The Influence of Social Environment on Children's Perception of Policemen

Sarah C. Klingel
THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT ON CHILDREN'S
PERCEPTION OF POLICEMEN

by

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Sarah C. Klingel
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ABSTRACT

The Influence of Social Environment on Children's Perception of Policemen

by

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Utah State University, 1971

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Department: Family and Child Development

The purpose of this thesis was to examine children's perceptions of policemen as these are related to the social environment in which he lives; and to investigate the social class, sex, and racial influences upon their perceptions.

An oral picture test, consisting of 12 pictures, was administered to 39 fourth-grade children in two Ogden, Utah, public schools.

The findings of this study is that there is mixed support for the hypothesis that significant differences exist between middle- and lower-class children in their perceptions of policemen. Support was approached for the second hypothesis: there exist significant differences between males and females in their perception of policemen. However, because a borderline level of significance (.07) was determined, it is uncertain whether differences exist between the sexes in their perceptions of policemen. The third hypothesis—that there exist significant differences between Caucasian and non-Caucasian races in their perception of policemen—was not statistically supported.

(113 pages)
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Life experiences vary between social classes and between rural and urban groups. These experiences help to determine attitudes and perceptions of people. Rainwater, Coleman, and Handel's (1959) research indicates that middle- and lower-class women have different perceptions of life situations. Researchers often falsely imply that adults and children hold identical perceptions of their social environment, or that all children perceive their life experiences similarly. Prior research does not support these inferences. Zehnpfenning (1970) found that children in the fourth grade, attending schools serving lower- and middle-class children, responded differently to a series of pictures of social situations. One factor in particular stood out in Zehnpfenning's study: the almost universal negative response to a picture of two policemen in a crowd scene. Evidence indicates a need for further exploration of this area of perception.

The problem to be investigated in this study is that of the impact of social class and of sex and race factors on fourth-grade children's perception of, and attitudes toward, policemen.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is both exploratory and descriptive in nature; that is, to add to existing knowledge of the characteristics of
children in the lower and middle classes as influenced by factors of race and sex in their perception of police situations.

Statement of the Hypotheses

The hypotheses which were investigated in this study are:

1. That there exist significant differences between middle- and lower-class children in their perception of policemen.
2. That there exist significant differences between males and females in their perception of policemen.
3. That there exist significant differences between non-Caucasian and Caucasian races in their perception of policemen.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this review is to present research findings from the literature on children's perception, the policeman's role and the school's role in working with the child's perceptions and attitudes, and lastly, literature dealing with the photographic type of instrument used in this study.

In many of these studies it has been assumed that children are essentially uniform in their response to adults and to their environment. Several studies, then, have been undertaken with the purpose of finding out exactly how children feel towards their social environment. There is a relationship between the child's own personality and his perception of others, in this case the policeman, that needs to be demonstrated.

Self Perception and Individual Differences in Perception

It was not until 1953 that Psychological Abstracts found it necessary to include the heading "Individual Differences in Perception" in their index. Up until that time the possibility that the environment might look, sound, and feel differently towards different persons was not really considered. Tyler (1956) adds that researchers did not realize that the same pattern of stimulation might carry different immediate meanings for different observers.

Zehnpfenning (1970) notes that the main element is the child himself and his perception of his life as well as those things which affect
what the child does and what he will become. Zehnpfenning states that we cannot assume that the adult's view of the child's social environment is identical with the child's view. Brandt (1958, p. 88) emphasizes this point: "Despite similarities of constitution and environment, the stream of life experiences is unique for each individual."

Jourard and Remys' (1955) results show that the child will accept into his self-image what he believes to be his parents' view of him, and that this will have measurable consequences on his subsequent behavior.

Davitz (1955) states that preferred persons are perceived as being similar to self, even when objectively such presumed similarities are not visible. He suggests that the self-image of the child is at least in part his own creation which he reinforces by projecting onto others what he sees in himself.

Bieri (1953) makes a comment which directly relates to the issue of exposing children with developing or negative perceptions to the policeman. He asserts that an individual will perceive another person as more similar to himself after a period of constructive interaction than before this interaction has occurred.

There appear to be individual differences in perception especially where the child and the adult are concerned. Yarrow and Campbell (1963) suggest that adults and children, while observing the same actions, might attribute quite different meaning to these actions.

**Perceptions of Sex Roles and Parents**

Piaget (1951) maintains that the first personal schemes are afterwards generalized and applied to many people. Therefore if the child's first social experience as he is learning to speak is with the father,
who may be loving or cruel, understanding or dominating, etc., the child will then tend to assimilate all other individuals into his father's scheme. Indeed most researchers would agree with Piaget that the attitudes a child has toward his parents generalize to many other individuals (Cox, 1962; Serot and Teevan, 1961).

Serot and Teevan (1961) would disagree with Piaget. They assert that although previous experiments have tried to relate parental attitudes or the quality of the parent-child relationship (usually measured by questionnaires) directly to child adjustment to other persons, the studies have not uncovered a definite one-to-one relationship. Studies have failed to take into account the fact that the child reacts to his perception of the situation and not directly to the situation itself.

Emmerich (1961) found that discrimination of parent and child roles occurs first, beginning during the first years and increasing during the second and the third years. The discrimination of sex roles occurs next, beginning in about the third year and increasing throughout the preschool period. Emmerich states that young boys are more sensitive to sex-role differences than are young girls.

Gardner's (1947) research shows that the over-all preference for the mother was dominant despite the fact that the opposite sex parent was generally rated higher on "disposition and character" and that children wanted to resemble the parent of their own sex. Thus, for girls the father would be rated higher on disposition and character, while for boys the father would be the preferred model. Both effects do tend to lower the over-all preference for the mother but fail to completely counteract it. Kagan (1956) also deals with this facet of study. The child perceives the mother as more nurturant and nicer than the father and is
more inclined to give presents to the children. The father is perceived as being more competent and more punitive than the mother. He is ascribed more power than is the mother and is cited as being the one to arouse fear in the child.

Emmerich (1959b) ties this in with sex role perception of peers. Children assign positive behavior more frequently to their own sex peers and negative behaviors to opposite sex peers. Emmerich suggests that self-identification of sex roles may also be made on behavioral grounds.

Perceptions of Non-parental Authority Figures

Emmerich (1961) in a specific study of children's attitudes regarding power, reports that all children view adults as powerful and children as powerless in relation to each other.

Dubin and Dubin (1965) discusses a group of studies that gives some clues to children's perceptions of non-parental authority figures. Briefly, these studies indicate that children are quite capable of recognizing, in any formal organization of which they are a part, that there are positions of authority in it, usually held by adults. Dubin and Dubin state that specific authority figures other than parents are perceived in their general role context and evaluated accordingly.

Jenkins and Lippet (1951) in a group dynamics-oriented study concluded that students perceive adult authority action toward them as the exercise of power and control, regardless of the intent of the authority holder or of the objective character of the behavior. He implies then that adults in authority cannot disguise the authoritative character of their actions toward children. Furthermore, Dubin and Dubin (1965) maintain that when the setting is formally structured in terms of authority, the child perceives
the adult authority holders fulfilling an authoritative role or else behaving in an authoritarian manner. Dubin and Dubin comment:

A salient characteristic of the child in an organized setting is his ability to perceive the authoritative positions of adults in it. From this it can be inferred that adult behavior designed to disguise authority or to abandon it in favor of childlike behavior—being a pal to a child—may actually be unsettling for children. Adults do, after all, live in an authority-structured world. If children are to be socialized to this adult world they need to learn the systems of authority relations that characterize it. (Dubin and Dubin, 1965, p. 829)

Dubin and Dubin (1965) assert that before the child can perceive roles, he needs to experience behavior that can be generalized into role characteristics. Tyler (1955) in a study of the development of likes and dislikes found that a child first likes everything and then develops preferences by learning to dislike some previously liked item. Tyler's study dealt directly with the development of likes and dislikes in vocational interests. This latter statement, then, would have important implications in relation to the child's developing perception of a policeman's role.

