent of the Blacks, 60 percent of the whites, but only 16.7 percent of Mexican-Americans read the news daily. The other 83.3 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they rarely or never read the news. This may be largely due to a lack of a broad-based Spanish-language newspaper in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

Readership among Mexican-Americans improved in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, with 33.3 percent saying they read the news daily, while 48 percent of Blacks and 62.5 percent of whites gave this response. The only Mexican-American with a college education rarely read the news while readership in the other ethnic groups with any college education remained relatively high. When asked if they read about crime or the police, 62.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans sampled and 42.9 percent of the Blacks said they never read such news, while 50 percent of the whites related that they rarely did so. In the second educational group, 80 percent of the whites and 71.4 percent of the Blacks said they always read news about crime, while 66.7 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they never did. Among the Blacks with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 52 percent always read the news about crime and 50 percent of the whites always did so.

Age vs. Ethnicity of Respondents

When cross-tabulations of age with ethnicity of respondents were run, it was learned that two-thirds of those Black respondents in the 18-21 age group, three-quarters in the 27-30 age group, 85.7 percent

of those 36-45 saw the image of police on television as that of a good guy, while the other groups gave varied responses. In the Mexican-American group, the majority of all age levels saw the image as that of a neutral fellow. In the white sample, there was no pattern by age on this variable.

This image was not at all accurate, according to 66.7 percent of the Blacks aged 18-21, half of the Blacks aged 22-26, and half of the Blacks in the 27-30 age group, while 57.1 percent of those Black respondents over 60 and 66.7 percent of those between 31-35 said it was very accurate. Again, on the same question, the majority of Mexican-American respondents felt that the image was neither accurate nor inaccurate, while white respondents were split on this issue also.

In response to the question, "What would your opinion of the police be if based solely on newspaper and television reporting?" the majority of Black respondents, in all grouping by age, with the exception of those 46-60, said they would think the police were really nice guys. The Mexican-American respondents were split on this issue, as were white respondents.

More than half of the Black respondents in all age groups except those over 60 stated that they saw the police in their neighborhood several times a day. In the Black segment only two respondents under 30 said they had never seen the police rough up people in their neighborhood, but more than 60 percent of those over 30 said they had never seen this. In the Mexican-American group, no one said they often saw the police rough people up, and the only two who said they sometimes saw this were 22-26 years of age. All others said they rarely or never

saw this. Again, when asked if the police helped people, no Black respondents under 45 said they often helped, and no respondent over 60 believed the police never helped. This particular variable and the others related to the manner in which police related to ghetto or barrio residents showed strong indications that the police had difficulty in dealing with persons in these areas who are Black and young, and that the resulting friction in relationships colors future relationships by establishing negative opinions of the police in the minds of the young, Black residents of the area.

Also, when asked what they thought of the police in their neighborhood, no Black respondent under 45 said they liked the police, but five respondents under 30 said they hated them, while Mexican-Americans tended to like the police, although there was no pattern by age. The only Mexican-American respondent who hated the police was 22-26 years of age. Also, no white respondent in the sample hated the police.

In the correlation of ethnicity and age, more than half of those Black respondents under 35 read the news daily, but only about 30 percent of those over 35 so stated. Although most respondents read more frequently than once a week, 42.9 percent of those over 60 said they rarely or never read the news, while 70 percent of those Mexican-Americans over 30 said they never read news about crime or the police. More than 75 percent of those white respondents over 35 said they always read crime news.

No Black respondent under 45 believed newspaper reporting about crime to be very accurate, while the majority of Mexican-American

respondents, many of whom did not read English, felt neutral on this question. Five out of six white respondents under 30 believed such reporting was not very accurate, and no white under 45 believed such reporting was very accurate.

Additionally, two-thirds of the Black respondents under 30 believed the police image in the newspaper was very consistent, while the other ethnic groups did not form any pattern. The majority of whites under 30 saw the image as that of a good guy, but other ethnic groups did not form such a strong opinion on this question.

While age and ethnicity correlations did not form any patterns in regard to the first of the two stories about the police, more than 75 percent of the Mexican-Americans over 30 liked the police in the second story. This was even though the other age groups did not agree.

Among the white respondents, the only two who had been arrested three or more times were over 60, and no one under 30 had been arrested, but the other ethnic groups did not produce any statistical patterning. When the question about police brutality was presented, 92.9 percent of the Blacks over 60 said there was no police brutality at all, but respondents in every other age group noted there was definitely brutality in the cases where they or family members had been arrested. All Mexican-Americans sampled said there was no police brutality at all, and only one white respondent (aged 27-30) claimed there had definitely been brutality. All other respondents in the white group said there was none at all. In the Black response group, 69.4 percent of respondents over 30 said they never were hit or shoved by the police, while no Mexican-American said this often occurred, but two (aged 22-26) said this sometimes happened.

Over 90 percent of those respondents over the age of 45 in the Black response group believed that the police never talked abusively to them or to their families, but other ethnic groups did not form any pattern in their responses. Two-thirds of the Black respondents under 35 said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, but other groups did not form a pattern on this variable.

While three-quarters of the Black respondents under the age of 30 said they watched 5-10 hours per day of television, only 25 percent of those under 30 did so. No patterns emerged in the other ethnic groups.

Young Black respondents, it was learned in further cross-tabulations by ethnicity versus age group, were slightly more likely to feel anger at police when they saw filmed reports of them using force to make an arrest, with 100 percent of the respondents in the 18-21 age group giving this response. Other groups did not form any patterns of response, but it is significant to note that the very group who police for a long time have believed were the crux of the police-community relations problem were the ones most influenced by such filmed reports of police behavior.

Sex vs. Ethnicity

When sex and ethnicity were cross-tabulated, it was learned that 46.2 percent of Black males watched 5-10 hours per day of television, while 32 percent of Black females so stated. In the female portion, 40 percent watched 1-3 hours per day and no female watched less than one hour per day. No Mexican-American male watched more than three hours per day of television, and female viewership among Mexican-

Americans was less than in the other ethnic groups. Male and female viewership statistics for the white group were almost identical.

Both Black male and female respondents showed a high familiarity with the five selected television programs about the police, with 50 percent of the men and 56 percent of the women knowing all five, while 16 percent of women knew four of the programs mentioned. In the Mexican-American group, on the other hand, only three respondents knew more than one of the programs. Two women knew all five and one man knew three. These programs did not appear to relate to the real-life experiences of these respondents. Language may have also been a factor. The men in the white response group were twice as likely as the women to know all five programs, with 57.1 percent so stating.

Black men and women in the sample tended to watch the news with almost identical frequency, as did the Mexican-American sample and the white sample. No patterns were established by sex of respondents when they were asked how often the news was related to their neighborhood. No patterns emerged on the following question, either, regarding how much of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents.

Black men were about one and one-half times as likely as women to feel anger at the police when they saw police using force to make an arrest, while twice as many women as men, by percentage, felt distrust of police in such an instance. White responses were similar to Black responses to this question, while others did not form any pattern.

While 85.7 percent of the white male group felt the television image of police was very consistent, only 33.3 percent of the women

thought so. No men saw any consistency in the image, in the white sample group. But other groups failed to show any significant statistics on this question.

Among white respondents, 85.7 percent of the men, but only 60 percent of the women surveyed saw the police image as that of a good guy, but only one man responded otherwise, saying the police were shown as kind of tough guys. And while 48 percent of the Black females surveyed thought the image of police was very accurate, only 26.9 percent of the men agreed, while 34.6 percent of the men felt it was not at all accurate. On this question, women among the Mexican-Americans tended to be neutral (70.6 percent), as did the men (44.4 percent), but another 33.3 percent of the men said the image they saw was a very accurate one. At the same time, 53.3 percent of the white female respondents thought the image of the police was very accurate, while 42.9 percent of the white male respondents said it was not at all accurate.

Based only on the media reports, 61.5 percent of the Black men in our sample and 48 percent of the Black women believed the police were really nice guys, but another 44 percent of the women had a neutral opinion. Among the Mexican-Americans, 52.9 percent of the women and 44.4 percent of the men said they believed the police were really nice guys, if their opinion was to be based on the media alone. White respondents agreed somewhat, with 57.1 percent of the men and 26.7 percent of the women seeing the police as really nice guys and 40 percent of the women saying that they could understand why they act as they do.

Although Black men and women saw the police in their neighborhood with about the same frequency, Mexican-American women reported seeing the police more frequently than men, with 64.7 percent saying that they saw them several times a day, compared to 33.3 percent of the men. But 44.4 percent of the men indicated that they saw police regularly in their neighborhood. White male respondents said they saw the police several times a day in 71.4 percent of the cases, while 40 percent of white women gave this response.

While 42.3 percent of the Black men surveyed said they had often seen the police rough up people in their neighborhood, only 12 percent of the Black female respondents gave this answer. Mexican-Americans gave some varied responses, while in the white portion of the sample, 80 percent of the women and 57.1 percent of the men said they never saw the police rough up people in the neighborhood, but 20 percent of the women and 14.3 percent of the men said this often took place.

It was also noted that, although only three Black respondents said the police often helped people in their neighborhood, 57.7 percent of the men and 20 percent of the women said they never did so. But 36 percent of the women in this group said the police sometimes went out of their way to help. Mexican-American male and female respondents gave nearly identical answers to this question, while no white respondent reported that the police often helped. The police sometimes helped, according to 42.9 percent of the white male respondents and 33.3 percent of the white females. Still, 40 percent of the females and 28.6 percent of the males surveyed said the police never helped.

In the Black sample, 20 percent of the women and 11.5 percent of the men said they liked the police in their neighborhood and 44 percent of the women and 26.9 percent of the men also said they were okay. More than half of the Mexican-American women (58.8 percent) liked the police in the neighborhood, while 44.4 percent of the men in this group said they liked police. Another 22.2 percent of the men and 11.8 percent of the women said they were okay, while one Mexican-American female respondent said that she hated them. In the white group, only one male respondent said he liked the police, although 42.9 percent said they were okay. Among women in this group, 53.3 percent liked the police and 20 percent said they were okay. No one hated them.

It was learned that among Black respondents, 64 percent of the women always read the news about crime, while 34.6 percent of the men stated this was the case for them. Among the Mexican-Americans responding to the same question, 64.7 percent of the women and 44.4 percent of the men said they never read the news about crime or the police, while 66.7 percent of the white women always read the news about crime. But only 28.6 percent of the white men said they always read this, while 42.9 percent of the white men said they did so often. This gave the lowest readership to the Mexican-American women, not surprising when other results were taken into account.

Among the white men, 57.2 percent believed that crime reports in the newspapers were either accurate or sort of accurate, while 42.9 percent said they were not very accurate. The women in this group believed in 40 percent of the cases that such news was not very accurate, and in 20 percent of the cases that it was totally inaccurate. Responses

in other ethnic groups did not form any patterns on this variable. Again, among white respondents, 71.4 percent of the men believed the image of police was very consistent, while women's opinions were divided and other ethnic groups did not form a pattern.

When read the first story about the police, 58.8 percent of the Mexican-American females liked the police, while only 22.2 percent of the men in this ethnic group did so. Other ethnic groups tended to agree that the police had overstepped, although there was no pattern among the Black respondents on this cross-tabulation. In the white sample, 57.1 percent of the men said the police had overstepped, while only 26.7 percent of the women said this.

In the second story, 46.2 percent of the Black men said the police were okay, while 44 percent of the Black women agreed. Slightly more women than men liked the police in this ethnic group. While many of the Mexican-American men changed to saying the police in the second story were okay (55.6 percent gave this response) or that they liked them (33.3 percent), the female figure for liking police rose only slightly to 64.7 percent. It appeared that the women in the Mexican-American sample tended to like the police regardless of the press reporting about their behavior. White male respondents were more skeptical, saying they felt neutral (57.1 percent), but female opinions of the police in the second story were split, and 26.7 percent of the white women liked the police while another 40 percent said the police were okay.

Among Black respondents in the sample, 30.8 percent had been arrested five or more times and 19.2 percent had been arrested three

or four times, while no woman was arrested five times and only one three or four times. A total of 76 percent of the Black women reported they had never been arrested, as did 19.2 percent of the men, quite a difference between the two sexes. No Mexican-American woman and only two Mexican-American men were ever arrested. Both of the men reported they had been arrested once. No white female had been arrested more than once, and only two men had been arrested more than once. Among women, 86.7 percent had never been arrested. In the men's group, 57.1 percent said they were never arrested. When asked if there had been any police brutality in instances when they or family members had been arrested, 76 percent of the Black women and 65.4 percent of the Black men in the sample said there had been none at all, although 26.9 percent of men in this group said there definitely had been. Other groups did not form any response patterns.

While 68 percent of the Black women in the sample said they had never been hit or shoved by the police, only 46.2 percent of the men gave this response. Other ethnic groups gave a variety of answers. When asked if the police talked abusively to them or their families, 84 percent of the Black women and 61.5 percent of the Black men said this never happened, although 15.4 percent of the Black men said this always took place and another 15.4 percent of the Black men said it sometimes happened. Meanwhile, no Mexican-American man said the police had talked abusively to them, but 11.8 percent of the Mexican-American women said this happened rarely and 5.9 percent said they always happened. In the white sample, 73.3 percent of the women said the police never

talked abusively to them, while 42.9 percent of the men gave this response and another 42.9 percent of men said it rarely happened.

Half of the Black male respondents indicated that police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, as did 28 percent of the Black females surveyed. But 55.6 percent of the Mexican-American men and 42.9 percent of the Mexican-American women felt that the police definitely did not pick on people in their neighborhood. Again, this question was defined as, "Treat people in your neighborhood worse than people living in other neighborhoods". White men believed in 42.9 percent of cases that police definitely picked on people in this neighborhood and another 42.9 percent said they possibly did so, although 33.3 percent of the white women said they definitely did not.

The image of police on television as seen by Black male respondents was that they were good guys (57.7 percent), while the image seen by women was neutral (40 percent). Mexican-American men and women gave approximately the same percentage responses in all categories. There was a drastic difference between white male and female respondents on this question. The men said in 85.7 percent of instances that the image was that of a good guy, while 60 percent of the women surveyed said it was neutral.

Men in the Black sample tended to believe the image was not very accurate or not at all true, while 44 percent of the women in the Black group thought the image was very accurate. Among whites surveyed, women were divided on this issue, but 42.9 percent of men said the

image they saw was very accurate when compared to real life. Mexican-American respondents did not form patterns by sex on this issue.

Income Level Alone

Simple cross-tabulation of income level of respondents with the various questions led to some interesting results, also. Those with an income level under \$5000 annually were slightly more likely to believe the television image of the police was very consistent than were those above that level. More than half of those with an income level under \$5000 saw the police image as that of a good guy, while the middle income level of \$5000-6500 annually said it was that of a neutral fellow and those in the upper two income levels said in 44 percent of cases it was that of a good guy, but in 36 percent of the cases that it was a neutral image. It was also noted that the respondents in both the lowest (under \$3000 annually) income level and the highest (over \$8500) were least likely to see the police several times per day. Additionally, no one in the highest two income levels hated the police in their neighborhood, although other income levels were relatively evenly split on this question.

Income vs. Sex

In the study of income level as cross-tabulated with the sex of the respondents, it was learned that men in the lowest two income levels had the lowest readership of the newspapers, with 41.2 percent in the lowest income level saying that they rarely or never read the news, while 55.6 percent of those in the second income level gave that response. It was also learned that more than twice as many women in income levels

under \$6500 knew all five programs than did those with income levels over \$6500 annually. As this information did not appear to correlate to any other information gathered, it may have been the result of sampling error rather than of a trend.

Women in the lowest two income levels tended to believe in more than 53 percent of the cases that the police image on television was that of a good guy, but those in income levels over \$5000 annually tended to see that image as that of a neutral fellow. The only man who said he never saw the police in his neighborhood was in the highest income level. The only female who gave this response was in the same income group. More women in the highest two income levels said they never saw the police rough up people in their neighborhood than in the other, lower, income groups.

Income and Education

Income and education were also cross-tabulated with the questions to determine the results of such a study of data. No one with an eleventh to twelfth grade education and income level over \$6500 annually said they rarely or never read the news. In other words, higher education and income level were more likely to lead to reading of the news with regularity. This pattern followed through in the other income levels as well.

The only respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education who had been arrested were in the lowest income level. It appears that lower income level and educational level were positively correlated with tendency to be arrested. But this did not necessarily follow, as the only person in the group with a Bachelor's degree who had been

arrested had an income level of under \$3000 annually. This might indicate that the frustration of the respondents with higher levels of education could also lead to the same sort of negative results (in this case, arrest). The only respondents in the ninth to tenth grade educational group who said there had been any police brutality in cases where they or family members had been arrested were in income levels under \$5000. Only one person with an income over this amount and in the same educational group had ever been hit or shoved by the police.

All respondents with two or three years of college watched between one and three hours per day of television, regardless of income level. The other response groups did not form any patterns.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, a high percentage of respondents with over \$6500 annual income said the news never related to their neighborhood, while a large number of those in the lowest two income levels said this only rarely is shown. Only one respondent in the ninth to tenth grade educational group and income level over \$5000 felt anger at the police when they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest.

No respondent with a ninth to tenth grade education and income level over \$5000 annually had worse than a neutral opinion of the police in their neighborhood, while no respondent with two years of college felt better than neutral about the police, regardless of income level. This might lead to the conclusion that educated people felt they deserved better police than they were getting in the neighborhood where they were residing.

Educational Level and Sex of Respondents

Educational level was cross-tabulated with the sex of respondents, and it was learned that while 59.1 percent of women with an eleventh to twelfth grade education read the news once a day, 35.7 percent of the men read once a day. The causes for this were not indicated in the statistics. In the same educational group, 68.2 percent of the women and only 21.4 percent of the men said they always read the news about the police or about crime. Women took a more active interest in these subjects than did the men, it seemed.

While 37.5 percent of the men with a ninth to tenth grade education thought news reports about crime were totally inaccurate, 40 percent of the women in this group thought they were neutral and another 20 percent thought they were very accurate. Half of the men in this educational group thought the image of the police in newspapers was very consistent, while 40 percent of the women in this group said it was not very consistent. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, half of the men said the image was very consistent, while 35.7 percent said it was sort of consistent. Corresponding percentages for the women were 36.4 percent and 18.2 percent.

What sort of an image was presented? In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 70 percent of the women felt the image was neutral, as did 37.5 percent of the men, but 50 percent of the men thought it was the image of good guys. In the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 78.6 percent of the men and 31.8 percent of the women saw the image of police as good guys, while 36.4 percent of the women still saw a neutral image.

When statistics were calculated on the first of the two stories about police behavior, 31.6 percent of the women with less than an eighth grade education liked the police in the first story while only 7.7 percent of the men said this. In the second educational group, 40 percent of the women and 12.5 percent of the men said they liked the police in the first story, but 40 percent of the women and 25 percent of the men said the police had overstepped their limits. With an eleventh to twelfth grade education, no men had positive opinions of the police, but 64.3 percent of the men and 45.5 percent of the women said the police had overstepped their limits by behaving as they did in the story.

Continuing on to the second story, 52.6 percent of the women and 38.5 percent of the men in the lowest educational group liked the police in this story, while 53.8 percent of the men and 31.6 percent of the women said the police in this story were okay. In the second educational group, 60 percent of the women liked the police in the second story, but only 12.5 percent of the men did, while 37.5 percent of the men said they were okay, but half of the male respondents felt neutral.

Although men in the group with less than an eighth grade education had been arrested various numbers of times, 100 percent of the women had never been arrested. In the second educational group, no woman had been arrested more than three times, and the third group followed the same pattern as the second. All but one female with less than an eighth grade education indicated there had been no brutality at all in cases where people in their family had been arrested, but

one said police had reacted to the person resisting arrest. No patterns were noted in other groups.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, all but one woman said she had never been hit by the police, while 69.2 percent of the men said this. The one female giving a differing response said it sometimes happened. The same pattern was noted in the second educational group, as well as the third.

Half of the men but only 10 percent of the women in the ninth to tenth grade educational group said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, while 40 percent of the women and none of the men said they definitely did not pick on people in that neighborhood. The trend continued with the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, where 50 percent of the men said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, compared with 31.8 percent of the women, while 22.7 percent of the women said they definitely did not, to which only 14.5 percent of the men agreed.

While 73.3 percent of the women with less than an eighth grade education knew one or none of the five television programs listed, 46.2 percent of the men said this. All five programs were familiar to 30.8 percent of the men in this group, while only 15.8 percent of the women knew that many. No patterns could be seen in the other educational groups.

In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 70 percent of the women said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, while 37.5 percent of the men said it never did and another 25 percent of the men said it only rarely related. The same pattern appeared in the eleventh

to twelfth grade group, where 68.2 percent of the women and 42.9 percent of the men said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, while 35.7 percent of the men and 18.2 percent of the women said it never did.

While 75 percent of the men in the ninth to tenth grade educational group said they felt anger when the police used force to make an arrest, 50 percent of the women said they thought the police were doing a job they didn't like to do. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 64.3 percent of the male respondents said they felt anger at the police in this circumstance, while 36.4 percent of the women thought the police were doing a job they didn't like.

When asked how consistent the police image on television was, in the less than eighth grade educational group, 46.2 percent of men said the image of police on television was very consistent, but 52.6 percent of the women said it was neither consistent nor inconsistent. In the second educational group, 62.5 percent of men but only 30 percent of women said the television image was very consistent. In the third educational group, men and women gave much more similar responses, with 71.4 percent of men and 63.6 percent of women in this group indicating the television image of police was very consistent.

While 63.2 percent of the women in the lowest educational group said the police image was neither accurate nor inaccurate, the men were divided on this question. Half of the women and 37.5 percent of the men who had had a ninth to tenth grade education said the image was very accurate, but another 37.5 percent of the men said it was not at all accurate. In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade

education, 50 percent of the women again said the image was very accurate, but only 21.4 percent of the men agreed, while 35.7 percent of the men said it was not at all accurate in relation to real life.

It was also shown in this survey that 64.3 percent of the men in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group thought the police never went out of their way to help people in the neighborhood under study, but only 27.3 percent of the women felt this was the case, while 45.5 percent of the women said the police sometimes helped and 21.4 percent of the men said this.

When the final evaluation question was tabulated, 47.4 percent of the women in the less than eighth grade educational group said they liked the police in their neighborhood, but the greatest response figure for the men was 38.5 percent who said they thought the police in their neighborhood were okay. The second educational group found 80 percent of the women saying they liked the police in their neighborhood, while 37.5 percent of the men again indicated that the police were okay. All other responses were divided on this question.

Conclusions

In compiling the random comments made by the respondents, perhaps the best indicators of the differences in the opinions of a full-fledged ghetto and the opinions of a ghetto in flux could be found. Strong indications were that the residents of both types of area wanted more honesty in reporting news about the police in their neighborhood. This was shown in responses such as: "Everything on television and in papers tends to be biased. This is the policy of publishers or television stations," and "They make out the police to be good and it's

not always true. The police have a rough job to do. I have respect for the police but not always the way they do their job."

Police in this area which was rapidly undergoing change seemed to have more sympathy from residents than they did in other areas. Respondents gave indications that they felt the task of the police would be aided by better reporting, which would cover the good things the police had done on their own, regardless of "station policy". One female respondent in the white response group wanted to hear more of what had provoked police behavior in such a manner that they would rough people up.

News accuracy was also questioned. Another white female respondent said she knew of several instances when the facts were not accurately reported. She suggested that the press should play down "the things which make the police paranoid and the people paranoid". In addition, she said, "the media could change the people's interest ... put crime on the back page". At the same time, a Black female respondent requested less violence on television, feeling that this led younger children into crime and violence. She wanted to see reports that the police were "mixing with the young kids". At the same time, an elderly female respondent suggested that she would like to see that the police were cracking down on crime against the elderly and "lay off the kids".

It was universally felt that it was not to the advantage of the police that the television news would show them hitting suspects, but a few of the respondents, primarily Mexican-Americans (the group with the least familiarity with the media), were satisfied with news

reporting about the police. As one white female respondent put it, "I don't like to see violence or discrimination on television. I'd like to hear that the police were being nice to people and helping to improve situations". This comment was particularly interesting in light of the fact that the Venice police had conducted a quite lengthy campaign shortly before the survey was conducted in an attempt to publicize their interest in improving police-community relations.

In spite of the attitude which seemed to prevail in the Venice area, that the police did some good things and that these things should be publicized, some respondents wanted the press to cover the negative aspects of police work as well. For example, a young Mexican-American female suggested that the press ought to "show the way police really are--the way they make arrests by beating people up". Another respondent expressed skepticism that the press would be capable of reporting the truth in situations.

One Mexican-American man summarized the point of this survey when he indicated, "If the action of the police on television is good, then the people won't think bad of the police". Other respondents were not as optimistic, though, and followed the pattern of responses in the question portion of the survey. It appeared that it was not only media reporting which influenced the opinions of citizens regarding the police, but the personal experienced that they had. Perhaps what this respondent was actually saying was that the action of the police on television should be a reflection of the way that the police behave in all ordinary circumstances, and if this is good, and can be compared with real life situations, the opinion that the citizens will have about the police will also be good.

As in other cities, some respondents indicated that the press should report all aspects of news about the police, and not be afraid to cover up any wrongdoing by the police. Again, carrying this one step further, it may be noted that such coverage of police action tends to promote awareness in the community and to encourage the improvement of police behavior.

Mexican-American respondents appeared in the question portion of the survey to have very few opinions about the police. The open-ended response period at the end showed otherwise. Instead of lacking in opinions, the Mexican-Americans in the sample indicated an amount of fairness not seen in the other response groups. This is exemplified by one male respondent who asked to have "more news about the nice things the police do--like when the police were trying to find out where two lost babies belonged. I'd like to hear both sides of the story so I can evaluate". Both Black and white respondents tended to take only one side, saying the police were either very bad and the press was failing to report it, or that the police were being criticized too widely in the press.

Respondents wished for better coverage of news about the police in their own neighborhood. Considering that the police presence was more obvious in this neighborhood than in any of the others studied, it was hard to imagine that approximately the same number of respondents felt that the news about their neighborhood on television was rarely reported as was seen in other neighborhoods covered in the study.

Many respondents indicated that they would not object to a crack-down on crime, as long as police who mis-treated residents of the

area were also cracked-down on. One response that was particularly interesting was almost precisely the same as indicated in both of the other cities studied previously. The comment was, "Everybody's not perfect, even the police".

The lack of facts being reported was especially criticized in the newspaper. More research before publication was suggested, along with the usual suggestion of not slanting the news in favor of the police. A good example of this was found in the unemployed Black mechanic in our sample who told the following story:

"One particular officer has put two of my friends in the hospital in the last two weeks." . . . "The police were harassing friends and they got charged with assault." He stated that the press should show the facts--all of it--not just the part that the police have arrested someone, but why they arrested him and why they beat him up.

A white female respondent said that the public should be made aware of the amount of stress the police are under. She felt that the press was suppressed and that they presented the image the police were trying to portray. Another white female respondent complained about the slow response time from the police station nearby. A Black male respondent seconded this and added that it sometimes took over an hour for the police to respond. News that this had changed would be welcomed by both. Other interviewees supported this.

A sympathetic white female respondent wanted the press to show how hard the police had to work to crack down on crime in the neighborhood under study. A white male respondent stated that particular police

in that area were prejudiced and that this should be eliminated. He said, "Candid interviews would be good. Tapes of off-duty policemen talking together would be fascinating." A white female respondent said, "After a crime comes to light, it might be enlightening to interview the accused as well as the victim and the arresting officer". She also wanted 5-10 minutes per week of television time showing individual formal complaints about officers to let people know that they could complain to Internal Affairs and get results.

What would help police-community relations in this neighborhood was answered by a white female respondent, who wanted news to report that police were on foot and living in the precinct where they were working. She was skeptical, though, indicating that certain social changes would have to come about first--jobs for everyone and reconstructing society.

This city had more specific instances of harassment reported by the respondents than any of the others surveyed. A Black male respondent told how the police had come into his home and "pulled their guns on my kids and told us all to get back, while they searched the house. Why, one of them was even up on the couch, walking all over it--and they never told us what they were looking for". This lack of communication was also reported when one frustrated Black female respondent said, "I'd like to know what's going on around here!" There was a lack of neighborhood reporting, made worse by the lack of communication by the police with area residents. On the other hand, the people were quick to claim "police brutality," while the police were operating with

their "hands tied" in terms of their own limitations. The police were taking advantage of the people because they could aggravate the situation and not have their behavior reported publicly, according to more than one respondent.

A white male respondent told the interviewer that the Herald-Examiner was the most honest newspaper in the area. He indicated the neighborhood children were afraid of the police because they had witnessed the police abusing people, especially the Black police. His suggestion was a good one: "Rather than change television, change the police to be like they show them on television".

Therefore, the results of this city's survey are easy to summarize: The news reports about the police should be accurate. This should lead to better behavior on the part of the police. In turn, this should lead to reporting which reflects the good conduct of the police and therefore leads to better opinions and more cooperation from this community which at present feels that the police are not fully living up to their role as protectors and servants of the community.

CHAPTER V

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA:

GHETTO/BARRIO IN AFFLUENT CITY

The city of San Jose, California, is one of the fastest-growing cities in the United States. In the early 1960's, the city was well-known as the "Prune Capitol of the World," with its orchards extending from the heart of the city both southward and northward along the Santa Clara Valley. The city's agricultural prominence was instrumental in attracting farmers and farm-workers to the area for many years before that time. Many were well-settled and owned homes, however modest, on the East side of the city. Other minorities were also present, but in lesser numbers, and not always for agricultural reasons. These minorities consisted of American Indian, Oriental and Black ethnic groups, none of which was a large segment of the city's population.

But the late 1960's brought the city a new fame and fortune in the form of the massive electronics industry. The area became known as the Silicon Valley, in honor of the parts used to make the transistors which were making so many people rich during that period. The computer industry centered itself in the cities surrounding San Jose, and many area residents took employment in that industry. Housing became more

and more scarce, as a new wave of workers migrated to the area seeking jobs. Property values soared, and along with them, taxes. The cost of living was rapidly rising, and what was once a modest income in agriculture became no longer adequate. To compound the problem, the land which had been so valuable as farm land now became even more so as land for industrial or residential usage. The means of earning a living was all but destroyed for many who had relied on agricultural work, often seasonal, for their living. Farmers sold entire orchards, leaving hundreds of workers unemployed. These same workers were ill-prepared to perform other types of work, often being poorly educated, and sometimes having little grasp of the English language.

When other cities were witnessing racial riots in the 1960's, San Jose found more turmoil on its university campus than within the residential areas. The residents of the East side were largely baffled by what had befallen them. While some attempted to cope by finding jobs in the electronics industry, often on assembly lines, others simply gave up and began to collect unemployment and welfare. At the same time, the search for housing for those moving to the area became more and more competitive, with various ethnic groups competing to find adequate housing for themselves and their families at reasonable prices. The greater the competition for this housing, the more expensive its cost became. Many homeowners on the East side of San Jose were forced to sell their homes due to their financial circumstances. They found ready buyers in the members of other ethnic groups who were seeking bargain housing and who did not object to living in a poorer part of town. The integration of the barrio (Spanish word for ghetto) had begun.

At the time of this survey, East side San Jose was still largely single-family dwellings, owned by their occupants, primarily in poor or mediocre condition. The majority of residents in the survey area were still Mexican-American (or Chicano, as many wished to be called), although the area population was shifting rapidly, and about 20 percent of those residing in the Mayfair district of the East side (the area of the study) were Black, while about 5 percent were Oriental, and 2 percent were American Indian. Another 3-4 percent of residents in the area were white, many with low educational levels and large families to support.

The San Jose sample contained nine people who identified themselves as Black, 64 who were Mexican-American, 17 who were white, two who were American Indian and four who were Oriental, as well as three who declined to identify with a particular ethnic group. For the purposes of this survey, the last four were omitted from statistics concerning ethnicity of the respondents.

Among those interviewed, 28 had less than an eighth grade education, 14 had completed the ninth or tenth grade, 39 had completed eleventh or twelfth grade, 10 had completed one year of college, and six had completed two years of college, while the remaining three had received a Bachelor's degree. The youngest response group, 18-21, contained 16 respondents, while 28 were in the second group, 22-26, and 11 in the third group, 27-30. Another 17 were in the age group 31-35, 13 in the group 36-45, six in the 46-60 age group and nine in the group over 60 years of age. There were 41 men interviewed and 59 women.

Although the income level of the area was rapidly increasing, it was decided to use the same general income groupings which had been used in the previous three cities. It was found that 13 respondents were in the group with income level under \$3000 annually, 32 in the group with \$3000-5000 annual income, and 14 in the group with \$5000-6500 annually. There were another 17 in the \$6500-8500 income group and 24 in the highest group, those with over \$8500 annual income. It might be noted that, at the time of the survey, even this top income group barely met the government's standards for a moderate income for a family of four. The question did not inquire about individual income of the respondent, but rather, asked for family income statistics.

Due to the rapidly changing situation in the city of San Jose, the city was saved until the last, in the hope that some of the changes would have taken their effect upon the lifestyles and attitudes of the residents. Significant changes included the building of a freeway link (Highway 280/Highway 680) connecting traffic coming south from Oakland in the East Bay and from San Francisco, through San Jose and on south via Highway 101, previously the main North-South artery in the state. The area under study underwent tremendous physical changes due to the construction of the freeway, with numerous housing being removed to clear its path, and with the freeway dividing the area into two segments, one north of the freeway and one south, as well as a second division between east and west, leaving about 15 blocks of what had previously been considered a part of the Mayfair area on the East side of Highway 680 and the rest on the West. Government funds helped some

of the homeowners to relocate, while other government funds were also being channelled into the area due to San Jose's status as a recipient of Model Cities funding.

The ethnic changes in the area led to some tensions, but none of them seemed to reflect directly into the statistics which were gathered in this sampling. The reader should note, though, that the majority of the interviewees who were of Mexican-American ethnicity had lived in the area for greater periods of time than members of other ethnic groups.