The Effects of Child's Age and Sex on Perception

Among children, active and passive perceivers have been differentiated. Whether this is really a distinction based on fundamental temperamental differences seems doubtful. However, many researchers have shown the age of the subjects to be an important consideration. Briefly, it may be pointed out that research findings indicate that age is a significant determinant of degree of realism of perceptions. Age also determines the degree of subtlety of cues children use in their perception (Dubin and Dubin, 1965; Kohn and Fiedler, 1961; Yarrow and Campbell, 1963; Emmerich, 1959b; Mussen, Conger, and Kagan, 1969). Emmerich (1959b) states that older children have increased ability in making the distinction
between sex roles. Mussen, Conger, and Kagan (1969) explain this by saying the older child differentiates more aspects of the situation because of his increased experience and practice.

Schellenberg and Wright's (1968) findings concur with the statements made above. Most patterns of results showed no relationship to age level of respondents in their study. The study, however, dealt with persons between the ages of 9 and 18. The researchers suggest the possibility that basic forms of interpersonal perception are not so susceptible to orderly patterns of change between these ages as had been previously assumed.

Sex of subjects is another factor to consider. Most of the research indicates that females will perceive significant figures in their interpersonal environment more favorably than will males (Kohn and Fiedler, 1961; Dubin, 1965; Yarrow and Campbell, 1963; Kell and Aldous, 1960). Kohn and Fiedler (1961) point out that women, to a greater extent, rely on stereotypes in forming impressions of people and that, therefore, they may tend to categorize people rather quickly without fully evaluating their characteristics.

It is possible that females perceive significant persons in their environment more favorably than do males because they tend to be treated more kindly by the world, and because they are less exposed to disillusioning interpersonal experiences. Females may report more favorable attitudes because they are taught to mask their genuine feelings. (Kohn and Fiedler, 1961, p. 160)

The Effects of Child's Race and Social Class on Perception

Gitter and Black (1963) report that the race of subject is significant in the perception of emotions. Negroes were superior to other races in terms of over-all accuracy scores of perception of individual emotions.
Vinacke (1949) maintains that Caucasian subjects, as compared to Oriental ones, were more accurate in identifying emotions of Caucasian faces; and that Orientals were more accurate in identifying the emotions of Oriental faces.

Machover (1943) found some sort of a perceptual "defect" when comparing the Southern to the Northern Negro on the Wechsler-Bellvue Scale. The culturally restricted group seemed not to get the meaning of the stimulus material as clearly as the group with the better educational background.

Gates (1923) and Kellogg and Eagleson (1931) observed that the differences in age and sex previously noted hold true for the Negro race.

According to Portenier (1943) a child's behaviors and attitudes do not seem to be closely related to any particular aspect of the home or early environment; rather, they seem to be determined by the nature of the child and his relation to the total psychological field in which he functions. This includes, then, the social class in which the child is living.

I should like to cite in detail a study from the "International Review of Education," 1964 edition, author anonymous. In the experimental situation some 720 children of different age, sex, social class, and race were given dolls of different sex and race to choose from. The children were asked to give the researcher the doll that their teacher, parent, or policeman would like. The lower-class children and especially the Negro and female lower-class children perceived all three authority figures to favor the middle-upper class. When compared to the middle- and upper-class groups it was found that, with the exception of the
policeman who liked "no one" in a number of cases, the authority figures were perceived to agree in their preference for the middle-upper class.

The Role of Police and School

Bieri (1953) asserts that an individual will perceive another person as more similar to himself after a period of constructive interaction than before this interaction has occurred. He states that interpersonal perceptions are based on the type of interaction situation. He maintains that an intergroup situation is needed in which mutual agreement on experiences and activities is emphasized. He does make the condition that more rigidly defined cultural roles, such as Negro-white interaction, may inhibit perceiving others as similar to oneself.

In response to comments like Bieri's, some schools have set up a liaison program between the police and the school children. Shepard and James (1967) state that the purposes of such programs include the encouragement of understanding between police and children, the improvement of students' attitudes toward policeman, and the building of better police-community relations by improving the police image. Shepard and James seem to feel that the dangers of inserting a law-enforcement officer into the everyday school routine far outweighs the benefits. Criticism is mainly aimed at the objective of changing students' attitudes toward policemen. The authors argue that attitudes are deep seated and are formed by a great variety of experience. By the time legal authorities have direct contact with individuals, such attitudes may be so solidly entrenched as to be difficult to modify even under the most ideal circumstances.
Two main alternatives are suggested. William Wattenburg (Shepard and James, 1967) of Wayne State University suggests that the law enforcement agencies become involved with the community in creating a better image of themselves. He cites some successful programs attempting to do this.

The second alternative is to revise school curriculum. Milander and Egelston (1967), Allan (1970), and Joyce (1966) all stress the importance of first hand contact with policemen and advocate an early school program which will help to dispel feelings of fear and distrust. They suggest the replacement of the stereotyped "policeman-community-helper" unit with a more realistic unit dealing with police and community relations.

Allen (1970) observes that television widens the gap between children and police. The television policeman protects the public, but he is presented as a cold, impersonal, efficient man, not the warm, jovial friend that the textbook tells about. Goins (1968, p. 36) stresses the point saying: "Far too many have come to look upon the law enforcement official as an enemy and look upon laws as obnoxious controls to be broken."

Junell (1969) maintains that whatever program is used to create better police-child relations, it must be introduced early in the childhood years. Junell tells us that a child's "crucial period"--crucial to attitude formation--of birth to age five or six must be nurtured in its own way if it is not to become irretrievably lost. He states that never again will the child identify so keenly with the fluctuations of his significant others.
Stritch and Johnson (1960) have investigated the perception of personality characteristics through the use of non-verbal cues by offering the subjects photographs as stimuli. Their findings indicate that subjects tended to use some form of analogy, a bridge to fill in any information not supplied by the stimulus itself. Subjects tried to organize all stimulus information into meaningful patterns.

A study found that the race of the perceiver, the nature of emotion, and the sex of the expressor influence perception of emotion from posed photographs (Gitter and Black, 1963).
CHAPTER III
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Pilot Study

A pilot study was administered to 10 fourth-grade children at the Woodruff Elementary School in Logan, Utah. Of all the elementary grades, the researcher thought fourth-grade children would be the most cooperative and accurate in the study based on Zehnpfenning's study. The Woodruff School has fourth-grade children in attendance from lower- and middle-class background. This factor, as well as sex of subjects, was equally represented in the pilot study.

The researcher met individually with each of the 10 children in a separate room made available for this testing.

A simple nonwritten picture test was used. Twenty-four pictures of police situations were shown. Three non-police pictures were shown during the test to establish rapport between the researcher and the subjects and to maintain interest in the interview itself. The children were asked to respond to the question: "Would you tell me about this picture?" Following their first response the interviewer then said: "Is there anything else you would like to tell me about this picture?" If these questions failed to evoke adequate response, the subject was prompted with the question: "What do you think is happening here?" If the initial response was only descriptive and nonprojective, then a "why" question was asked, using the same wording the child used in his first response. The purpose of this was to bring out in greater depth the child's projection.
The pictures used depicted either policemen alone or as the focus of activity—or policemen as influenced by a group situation. The meaning or subject matter in the picture was nonleading, allowing the child to project his own thoughts into the picture. The researcher then completed a questionnaire for each subject by asking the child three questions:

1. "How would you feel if a policeman came to your home?"
2. "How would you feel if your best friend or someone you know well in your class became a policeman?"
3. "What are some of the main things a policeman has to do when he is on duty?"