The area is the only part of San Jose serviced by its own individual police station within the city limits, although outlying communities such as the cities of Saratoga, Campbell, Sunnyvale and Santa Clara, and the township of Los Gatos, have their own police departments. The high crime rate in the area led San Jose Police to institute this branch office in order to enable faster response times. Residents of the area were frequent victims and their demands for better police service got them this type of response.

The area is serviced primarily by one newspaper, the morning San Jose Mercury, or its sister newspaper, the evening San Jose News. These two papers are published by Ridder Publishing Corporation (which has since merged to become Knight-Ridder), and it is widely held that they reflect a very conservative point-of-view regarding the city. The new partnership has somewhat changed the impact of the answers to various questions about the impact of the press in this community. Television stations serving the area include one which broadcasts directly from San Jose, Channel 11, affiliated with ABC; a second ABC

station, Channel 7, from San Francisco; Channels 2, 4, and 5 which broadcast from San Francisco or Oakland, and numerous UHF stations, some of which originate in each of the cities. Cable television is also available, but was not widely in use at the time of the survey. One public television station, Channel 9, offered primarily educational and cultural programs, while periodic programs were available in the Spanish language on several of the stations. There was no widely-circulated Spanish-language newspaper originating in the local area at the time under study.

The data collected from this city has been treated in much the same manner as data collected from the other cities under study, with raw statistics as well as cross-tabulated statistics being studied. Detailed study and analysis of the data have led to a reduced volume of data being presented here, with a significant factor being that a gross statistical difference was noted early between the responses of persons under 30 and those over that age. In many cases, these statistics have been grouped, and an average opinion is listed rather than a specific percentage within each age group.

Ethnicity vs. Educational Level

In the cross-tabulation of ethnicity vs. the educational level of the respondents, it was found that 100 percent of all ethnic groups with less than an eighth grade education, except the Mexican-Americans said that the television image of the police was neutral, while the Mexican-American group agreed in 66.7 percent of the interviews. In the second educational group, both the Black and the American Indian respondents said the image was neutral, but only half of the Mexican-

American and white respondents said this. Again, in the third educational group, 66.7 percent of the Blacks and 37.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans said the image was that of a good guy, but the American Indian and Oriental respondents agreed with 57.1 percent of the whites that the image was neutral. Then, while 40 percent of the Mexican-Americans surveyed who had one year of college saw a good guy image, other groups disagreed, with 100 percent of the Black respondents, one Oriental respondent and half of the whites saying the image was neutral, while the other 50 percent of the whites said they were sometimes too rough. Half of the respondents with two years of college said the image was of not too bad guys and one-third said it was neutral, while all three respondents with a Bachelor's degree felt the image was a neutral one.

Was this image accurate? Half of the Blacks with less than an eighth grade education said the image was very accurate, while the other half said it was neutral, as did half of the Mexican-Americans. But the white respondents said it was not very true and the Oriental said it was very accurate. The next educational group did not follow any trend in responding, but in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group, 45.8 percent of the Mexican-American respondents, 42.9 percent of whites and 50 percent of the Oriental respondents said the image was very accurate, while 66.7 percent of Blacks said it was not very true, and 42.9 percent of whites said it was not at all true when compared with their real life experiences.

While 40 percent of the Mexican-American respondents with one year of college believed the image was very accurate, and one of the two whites believed it was sometimes true, the Oriental and one of the two Black respondents in this group believed it was neutral. But the

other Black said, along with the other white, that it was not at all true. The only respondent with two years of college who believed the image was accurate was Oriental, while the one Black said it was not very true and the Mexican-American and white respondents agreed that it was not at all true. Although one Mexican-American with a Bachelor's degree said the image was very accurate, the other agreed with the white respondent that it was not at all true.

When read the first story about behavior of the police, the one white respondent with less than an eighth grade education felt neutral about the police in the story, while 54.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans and one of the two Blacks in this group felt the police had overstepped their limits, while the other Black hated the police in the story. All groups with a ninth to tenth grade education agreed that police had overstepped their limits, with 100 percent of Black and American Indian respondents, half of whites and three-quarters of the Mexican-Americans in this group giving this response.

In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, respondents again agreed that the police had overstepped their limits in the first story, the response being given by 66.7 percent of the Black and Mexican-American respondents, the one American Indian in this group, half of the Orientals and 42.9 percent of the whites. As in the last group, an Oriental respondent felt neutral about the police in the story, but the Black and Mexican-American respondents all agreed the police had overstepped their limits, while half of the white respondents said this and the other half hated the police in the story. Again, an Oriental respondent with two years of college was neutral on

this question, while all Black and white respondents said the police had overstepped their limits and only the Mexican-American respondent hated the police in the story. Both Mexican-American respondents with a Bachelor's degree said the police had overstepped their limits, while the white in this group hated the police in the story.

When the second story was read to respondents in the lowest educational group, half of the Blacks felt neutral about the police and half said they were okay, while 54.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they were okay and most other respondents felt neutral. The only respondent who hated the police in the story was Mexican-American and the only five who liked the police in this story were of the same ethnic group. The Black and American Indian respondents in the second educational group agreed police were okay in this story, while half of the Mexican-Americans and 75 percent of the whites gave this response, an improvement over their opinions of the police in the first story. Two-thirds of the Blacks, 45.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans and half of the Orientals, plus the one American Indian respondent with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the police were okay, but 42.9 percent of the whites in this group liked them and half of the Orientals hated them. In the group with one year of college, the two Black respondents said the police were okay, but 60 percent of the Mexican-American respondents and half of the whites said they felt neutral while the other half of the whites in this group liked the police and the one Oriental hated them. The next educational group followed no response pattern, and all respondents with a Bachelor's degree felt neutral. This would indicate that all ethnic groups except

the Orientals improved their opinions of the police based on the second story in comparison with the first, although a higher education tended to lead toward a greater chance that some skepticism would exist rather than an immediate improvement in opinion.

The majority of respondents with less than an eighth grade education had never been arrested, including half of the Blacks, 83.3 percent of the Mexican-Americans; but half of the Blacks and the one white in this group had been arrested once. The only respondents arrested more than once were Mexican-American, one of whom had been arrested two times and one more than five times. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, one Mexican-American, one white and the only American Indian respondent had been arrested five or more times, while none of the Blacks had been arrested and 75 percent of both Mexican-American and white respondents in this sample group said they had never been arrested.

Although the one American Indian had been arrested five or more times, the Oriental, 75 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 71.4 percent of the whites and 66.7 percent of the Blacks in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group said they had never been arrested. The next groups yielded very little information correlated to the two variables, except that higher education correlated to fewer arrests for the members of all ethnic groups.

Although, as noted in previous chapters, history of family arrests is not relevant data when correlated by the statistics for ethnographic data of our sample, it was interesting to note that no one with two years or more of college had any members of their family

who had ever been arrested. It may be concluded that a higher value on education within families may have some correlation with the potential for arrest.

All respondents, regardless of ethnic group, with less than an eighth grade education said there was no brutality in any of the arrest cases of themselves or family members, except the Mexican-Americans, where 70.8 percent of the respondents gave that response and 12.5 percent said there definitely had been brutality. Although both one white and one American Indian respondent in the second educational group said there definitely was brutality, 75 percent of the whites, the one Black respondent and half of the Mexican-American respondents in this group said there was none at all. And, although one American Indian and four Mexican-Americans (representing 16.7 percent of this response group) said there was definitely brutality when the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group was surveyed, 100 percent of the Black and Oriental respondents, 85.7 percent of the whites and 58.3 percent of the Mexican-Americans in this group said there was none at all.

Although only half of the Black respondents with one year of college said there was no brutality at all, 60 percent of Mexican-American respondents and all of the white and Oriental respondents in this educational group said there was none at all. The only respondent who said there definitely was brutality was a Mexican-American. Two white respondents with two years of college said there definitely was brutality, but all others said there had been none.

Only one respondent in the lowest educational group had often been hit or shoved by the police. This person was Black. The other

Black respondent in this group said this had never happened, while 75 percent of the Mexican-Americans and the one white respondent in this group agreed that this had never taken place. In the second educational group, the American Indian respondent said this often occurred, but the Black respondent, half of the Mexican-Americans and 75 percent of the whites in this group also said this never happened. Among those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, both one Mexican-American and one American Indian said they had often been hit or shoved, but 100 percent of the Oriental and Black respondents, 85.7 percent of the whites and 54.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans in this sample group said they had never been hit. The two white respondents and one Mexican-American who had had one year of college said they sometimes were hit, but no one said this often occurred, while Black and Oriental respondents and 80 percent of the Mexican-Americans in this group said they were never hit or shoved by the police. Both whites with two years of college said they were sometimes hit by police, but all others in that group and in the group with a Bachelor's degree said this never occurred.

Police never talked abusively to 50 percent of the Blacks, any of the whites, and 79.2 percent of the Mexican-Americans in the lowest educational group, while they always talked that way to two of the Mexican-American respondents (8.3 percent). One white respondent and the one Mexican-American in the ninth to tenth grade educational group indicated that the police always talked abusively to them or their families, but the Black respondent said they never did so, as did 75 percent of Mexican-Americans and 50 percent of the white respondents in this group.

Two Mexican-American respondents and the one American Indian in the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the police always talked abusively to them, while all of the Oriental respondents, 71.4 percent of the white respondents, 70.8 percent of the Mexican-American and 66.7 percent of the Black respondents in this group indicated they never did so. One Mexican-American and one white respondent with one year of college said the police sometimes talked abusively to them, while all others in this group said they never did. All respondents with two years of college or more indicated the police rarely or never talked in this way to them.

Although Mexican-American respondents gave fairly positive responses on most questions, four (16.7 percent) with less than an eighth grade education said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, as did one Black respondent in this group. Only 37.5 percent of Mexican-Americans said they definitely did not, as was indicated by the white respondent and the other Black respondent in the sample. Both Mexican-American and one white respondent with a ninth to tenth grade education said the police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, while half of the Mexican-Americans, 75 percent of the whites and the one American Indian in this group said they definitely did not. The one Black respondent was unable to say if this was the case or not. It might be noted here that one significant difference in the ghetto/barrío area of San Jose as compared to those in other areas we have studied is that residents of the area are not totally isolated from residents of surrounding neighborhoods and communities. The mobility of the population, with most families having

some sort of car, allowed for a significantly higher percentage of people answering this question than had answered in previous cities under study. Whereas others said they had no basis for comparison of police behavior within other neighborhoods, the residents of the Mayfair area of San Jose had means of comparing from one neighborhood to the next, often within the distance of one mile. The location of San Jose in the Santa Clara Valley has pressed the ghetto/barrio area against the foothills of the Hamilton mountain range, where homes of many of the area's wealthiest citizens have been built. Recreational areas and shopping centers were also shared by the rich and the poor, lending credence to the responses to this particular question.

In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, the only three respondents who said police definitely picked on residents of their neighborhood were Mexican-American, while four Mexican-American and one Black respondent said they possibly did so. But one-third of Blacks, 37.5 percent of Mexican-Americans, 42.9 percent of whites and the one American Indian in this group said they definitely did not, while 42.9 percent of the whites in this group said they probably did not. With one year of college, one white respondent said police definitely picked on people in that neighborhood, while 60 percent of the Mexican-Americans and half of the Blacks said they definitely did not. No respondent with two years of college said the police definitely picked on people in their area, but only two (both white) said they definitely did not.

Both Black respondents with less than an eighth grade education liked the police in their neighborhood, as did six of the Mexican-

Americans (25 percent), while 33.3 percent of Mexican-Americans in this group and the one white said they were okay. Seven Mexican-Americans said they felt neutral about the police and one hated them, while two said they could get along without them. In the second educational group, one white liked the police, while the rest of the whites were split on this question. No respondent in this group hated the police, but the majority felt neutral about them.

In the third educational group, five Mexican-American and one white respondent liked the police in their neighborhood, while again no one hated them. But 66.7 percent of the Blacks in this group said they were okay and most of the other respondents felt neutral about them. Both Black respondents with one year of college liked the police, as did one Mexican-American. One white and the Oriental respondent in this group felt neutral about them, along with 60 percent of the Mexican-Americans, while the rest of the respondents stated that they could get along without the police. The only respondent who liked the police in the group with two years of college was the Oriental, while all others felt neutral about them.

Both Black respondents, the only white and half of the Mexican-Americans in the lowest educational group watched the news daily, while the rest of the Mexican-Americans in this group gave varied responses. The one Black in the next educational group, along with 62.5 percent of Mexican-Americans and half of the whites watched the news daily, while the American Indian watched about twice a week and others were divided. While 85.7 percent of the whites with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, along with 70.8 percent of Mexican-American respondents and

half of the Orientals in this group watched the news daily, only one-third of the Blacks in this group gave this response. Both white respondents with one year of college, one of the two Black members of this sample group and 40 percent of the Mexican-Americans watched the news daily. The only respondent who never watched was Black and the other respondents gave various answers. The one Black and both of the whites in the group with two years of college watched the news daily, but other responses were mixed. Overall, increased education was not necessarily indicative of an increased incidence of news-watching among respondents in any ethnic group in the San Jose sample.

Both Blacks and eight Mexican-American respondents (33.3 percent) said the news rarely related to their neighborhood when the lowest educational group was surveyed, while five Mexican-Americans and the one white in this group said it never did. The only two who said the news related daily were Mexican-American. No one with a ninth to tenth grade education said the news related daily to their neighborhood, although one white respondent said it often did. In this group, both the Black and the American Indian respondent, along with 75 percent of the Mexican-Americans and half of the whites in the sample said the news only rarely related to their neighborhood, while two Mexican-Americans said it never did. Again, it is important to remind the reader that the word neighborhood was not specifically defined to the respondents, who might, therefore, define it differently.

In the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 66.7 percent of the Black respondents said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, while the other third said it never did. Mexican-Americans

gave mixed responses, with 37.5 percent saying it often related, and another 37.5 percent saying it rarely related. In the white response group, 42.9 percent said that the news rarely related and 42.9 percent said it never did, while the American Indian said it rarely did and the Orientals were divided on the question. With one year of college half of the Black respondents, 60 percent of the Mexican-American and both white respondents said the news rarely related to their neighborhood, while Orientals said it never did.

Two-thirds of the Blacks sampled who had an eleventh to twelfth grade education also said the news was somewhat accurate, as did 42.9 percent of the white respondents, but the majority of others in this group said it was neutral. All respondents with two years of college felt the news was neutral except the two whites who indicated it was somewhat accurate.

When asked how much of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, 71.4 percent of the whites, 45.8 percent of Mexican-Americans, but only 33.3 percent of Blacks with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said none of the news showed this, while the other 66.7 percent of the Blacks in this sample group said most of the news showed this. With one year of college, all Mexican-Americans and half of the Blacks surveyed, along with half of the whites, indicated that none of the news showed this, while the other half of the Blacks said all of the news showed this. All respondents with two years of college said very little of the news showed this, except one Oriental who said he or she didn't know how much of this was shown.

With less than an eighth grade education, all Black respondents felt anger at or distrust of the police who used force to make an arrest, whenever they saw filmed reports of this behavior. Other ethnic groups were mixed in their opinions. Although half of the whites and a quarter of the Mexican-Americans in the second educational group felt anger at the police in this same circumstance, the one Black and the American Indian in that educational group, along with 62.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans said they felt distrust of the police. Anger was felt by one-third of the Blacks, 45.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 28.6 percent of the whites in the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, but others gave mixed responses. One of the two Black respondents with one year of college and one Mexican-American in this group felt anger at the police in this circumstance, but 60 percent of the Mexican-Americans, half of the whites, and the Oriental said they distrusted police when they saw such filmed reports. The other Black respondent thought the police were doing a job they didn't like. All respondents with two years of college felt distrust of the police when they saw this, except the Oriental, who felt anger. All respondents with a Bachelor's degree registered anger or distrust.

Among those with less than an eighth grade education, half of the Black respondents said the television image of the police was very consistent, and the other half said it was somewhat consistent. Mexican-American respondents agreed, with 41.7 percent saying it was very consistent and 20.8 percent saying it was somewhat consistent. The white respondent said it was not very consistent. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, 62.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 75

percent of the whites, and the one American Indian respondent said the image was very consistent, but the one Black respondent indicated it was not very consistent. Continuing to the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 66.7 percent of the Blacks, 75 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 42.9 percent of the whites, along with the one American Indian said the image was very consistent, while 42.9 percent of the whites and half of the Orientals in the sample said it was not very consistent. All but one of the other respondents said it was somewhat consistent.

Although the one Oriental, half of the white respondents and half of the Black respondents with one year of college said the television image was not very consistent, half of the Blacks, 60 percent of the Mexican-Americans and half of the whites in this sample group said it was very consistent. The Oriental, Black and Mexican-American respondents with two years of college all said the image was not very consistent, but the two white respondents in the group with two years of college said it was very consistent. The group with a Bachelor's degree was split on this question.

Both Black respondents and 54.2 percent of the Mexican-American respondents with less than an eighth grade education said the image of the police from the media only would be that of good guys, while the one white respondent in this educational group said it was that of not such a bad guy. Another 37.5 percent of Mexican-American respondents said it was the image of a neutral fellow.

In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, 75 percent of Mexican-Americans and 75 percent of white respondents agreed with the

American Indian that the image of the police in the media was that of a good guy. The other Mexican-American and white respondents said it was as not such a bad guy, while the one Black respondent said it was as kind of a tough guy. While only half of the Oriental respondents gave this response, over 57 percent of all other ethnic groups with eleventh to twelfth grade education said the image was that of a good guy. The other Oriental thought the image was that of a neutral fellow, while 42.9 percent of white respondents believed it was that of a not so bad guy. In the group with one year of college, one Black respondent saw the image as that of a good guy, while the other saw it as that of a bully. White respondents were in close agreement, with one saying the image was of a good guy and one saying not such a bad guy. The Oriental respondent in this group said the image was neutral but 80 percent of Mexican-Americans said it was the image of a good guy.

The one white respondent with less than an eighth grade education said the news image of the police was very accurate, while both Black respondents in this group said it was not very accurate and Mexican-American respondents gave varied responses. Responses in the second educational group were mixed, but in the group with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, 66.7 percent of Black respondents said the news was not at all accurate and 33.3 percent said it was not very accurate, while 42.9 percent of whites said it was somewhat accurate. The one American Indian respondent said it was not at all accurate, but the rest were divided on this question. More than half of all respondents with one year of college said the image was not very accurate. No

one said it was not at all accurate, but the only group that gave the response of very accurate was Mexican-American (40 percent). Those with higher educational levels than this gave varied responses.

Based only on the media, the majority of respondents with less than an eighth grade education would feel neutral about the police, regardless of their ethnicity. Others in the next educational group were divided on this question. The majority of Black and Mexican-American respondents with an eleventh or twelfth grade education could understand why police acted as they did, based on the publicity presented by the media, but white respondents felt neutral and the American Indian felt they shouldn't act as they did. With one year of college, all respondents could understand why the police acted as they did, except one Black and one white respondent who said they shouldn't act as they did. Again, with two years of college, all said they could understand police behavior except the two white respondents, who said they shouldn't behave in that way.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, both Black respondents said they rarely saw the police, as did 45.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans. But the white respondent saw the police regularly. While the one Black with a ninth to tenth grade education saw police regularly, 62.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans saw them rarely. Whites in this group were split and the American Indian saw the police several times a day. The next educational group was split on this question, but more than half of the Black and Mexican-American respondents with one year of college indicated they saw the police regularly, although the other ethnic groups were split on this question.

Half of the Blacks with less than an eighth grade education said they had seen the police rough people up often and half said they had never seen this. Among the Mexican-American respondents in this group, 79.2 percent said this never happened, as did the one white respondent.

The American Indian with a ninth to tenth grade education said the police often roughed up people in that neighborhood, while 100 percent of Black, and 75 percent of both Mexican-American and white respondents said police never roughed people up. All of the white and Oriental respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the police never roughed people up, while 66.7 percent of the Blacks in this group indicated this rarely happened. But the American Indian said this often took place. All respondents with two years of college said police never roughed people up, except the one Mexican-American in that group, who said this happened rarely.

Although the white respondent and one of the Black respondents with less than an eighth grade education said the police often helped people in their neighborhood, other groups were split on the question. In the second educational group, the Black and American Indian respondents said the police never went out of their way to help, while others were split on the question. The majority of all ethnic groups with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the police never helped. These responses would indicate that the police were not only less visible than in other ghetto areas, but that this lack of visibility is correlated to a lack of responsiveness, as seen by residents.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, both Black respondents knew four of the five programs about the police

which were mentioned, and others were split as to the number they knew. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, the one Black and the one American Indian respondent knew all five programs, as did 75 percent of the whites and 62.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans in this group. Both Oriental respondents and the American Indian, along with two-thirds of the Mexican-Americans with an eleventh to twelfth grade education knew all five programs, while 57.1 percent of whites in this group knew four. More than half of all groups with one year of college knew four or five of the programs. All respondents with two years of college knew all five.

Although both Blacks with less than an eighth grade education watched between 5-10 hours per day of television, other groups were split. The majority of respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education watched 5-10 hours per day, except the one Black, who watched 3-5 hours per day. Other educational groups watched varying amounts in the various ethnic groups and failed to form any pattern of viewership.

Age of Respondents

When data was computed for each question on the single variable of age of respondents, it was learned that the lowest readership was found in the over 60 age group, where only 22.2 percent of respondents read the news once a day. All other age groups had greater than 30 percent giving this response, which included a high readership of 50 percent of those 46-60 years of age. The 46-60 age group had the lowest readership of crime news (16.7 percent said they always read),

while the three groups under 30 had higher than 62 percent who said they always read such news. All of the groups under 30 had relatively high percentages of respondents who believed crime reports in newspapers were not very accurate, but only three respondents over 30 gave this response. Most of these older respondents said it was neutral.

Almost three times as many respondents over 45 thought that news reporting was very accurate as did those under 30 when it came to the image projected of the police. Other reactions to this question were mixed.

In the area of personal experience, only two respondents over 30 had been arrested five or more times and although only slightly more than half of those in the youngest two age groups were never arrested, approximately 80 percent of those in all other age groups gave this response. Also, respondents over 30 were far more likely to say they had never been hit by police than were those under 30.

No respondent over 35 said the police always talked abusively to them or to their family, it was also noted.

The youngest age group watched the most television, with 62.5 percent watching 5-10 hours per day, while the lowest amount of viewing was found in the two age groups which might be considered as working age, ranging from 36-60. Again, the youngest group was the most familiar with the five programs about the police which were named, although all groups under the age of 45 were fairly familiar with them. The elderly respondents were only somewhat familiar with the programs.

Among respondents under the age of 30, approximately 60 percent said the police never roughed people up in their neighborhood, but respondents over 30 said this in over 80 percent of cases. The three youngest groups were far more likely to say the police never helped people in the neighborhood than were the respondents over 30, but it should be remembered that no age group felt in higher than 16 percent of cases that the police often helped. This statistic alone is alarming, and quite different from responses registered in the other communities surveyed. It was either indicative of a total lack of service on the part of the police, of apathy on their part, or of hostile feelings of the community toward the police. The latter answer seems highly unlikely in light of other responses indicated throughout the survey. The elderly (over 60) were the only respondents in this sample who strongly indicated they liked the police in their neighborhood (66.7 percent), while 12 respondents under 30 said they could get along without them and only one over 30 gave this response.

Sex of Respondents

When the same questions were tabulated on the basis of sex of the respondents, further information was learned. Although 30.5 percent of the women in the San Jose sample said they rarely or never read the news, only 17.1 percent of the men said this. But men (39 percent) tended to read the news daily with only slightly greater frequency than did women (35.6 percent). Although 52.5 percent of the women said they always read news about crime or the police, 22 percent said they never did so, while 48.8 percent of men gave always as their response and only

7.3 percent said they never read this type of news. Men and women were almost equally agreed that newspaper reports of crime were neither accurate nor inaccurate. But the image of the police in the newspapers tended to be consistent, with 34.1 percent of men and 25.4 percent of women saying it was very consistent, while 22 percent of the respondents of each sex said it was sort of consistent.

Both groups agreed that the image shown in newspapers was neutral, although about one-fifth of each group thought it was the image of good guys. One respondent, a female, said they were shown as violent men. Men tended to believe slightly more than women (34.1 percent compared to 25.4 percent) that the image was a very accurate one, while approximately 30 percent of each group said it was either not very true or not at all true.

Men and women agreed that police had overstepped their limits in the first story, with men feeling slightly more strongly (68.3 percent) than women (57.6 percent) that this was the case. But when the second story was read, no man felt police had overstepped their limits, although two said they hated the police. Men tended to shift to a neutral response, while women tended to say police in the second story were okay.

There was a great deal of difference in the arrest records of male and female respondents, with 83.1 percent of women saying that they had never been arrested but only 53.7 percent of men giving this response. But two female respondents said they had been arrested five or more times, as did seven male respondents in our sample. Men (75.6 percent) tended more than did women (59.3 percent) to say that no member

of their family had been arrested. Only slightly more women (71.2 percent) than men (65.9 percent) said there had been no brutality at all in cases where they or family members had been arrested.

Although only two men and two women said they were often hit by police, 29.3 percent of men and 20.3 percent of women said this sometimes happened, while 61 percent of men and 69.5 percent of women said this never happened. Men and women agreed that police never talked abusively to them in about 70 percent of cases, but 8.5 percent of women and 4.9 percent of men said they always did so. And, although responses on this question were mixed, 46.3 percent of men and 39 percent of women said the police definitely did not pick on people in their neighborhood.

Men tended to watch more television than did women, with 41.5 percent watching 5-10 hours per day as compared to 28.8 percent of women who gave this response. Both men and women in the San Jose sample exhibited a high degree of familiarity with the five television programs, with 46.3 percent of men and 54.2 percent of women saying they knew all five, while 29.3 percent of men and 3.4 percent of women knew four of them. While 65.9 percent of men and 52.5 percent of women watched the news daily, 25.4 percent of women and 14.6 percent of men said they watched at least twice a week, indicating a very high news viewership among this sample. Men and women again agreed that the news rarely or never related to their neighborhood, with 46.3 percent of men and 49.2 percent of women giving rarely as their response, while 24.4 percent of men and 18.6 percent of women in the sample gave never as their response.

Only slightly more women (11.9 percent) than men (2.4 percent) felt the news was reported very accurately on television, while men and women agreed on the other possible responses. More than half of the men (53.7 percent) but only 32.2 percent of women said that none of the news showed police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents. While 80.5 percent of the men interviewed felt the image of police on television was that of a good guy, only 55.9 percent of women said this, while 27.1 percent of women believed it was the image of a neutral fellow.

Based only on the media, more women (52.5 percent) than men (39 percent) could understand why police act as they do, while more men (34.1 percent) tended to feel neutral than did women (18.6 percent).

This sample again differed from others in that 49.2 percent of women and 34.1 percent of men said police never went out of their way to help people in their neighborhood. As mentioned earlier, this score was extremely low, but the survey did not manage to pinpoint the cause for this negative reaction to local police.

Educational Level of Respondents

When educational level only was cross-tabulated with each of the questions, it was learned that the lowest readership was in the group with less than an eighth grade education, where 42.9 percent rarely or never read the news, while another 25 percent said they read only once a week. Only one-fourth of this group read the news daily, while highest readership was in the group with two years of college.

When asked how often they read news about crime or the police, all educational groups gave relatively high responses, except the

group with one year of college, where only 30 percent said they always read this type of news. And, although 35.7 percent with less than an eighth grade education always read this news, 39.3 percent said they never did so. A high proportion of this can be accounted for by the fact that many of these respondents are functionally illiterate.

The only group feeling that the image of police in newspapers was very consistent was the group with one or two years of college. But there was little agreement by educational group as to what this image was. Although lower educational groups tended to believe the image they saw was accurate, the two highest educational groups believed it was not at all true in relation to what they saw in real life.

All groups surveyed believed police had overstepped their limits in the first story, and no one with any college education said they liked the police or that the police were okay. The only respondents who liked the police in this story were in the lowest educational group. There was a shift toward a better opinion of the police in all educational groups upon being read the second story, but no significant pattern emerged based only on the education variable.

The only respondent who hated police in the neighborhood under study was in the lowest educational group, but the majority of respondents in all educational groups except this one felt neutral about the police, while the lowest educational group indicated in 35.7 percent of cases that police were okay and in 28.6 percent that they liked the police in their neighborhood.

The group which watched the most television was the group with a ninth to tenth grade education (57.1 percent watched 5-10 hours per day), and the group that watched the least was the group with a Bachelor's degree (66.7 percent watched less than one hour per day). The only group unfamiliar with the five programs was the group with less than an eighth grade education, while high familiarity with all five was seen in the ninth to tenth grade group (71.4 percent), the two years of college group (83.3 percent), and the group with a Bachelor's degree (66.7 percent).

The only educational group with less than half of its members who watched the news daily was the group with a Bachelor's degree. All other groups gave their response as daily in 50-66.7 percent of cases. The majority of all educational groups felt the news rarely or never related to their neighborhood. All groups felt very little or none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents.

All educational groups tended to feel anger or distrust of the police whenever they saw filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest. There was no pattern by educational level, though. All groups except those with a Bachelor's degree said the television image of police was very consistent, and the same groups said it was the image of a good guy. All groups felt that the image they saw was not very accurate or not at all accurate when compared with real life. And, although those with less than an eighth grade education and those with a Bachelor's degree said they would feel neutral about police based solely on the media reports, all other groups said they could understand why the police act as they do.

Ethnicity of Respondents

All ethnic groups were familiar with the five programs under study, with the Blacks only slightly less likely to know all five than the other groups. The Mexican-American group was most likely to know one or none of the programs. Black, Mexican-American and white respondents all had high viewership of the news, but American Indian and Oriental respondents did not take such an active interest in the news. All ethnic groups agreed, though, that very little or none of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents. And, all groups again agreed that they felt anger or distrust when they saw filmed reports of the police using force.

Both American Indians in the sample had been arrested more than five times, as had four Mexican-Americans and one white respondent. Another 11 Mexican-American respondents had been arrested three or four times. But all except one Black respondent had never been arrested (88.9 percent) as had 76.5 percent of white respondents. Mexican-American respondents clearly had the most negative contacts (arrests) with the police. The majority of all groups indicated there had been no brutality at all in cases where they or family members had been arrested, but 12.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 17.6 percent of whites and both American Indian respondents said there definitely had been police brutality.

In contacts other than arrests, one respondent each in the Mexican-American and the Black groups and both American Indian respondents in the sample said they had often been hit or shoved by the police, while the majority of the other respondents said this never happened.

All ethnic groups agreed that the image newspapers presented of the police was that of a good guy and although white respondents tended to believe such an image was at least somewhat accurate, other ethnic groups believed it was not. Most respondents also said the media reports of police behavior would lead them to understand why the police act as they do, although both American Indian respondents said they shouldn't act as they do.

Black, Mexican-American and white respondents said they rarely saw the police in their neighborhood, but American Indians said they saw them several times a day and many Black and Mexican-American respondents said they saw them regularly. Along the same line, although the American Indian respondents said the police often roughed up people in their neighborhood, all other groups felt that this never happened.

Although some of the respondents in almost every ethnic group gave each response, the majority (including both American Indians in our sample) said the police never went out of their way to help people in this area. The majority of white and Mexican-American respondents said they felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood, while the majority (44.4 percent) of Black respondents thought they were okay.

White and Oriental respondents in the San Jose sample had the highest readership, with 100 percent of the Orientals and 46 percent of the whites saying they read the newspaper at least once a day. Both American Indians respondents said they rarely or never read the newspaper. The same pattern was seen in the statistics on whether respondents read news about the police or about crime. The majority of all groups felt neutral about the accuracy of newspaper reporting, or did not know if it was accurate.

While Black and white respondents in the sample thought the image of the police as portrayed in the newspapers was not very consistent, Mexican-American respondents thought it was very consistent and Orientals thought it was sort of consistent. All groups agreed that the image was a neutral one, which is a major indication of a different press attitude than that found in the other cities under study. Black respondents said this image was not very true in relation to real life, but Mexican-Americans thought it was very accurate and white respondents thought it was not at all true.

Upon being read the first story about the police, all groups except Orientals felt the police in that story had overstepped their limits. The Oriental respondents felt neutral about the police in that story. Opinions in all groups except Oriental were improved when the second story was read, with whites moving toward liking the police, and others moving toward saying the police in that story were okay. The white opinion may have been based on economic factors mentioned in the story.

Both American Indian respondents had been arrested five or more times, but the majority of all other groups had never been arrested, although Orientals were the only group stating in 100 percent of cases that they had never been arrested. Also, both American Indian respondents said police always talked abusively to them, while the majority of the other groups' members said this never happened. Most respondents said the police definitely did not pick on people in their neighborhood, or they were unable to say if this was the case, often stating that they had no basis of comparison.

Both American Indian respondents and 44.4 percent of Black respondents in our sample said they watched 5-10 hours per day of television. Another 44.4 percent of the Black respondents said they watched 3-5 hours per day and only one respondent (a Mexican-American) said he or she never watched.

Income Level as a Variable

When the data was tabulated on the basis of income level alone, further information was gathered. In the San Jose sample, respondents with income levels under \$5000 annually read the paper rarely or never (about 36 percent), while those with over that amount of income tended to read the newspaper daily. The San Jose Mercury and News were both considered at the time of this study, while under the blanket of the Ridder group, to be conservative journals. There seems to be a direct correlation between the readership and the income levels of the respondents, which may also be a political (conservative vs. liberal) analysis. In spite of this, all income groups felt that the image of the police shown in the newspaper tended to be neutral.

Upon being read the first story, all groups agreed that police had overstepped their limits, while the lowest income level changed to a neutral opinion (perhaps a skeptical opinion would be more accurate in this case) on the second story. Other income levels tended to say the police in the second story were okay.

As far as personal contact with the police was concerned, in the lowest income level, 53.8 percent had never been arrested, but in all other income levels, the comparable response was more than 70 percent who had never been arrested. And, although 23.5 percent of

respondents in the \$6500-8500 income level said there had definitely been brutality in cases where they or family members had been arrested, all other groups felt there was none at all in over 70 percent of cases. There is no obvious explanation for this phenomenon, which does not follow the previously-established patterns of response.