The purpose of the test was to determine which pictures and which questions elicited the most discriminatory responses from the subjects. Responses were rated on a Likert type scale by the researcher at the time of the interview.

From the 24 police pictures shown to the subjects, 12 were selected for the actual instrument because they drew forth both positive and negative responses from the subjects. The second and third questions were chosen for the instrument for the same reason. It was these 12 pictures and these 2 questions that were used in the collection and analysis of data for this thesis study.

**Selection of Schools**

Two schools in Ogden, Utah, were selected for this study—the Horace Mann Elementary School and the Jefferson Elementary School. They were chosen to represent the social class of the neighborhood in which they are located. The Horace Mann Elementary School represents the middle
socio-economic class and the Jefferson Elementary School represents the lower socio-economic class. Because of the geographical distributions of lower- and middle-income groups in Ogden, this distinction was possible.

Pictures

The 12 pictures used in this study were selected on the basis of findings in a pilot study administered to fourth-grade children. They depicted police situations involving both adults and children.

The pictures are listed here in the same order that the children were asked to look at them during the interview. A brief description of each picture follows.

Picture number one (street scene, two policemen with two Negro youths)

The picture (see Figure 1, p. 24) includes four people: two policemen and two Negro youths. This is a street scene in which one policeman is talking on the phone attached to a pole and the other policeman is just behind him sitting on a motorcycle. The two identically dressed Negro boys are looking at the policeman on the phone. Both of the policemen are smiling, the expression of the boys is not visible.

Picture number two (street scene, adults and policemen)

The picture (see Figure 2, p. 26) includes many persons. Standing in the street are three policemen facing several persons, including both Negroes and whites. The expression on the faces of the policemen and the bystanders is passive.
Picture number three (policeman at barricade)

The picture (see Figure 3, p. 29) focuses on one policeman who is standing with arms folded and legs akimbo behind a partially visible street barricade. His expression is passive. Partially in view behind him is a policeman on horseback. The horse is standing still and that policeman is looking away, also with a passive expression.

Picture number four (park scene)

This picture (see Figure 4, p. 31) was photographed on a spring day in a park. A policeman and many young adults, all white, are pictured. Only the policeman's back is visible. He is facing the youths, his hands clasped around a billy club held behind his back. His stance is relaxed. The youths are laughing, lying on blankets, and climbing a tree. They are not directing any attention toward the policeman.

Picture number five (street scene, policeman and young children)

The picture (see Figure 5, p. 33) focuses on two adults, a policeman and a woman, and two young children. All are standing on the sidewalk. The policeman is bent over talking to the young boy and both are smiling. The elderly woman looking on is also smiling. A small girl stands next to the boy, but with her back toward the policeman. She holds her right hand in a fist near her mouth, and she appears to be frowning.

Picture number six (mug shot)

This is a street picture (see Figure 6, p. 35) taken in front of a police van. Two adults, a policeman and a young man, and two Negro children are pictured. The policeman with a passive look on his face
is stooping next to the boys who are standing. The older, larger boy holds a number card in his hands and is grimacing, eyes shut. The younger boy is holding onto his belt and is staring straight ahead. The other male is an onlooker of the situation.

Picture number seven (policeman with a large group of children)

The picture (see Figure 7, p. 37) is photographed indoors in a mobile police unit. A policeman and many elementary school age children, both Negro and Caucasian, are pictured. The policeman is seated and appears to be showing a pamphlet to the children who are grouped around him. The policeman is smiling and the children are looking at him, passively listening.

Picture number eight (Negro policeman and two Negro adults)

This picture (see Figure 8, p. 39) includes three Negro adults. A policeman is facing two young adults, male and female, in a side view. The policeman is holding a paper and pencil in his right hand and a stick-like object in his left hand. He is talking to the couple. The girl's face is not visible, but the male is looking with a serious expression directly at the policeman.

Picture number nine (solitary police figure)

This picture (see Figure 9, p. 41) focuses directly on one police figure. The policeman is visible from the waist upwards. He is dressed in full uniform, and he has a rather amiable expression on his face.
The scene (see Figure 10, p. 43) includes three adults: a woman, a policeman, and a male onlooker. The policeman is gently holding a woman around her back. The woman has her mouth covered with one of her hands, and she appears to be quite distraught. The policeman's expression is passive.

A policeman and a young Caucasian youth are pictured (see Figure 11, p. 45) standing on the sidewalk facing each other. The policeman, whose expression is passive, is talking on the telephone from a street box. The boy's back is toward the view and his face is not visible.

The picture (see Figure 12, p. 47) setting is on a street corner in a large city. A policeman and an adult male dressed in a suit are involved in an intent and serious discussion. The man is listening, head cocked, to the policeman; his expression is a thoughtful frown. The policeman is talking and looking directly at the man. He is pointing with both of his hands, his right hand on the man's lapel and his left hand held near his side.

The subjects used to test the hypotheses of this study were 39 fourth-grade children--20 from the Horace Mann Elementary School and 19 from the Jefferson Elementary School, both in Ogden, Utah. The 39
subjects were selected on a random basis from five fourth-grade classrooms. Ten males and 10 females were originally selected from each school using class lists provided by participating teachers. A number was assigned each child on the list; subjects were then chosen using a table of random numbers. All of the subjects from the Horace Mann Elementary School were Caucasian middle- and upper-middle-class children. The 19 subjects from the Jefferson Elementary School included 11 Spanish-American children, 6 Caucasian children, and 2 Negro children. Most of these children are dependents of blue collar, lower-class parents. The responses of one Negro girl at the Jefferson school were omitted because she would not cooperate with the researcher.

**Test Administration**

The picture test was administered at the school that the individual child attended. The researcher met individually with each subject in a separate room made available for testing.

The children were called out of their classroom one at a time to take the picture and question test. After learning that they had been selected, many of the children became enthusiastic, and some of those not selected felt left out. At the beginning of the interview the researcher introduced herself and identified herself as a college student. The child was then asked if he would help the researcher in completing a school assignment by answering some questions, mostly concerning 12 pictures.

Directions were given on what was expected from the student. The child was shown the first picture—a non-police situation—and asked to tell about the situation he saw. If the response was only descriptive
and entirely nonprojective, the child was asked a "why" question using the same wording the child used in his description. The purpose of this was to bring out in greater depth the child's own projection.

Each succeeding picture was shown to the child and questions were asked in a likewise manner.

Following the administration of the picture part of the interview two questions were asked. The subjects were asked: "How would you feel if your best friend or someone you know well in your class became a policeman?" and "What are some of the main things a policeman has to do when he is on duty?"

The data was collected by the use of a tape recorder so that verbatim responses of each child could later be recorded. The tape recorder was not hidden from the children during the interview; the participating teachers indicated that the children were familiar with tape recorders.

The child's responses were typed exactly as he responded and are included in the appendix of this thesis.

Test Scoring

In order to score the test results, the children's responses were given a positive, neutral, or negative rating by the researcher at the time of the interview. This was done so all factors could be considered--the response itself, inflection, facial expression, etc.