The only respondents who had been hit by the police often were in the lowest two income levels, although some respondents (40 percent) in the \$6500-8500 income level said this sometimes happened. The same pattern was repeated in responses to the next question, asking whether the police talked abusively to the respondent or his/her family.

The two highest income levels showed the greatest familiarity with the five programs about the police mentioned in the survey, although all groups were relatively familiar with them. The middle group was the only group that did not tend to watch the news daily. This may be a sign of the upward mobility of this group, demonstrated by their tendency to spend more time at work and less time in leisure activities such as watching television. All groups in the sample agreed that the news rarely related to their neighborhood, except the lowest income level, in which 38.5 percent of the respondents said it never related.

The lowest two income groups believed that the news did not show the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, but the other income groups said very little of the news showed this. All groups agreed that the television image of police was very consistent, and they also all agreed that this was the image of a good guy, but they could not come to an agreement as to how accurate this image was in respect to real life.

The majority of all respondents in all income levels said the police never roughed people up in their neighborhood. Although more than half of those with over \$5000 per year income said the police never went out of their way to help people in their neighborhood, less than one-third of those under that income level said this. This implies that the lower income levels were more satisfied with police assistance than were the higher income levels, or it could imply that the members of lower income groups expected less service from the police than did those with higher incomes.

In terms of opinions about the police, those with over \$5000 income level felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood, while those under that level said they liked them or they were okay. This tended to reinforce the first analysis of the data in the previous question.

Age Correlated with Ethnicity

Next, age was cross-tabulated with ethnicity on each of the questions in the survey. Although this cross-tabulation did not yield any patterns in newspaper readership in most ethnic groups, it was learned that both American Indian respondents were 18-21 years of age and rarely or never read the news, and that all Orientals in the sample read the news daily, regardless of age. More than 60 percent of the Mexican-Americans in the sample who were under 30 always read the news about crime, but those over 30 were divided on this question. Other ethnic groups did not form any patterns of response on this question.

The majority of Black respondents in our sample who were under 30 said the newspaper image of the police is as a good guy, while those over 30 indicated they thought it was a neutral image. Mexican-American respondents followed the same pattern by age. White respondents under the age of 30 did not differ much from those over 30, agreeing that the image was that they were not too bad or neutral. Orientals agreed with the whites as to the image they saw. The majority of Black respondents in all age groups felt the image was not very true, but one Black over 60 was the only respondent in this ethnic group who felt the image was very accurate. Other ethnic groups did not form a pattern of response on this question.

Upon being read the first story, all age groups of Black respondents said they felt the police had overstepped their limits, a view which was shared by the Mexican-American respondents and both of the American Indian respondents in the sample. Whites over 27 believed police had overstepped, but younger whites were undecided, while Oriental respondents felt neutral about the police in that story.

When read the second story, Black opinions changed, with most of these respondents, regardless of age, saying the police were okay. No one in the Black response group liked the police in the second story. While younger Mexican-American respondents changed their opinion of the police to a neutral one upon being read the second story, the older (over 30) group said the police in that story were okay. Whites were undecided on this question, while American Indian respondents said the police in the second story were okay. The surprise response was that

a couple of the Oriental respondents changed to hating the police when they were read the second story.

In regard to personal arrest experience, it was learned that no Blacks in our sample had been arrested more than one time, while only slightly more than half of the Mexican-Americans under the age of 26 had never been arrested and about 90 percent of those over that age had never been arrested. There was no pattern in the arrests of whites on the basis of their age group, while both American Indian respondents (who were in the lowest age group in the sample) had been arrested five or more times. No Oriental respondent had ever been arrested. We might conclude that being a young Mexican-American or American Indian within the city of San Jose significantly increased the chances of being arrested. Other socio-economic or cultural factors might also play a part in this circumstance, but the statistics are strong evidence for the existence of a pattern based on the two factors of age and ethnicity in combination being a causal factor.

Only one Black respondent (aged 31-35) said there had possibly been any brutality in a case where a member of his family had been arrested. All others said there had been none at all. Both American Indian respondents indicated there had definitely been brutality, but other ethnic groups did not form any patterns.

Only one Black respondent said he or she was often hit by the police. This person was over 60. The only Mexican-American respondent who was often hit or shoved by the police was 22-26, but 62.5 percent of the youngest age group said this sometimes happened, and this

response was given by some respondents in each age group except those between 46-60 years of age. No white respondents, on the other hand, were often hit by police, but several in various age groups said this sometimes happened. Both American Indians said they were often hit by the police, and no Oriental had ever been hit or shoved.

Two Black respondents said the police sometimes talked abusively to them or to their families. One of these was aged 22-26 and one was over 60. All other respondents in this group said this never happened. One Mexican-American respondent in each age group under 35 said the police always talked abusively to them. With an increase in age, it became more likely the response would be that the police never did so. The only white respondent who said the police always talked abusively was in the lowest age group, 18-21. Both American Indian respondents indicated that the police always talked abusively to them, while one Oriental respondent who was also in the lowest age group said the police rarely talked abusively to them. All others in this group said this never happened.

When asked if the police picked on people in their neighborhood, one Black respondent over 60 stated that they definitely did. One aged 22-26 said they possibly did and several in this ethnic group said they couldn't say, while others said they probably did not or definitely did not. Six of the eight Mexican-American respondents who said the police definitely picked on people were under the age of 35. Although most age groups indicated this did not happen, less than half of all respondents in groups under 35 said it definitely did not happen. One white respondent in each of the two youngest groups felt that the

police definitely picked on people in their neighborhood, while no respondent over the age of 26 felt they did so. In spite of other responses given by the two American Indian interviewees, both said the police definitely did not pick on people in their neighborhood, while all Oriental interviewees were unable to say whether this occurred.

Mexican-American respondents in the youngest group had the highest television viewership with 75 percent (twice as much as any other age group) watching 5-10 hours per day of television. Other ethnic groups did not form any patterns by age, with the exception of the American Indians, who both watched 5-10 hours per day, but who were both in the same, lowest, age group.

As might be expected from responses to the previous question, both American Indian respondents knew all five programs. A similar response was not indicated, though, with the Mexican-American interviewees. All of the Oriental respondents also knew all five of the programs, even though their viewership rate was lower.

Sex Correlated with Ethnicity

There was only one Black male in the sample, while there were eight Black females, 37.5 percent of whom read the news once a day. Male and female respondents in the Mexican-American ethnic group read with about equal frequency, while 70 percent of the white male respondents read the news at least once a day and only 14.3 percent of the white females read this much. American Indian respondents (one was male and the other female) both said they rarely or never read the news, but all Oriental respondents said they read the news once a day.

The one Black male respondent said he always read the news about the police and about crime, while 37.5 percent of the Black female respondents said they rarely read this sort of news and 25 percent said they never did. Again, the Mexican-American male and female respondents read such news with about the same frequency. Slightly more men (70 percent) than women (57.1 percent) in the white group said they always read the news about crime. Both American Indian respondents said they never read such news, and while the Oriental females always read this sort of news, the Oriental male respondent indicated that he often, but not always did so.

In regard to the accuracy of such news, Black female respondents were neutral, while the Black male believed it was very accurate. The Mexican-American respondents felt neutral about the accuracy of crime reporting, but about one-quarter of the Mexican-American respondents believed it was sort of accurate. White male respondents, on the other hand, believed such reporting was not very accurate, while the women were undecided. The American Indian respondents did not know about the accuracy of such news reporting, while the Oriental women believed it was very accurate and the Oriental male respondents and one of the females in this group felt neutral about it.

Both Black male and female respondents believed the image of the police as portrayed was not very consistent, but both male and female Mexican-American respondents believed the image was very consistent, although not by a great majority. The white female respondents indicated the image was not very consistent, but the men believed it was very

consistent, while the American Indians had no opinion, and the Oriental respondents said the image was sort of consistent.

When read the story about the behavior of the police in which the police went in and broke down the door in order to make an arrest, both male and female Black respondents said the police had overstepped their limits. Mexican-American respondents gave similar responses, with the men and the women again agreeing closely. In the white response group, females felt neutral about the police in this story, but male respondents said the police had overstepped, going along with the responses of both American Indians. The Oriental female respondents said they felt neutral about the police in the story, while the Oriental male respondent said the police had overstepped their limits.

A significant change of opinion was seen in the second story, with Black male and female respondents indicating that the police were okay and Mexican-American respondents showing an improved opinion as well. Many in this group said the police were okay and some even said they liked the police in the second story. White female respondents indicated the police in the second story were okay, but the men liked the police. Both American Indian respondents improved their opinion of the police and indicated that their behavior was now okay, while the Oriental women tended to like the police less (with two actually hating them), while the men changed to say that they were okay. The only explanation for this phenomenon among the Oriental women was that they looked at the behavior of the police in the first story as protective, whereas they saw potential danger in the fact that the police in the second story did not use force.

The Black male respondent stated that he had been arrested once, as had two Black females, but six (75 percent) of the females in this group had never been arrested. Several Mexican-American men had been arrested in each arrest category, but no women had been arrested more than two times, while 86.5 percent of the women and 59.3 percent of the men had never been arrested. One white female and three white males had been arrested more than five times, and the same numbers had been arrested once, while 71.4 percent of the females and 40 percent of the men had never been arrested. This is an interesting occurrence, which does not seem to relate to any other single variable under study in the survey. Both American Indian respondents had been arrested five or more times, while none of the Orientals had ever been arrested.

All of the Black respondents except one female said there had been no police brutality in any arrest cases involving them or their families. The one exception indicated there possibly had been. About 63 percent of the Mexican-American respondents, both male and female, said there had been no police brutality at all, but some male and female respondents gave each possible response. Whites believed there was no brutality at all, except two male and one female respondent who all indicated there definitely had been. Both American Indian respondents said there definitely had been brutality, but all Oriental respondents said there had been none at all. This might indicate that the amount of exposure to the police increased the amount of likelihood that the police would commit brutality in making an arrest, or that this would lead the arrestees to perceive brutality. There was no way to tell which of the two was the case.

The Black male respondent said he had often been hit by the police but 87.5 percent of the females said this had never happened to them and the only remaining female respondent indicated it had probably not happened. About 65 percent of the Mexican-American male and female respondents had never been hit by the police, while other responses were mixed. Half of the white males said they were sometimes hit by the police, while the other half said this never happened, and 85.7 percent of the female respondents said this. Both American Indians, again, said they were often hit by the police, while all Orientals said they had never been hit.

The Black male respondent and one Black female respondent said police sometimes talked abusively to them, but 87.5 percent of the women in this ethnic group said they never did. Although 81.5 percent of the Mexican-American men and 70.3 percent of the Mexican-American women said the police never talked abusively to them, some of the male and female respondents in this group gave each of the other responses. White male and female respondents largely believed (about 52 percent) that police never talked in this way to them, but a significant percentage--30 percent of the men and 28.6 percent of the women-- said this happened on rare occasions. Both American Indian respondents indicated that police were always abusive in talking to them, while one Oriental female said the police talked this way rarely, and the other Orientals said they never did so.

The Black male respondent said the police definitely picked on people in that neighborhood, while the female respondents were divided on this issue. Most of the Mexican-American male and female

respondents said the police definitely did not pick on people, but several said that they did. More than half of the white respondents of both sexes believed the police definitely did not pick on people in that neighborhood, but the rest were divided on this issue. And, in spite of their other responses, both American Indians felt that the police did not pick on people in the survey neighborhood, while Orientals were all neutral.

More Age Data Correlated with Ethnicity

When viewership of television news was questioned, the only group among the Blacks who did not watch the news daily was those aged 22-26. All age groups of Mexican-Americans indicated that they watched the news daily, as did all groups of white respondents except those 36-45 years of age. There were no other patterns among ethnic groups.

All age groups among Black respondents said the news only rarely related to their neighborhood, while all age groups of Mexican-Americans said it rarely or never related, as did most of the white respondents. But this last group failed to form any response patterns by age. Both American Indian respondents said the news rarely related, while 75 percent of the Oriental respondents said it rarely or never related.

The younger Black respondents believed the news was somewhat accurate, while the older Black respondents believed it was neutral or not too accurate. Younger Mexican-American respondents believed the news was somewhat accurate, but the older respondents felt it was

neutral or not too accurate. American Indians believed it was not too accurate, while the Orientals said it was neutral.

Oriental respondents also believed very little of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, while none of the other ethnic groups were able to form an opinion in regard to this issue.

While none of the other ethnic groups formed patterns regarding their opinions upon seeing the police using force to make an arrest, the youngest Oriental respondent felt anger at the police when they used force, but the middle aged felt distrust and the oldest thought the police were doing a job they didn't like.

Young Blacks reported the greatest frequency of seeing the police and the frequency steadily decreased with age in this ethnic group. But the pattern did not persist within other ethnic groups.

The youngest Mexican-American respondents were most likely to believe the police never helped citizens in their neighborhood, while the oldest were the least likely to give this response. But the other ethnic groups again failed to form any patterns.

Additional Sex and Ethnicity Data

Black male and female respondents both believed the image of the police was neutral, as did Mexican-American and white respondents. Even the American Indian respondents saw this sort of image. Oriental female respondents saw a neutral image, but the single Oriental male indicated that the image shown was that they were not too bad.

The Black male respondent in our sample believed the image of the police was very accurate, but the women said it was not very true.

The Mexican-American male and female respondents both believed the image was not at all true, while women said it was not very true. The American Indian respondents said it was neutral and the Oriental male said the image was very accurate, while the females in this group said it was neutral.

Both Mexican-American male and female respondents watched the programs about the police with identical frequency, while the white female respondents were about twice as likely to know the five programs as were the men.

In regard to the news, Mexican-American male and female respondents watched the news, also, with almost identical frequency, while the white men were almost twice as likely as the women to watch the news daily.

White male respondents believed the television image of the police was very consistent, and 71.4 percent of the females in this ethnic group felt it was not very consistent. No patterns evolved from the other ethnic groups and there was no explanation offered for this phenomenon here.

In the realm of personal experience, Black male respondents reported often seeing the police rough people up, while the Black female respondents never saw this. No patterns formed in other ethnic groups.

In a departure from their previous pattern, the American Indian male respondent said he could get along without the police, while the female said she thought they were okay. But no other patterns were

found on any questions regarding personal experience when cross-tabulated with data regarding sex and ethnicity.

Education and Ethnicity

All ethnic groups with two years of college or more said they sometimes or always read news about the police or crime, but no other patterns or trends were to be found on this issue. All but one person in the response group with two years or more of college indicated the newspaper reports about the police were neutral or not very accurate.

Black and Mexican-American respondents with two years of college believed the image of the police was not very consistent, but whites and Orientals believed it was very consistent. This would have been a significant statistic, had it carried through in relation to the next question, regarding what the image was. It did not.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, Black and Mexican-American respondents believed the police in the first story had overstepped their limits, while white respondents felt neutral about the police. In the second educational group, Black, Mexican-American and American Indian respondents believed the police had overstepped, while the whites had slightly better overall opinions of the police in the first story. All groups with an eleventh to twelfth grade education except the Orientals believed the police had overstepped. The Oriental group was split, with half saying that they had overstepped, the others feeling neutral. All groups with one year of college said they had overstepped. With two years of college,

Black and white respondents said the police in that story had overstepped, Mexican-Americans hated them and Orientals felt neutral about them.

When the second story was evaluated, among those with less than an eighth grade education, Black and Mexican-American respondents had improved their opinion to say that police were okay, but whites said they felt neutral about the police in that story. In the group with a ninth to tenth grade education, all ethnic groups changed their opinion to say the police were okay. Changes in other educational groups were not significant.

The only ethnic group with two years of college or more who had been arrested more than two times were whites. This response seems out of place in regard to other responses, until it is considered that members of minority groups tend to be highly motivated if they have achieved a high level of education, and this motivation is a positive factor in helping them to avoid crime.

The only group which consistently believed there definitely had been police brutality in cases of their arrest was the American Indian group, regardless of educational level. Other groups were inconsistent. This was also true in regard to the question of whether they had been hit by the police and whether the police talked abusively to them.

Some Mexican-Americans in all educational groups believed that the police picked on people in their neighborhood, but other groups did not agree. This can be seen when it is noted that Black respondents with more than an eleventh grade educational level thought the police in

their neighborhood were okay, while most other groups simply felt neutral about them.

Mexican-Americans with less than an eighth grade education were the least likely group to watch the news daily. This may be understood in relation to comprehension of the English language in many cases.

Black and Mexican-American respondents with less than an eighth grade education felt anger or distrust when the police used force to make an arrest, but white respondents believed the police were doing a job they didn't like. In the second educational group, all ethnic groups felt anger or distrust of the police, as was the case in all of the other educational groups.

Black and Mexican-American respondents with less than an eighth grade education said the television image of the police was somewhat or very consistent, but white respondents again disagreed, saying it was not very consistent. In the second educational group, Mexican-American, white and American Indian respondents said it was very consistent, but the one Black respondent believed it was not very consistent. All ethnic groups with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the image was very consistent, except the Orientals, who were split on this question. This pattern was repeated in the group with one year of college. The white respondents with two years of college were the only ones who felt the television image was very consistent, while all others said it was not very consistent.

Black and Mexican-American respondents with less than an eighth grade education saw the police image as that of good guys, while white respondents thought the image was that of not such a bad guy. In all groups with a ninth to tenth grade education, it was felt that the

image was that of a good guy, except the Black respondent, who said he was kind of a tough guy. All groups with an eleventh to twelfth grade education saw the image as that of a good guy, as did all of the respondents with one year of college except one Oriental, who said the image was that of a neutral fellow. White and Oriental respondents with two years of college saw the good guy image, but the Mexican-Americans saw the image as that of a neutral fellow and the Black respondent in this group saw an image of kind of a tough guy.

In the lowest educational group, Black and Mexican-American respondents said the image was not very accurate, but the white respondent said it was very accurate. No pattern evolved in the next two educational groups, but all ethnic groups with one year of college agreed the image was not very accurate.

The majority of respondents in all ethnic groups with less than an eighth grade education said they would feel neutral about the police, if their opinion was based solely on the media. But the Oriental, Black and Mexican-American respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said they could understand why the police act as they do, while whites felt neutral and American Indian respondents said they shouldn't act as they do. Again, in the group with two years of college, all ethnic groups could understand why the police act as they do, except the white respondents, who said they shouldn't act as they do.

Black and Mexican-American respondents with less than an eighth grade education said they rarely saw the police in their neighborhood,

while white respondents in this group said they saw them regularly. No patterns emerged in other educational groups.

Mexican-American respondents, as well as white respondents, with less than an eighth grade education indicated they never saw the police rough up anyone in their neighborhood, as was said by one of the Black respondents in this group. The other Black, on the other hand, said he often saw this. Black, Mexican-American and white respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education said they never saw the police rough up anyone in their neighborhood, but the American Indian respondent said he often saw this. Among those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, the only group that often saw police rough people up was the American Indian, while all others said they never saw this, except the Blacks, who indicated they rarely saw this.

Blacks with less than an eighth grade education said the police sometimes or often helped people in their neighborhood, while whites said they often helped. Mexican-American respondents formed no definite pattern. American Indian and Black respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education said the police never helped, while other groups were divided on this issue. All groups with an eleventh to twelfth grade education said the police never went out of their way to help.

While white and Mexican-American respondents in the lowest educational group were not very familiar with the five programs, Black respondents in this group tended to know about four of them. All groups with a ninth to tenth grade education were likely to be familiar with all five of the programs, as were all groups in the next educational level, except the Black respondents, who were somewhat less familiar.

All groups with one year of college were quite familiar with the five programs. And the five programs were well known by all ethnic groups with two years of college or more.

It was learned that Black respondents with less than an eighth grade education watched 5-10 hours of television per day, while Mexican-American and white respondents watched 1-3 hours per day on the average. Black respondents in the second educational group watched 3-5 hours per day of television, while other ethnic groups watched 5-10 hours per day. In the third educational group, no pattern formed, as was the case in the other educational groups as well.

Sex and Income Level

Among female respondents, increased income level was correlated with increased frequency of reading the news, as well as more frequent reading of the news about crime and the police. No such trends emerged in the statistics about male respondents. In fact, most of the questions did not give significant statistics when sex and income were the two variables under consideration. Still, there were a few interesting statistics noted.

For instance, as income level increased, male respondents were more likely to say they had never been arrested, although income level had no influence on female arrest records. Higher income level males were more likely to believe there had been brutality in cases where they or family members had been arrested, but females did not follow any response pattern on this question. It was also noted that no male respondent with an income level under \$5000 annually believed the police

image on television was very accurate, and again the women did not form any pattern. The only men with bad opinions of the police based only on the media had income levels over \$6500, and the women did not have similar ideas. Those males in the sample with income under \$3000 annually were almost twice as likely to see the police regularly or several times a day as those who had income levels over \$3000 annually and who claimed to rarely or never see the police. And women with income levels over \$5000 annually were almost twice as likely to say the police never went out of their way to help people in their neighborhood as those with income levels under \$3000. But women in our sample with income levels under \$5000 annually were more likely to say they liked the police or that the police were okay than those with higher income levels, who tended to feel neutral. Expectations may perhaps have been different in these groups.

Education and Income Level

When education was correlated with income level, it was learned that respondents with less than an eighth grade education were twice as likely to never read the newspaper if they had under \$3000 annual income than if they were in other income groups. Of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, those with income levels under \$3000 were twice as likely to read the news daily as those with higher income levels, a reversal of the earlier trend.

An increase in income level also led to a higher probability that respondents with less than an eighth grade education would say they always read the news about crime or police. But, again the trend

reversed, with those in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group and the lowest income level being twice as likely to read the news about crime as those in the other income levels.

Of those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, the majority with less than \$5000 annual income believed the image of the police in the newspapers was that of good guys, while those with higher income levels believed it was a neutral image.

In the realm of personal experience, although the percentage of respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade educational group who had never been arrested decreased with an increase in income, the only respondents who had been arrested more than twice were in the highest two income levels. It was also interesting to note that no one with two years or more of college believed any family member had ever been arrested. The only respondents with one year of college who said the police sometimes talked abusively to them had income levels over \$8500, while all others said this never happened. This occurred again in the group with a Bachelor's degree. Again, we may be dealing with expectations.

Respondents in the highest two income levels who had an eleventh to twelfth grade education were most likely to know all five of the television programs about the police, but all income levels were highly familiar with four or five of the programs. Among those with less than an eighth grade education, an increase in income level directly correlated with an increase in probability that the respondents watched the news daily.

Among respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, anger at police who used force in making arrests tended to decrease with an increase in income. This pattern continued into the group with one year of college.

As income level increased, respondents with an eleventh to twelfth grade education became less likely to think the image of the police on television was very consistent. In addition, of those with a ninth to tenth grade education, those with increased income levels were more likely to believe the news on television was accurate than those in lower income levels. This was a direct correlation which was quite consistent.

While those in the lowest educational group and the lower income levels were more likely to see the police regularly or at least several times per day, those with higher income levels in this educational group were more likely to see the police only rarely. Also, in the lowest educational group, members of the two groups with the lowest income level were more likely to like the police or to say they were okay, while those in higher income levels were more likely to feel neutral about them.

Education and Sex of Respondents

When education was correlated to sex of the respondents, it was learned that men in the lowest educational group were twice as likely as women to always read the news about the police or crime. With an increased education, women tended to increase readership of such news, while men decreased their readership.

Women with a ninth to tenth grade education were the only ones who believed the police image in the newspaper was an accurate one at all, while men believed it to be neutral. Women in this group also changed their opinion about the police in the second story to okay or "I liked them", while men changed their opinions to a neutral stance.

It was discovered that men with less than an eighth grade education watched about twice as much television as women in this group, and the pattern persisted through the group with a ninth to tenth grade education. Television viewing then evened out with the attainment of the eleventh to twelfth grade educational level, where men and women reported watching about the same amount of television. Women with a ninth to tenth grade education were more likely to know all five television programs, while men were more likely to know four of them, but no patterns developed in the other educational groups.

Women with less than an eighth grade education were the only respondents who believed the news often or daily related to their neighborhood. Men said it rarely or never related. This pattern was also apparent in the next educational group, and appeared again in the group with one year of college. Female respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education believed the news was somewhat accurate, but men said it was not too accurate. But a pattern based on sex and educational level failed to appear here.

Women with an eleventh to twelfth grade education were three times as likely to feel anger at the police who used force to make an arrest than were men, but other educational groups did not form opinions in relation to their sex. Men, on the other hand, were twice as

likely to see the television image of police as that of good guys than were women.

While all of the women with two years of college said the image of television police was somewhat accurate, men believed it was not. Women in this group also stated that they saw the police regularly or several times per day, while men in this group rarely or never saw them.

Age and Sex of Respondents

In the cross-tabulation of age with sex, younger female respondents read the news about crime with much greater frequency than the older female respondents, but men formed no pattern under these two variables. While younger females tended to believe the news about crime was not very accurate, the older females tended to believe it was reported in a neutral manner.

Younger men in the sample saw a very consistent image of the police, while older ones believed the press gave a sort of consistent picture of the police. The younger men saw the image as not at all true in relation to real life, while the older men believed it was very accurate. This image, as mentioned earlier, was that of good guys, as far as the men could see.

Respondents over the age of 30 who were male were twice as likely as those under 30 to have never been arrested.

Increased age in female respondents led to a higher probability that the respondents would believe the police image on television was very accurate. While younger men believed the police never helped, the

older men believed they sometimes or rarely did so. This pattern was repeated with women, except that women said they sometimes or often helped.

But, overall, age and income level did not correlate to a great degree as factors in regard to the questions on the survey. The really significant statistics were in the area of age and sex of the interviewees, where these variables showed sharp difference between male and female respondents. In the San Jose sample, ethnicity was also a significant factor in responses, with similar responses on many questions by Black and Mexican-American respondents, and another grouping between the white and Oriental respondents. The American Indian group, although quite small (two interviewees) illustrated very negative opinions.

It should be noted here that 16 of the interviews conducted in San Jose were conducted in Spanish. The Spanish-speaking population of San Jose is quite high, but the number of people who speak only Spanish is somewhat lower. The percentage of interviews conducted in Spanish is probably a representative portion of the residents in the Mayfair study area who used Spanish as their primary language and who may be said to only marginally use English.

Age and Education

The lowest age group of those with a ninth to tenth grade education said the police always talked abusively to them or their families, but the older people with this amount of education said this never happened. This pattern carried through in the higher educational groups as well.

Of those respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education, the youngest felt anger when the police used force to make arrests, while the older respondents felt distrust of the police in these instances. Other educational groups did not form such patterns.

Oldest respondents with less than an eighth grade education tended to think the police were really nice or to be able to understand why they acted as they did, when such opinions were based on the media alone, while younger respondents in this group felt neutral about the police. The same pattern held true for those with a ninth to tenth grade education. As education increased, though, all age groups tended to be able to understand the police behavior, as portrayed in the media.

Although there were mixed responses from interviewees in the lower educational groups, no one with any college education indicated that they often saw the police roughing people in their neighborhood up. It was also noted that only the older respondents with less than an eighth grade education indicated the police often helped people in their neighborhood. Young people thought this rarely or never happened.

In the group with less than an eighth grade education, respondents under 30 rarely or never read the news, but those older than 30 read with greater frequency. In the ninth to tenth grade educational group, age increase led to increased frequency of reading news. This pattern was repeated in the third educational group, but failed to appear in the higher-educated groups.

Younger respondents in the ninth to tenth grade educated group were also more likely to always read the news about crime than were those over 30, but no other educational group showed this trend. The same educational group was likely to see the image of police as good guys, if they were under 30, while those over 30 saw a neutral image of the police in the newspapers.

With an increase in age, respondents with one year of college moved from seeing an image of the police as good guys to seeing the image of the police in newspapers as sometimes too rough.

With increased age, those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education became more likely to believe the image they saw was a very accurate one. This did not carry through with other educational groups.

Increased education combined with increased age led to a greater chance that respondents would not have been arrested. In cases where police had made arrests, younger respondents with a ninth to tenth grade education, as well as those with an eleventh to twelfth grade education, were more likely to believe there had been police brutality than were older respondents. The younger respondents in the eleventh to twelfth grade group were also more likely to say the police sometimes or often hit them than were members of the older response groups. This was also true of those with one year of college.

Age and Income Level

All age groups in the lowest income level said the police image on television was that of a good guy. This pattern persisted in the second and third income level, but then failed to appear in the higher income groups.

With an increase in age, those in the lowest income level tended to think the news was more accurate, but patterns failed to emerge in other income groups. In regard to their opinion about the police if based solely on the media, there were few patterns, but in the income level of \$6500-8500 annually, increasing age led to a better opinion of police, if based solely on media reports.

The younger people in the group with income level of under \$3000 annually were the only ones who ever saw the police rough people up, and the young respondents in the \$6500-8500 income level gave the same report. But no pattern could be found among the other income groups.

People in the lowest income level who were young felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood, while the older respondents tended to like them or to feel that they were okay. In the highest income group, the younger respondents felt neutral about the police in their neighborhood or could get along without them, while the higher income levels felt neutral or that the police were okay.

Younger respondents with under \$3000 annual income level were more likely to always read the news about the police or about crime than were older respondents, who rarely or never read this type of news. This pattern did not appear in the second income level, but reappeared in the third, \$5000-6500, group.

Younger people in the \$6500-8500 income level were more likely to say reports of crime in the newspapers were not very accurate, while people over 30 in this group tended to think such reports were neutral or very accurate. Younger respondents in income levels under \$3000 annually were more likely to think the image of the police was very

consistent, while older people were more inclined to believe it was totally inconsistent, and in the lowest income level increased age led to increased feelings that police image in the press was not an accurate one.

In regard to the first story about the police, younger respondents in the lowest income level were inclined to say the police had overstepped their limits, while older respondents tended to say the police in the first story were okay or that they liked them. No patterns emerged in regard to this story or the second one in any income group.

No one over 30 in our sample who had an income level of \$6500-8500 had ever been arrested, but this did not hold true for the highest income level, although there was such a tendency. The only respondent with an income level of \$5000-6500 who had been arrested was 31-35, and had only been arrested once. Although arrests were listed in the lowest income group, no one over 26 in this group believed there had been any police brutality. One respondent in the second income level, who was over 30, believed there had been brutality.

No one over 26 in the lowest income level had ever been hit by the police, but one respondent in the group with income level \$6500-8500 and over the age of 30 had been hit by the police. No one over 26 in the lowest income level said the police had ever talked abusively to them or their family, and only one respondent over 30 in the group with income level \$6500-8500 said they did so.

In the lowest income level, there was a decrease in television viewing hours with an increase in the age of respondents. Familiarity

with the five programs decreased with an increase in age also in this group. With an increase in income level, the probability that older respondents were familiar with the five programs tended to increase.

In the group with \$6500-8500 annual income, younger respondents were more likely to say that most of the news showed the police as disliking ghetto or barrio residents, while older respondents were more likely to say none of the news showed this. Younger respondents in the lowest income level were more likely to feel anger at the police who used force to make arrests, while older respondents were more likely to feel neutral or to think the police were doing a job they didn't enjoy. This was also true in the second income level.

Conclusions

Responses to the final question, regarding recommended changes in reporting about the police, were again assembled for this city, and the comments made by the interviewees are listed here. One young female respondent said television and newspapers should show all the different sides of the police, while another young female Mexican-American said there was not enough background about cases on the news. She said, "On the series, they are okay--if you show what the police really do, it would confuse people". She said that people would change their attitude about the police if they knew why the police did as they did. A Black female respondent emphasized the same point when she said the press should "stress exactly what the person did to make the police rough them up". She said she got mad when it was reported that the police "thought" someone had a gun.

A young white female respondent said she would like to hear that the police were getting rid of billy clubs and not hitting people unless they were hit first. She also disliked unmarked cars for "snooping" and wanted marked police cars to respond to calls. A white male respondent said he wanted the police news to tell the truth, if it meant discussing police brutality, or if the people were rough on the police. He said some stations consistently did not report the truth. He would feel better, he said, if bad police officers were removed for misusing their authority.

One young female Mexican-American respondent said the press should "put what the police are really like--no goods". But one Mexican-American female aged 27-30 said the television showed real life. "The police do beat people up". Another female in the 22-26 age group said that if you "hear of something that happens and then you hear it on the news, it's not the same". There seems to be a credibility gap as far as many of these Mexican-American females under the age of 30 are concerned.

A Mexican-American male respondent with one year of college education suggested that the accused person's opinion should also be reported. He called for a "full disclosure of the facts" in cases. He and another Mexican-American respondent, a female, agreed that the media withhold some of the news and thereby "leave out some important things". Two white respondents wanted reporting about "how the police conducted themselves" during encounters with the public.

Another white female respondent said the media shouldn't portray the police "as saints". She said they were doing their duty, but

not in the way they spoke to people, which was "harsh and nonchalant toward someone who is asking for their rights or for help". She also believed there should be more psychological testing for police and more screening of them. Publicizing this pre-employment screening would make people in the community feel more secure.

Television was not heavily criticized by the residents of the San Jose Mayfair area. But the newspaper, the San Jose Mercury-News, was criticized for not getting the facts and for printing details which had not been confirmed. This criticism crossed ethnic, income, age and sex lines.

A Black respondent who was over 60 indicated he had experienced some prejudice when he was in an automobile accident. He said the police officer favored the Mexican, who had hit him. He did not provide further details.

The American Indian male respondent gave an interesting suggestion. He felt that police officers should tell their version of what happened instead of having the press interpret it.

The same type of responses which were registered in the other cities also appeared in San Jose, with several respondents indicating they could not suggest any change, or that they were satisfied with the reporting the way it was, and with a few suggesting that there should be less violence on the news. But others suggested more detail in the reporting of news about the police and crime.

The strongest and most frequent complaint in this sample was that the news was one-sided and failed to heed the side of the arrestee.

Along with this was the complaint that the press never showed the bad side of the police behavior. Another suggestion was to get the witnesses to tell their side of the story.