When the proper rating of a response was questioned, Dr. Don Carter also rated the response. If an agreement could not be reached or if the response was entirely nonprojective, the item was assigned a neutral rating.
Analysis

For analysis purposes, the data collected in this study was statistically tested. The chi-square test for independence was used to determine if any differences that exist are due to chance. The level of significance used was .05.

Responses were grouped from a Likert type scale of five categories to three categories: positive, neutral, and negative.

Description of Rating Terms

Positive ratings were given to those responses which expressed an acceptance or affirmation of the policeman's role. Neutral responses were given to those responses which were very ambiguous or those which were purely descriptive and nonprojective in nature. A negative rating was given to a response which expressed rejection of the policeman or which implied the policeman was not acting in the best interests of the law and the persons pictured.

The social class, sex, and race groups were compared to determine the extent to which social class influences the child's perceptions.

The results of these statistical analyses are included in Chapter IV as part of the findings of this study.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Introduction

The significance of socio-economic background, sex, and race of subject in the shaping of children's perceptions of policemen has been investigated in this study. The hypotheses were that:

1. There exist significant differences between middle- and lower-class children in their perception of policemen.
2. There exist significant differences between males and females in their perception of policemen.
3. There exist significant differences between non-Caucasian and Caucasian races in their perception of policemen.

The hypotheses, in general, were not supported. The author suggests that perceptions were formed about the situation pictured as a whole, rather than the police figure itself.

Comparison of the Two Schools

An examination of the children's responses after completion of the interviews reveals few real differences between the children at Jefferson Elementary School and Horace Mann Elementary School. The Horace Mann children were only slightly more positive and negative in their total responses; the Jefferson children only slightly more neutral in their total responses to pictures and questions. There were no significant differences between the two schools in their total responses. The level of significance was .20 and $\chi^2$ was 4.224 for this distribution. This
pattern was not constant for each contributing item, however. In 3 of
the 12 pictures there appeared a significant difference in the comparison
of responses between the two social class groups (Table 1).

Table 1. Comparison of total responses received from the Jefferson
School and the Horace Mann School, categorized in positive,
neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 4.224 \]

Significant at .20 level

d.f. = 2

Picture Number One (Street Scene, Two

Policemen With Two Negro Youths)

With this picture (Figure 1) the first hypothesis can be accepted
in that there appear to be significant differences between the social
class groups in the children's perceptions of this situation at the .025
level of significance.

The children of Horace Mann Elementary School made many more posi-
tive responses than did the children of Jefferson Elementary School. The
Horace Mann children most often gave the response that the boys were
lost and the policeman was helping them, or that the policeman was calling
to report an accident or wreck.
Figure 1. Street scene, two policemen with two Negro youths.
Neutral and negative responses made up the major portion of the Jefferson Elementary School tally. Most of the Jefferson group responded that the children had done something wrong and that the policeman was reporting it, or that the boys were simply watching the policeman make some sort of vague call. This group tended to give very descriptive and nonprojective responses to Figure 1. It is interesting to note, however, that positive responses made by the Jefferson subjects were also in terms of the boys being lost and the policeman finding and helping them (Table 2).

Table 2. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of street scene, two policemen with two Negro youths, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2 = 8.676$</td>
<td>Significant at .025 level</td>
<td>d.f. = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Picture Number Two (Street Scene, Adults and Policemen)

No significant difference was found between the two social class groups in their response to this picture (Figure 2), in terms of the positive, neutral, and negative ratings given. The level of statistical differences was .20, as indicated in Table 3.
Figure 2. Street scene, adults and policeman.
Table 3. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of street scene, adults and policemen, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$X^2 = 3.509$$  \text{ Significant at .20 level}  \text{ d.f. = 2}

Most answers given were negative. From the 39 total responses 30 were negative. The children described the picture as a riot scene a total of 10 times. The answers were disproportionate, however, in that the Jefferson group gave this response seven times while the Horace Mann group gave the riot response only three times. Most of the other negative responses given referred to clearing the people out of the street or arresting a group of people. The positive responses were not expected. A total of three responses referred to policemen working at a parade. Others described the policemen as helping the people cross the street.

Zehnpfenning (1970) also used this picture in her thesis research. It is interesting to note that three-fourths of the children in both studies responded negatively to this picture. Twenty-six percent of the children in this study and 28 percent of the children in Zehnpfenning's study referred to the picture as a riot scene. The similarity ends there. Thirty-seven percent of the lower-class children responded with "riot" in this study, while only 23 percent of the lower-class group did so in Zehnpfenning's study. On the other hand, 28 percent of the middle-
class group responded in the riot sequence in Zehnpfenning's study while only 15 percent of the middle-class group did so in the present study.

Picture Number Three (Policeman at Barricade)

There is not a statistically significant difference between the responses of lower- and middle-class children for this picture (Figure 3). A common response from children from both classes was that the policeman was guarding something to keep people away. Again there was mention of a parade--the lower-class group referred to a parade four times, while the middle-class group referred to a parade twice (Table 4).

Table 4. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of policeman at barricade, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 3.010 \text{ Significant at .30 level} \]

Note that Jefferson had fewer negative responses than did Horace Mann on this item. The difference was not significant, however, with a \( x^2 \) of 3.010 and a level of statistical difference of 3.0.
Figure 3. Policeman at barricade.
The majority of the responses of the children from both schools were negative for this picture (Figure 4). A total of 32 responses were negative, or 81 percent of the responses. There was, then, no statistically significant difference between the two class groups. Nineteen of the responses emphasized that the policeman was watching to make certain the youths pictured did not do anything wrong. Six of the subjects thought that the policeman was telling the youths to stop what they were doing and to leave. Only three subjects, two from Horace Mann and one from Jefferson, actually referred to the youths pictured as "hippies" (Table 5).

Table 5. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of park scene, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 3.358 \]  
Significant at .20 level  
d.f. = 2
Figure 4. Park scene.
The majority of the responses from both social class group were positive for this item (Figure 5). Apparently the subjects did not associate a negative police encounter with small children because 35 responses, 90 percent, were positive. Only one negative response was given. Most of the subjects thought the policeman had stopped the children just to talk, some mentioned a specific topic such as safety, while others responded that they were just being friendly. Four of the subjects answered that the children were lost and that the policeman was returning them to a relative.

No significant difference was found between the two social class groups for this figure. The level of statistical difference was .60 as indicated in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of street scene with policeman and young children, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1.218 \] Significant at .60 level d.f. = 2
Figure 5. Street scene, policeman and young children.
Picture Number Six (Mug Shot)

In responding to this picture (Figure 6), the children attending both schools did not produce the expected answers. Indeed there was a significant difference between the social class groups for this figure. Hypothesis one can be accepted at the .01 level of significance. Notice that the distribution of responses is skewed towards positive answers for the Jefferson group, while for the Horace Mann group it is strongly skewed toward negative answers.

The Jefferson group emphasized that the boys were lost and the policeman was placed in a helping situation. The Horace Mann group, on the other hand, placed the policeman and boys in a negative context with statements that the boys had done something wrong and were being questioned or arrested. It is interesting that many of the subjects recognized that the boys were having a picture taken, but that they did not often refer to a mug shot as was mentioned in the article from which the picture was taken (Table 7).

Table 7. Observed frequency of children’s responses to picture of mug shot, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 9.294 \quad \text{Significant at .01 level} \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \]
Figure 6. Mug shot.
With this picture (Figure 7) the first hypothesis can be accepted in that there appears to be significant differences between the social class groups in the children's perceptions of a police situation at the .05 level of significance.

Thirteen of the Horace Mann children thought the policeman was informing the children pictured about his duties or safety, or that the children were on a field trip. Four of the Horace Mann children responded that the children were informants or witnesses trying to identify someone. The Jefferson children gave quite varied responses. No pattern was established in their responses (Table 8).