One Mexican-American female in the 46-60 age group said that the people needed to change in order for the police to change. Young children didn't cooperate and people had forgotten that the police were there to help, according to her. She felt the press should show that the police can help in a realistic way. A Mexican-American male said that the reporting influenced trials and had tremendous effects on the families of those arrested, whether they were guilty or not. At any rate, the press should be certain that the background they had on the story was complete before they printed it.

One Mexican-American respondent indicated that the press did not cover all of the stories which he felt should be covered in his neighborhood, while another said that the reporting was okay because the press just "report what they see".

Two respondents indicated that the press reports stories only to sell newspapers, and not to get the facts. Another said the media should publicize the fact that the police only seem to respond if you speak English. Yet another respondent said the police response time was too slow and that the police showed no interest in helping the people. She indicated that there were insufficient numbers of police in the Mayfair area. She added that the stories in the press were obviously not truthful because "even the newspapers and television give different facts".

A Mexican-American male with a Bachelor's degree said that the police and the press were not doing a good job. The local sub-station was described as "a waste" and the press was advised to be "more truthful". This man indicated that "everything is reported as statistical fact and not with in-depth editorial opinion". He said "The Mercury looks up to the police too much--they cover up for them".

Several interviewees were skeptical about the possibility of changing the reporting which they currently experienced. One person, a Black female with two years of college, said she wished the press wouldn't emphasize that the crime took place on the East side, since it made the area look worse than it was. Another respondent, an Oriental female, called for a better explanation of why the police were motivated to act as they did.

As can be seen from these comments, there was a great deal of frustration with the manner in which news about the police was reported in the San Jose Mercury-News. Local television was not readily criticized, although nobody complimented it either. The police were felt to be portrayed in a manner which was not expressive of their true character. A few residents indicated that the police were "human" and had their reasons for their behavior. It was felt by most respondents in the San Jose sample, as in the other cities surveyed, that the honest reporting of news about the police would help to keep the police honest. Others felt that the public should be told of the good and the bad, and then allowed to decide. But few trusted the media to give them an honest story. In fact, most residents of the study area

believed that they could get better news reports from the "grapevine" than from the media. This did not prevent them from reading the newspapers or watching television, but the interviewer was convinced from the comments made that most did that only to see how wrong the media were in their reports and to verify the reports which they had heard from their neighbors or other eyewitnesses, whose viewpoint differed widely from that expressed in the news media.

Could this problem be corrected? Would it result in better understanding between the press and the public? It seemed to be somewhat of a mute question as far as these residents were concerned. The press did not seem to them about to change, and they were convinced that they knew the ills of the police, as well as the good aspects, and they would have to live with them.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Very few conclusions can be drawn from the data. It has not been the purpose of this paper to draw definitive conclusions which would be widely applicable to all urban situations. Instead, it has been the purpose of this paper to display the variety of opinions which ghetto and barrio residents hold in regard to the police, and the manner in which such opinions can be and are influenced by the press reports about the police and crime.

Not only have a variety of opinions been explored, and the manner in which they are influenced by the press, but correlations have been attempted with the factor of personal experience introduced into the data. The five variables used in studying the questions were cross-tabulated in an effort to discover if age, sex, ethnicity, income level or education in any particular combinations led to certain types of opinions about the police, crime, or media reports about the police and crime. In some cases, this was the situation. In most cases, however, personal experience was a far greater factor. Various socio-economic factors were seen in operation throughout the survey. The four cities under study were chosen for their diversity. The press in each of the four cities was somewhat different; not all were designed to serve a public such as that which was the subject of the survey. The

police force in each of the cities was also different, with different manners of deploying their forces, different efforts at police-community relations, and different policies regarding the hiring of minority group members as well as training of officers. Each of these factors played some role in the results of this survey. Not all of the factors were possible to study.

Certain characteristics were found to be true of all four sample populations. For instance, there was a segment of each population which was content with the manner in which news about the police was reported. In one city, this group was composed of the elderly. In another, it was the Spanish-speaking. In another, the respondents came from mixed backgrounds. They were a sizeable number, but in no city were they the majority.

We were able to see that the majority of respondents in each city felt the press did not report the facts. In Newark, New Jersey, respondents reported that the press hid the facts; that they should tell about the police who are bad--and the ones who are exceptionally good. Also, in that city, a portion of the respondents requested that less violence be reported. The reporting of violence on television, especially, was criticized as encouraging young people to commit violent acts.

Both the Newark and the New York (Bronx) samples requested that more local news be reported. They also noted that there was a tendency in their cities toward conviction by the press of the accused. In Newark it was contended that the police were corrupt and that the press was protecting them. In that city, as in both West Coast cities, it was

suggested that psychiatric testing of police candidates should be performed, and that such testing would lead to more confidence in the police. In Newark, it was repeatedly mentioned that the ghetto residents did not hate the police; they realized that the police had a tough job to do.

The New York sample repeated the request for accuracy and honesty in the press. They also requested fair treatment by the police in their neighborhoods. This was a direct manifestation of the bilingual properties of the area under study. It was repeatedly emphasized in the Bronx during the course of the interviews that the residents must learn to trust the police. This, it was felt, could be aided a great deal by improved reporting.

The Venice area of Southern California was surveyed as a ghetto in flux. In many respects, the area would not meet the criteria of a ghetto. The fact that a rich area was encroaching upon a poor one was indicative of the pressures upon both the police and the residents. Drug-related crime was also high, which created additional stresses upon the area.

The request for honesty and accuracy in the press was again repeated here. It was emphasized that the press should not cover up for the police. It was felt that the police in the Venice area were more sympathetic, perhaps a result of the fact that the area was more highly integrated. This could also have been the result of the fact that the area was a beach area where attitudes often tend to be more relaxed overall. It was generally felt by the respondents in this

area that a better form of reporting would be one in which individual police officers were commended in the press for their meritorious acts. Also, coverage of the reasons which led to certain police behavior might enable the people to understand why the police had acted in angry, rough, or even violent ways.

Venice residents felt that the police were extremely rough on teenagers in the area. Some felt this was harassment. Others felt this was a crack-down on drugs and should be continued. Mexican-American residents of the area were either happy with the news or had no opinion about it. This area had the largest number of Spanish-speaking who were not served by the press. Personal ("word-of-mouth") encounters had more influence on this group than the press. Personal experience weighed heavily in all ethnic groups.

Venice residents also called for the press to show the police as human. It was indicated that the police could crack down on crime if the bad police had been exposed and eliminated from the police force. The police were often guilty of harassment, according to the residents of the area, but they were under stress. This stress was partly due to the pressures from residents of the wealthy Marina del Rey area right next to the ghetto of the old part of town. Police response time was slow, it was noted, but it was suggested that this could be changed if police were on foot and living in the neighborhood where they worked.

A high rate of unemployment, loitering, etc., led to police abuse, and the highest amount of verbal abuse was reported in this community. Some of the respondents believed that this persisted because the police could aggravate a situation and not worry about the press reporting their behavior.

In the San Jose sample, like all the other cities under study, there were mixed opinions about both the police and the press. The request again was for truth in journalism. The newspapers were criticized far more than the television. Again, we noted that the police could be understood better if the television and newspaper accounts were more like what the people had experienced in real life. The misuse of authority by the police should be publicized when it occurs, and there was a call for psychological screening of potential police officers. A large credibility gap existed in this city as far as the newspaper reports about police were concerned. People in San Jose tended to disbelieve the media and to talk amongst themselves about what had actually taken place in encounters between the police and the ghetto/barrio residents.

San Jose was the only city in the study in which the Spanish-speaking population registered a significant negative reaction to the police behavior they encountered and the way that it was reported in the media. American Indian respondents in this city, although a small proportion of the sample, were the most vocally negative of all respondents in the four cities where the study was undertaken. There was a strong feeling that minority groups were ignored by both the police and the press in San Jose. Even the existence of a police sub-station in the area under study did not seem to the residents to be more than a token to keep the people from becoming too angry about their life situation.

The most frequent complaint in the San Jose study was that the news was one-sided and that the people being arrested had to

tell their story, too; one which the media did not want to have told. There was a call for more realistic and honest reporting, and a plea against trial by the press. This city's sample registered a great deal of frustration with the way that police behavior occurs and with the way it is reported. It is the only one of the cities under study in which there has been no large-scale rioting along ethnic lines during the decade just prior to the study. There was no way to tell what had prevented this from occurring, but in the opinion of this researcher this is a direct result of geographic dispersion over a broad area of the city, rather than any other sociological or ethnographic factor.

The results of the survey in each city may be applicable to other cities with similar ethnographic data. In order to apply the data to another city, it will first be necessary to correlate these ethnographic factors, and then to use other subjective factors which would make that city different from the one we included in this study. Still, the data can be valuable to anyone seriously interested in learning the way that mass media reporting about the police can influence ghetto and barrio residents, and under what conditions that influence will be favorable or unfavorable toward the police.

When the cities were compared, it was learned that the following factors were most inclined to lead to good opinions about the police and the media:

1. A combination of ethnic diversity and multi-lingual press.
2. A combination of high income and high education.
3. The following combinations also led to good opinions:

- a. Age over 30 and education past eleventh grade.
 - b. Age over 30 and income level over \$5,000 annually (mid-income range to be adjusted for inflation).
 - c. Education past eleventh grade and income level over \$5,000.
 - d. Few negative personal encounters with the police and education beyond tenth grade.
 - e. Being a Spanish-speaking female over 30.
4. Existence of more competitive media (especially newspapers).
 5. Adequate publicity being given to police activities within the study area, including explanation of why the police had used force in certain arrests.
 6. Efforts by the media to publicize attempts of the police to improve themselves and their ability to serve the minority communities.

This is by far an oversimplification of the situation. But, as was stated earlier, it has not been the purpose of this paper to give definite conclusions. Each city in the United States will have certain characteristics in common with the cities of this study. It must be left to the journalists and the police administrators in these cities to determine in what ways this information applies to them and to implement any applicable programs which may lead to constructive changes and a resultant lessening of the tensions which have been shown in the study.

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH AND SPANISH QUESTIONNAIRES

City: SJ NEW NY LA

360

No. _____

Address _____

AGE

- 18-21
- 22-26
- 27-30
- 31-35
- 36-45
- 46-60
- over 60

EDUCATION (last year school completed):

- less than 8th
- 9-10th
- 11-12th
- one yr. coll.
- two yr. coll.
- 3 yrs. coll.
- Bachelor's
- grad. work

NO. OF CHILDREN

- one or two
- 3 or 4
- 5 or 6
- 7 or more

How long have you lived in this city? _____

If less than two years, where did you live immediately prior to this city? _____

SEX

- M
- F

ETHNIC GROUP (Which group you identify with, if more than one)

- Black, Negro
- Mexican-American
- Puerto Rican
- White, Caucasian
- American Indian
- Oriental
- Other

INCOME LEVEL (Annual family income - gross)

- under \$3,000
- \$3,000-5,000
- \$5,001-6,500
- \$6,501-8,500
- over \$8,500

OCCUPATION (Title - or "unemployed")

MARITAL STATUS

- Married
- Divorced
- Separated
- Single
- Widowed

The following is a questionnaire about police news and the way you react to it. Please attempt to answer each question as honestly as possible. Do not worry about offending anyone with your answers. Your name is omitted for this reason. If we know what annoys you about the way police news is reported, we may be able to get some changes in reporting. If nothing annoys you (or if you indicate that nothing annoys you) we will assume that all police news is reported accurately or that you are happy with the way it is reported. Your answers will determine whether or not changes are recommended.

The first section deals with newspapers. Please give the answer which most nearly says how you feel.

1. How often do you read the newspapers?

(A) twice a day	(D) once a week
(B) once a day	(E) rarely or never
(C) 3 times a week	

2. Do you usually read the stories about the police or crime?

(A) always	(B) often	(C) sometimes	(D) rarely	(E) never
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3. Is crime in your neighborhood reported accurately?

(A) very accurate	(D) not very accurate
(B) sort of accurate	(E) totally inaccurate
(C) neutral or don't know	

4. Is there a consistent picture of the police in the newspaper? (In other words, do the police always appear good or always appear bad when you read the newspaper?)

(A) very consistent	(D) not very consistent
(B) sort of consistent	(E) definitely not consistent
(C) neutral or don't know	

5. When you read the _____ what image do you get of the Police? (Base this on what you read and ignore what you see.)

(A) They are good guys
(B) They are not too bad
(C) A neutral image
(D) They are sometimes too rough.
(E) They are violent men.

6. How accurate is this image, in respect to what you see in real life?

(A) very accurate	(D) not very true
(B) sometimes true	(E) not at all true
(C) neutral or can't say	

7. I'm going to read you a story about some police activity. Please listen and give me your reaction to the police in light of the way this newspaper article is written.

"A Black man and woman were taken into custody in their home on _____ Street early Tuesday on charges of conspiracy to commit a robbery. They were linked to the rash of downtown store robberies by a lead from a merchant who identified them from mug shots. Police went in with guns drawn, kicking down the door, because they "expected anything to happen," according to Sgt. Conley of the _____ police."

What do you think of the police in this article?

- (A) They are nice guys.
 - (B) They're okay.
 - (C) I feel neutral about them.
 - (D) They're overstepping their limits.
 - (E) I don't like them at all.
8. This is another story about the same occurrence. After I read this story, please tell me what you think of the police.

"Police arrested a man and a woman today after an investigation of the downtown robberies which have recently plagued the area, causing merchants to raise prices to make up for losses. They were led to the _____ Street home by a merchant who identified the suspects from mug shots. Both suspects have criminal records."

Now what impression do you get of the police?

- (A) They are nice guys..
- (B) They're okay
- (C) I feel neutral about them.
- (D) They're overstepping their limits.
- (E) I don't like them at all.

Next I'd like to ask somethings about you. Remember that all of this information is confidential - and none of it will reflect back on you in any way whatsoever.

9. Have you ever been arrested? (Whether or not charges were dropped)
- (A) 5 or more times
 - (B) 3 or more times
 - (C) twice
 - (D) once
 - (E) never
10. Has a member of your immediate family been arrested in _____ ?
- (A) 5 or more times
 - (B) 3 or more times
 - (C) twice
 - (D) once
 - (E) never

11. In the cases mentioned above, was there any police brutality?
 (A) Definitely
 (B) Possibly
 (C) I don't know
 (D) The police reacted to the person resisting arrest.
 (E) Not at all or does not apply.
12. Have you, or any member of your family, ever been hit by a policeman, to your knowledge? (Include shovings, as well as assaults, shootings, etc.)
 (A) Often (D) Probably not
 (B) Sometimes (E) Never
 (C) I don't know
13. Do the police talk abusively to you or to your family?
 (A) Always (D) Rarely
 (B) Sometimes (E) Never
 (C) Don't know
14. Do the police pick on people in your neighborhood? (In other words, do you think they treat people in your neighborhood any worse than people living elsewhere?)
 (A) Definitely (D) Probably not
 (B) Possibly (E) Definitely not
 (C) I can't say

The following questions deal with television reporting about police. Please try to answer them as accurately as you can, according to what you know about police activity on television.

15. How often do you watch television?
 (A) 5-10 hours/day (D) less than 1 hour/day
 (B) 3-5 hours/day (E) never
 (C) 1-3 hours/day
16. How many of these programs do you watch? *McMillan & Wife* Dragnet, Smith Family,
the Dickies Adam-12, Mod Squad, and the FBI. I have named five programs.
 Do you watch
 (A) all five (D) two of them
 (B) 4 of them (E) one or none of them
 (C) 3 of them
17. Do you watch the news on television
 (A) daily (D) rarely
 (B) twice a week (E) never
 (C) once a week

18. How often is the news related to police activity in your neighborhood? (Arrests, holdups, killings, riots, etc.)
- (A) Daily (D) rarely
(B) often (E) never
(C) neutral or don't know
19. When the news reports something that happens in your neighborhood, is the story accurate?
- (A) very accurate (D) not too accurate
(B) somewhat accurate (E) totally wrong
(C) neutral
20. In your estimation, how much news on television shows the police as disliking people in the ghetto?
- (A) all (D) very little
(B) most (E) none
(C) I don't know
21. What feeling do you get when you see filmed reports of the police using force to make an arrest?
- (A) Anger at the police.
(B) Distrust of the police.
(C) I feel neutral about the police - It doesn't affect me.
(D) I think the police are doing a job they don't really like.
(E) I want to cheer them on because this is the only way to fight crime.
22. Do television series about the police portray them in a consistent manner? (In other words, are police on television series either always good or always bad?)
- (A) Very consistent (D) not very consistent
(B) somewhat consistent (E) very inconsistent
(C) neutral
23. Think about the television series we mentioned above. Of those you watch, is the image of the police more as a
- (A) good guy
(B) not so bad guy
(C) neutral fellow
(D) kind of a tough guy
(E) bully
24. How accurate is this image?
- (A) Very accurate
(B) Somewhat Accurate
(C) Neutral or don't know
(D) Not very accurate
(E) Not at all accurate

25. According to what you read in the papers and what you see on t.v., which of these opinions is most like the way you feel about the police? (That is, if you don't count personal experience)
- (A) They are really nice guys
 - (B) I can understand why they act as they do.
 - (C) I feel neutral about them
 - (D) They shouldn't act as they do—have no reason to act that way
 - (E) They are very bad people who like to hurt citizens.