Table 8. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of policeman with a large group of children, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2 = 6.731$</td>
<td>Significant at .05 level</td>
<td>d.f. = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 7. Policeman with a large group of children.
There is not a statistically significant difference between the responses of lower- and middle-class children for this picture (Figure 8). Again, the majority of the responses were negative. A total of 35 responses, 90 percent, were negative. Of these negative responses, 15 from Horace Mann and 14 from Jefferson school thought the policeman was giving the persons pictured a ticket of some sort.

Many of the children wondered what the object was which the policeman holds in his left hand in Figure 8. A few attempted a guess with responses of "A-1 sauce, shoe polish, etc." In general, the presence of this ambiguous object did not directly contribute to establishing a positive, neutral, or negative response (Table 9).

Table 9. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of Negro policeman and two Negro adults, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1.206 \quad \text{Significant at .30 level} \]
Figure 8. Negro policeman and two Negro adults.
Picture Number Nine (Solitary Police Figure)

The children of both schools did not produce the expected answers for this picture (Figure 9). The author had hoped to rate the responses according to what the subjects termed the police figure: "policeman," "cop," "fuzz," etc. None of the subjects termed the figure as anything other than a policeman or a police officer of some rank. This may indicate that a police figure, set apart from a situation involving other persons, does not appear to be a threatening and negative person to the children.

One child from Horace Mann School gave a negative response, while all other responses were rated either positive or neutral. Most of the children had a difficult time saying more than it was a "policeman standing there." These responses were rated neutral. The more projective responses were in all but one case rated positive (Table 10).

Table 10. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of solitary police figure, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2 = 2.703$</td>
<td>Significant at .30 level</td>
<td>d.f. = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 9. Solitary police figure.
Picture Number Ten (Policeman Holding Woman)

The distribution of responses from both schools was almost identical for this picture. There was, therefore, no significant difference between the two class groups for Figure 10.

A total of 28, or 72 percent, of the responses were positive, while 10, 26 percent, of the responses were negative. Again the responses from both schools were quite similar. Most of the positive responses followed one of two patterns. Either the subject said someone else had been hurt or arrested and the policeman was trying to calm the lady down, or the lady was sick or hurt and the policeman was taking her to the hospital. Most of the negative responses emphasized that the lady was being arrested or taken to jail (Table 11).

Table 11. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of policeman holding woman, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 1.251 \]

Significant at .60 level

\[ \text{d.f.} = 2 \]
Figure 10. Policeman holding woman.
There is not a statistically significant difference between the responses of lower- and middle-class children for this picture (Figure 11). The responses of the lower-class group were evenly distributed among the three categories, while the middle-class groups' responses were slightly skewed toward the positive category.

Refer to page 55 for a comparison of Figures 1 and 11. Horace Mann children stated nine times that the boy was lost, while the Jefferson children made this response four times. The Jefferson subjects most often answered that the policeman was making a call, sometimes a negative call, and that the boy was watching. The Horace Mann children labeled the boy as an informant in a few cases. Many of the negative responses from both schools referred to the boy as having done something wrong, resulting in the policeman calling the station (Table 12).

Table 12. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of street scene, policeman with a Caucasian youth, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 3.365 \] Significant at .20 level  
\[ d.f. = 2 \]
Figure 11. Street scene, policeman with a Caucasian youth.
A statistically significant difference between the responses of lower- and middle-class children was not obtained for Figure 12. A total of 37, 97 percent, of the responses were negative. The children specifically emphasized that the man had jaywalked and that the policeman was arguing with him. The Jefferson children made seven such responses, while the Horace Mann children gave the jaywalking response nine times. Another common response was that the man had made some sort of a traffic violation and that the policeman was arguing with him (Table 13).

Table 13. Observed frequency of children's responses to picture of street scene, adult male and policeman talking, categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 = 2.002 )</td>
<td><strong>Significant at .20 level</strong></td>
<td>d.f. = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 12. Street scene, adult male and policeman talking.
Question Number One

Question one was: "How would you feel if your best friend or someone you know well in your class became a policeman?" A statistically significant difference was not obtained in comparing the two schools for this question. The majority of responses was positive. The children indicated that they would feel "good," "okay," or "fine" most of the time. Some answered that they would not mind if their friend became a policeman, but that they themselves would not become one. The qualification need not be considered negative, however. One male added the qualification that he had thought about becoming a policeman, but that there were jobs he would rather do, like a doctor. This would not necessarily place the police role in a negative context, rather it was often not a preferred role (Table 14).

Table 14. Observed frequency of children's responses to question one: "How would you feel if your best friend or someone you know well became a policeman?" categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = .979 \]

Significant at .70 level  

\[ d.f. = 1 \]
Question Number Two

Question number two was: "What are some of the main things a policeman has to do when he is on duty?" Notice that a total of 49 responses was received. This is because some of the responses were very ambivalent. For example, child number 9 answered that (the policeman) arrests people and that he watches people so that they do not get hurt.

There is not a statistically significant difference between the responses of lower- and middle-class children for this picture. The emphasis of television was evident. For example, child number 26 responded, "They like to find robbers and surround buildings." One subtle difference can be demonstrated through two examples. Child 4 from Horace Mann stated that the police "go around in their car and see if everyone's doing what they're supposed to." Child 39 from Jefferson stated that the police "looks for people what do wrong things." The emphasis seemed to be preventative from the middle-class group, whereas the lower-class group illustrated the policeman as a man who worked more on a corrective basis, after the wrong had taken place (Table 15).

Table 15. Observed frequency of children's responses to question two: "What are some of the main things a policeman has to do when he is on duty?" categorized in positive, neutral, and negative responses, by social class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Horace Mann School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive responses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral responses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative responses</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 2.122 \quad \text{Significant at .40 level} \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \]
Summary of Social Class Findings

Data in this study provides mixed support for the hypothesis that there are differences between middle- and lower-class children in their perceptions of policemen. The children in the middle-class group tended to respond more projectively. (Refer again to Table 1, p. 23, for a comparison of the total responses.) It should be noted, however, that there were significant differences obtained for 3 of the 14 items: pictures 1, 6, and 7. However, when the total responses of all children to the full set of pictures was compared, it was found that the difference between the lower and middle classes was significant at only the .20 level (Table 16).

Table 16. Summary of chi-square for all pictures and questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>Degrees of freedom</th>
<th>Level of significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.676</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.509</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.010</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.358</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.218</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.294</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.731</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.206</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.703</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.251</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.365</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.002</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.979</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.122</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Influence of Sex

In the findings of this study, several contrasts between male and female were evident. The author anticipated some differences because of findings from previous research, i.e. Kohn and Fiedler (1961), Dubin and Dubin (1965), Yarrow and Campbell (1963), and Kell and Aldous (1960). These studies suggest that females will be more favorably oriented towards significant figures in their interpersonal environment than will males.

The findings from this study show that girls exceed boys in the number of positive responses they gave, but that the second hypothesis was not supported; that is, the difference is not statistically significant. The level of statistical difference was less than .10 however. The data was plotted on a graph by a statistician and a .07 level of significance was obtained by interpolation from the best fit line by eye (Table 17).

Table 17. Comparison of responses received from male and female children from both schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 5.105$  
Significant at .10 level or approximately .07 level  

Comparisons of responses received from the members of the same sex were made between the two schools (see Tables 18 and 19). The difference
between the females of both schools and the males of both schools was not statistically significant.

Table 18. Comparison of responses received from the males of the Jefferson School and males of the Horace Mann School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 3.605 \] Significant at .20 level  d.f. = 2

Table 19. Comparison of responses received from the females of the Jefferson School and the females of the Horace Mann School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 1.932 \] Significant at .40 level  d.f. = 2

In summary, the second hypothesis—that there exist significant differences between males and females in their perception of policemen—was not supported, although the data approached a significant level of difference.
Influence of Race

In a comparison of responses received from Caucasian and non-Caucasian children from both schools, a statistically significant difference was not obtained. A total of 38 percent of the non-Caucasian responses were positive, while 45 percent of the Caucasian responses were positive, 49 percent of the non-Caucasian responses were negative, whereas 44 percent of the Caucasian responses were negative (Table 20).

Table 20. Comparison of responses received from Caucasian and non-Caucasian children from both schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Caucasian</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 2.085$  Significant at .40 level  d.f. = 2

Hypothesis three stated that there exist significant differences between non-Caucasian and Caucasian races in their perception of policemen. To summarize, then, the third hypothesis was not supported.

Summary of Findings

Although none of the hypotheses were statistically supported, mixed support was obtained for the first hypothesis--that there exist significant differences between middle- and lower-class children. Certain differences in responses were evident between the two classes; however,
in only 3 of the 12 figures were the differences statistically significant.

Support was approached for the second hypothesis--there exist significant differences between males and females in their perception of policemen--with a .07 level of statistical difference. The author, because of this borderline level of significance, is not certain that differences exist between the sexes in their perception of policemen.

The third hypothesis was not supported--that there exist significant differences between Caucasian and non-Caucasian races in their perception of policemen.

**Discussion of Findings**

A child's perception of a policeman seems to be dependent on the situation in which the police figure is involved rather than on the policeman himself, as an individual. The factor of social class appeared to have some effect on the child's perception of the police situation. The race factor did not appear to influence the children's perceptions of policemen, while the influence of the sex of subject is yet questionable.

The three hypotheses were not supported with statistically significant data. Trends were established, however, and as mentioned above, certain differences were evident. That is, the middle-class children tended to be more positive than the lower-class children in their perceptions of police situations; females tended to be more positive in their perceptions of policemen than did males; and Caucasians tended to be more positive than non-Caucasians in their perceptions of police situations.
Note that a significant difference was obtained on Figure 1 and a significant difference was not obtained on Figure 11. The main difference between the two pictures was the race of the children and the number of the persons shown. The distribution of the Horace Mann responses is almost identical for the two figures, while the Jefferson group gave more positive responses to Figure 11 than to Figure 1.

Possibly, the Jefferson Elementary School subjects perceived the two Negro boys in Figure 1 as more likely to be involved in a negative encounter with police than the Caucasian youth pictured in Figure 11.

Zehnpfenning's (1970) study was made over a year before the present study when much of the rioting was actually taking place in the United States. This fact might possibly explain the change in distribution of the negative responses from the middle class to the lower class. Since the rioting has not been as prevalent or publicized this year, the middle-class children may not be hearing much reference to the subject. On the other hand, the lower-class children may have had some actual experience with riot tensions, or information concerning last year's events may have remained more vividly in their memories.

In Figure 6 (mug shot) perhaps the middle-class Caucasian children are more apt to associate Negro children and policemen in a negative encounter than are lower-class children. I would suggest that a picture similar to this figure only with two Caucasian children, be shown in a series including both items to verify whether race was an important variable.

Many of the subjects from both Jefferson and Horace Mann schools were quite ambivalent in their responses to the pictures and questions. For example, a total of six children responded both positively and
negatively to the second questions and therefore received double ratings. A definite attitude toward policemen does not seem to be established in most of the children of age 10 or 11. Some negative feelings toward the police were expressed, however, and for this reason society would perhaps reap the biggest benefit from a police intervention program aimed at this age group or a slightly younger age group. Note that in Table 1 (page 23) that a total of 236 positive responses was received as compared to a total of 250 negative responses. Although the difference is slight, there is still a tendency toward the negative rating in the subjects' over-all perception of policemen.

The influence of mass media was evident in the responses of the children much of the time. These responses influenced by the mass media were not necessarily negative, and they were not necessarily realistic. An intervention program might aid in counteracting some of the misleading material the children are exposed to concerning policemen. Specifically, more exposure of the lower-class child to the policeman presented in a preventative role might prove beneficial in shaping a more positive attitude than does exposure to the policeman in a corrective role.

The author suggests that a different setting, such as a more militant lower-class group or a hostile section of a ghetto, might produce different results than were determined with the population used in this study.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS

It has been the purpose of this research to examine children's perceptions of policemen as these persons are related to the social environment in which the child lives, the sex of the child, and the race of the child.

An oral picture test, consisting of 12 pictures and 2 questions, was administered individually to 39 fourth-grade children from 2 Ogden, Utah public schools. The children were interviewed and their responses were rated as being positive, neutral, or negative.

It may be concluded that children of approximately 10 to 11 years of age have not formed consistently positive or negative attitudes towards policemen and that children in middle- and lower-class settings tend to perceive the policeman in different ways. The lower-class child tends to place the policeman in a corrective role, whereas the middle-class child more often places the police figure in a preventative role.

It may also be concluded that the situation in which the policeman is involved is more influential than the officer himself as a determinant of the child's perception of the police figure.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. A similar study needs to be conducted which would include a pilot study more representative of the subjects to be interviewed in the actual research. The author suggests a pilot study including both a middle- and lower-class school so that the figures chosen be of a discriminating nature.
2. Additional studies should be done to investigate children's perceptions at different ages.

3. The author suggests that in an effort to produce a more perfect instrument for further research, a similar set of pictures should be photographed against a background devoid of extraneous details so that one or two variables could be controlled and compared (race, age of figure, sex, etc.) in a number of pictures. In other words, the situation needs to be varied in a logical way to study the child's perception of policemen.

4. Additional studies need to be made to study the before- and after-effect of police intervention programs.
LITERATURE CITED


Machover, S. 1943. Cultural and racial variations in patterns of intellect. Teachers College Contribution to Education, Number 875.


APPENDIX

Children's Verbal Responses to Pictures
The questions that were asked by the interviewer are underlined on all of the following pages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Number 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 (December 30, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative**

1. What do you think is happening in that picture? "The policeman is calling the police force." How about the children; what are they doing? "They are watching." Why is the policeman on the telephone? "He is calling about some person that is gotten into trouble."

**Negative**

2. Tell me about this picture. "They are settling down a riot."

**Positive**

3. Tell me about this picture. "He's a traffic cop and he's helping people cross the street."

**Negative**

4. What is happening in this picture? "He's watching the people to make sure they don't do anything wrong."

**Positive**

5. What is happening here? "He's talking to a boy and a girl." Why is he talking to them? "Just to be friendly."

**Negative**

6. Tell me about this picture. "They're holding up something for the policeman." What do you think they are holding up? "Oh, I don't know, just some kind of poster." How do you think the kids feel? "Bad." Why do you think they would feel bad? "They done something wrong."

**Positive**

7. What is happening in this picture? "The policeman is sitting somewhere where the people are and he's talking to them." What do you think he's talking about? "What's happening." Happening where? "On the campuses and stuff like that. He's just visiting with them."

**Negative**

8. Tell me about this picture. "He's talking to some people about something." What is the policeman doing? "He is gonna take them down to the police station." What do you think the policeman has in his hand? "He has some kind of drugs."