The following section (The final section) deals with your own experiences here in . We want you to evaluate what you see and we will be comparing this with what you see on t.v. and read in the newspapers. We want to know if the media are presenting an accurate picture of the police or not.

26. How often do you see the police in your neighborhood?
- (A) several times daily
 - (B) regularly
 - (C) neutral or don't know
 - (D) rarely
 - (E) never
27. How often have you seen the police in this neighborhood "roughing" somebody up?
- (A) often
 - (B) sometimes
 - (C) neutral or don't know
 - (D) rarely
 - (E) never
28. Do the police go out of their way to help people in your neighborhood?
- (A) often
 - (B) sometimes
 - (C) neutral or don't know
 - (D) rarely
 - (E) never
29. What do you think of the police in your neighborhood?
- (A) I like them
 - (B) They're okay
 - (C) I feel neutral about them.
 - (D) I can get along without them
 - (E) I hate them.
30. If the newspapers and television were to change their way of reporting news about the police, what could they do? Please tell if this would change your opinion of them.

The results of this survey will be used for a thesis at California State University, San Jose. It is hoped that the results will be published and that those concerned with police activity and the way it is reported will take note of what you have said. Thank you for your time and thoughtfulness in answering.

Lo siguiente es un cuestionario perteneciente a las noticias de la policía y de la manera en que usted reacciona a esas noticias. Trate de contestar a cada pregunta con sinceridad. No se apure de que vaya a ofender a alguna persona. Precisamente por eso hemos omitido su nombre. Si sabemos lo que no le gusta de la manera en que la policía entrega sus reportes, quizás podamos afectar un cambio. Si nada le estorba en la manera o clase de reportaje de la policía, supondremos que las noticias reportadas por la policía son correctas o que está contento con lo que se publica. Sus respuestas nos indicaran si debemos de tratar de cambiar el tipo de reportaje o no.

La primera sección se trata de periódicos. Por favor, responda con la respuesta que explica lo que usted siente.

1. ¿Cuanto lee usted el periódico? (D) Una vez a la semana
(A) dos veces al día (E) muy poquito o casi nunca
(B) una vez al día
(C) tres veces a la semana
2. ¿Lee usted los reportes pertenecientes al crimen o a la policía?
(A) siempre (B) mucho (C) a veces (D) muy poco (E) nunca
3. ¿Los reportes del crimen en su barrio son correctos?
(A) muy correctos (D) no muy correctos
(B) mas o menos correctos (E) totalmente incorrectos
(C) neutral o no sabe
4. ¿En los periódicos, hay un imagen consistente de la policía?
(E) decir, es que hacen que la policía siempre aparezca bien o mal cuando usted lee el periódico?
(A) muy consistente (D) no muy consistente
(B) un poco consistente (E) inconsistente
(C) neutral o no sabe
5. Cuando usted lee el _____, ¿cual imagen forma usted de la Policía? (Base esto en lo que lee y no en lo que ve.)
(A) son los que tienen razón
(B) no son tan malos
(C) un imagen neutral
(D) a veces son muy brutales
(E) son hombres violentes
6. ¿Que correcto es este imagen, con respeto a lo que ve usted en la vida?
(A) muy correcto (D) no muy correctos
(B) a veces son de verdad (E) totalmente incorrectos
(C) neutral, o no puede decir

7. Voy a leerle un cuento que explica las actividades de la policía. Escuche y déme su reacción a la policía a través de este artículo.

"Un hombre negro y una mujer negra fueron arrestados en su casa en la calle _____ el martes temprano acusados de una conspiración para cometer un robo. Un comerciante los identificó por los balazos y ahora los han conectado con el serie de robos en el centro comercial. La policía entro con pistola en mano, tumbando la puerta con patadas, porque ellos "esperaban cualquier cosa pasar" según el sargento Conley de la policía de _____."

¿Qué piensa usted de la policía en este artículo?

- (A) Son hombres buenos
- (B) Son okay
- (C) Me siento neutral
- (D) Se aventaron (se pasaron de su limite)
- (E) No los quiero nada

8. Este es otro cuento de la misma cosa. Después de que acabe de leerlo, dígame lo que piensa de la policía.

"La policía arrestó a un hombre y a una mujer hoy después de haber investigado un serie de robos en el centro comercial. Estos robos han causado que los comerciantes suban los precios para poder compensar por lo que han perdido por los robos. Los dirigieron a la calle _____ un comerciante quien los identificó por los balazos. Los dos sospechados tienen historia criminal."

Ahora ¿cuál es su impresión de la policía?

- (A) Son hombres buenos
- (B) Son okay
- (C) Me siento neutral
- (D) Se aventaron (se pasaron de su limite)
- (E) No los quiero nada

9. Ahora quisiera preguntarle algunas cosas pertenecientes a usted. Recuerde que toda esta información es confidencial y ninguna parte de lo que me diga será usada contra usted.

9. Lo han arrestado a usted? (Aunque lo hayan dejado libre o no)

- (A) 5 veces o mas
- (B) 3 veces o mas
- (C) dos veces
- (D) una vez
- (E) nunca

10. Ha sido, alguna persona, en su familia, arrestada en _____?

- (A) 5 veces o mas
- (B) 3 veces o mas
- (C) dos veces
- (D) una vez
- (E) nunca

11. En los casos que se acaban de mencionar, ¿hubo alguna brutalidad de parte de la policía?
- (A) Seguramente
 - (B) Posiblemente
 - (C) No sé
 - (D) La policía reaccionó a la persona
 - (E) Ninguna o no aplica
12. La policía, ¿le ha pegado a usted o a alguna persona en su familia? (Incluye empujones, asaltos o tiros de pistola, etc.)
- (A) Muchas veces
 - (B) A veces
 - (C) No sé
 - (D) Probablemente no
 - (E) Nunca
13. La policía le hablan a usted o a su familia abusivamente?
- (A) Siempre
 - (B) A veces
 - (C) No sé
 - (D) Raramente
 - (E) Nunca
14. La policía, persigue a la gente en su barrio? (Es decir, cree usted que tratan a la gente en su barrio peor que a personas que viven en otros lugares?)
- (A) Seguramente
 - (B) Posiblemente
 - (C) No puedo decir
 - (D) Probablemente no
 - (E) Seguramente que no

Las siguientes preguntas se tratan de los reportajes en la televisión acerca de la policía. Trate de contestar según lo que usted sabe de las actividades de la policía en la televisión.

15. ¿Cuánto ve usted la televisión?
- (A) De 5-10 horas por día?
 - (B) De 3-5 horas por día?
 - (C) De 1-3 horas por día?
 - (D) Menos de 1 hora por día?
 - (E) Nunca
16. ¿Cuántos de estos cinco programas ve usted en la televisión? Dragnet, Smith Family, Adam 12, Mod Squad, y el FBI.
- (A) Todos los cinco
 - (B) Cuatro
 - (C) Tres
 - (D) Dos
 - (E) Uno o ninguno
17. ¿Ve usted las noticias (nuevas) en la televisión?
- (A) Todos los días
 - (B) Dos veces a la semana
 - (C) Una vez a la semana
 - (D) Raramente
 - (E) Nunca

18. En su barrio, cuando se relacionan las noticias con las actividades de la policía? (arrestos, atracos, alborotos, matanzas, etc.)
- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| (A) Todos los días | (D) Raramente |
| (B) Frecuentemente | (E) Nunca |
| (C) Neutral o no sabe | |
19. Cuando reportan algo que pasó en su barrio, ¿lo reportan correctamente?
- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (A) Muy correctamente | (D) No muy correctamente |
| (B) Algo correctamente | (E) Totalmente incorrectamente |
| (C) Neutral | |
20. En su opinión, ¿cuántas de las noticias en la televisión muestran a la policía con disgusto hacia la gente en el barrio?
- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| (A) Todas | (D) Muy pocas |
| (B) Casi todas | (E) Nada |
| (C) No se | |
21. ¿Como se siente usted cuando ve reportajes que muestran a la policía usando fuerza para poder arrestar a alguien?
- (A) Me da coraje con la policía
 - (B) Pierdo confianza en la policía
 - (C) Me siento neutral. No me afecta.
 - (D) Creo que la policía está haciendo un trabajo que no les gusta hacer.
 - (E) Quiero animarles, porque ésta es la única manera de combatir el crimen.
22. Los series en la televisión que se tratan de la policía, ¿los describen en una manera consistente? (Es decir, en la televisión, la policía siempre parece ser buena or siempre parece ser mala?)
- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (A) Muy consistente | (D) No muy consistentes |
| (B) Bastante consistente | (E) Muy inconsistentes |
| (C) Neutral | |
23. Piense en los programas de televisión que he mencionado hace poco. De esos que ve usted, ¿es el imagen de la policía más o menos uno de
- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| (A) Hombre bueno | (D) Un hombre malvado |
| (B) Un hombre no muy malo | (E) Un matón |
| (C) Un hombre neutral | |
24. Este imagen es correcto?
- (A) Muy correcto
 - (B) Bastante correcto
 - (C) Neutral o no se
 - (D) No muy correcto
 - (E) Totalmente incorrecto

25. Con lo que ve en la televisión y lo que lee en los periódicos, ¿cuáles de estas opiniones expresa lo que usted siente hacia la policía? (Es decir, si no cuenta una experiencia personal)
- (A) Son hombres buenos
 - (B) Comprendo por qué se portan así
 - (C) Me siento neutral
 - (D) No deben portarse así--no tienen razón de portarse así
 - (E) Es una gente muy mala a quien le gusta maltratar a los ciudadanos

La sección siguiente (la última sección) se trata de sus propias experiencias aquí en . Queremos que usted evalúe lo que ve, y nosotros compararemos esto con lo que ve en la televisión y lo que lee en los periódicos. Queremos saber si estas formas de comunicación presentan un imagen verdadero de la policía o no.

26. ¿Cuánto ve usted a la policía en su barrio?
- (A) Varias veces al día
 - (B) Regularmente
 - (C) Neutral o no sé
 - (D) Raramente
 - (E) Nunca
27. ¿Cuántas veces ve usted a la policía en su barrio maltratando a alguna persona?
- (A) Frecuentemente
 - (B) A veces
 - (C) Neutral o no sé
 - (D) Raramente
 - (E) Nunca
28. ¿Es que la policía trata de ayudar a la gente en su barrio?
- (A) Frecuentemente
 - (B) A veces
 - (C) Neutral o no sé
 - (D) Raramente
 - (E) Nunca
29. ¿Qué piensa usted de la policía en su barrio?
- (A) Me gustan
 - (B) Así así
 - (C) Me siento neutral hacia ellos
 - (D) No estoy de acuerdo con lo que hacen.
 - (E) Los odio
30. Si los periódicos y la televisión cambiaran su manera de reportar las noticias acerca de la policía, ¿qué podrían hacer? ¿Esto cambiaría su opinión de ellos?

Los resultados de este estudio serán usados para una tesis en la Universidad de California en San José. Esperamos que los resultados sean publicados y que aquellas personas preocupadas por las actividades de la policía, se fijen en lo que usted ha dicho. Muchas gracias por su tiempo e interés en responder.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE COMPUTER PRINTOUT

CROSS TABULATION OF
 INCOME CONTROLLING FDR...
 EDUCATION VALUE = 1: LESS THAN 8TH PAGE

INCOME	ABTALK					ROW TOTAL
	1. ALWAYS	2. SOMETIME S	3. QNT KNOWN	4. RARELY	5. NEVER	
1. UNDER \$3000	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.1	10	13
	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	38.5	39.4
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.3	
2. \$3000-5000	0.0	11.1	11.1	0.0	77.8	9
	0.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	26.9	27.3
	0.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	21.2	
3. \$5000-6500	16.7	0.0	0.0	16.7	66.7	6
	10.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	15.4	18.2
	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	12.1	
4. \$6500-8500	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	3
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.5	9.1
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.1	
5. OVER \$8500	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	2
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	6.1
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	
COLUMN TOTAL	1.0	3.0	3.0	12.1	78.6	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 13.32421 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.6489
 CRAMER'S V = 0.1771
 CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19200 WITH INCOME DEPENDENT.
 LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.11111
 LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.11111
 UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.14407 WITH INCOME DEPENDENT.
 UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.16753
 KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02984 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3931
 GAMMA'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05599 WITH INCOME DEPENDENT.
 SCHERR'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.24332
 ETA = 0.23376 WITH INCOME DEPENDENT.
 = 0.53631
 = 0.00000 WITH ABTALK DEPENDENT.
 = 0.26851 WITH ABTALK DEPENDENT.
 = 0.30033 WITH ABTALK DEPENDENT.

FUZZIE
 FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 10/06/77)

AGE
 CONTROLING FOR...
 ETHNIC

CROSS TABLE BY DISLIKE

VALUE = 3. PUERTO RICAN PAGE

373

AGE	DISLIKE	1. MOST	2. I NOW	3. VERY TLE	4. LIT NONE	5. NONE	ROW TOTAL
18-21	1.	0.0	16.7	33.3	2	50.0	15.0
		0.0	11.1	15.4	25.0	7.5	
		0.0	2.5	5.0	0.0	0.0	
22-26	2.	0.0	0.0	100.0	1	0.0	2.5
		0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	
		0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	
27-30	3.	33.3	16.7	33.3	2	16.7	15.0
		33.3	11.1	15.4	18.3	2.5	
		5.0	2.5	5.0	2.5	1	
31-35	4.	0.0	44.4	44.4	4	11.1	22.5
		0.0	44.4	30.8	8.3	2.5	
		0.0	10.0	10.0	2.5	1	
36-45	5.	18.2	18.2	18.2	2	45.5	27.5
		33.3	22.2	15.4	41.7	5	
		5.0	5.0	5.0	12.5	2	
46-60	6.	50.0	25.0	25.0	1	0.0	10.0
		33.3	11.1	7.7	0.0	0.0	
		5.0	2.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	
OVER 60	7.	0.0	0.0	33.3	1	66.7	7.5
		0.0	0.0	7.7	16.7	5.0	
		0.0	0.0	2.5	5.0	2	
COLUMN TOTAL		15.0	22.5	52.5	13	30.0	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 19.15480 WITH 18 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3824
 Cramer's V = 0.39953
 CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.56904
 LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15793 WITH AGF DEPENDENT.
 LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.17857

* * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * *
 * * * * * P O L H E L P * * * * *
 * * * * * C O N T R O L L I N G F O R * * * * *
 * * * * * E D U C A T I O N * * * * *
 * * * * * V A L U E = * * * * * 1 * * * * * L E S S T H A N 8 T H * * * * * P A G E

AGE	POLHELP					ROW TOTAL
	1. OFTEN	2. SOMETIME S	3. NEUTRAL OR DUNT	4. RARELY	5. NEVER	
27-30	33.0 19.0 3.0	22.0 66.0 26.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	3 9.1
31-35	25.0 10.0 3.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	25.0 20.0 3.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	20.0 50.0 0.0	4 12.1
36-45	40.0 40.0 12.0	40.0 44.0 12.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	10.0 20.0 3.0	10.0 25.0 3.0	10 30.3
46-50	29.0 26.0 6.0	14.0 11.0 3.0	14.0 20.0 3.0	42.0 69.0 1.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	7 21.2
OVER 50	22.0 20.0 6.0	22.0 22.0 0.0	33.0 69.0 1.0	11.0 20.0 3.0	11.0 25.0 3.0	9 27.3
COLUMN TOTAL	103.0 30.3	27.3	15.2	15.2	12.1	33 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 19.52995 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2421
 CRAMER'S V = 0.34665
 CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26087 WITH AGE DEPENDENT.
 LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.21739
 LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.20539 WITH AGE DEPENDENT.
 UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.20372
 UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.20372
 KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.07378 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2928
 KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.07578 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2928
 GAMMA = 0.09910
 SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07339 WITH AGE DEPENDENT.
 SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07914 WITH POLHELP DEPENDENT.
 ETA = 0.30032 WITH AGE DEPENDENT.
 ETA = 0.36401 WITH POLHELP DEPENDENT.

*** AGE ***
 *** CONTROLLING FOR... ***
 *** INCOME ***
 *** CROSSTABULA Y I O N O F ***
 *** BY TVCONS ***
 VALUE = 1: UNDER \$3000 ***
 PAGE

AGE	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	COLUMN TOTAL	ROW TOTAL
18-21	100.0 7.7 4.8	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	20.0 50.0 2.4	12.5 25.0 4.8	0.0 0.0 0.0	4.8
22-26	66.7 15.4 19.5	0.0 0.0 0.0	33.3 25.0 4.8	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	14.3
27-30	100.0 3.8 2.4	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	2.4
31-35	50.0 3.8 2.4	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	50.0 12.5 2.4	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	4.8
36-45	60.0 11.5 17.1	20.0 50.0 2.4	1.0 12.5 2.4	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	11.9
46-60	62.5 19.2 11.9	12.5 50.0 2.4	25.0 25.0 4.8	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	19.0
OVER 60	55.6 39.5 23.8	0.0 0.0 0.0	11.1 25.0 4.8	33.3 100.0 14.3	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0 0.0	42.9
	26	2	8	6	2	42	6	100.0	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 16.69333 WITH 18 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.5450
 GRAHNER'S V = 0.36388
 CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.53319

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