**Neutral**

9. What is happening here? "It is a policeman looking at something." Anything else? "No."

**Negative**

10. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is taking someone to jail."
11. **Neutral** What is happening in this picture? "The policeman is calling up the police station and the boy is standing there watching." Anything else? "No."

12. **Negative** Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is talking to him telling him not to do something bad anymore." What do you think he did? "He jaywalked."

**Questions:**

1. **Negative** "Not too bad." Have you ever thought about becoming a policeman? "No."

2. **Positive** "He helps people cross the street. He tries to keep the law when people go through traffic lights."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Number 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>9 (May 25, 1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Positive** What do you think is happening in this picture? "A policeman, two boys talking ... the boys might have something to say to the policeman, like they might have seen somebody take something at a store or something." So what are the boys doing about it? "Telling the police and the police is calling the police station."

2. **Neutral** Tell me about this picture. "It looks like they're trying to find somebody or something." Anything else? "It looks like they have a leash for a dog or something. I'm not sure though." What could they be using a dog for? "To sniff around and find the person."

3. **Negative** What is happening here? "I think it's a gate, like you give the guy with a house there and they'll let you through and give you a ticket." What kind of a ticket? "A ticket to get into, well, to get into a building, like a private building or something." So what is the policeman's job? "His job is to make sure nobody gets through there without a ticket."

4. **Negative** Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is watching around. I guess these are hippies or something. He's looking around so they don't dirty up the place and make trouble."

5. **Neutral** What is happening in this picture? "The police is asking kids things." What might he be asking? "No special reason or anything. He's just talking to them."
6. Tell me about this picture. "The little boys might have done something." So what is happening to them? "The police has caught them and they are going to take their picture and maybe put it in the paper or something."

7. What is happening in this picture? "The police are showing girls things." What sort of things? "Well, maybe pictures of something wrong. Like maybe they seen somebody take something from a car and the girls are going there to tell the policeman and the policeman maybe has picture in that tablet and the girls are gonna tell him what he looks like."

8. Tell me about this picture. "He has some kind of ticket or something." What kind of ticket? "Speeding ticket or something." What is he going to do with it? "Maybe he might give them a ticket and then that guy was sad, it looks like the girl was crying or something."


10. What is happening here? "A policeman caught some kids. They were probably stealing drugs or something." So what is the policeman doing with them? "Probably taking them to the police station."

11. Tell me about this picture. "That boy told the policeman about something that a man might have done or something."

12. What do you think is happening in this picture? "The policeman is accusing that man of doing something wrong." What do you think he might have done? "He maybe got in a wreck and the police is asking him what happened."

Questions:

1. "Fine." Have you ever thought about becoming a policeman? "Pretty much, I been thinking about other jobs, like a doctor or something."

2. "They find out if someone's done something, like if a burglar got into a house and a lady found something stolen she might call the police and the police would go out and find him and go to the house and get prints and everything." Anything else? "They just watch around and see if everything is all right."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 3
Horace Mann
10 (December 5, 1960)
Male
Caucasian
1. Tell me about this picture. "It's a policeman telling the police station that he found two lost boys."

2. What is happening here? "It's a policeman. He's just walking around in the street guarding traffic." What are the people doing? "Crossing the street."

3. What is happening in this picture? "A policeman is standing by a gate making sure no one gets in."

4. Tell me about this picture. "A policeman at a riot."

5. Tell me about this picture. "A policeman talking to a boy and a girl." What is the policeman talking about? "If they mind the traffic laws." Do you think they do? "Yes."

6. What is happening here? "A policeman with some kids that broke some windows, and they're at the police station." What is happening to the kids? "They're getting questioned or something."

7. Tell me about this picture. "Some people coming through a police station for a field trip."

8. What is happening here? "A policeman asking some kids where they're going, seeing if they seen somebody, like somebody who broke all these windows and they're looking for him."

9. Tell me about this picture. "A policeman just captured a criminal that was loose for a year, that he got his picture in the paper."

10. Tell me about this picture. "A lady that's been in a fight and the policeman is taking her to the dispenser or something." Why is he holding her? "Because she's hurt bad in the mouth and she's nervous." What will she do after she goes to the dispenser? "She'll go home."

11. What is happening here? "A boy asked the policeman where a street was because he's lost and he can't find it."

12. What is happening in this picture? "A policeman telling a man that he's not supposed to run right into the street."

Questions:

1. "I'd feel sorta good for him to help the law." Have you ever thought about becoming a policeman? "Yes."

2. "Keep an eye out and listen to the radio if something happens." Anything else? "They gotta know where all the streets are."
Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Positive
1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's calling at the station for some men to go look. No ... maybe those children were lost and he's calling to see who they are."

Negative
2. What is happening here? "The policemen are trying to get the men out of the place."

Negative
3. What about this picture? "He's looking in a building." Why is he doing that? "To see if anyone is doing the wrong thing."

Negative
4. What is happening in this picture? "The policeman is looking here too, to see what the people are doing." What do you think they are doing? "They're playing around, I guess." Why is the policeman watching them? "To see that they don't do anything dangerous. They might start playing really rough."

Positive
5. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's just talking to the little boy." What do you think they are talking about? "Having fun downtown."

Positive
6. What is happening in this picture? "I guess these boys are lost or something and he's taking them to the station to find out their names."

Positive
7. Tell me about this picture. "This girl is handing some papers to the policeman." What about the other children? "They are watching what she is doing." How about the policeman? "He looks like he's happy with the kids."

Negative
8. Tell me about this picture. "It looks like he might be giving her a ticket."

Neutral
9. What is happening here? "The policeman is just having his picture taken."

Positive
10. What is happening here? "This girl's hurt and the policeman maybe brought her to the station." Why did he take her to the station? "To see what is wrong and maybe take her home."

Positive
11. Tell me about this picture. "This policeman thinks this boy is lost and he is asking if he can call his mother to come and get him."

Negative
12. What do you think is happening in this picture? "The policeman is yelling at the man for jaywalking."
Questions:

Neutral 1. "I'd feel like it's okay if he wants to do it." If you were a boy would you think about becoming a policeman? "Probably not."

Positive 2. "To go around in their car and see if everyone's doing what they're supposed to be."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Number 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 (November 29, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive 1. Tell me about this picture. "They're watching the policeman." What do you think the policeman is doing? "Calling their parents because they're lost."

Negative 2. Tell me about this picture. "He's telling them where to go, arresting them." Anything else? "No, he's arresting them."

Positive 3. How about this picture? "He is directing traffic." Anything else? "No."

Negative 4. Tell me about this one. "He is watching to see that they don't break any laws."

Positive 5. What about this picture? "He's talking to the little boy." What do you think they're talking about? "Safety."

Positive 6. What is happening in this picture? "They're down at the police station and they're taking some kids' pictures." Why are they taking a picture? "Because they were found--they're lost."

Positive 7. Tell me about this picture. "He brings things to their school to help safety."

Negative 8. How about this picture? "The man is bringing them in or giving them a ticket."

Positive 9. What is this picture? "It's a picture of a policeman." Anything else? "Maybe he just got another thing to do ... he was moved up."

Positive 10. Tell me about this picture. "Maybe he's going to put someone in jail and he's trying to calm her down."

Positive 11. What is happening here? "The boy is lost and the policeman is trying to help."
12. What is going on in this picture? "The policeman is telling that man to be careful because he almost stepped out into the street when a car was coming."

Questions:

1. "I think it'd be nice if he wanted to help people." If you were a boy would you think about becoming a policeman? "I might."

2. "He helps people cross the street and watches people so they don't steal things."

Child
School attended: Horace Mann
Age: 9 (October 24, 1961)
Sex: Female
Race: Caucasian

1. Tell me about this picture. "This guy here is calling a police station." Why do you think he is calling? "Somebody took the mail out of the mailbox or something." What are the kids doing? "They are watching him."

2. What is happening in this picture? "There's going to be a fight or something."

3. What about this picture? "He is just watching around." What would he be watching? "To make sure no cars speed or anything."

4. What is happening in this picture? "They're just standing around in the park and he's watching them." Why do you think he is watching them? "So there won't be a fight or anything because there's so many of them."

5. Tell me about this picture. "He's just talking to the kids." Anything special he might be talking to them about? "He's just saying hi."

6. What is happening in this picture? "The boys are watching the policeman." Why? "Something's happening like a car speeding and they are just watching it. He's getting the license number." What about the kids? "They are watching the car too."

7. What are the people doing in this picture? "They are talking to the policeman." About what? "Something happened and they are reporting it."

8. Tell me about this picture. "This policeman is just talking to these Negroes." What are they talking about? "Just talking to be friendly."
Neutral

9. How about this picture? "Some lady is taking a picture of a policeman."

Positive

10. Tell me about this one. "That lady's shaking real hard... she's sick and they're going to take her to the hospital or something." Why is the policeman holding her? "I don't know."

Positive

11. What about this picture? "The policeman is calling the station because he found this boy and he was lost."

Negative

12. Tell me about this picture. "That guy did something wrong and the policeman is telling him what he did wrong." What might he have done? "He jaywalked."

Questions:

Positive

1. "Good." If you were a boy would you become a policeman? "Yeah."

Negative

2. "If he sees anybody speeding he's supposed to give them a ticket."

Child

Number 7

School attended

Horace Mann

Age

9 (May 27, 1961)

Sex

Female

Race

Caucasian

Neutral

1. What is happening in this picture? "The kids are just standing watching the policeman make a phone call." Anything else? "A man's picking up the mail."

Positive

2. Tell me about this picture. "It's a parade or something."

Negative

3. What about this picture? "It looks like somebody's making a road block or something." What do you do with a road block? "They stop people and check their cars and stuff like that." What do you think the policeman there is doing? "He's watching the cars that go through or something."

Positive

4. What is happening in this picture? "It looks like he's watching the park so nobody'll get hurt and that."

Positive

5. What about this picture? "He's talking to this little boy." What is he saying? "I don't know." Anything else? "Everything looks good."

Negative

6. What is happening here? "This guy's talking to the boys." What are the boys doing? "Standing there ... kinda mad." What do you think might have happened? "They took something."
Neutral 7. Tell me about this picture. "He's showing them stuff in that book." Where are they? "In a museum."

Negative 8. What about this picture? "Those boys did something wrong or something." What does the policeman have in his hands? "He's going to take care of something and give them a ticket."

Positive 9. Tell me about this picture? "He's happy." Anything else? "No, it's just a policeman."

Neutral 10. What do you think is happening in this picture? "She's scared or something." What is the policeman doing? "He is taking her somewhere." Anything else? "No."

Positive 11. What about this picture? "It looks like that little boy's lost and the policeman's calling somebody."

Negative 12. How about this one? "The man did something wrong and he's getting it from the policeman."

Questions:

Neutral 1. "I don't know." Would you ever consider becoming a policeman? "I don't know. Maybe."

Positive 2. "He helps people and that ... he protects people."

Child
School attended: Horace Mann
Age: 10 (December 14, 1960)
Sex: Female
Race: Caucasian

Positive 1. Tell me about this picture. "These boys are lost and the policeman's calling the station."

Positive 2. What about this picture? "There's been an accident and the policeman is taking care of it." What about the people? What are they doing? "They are watching and all that."

Positive 3. What is happening in this one? "I don't know ... a parade maybe."

Negative 4. What about this picture? "He is watching them to make sure they don't do something wrong."

Positive 5. Tell me about this picture. "He's helping the little kids walk by. He stopped to talk with them."
6. How about this picture? "The kids did something wrong and the policeman is picking them up."

7. Tell me about this picture. "He's talking to them. He'd like to see if they are okay and if anything's wrong with them. What do you mean? "Like if there'd been an accident, he checked them over to see if he should take them to a doctor or something."

8. What is happening in this picture? "He is giving the people a ticket." Anything else? "No."

9. What is happening in this picture? "He's been a good policeman and they're just showing a picture of him."

10. Tell me about this picture. "Something's happened like one of her boy's been kidnapped or something. The policeman is helping her."

11. Tell me about this one. "The boy's lost and the policeman's coming there."


Questions:

1. "It'd be good because he'd be stopping robberies and keeping people from getting killed. He'd be giving tickets to people that were speeding so they wouldn't speed and have accidents."

2. "Arresting people for stealing and giving them tickets for speeding. He'd help school children across the street."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 9
Horace Mann
10 (January 20, 1960)
Female
Caucasian

1. Tell me about this picture. "They are arresting those boys."

2. How about this picture? "The police are taking the people to jail."

3. Can you tell me what is happening here? "He is watching the people so they don't get out. Get out of what? "Get out of the parade or something so they don't get out into the street."
Positive

4. What is happening here? "He is watching the kids so they don't get hurt."

5. How about this one? "He's talking to the kids to tell them what he does and that."

6. What is happening in this picture? "They are taking a picture of them." Why? "Because they did something wrong and they're going to put it in a book and that."

7. Tell me about this picture. "They are getting little booklets and stuff." What are they getting booklets about? "What police do and stuff."

8. What is happening in this one? "He is giving the people a ticket."

Neutral

9. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman looks sort of happy."

Positive

10. What about this picture? "The policeman is helping that lady that got sick or something."

Negative

11. Tell me about this one. "He's calling the police department to have them come and get the kid." Why? "He did something wrong."

Negative

12. Tell me about this picture. "He's talking to the guy because maybe he walked across the street wrong or jaywalked."

Questions:

Positive

1. "Sort of happy." If you were a guy would you think about becoming a policeman? "Yeah."

Negative and positive

2. "If someone does something wrong like steal something, go arrest them." Anything else? "Watching people so they don't get hurt."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 10
Horace Mann
9 (June 8, 1961)
Female
Caucasian

Positive

1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is reporting something." What are the kids doing? "Watching the policeman." What do you think the policeman might be reporting? "Something that the kids found." What might they have found? "Like a wallet."
Negative 2. What is happening in this picture? "The policemen are taking the people to jail."
Neutral 3. What about this picture? "I don't know. He's on duty."
Negative 4. What can you tell me about this picture? "The policeman's watching them." Why? "To see what they are doing and that they don't get into mischief."
Positive 5. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's talking to them." What about? "Safety."
Negative 6. How about this one? "The policeman is arresting the boys." Anything else? "No."
Positive 7. Tell me about this scene. "The kids are on a field trip and the policeman is showing them around."
Negative 8. How about this picture? "The policeman is going to give the man a ticket."
Neutral 9. Tell me about this picture. "He is just a policeman standing there doing nothing."
Negative 10. What is happening here? "The policeman is arresting that lady."
Positive 11. What can you tell me about this one? "The boy found something that's been lost by somebody." What is the boy doing? "Watching the policeman phone."
Negative 12. What is happening here? "The policeman and the man are arguing about jaywalking."

Questions:
Positive 1. "I'd feel proud." Would you ever consider being a policeman? "Yeah, I'd be one."
Positive 2. "Seeing that people don't jaywalk and that they don't get hit by a car."

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<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 (July 19, 1960)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Race</td>
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Positive 1. Tell me about this picture. "The boy's lost and the policeman is calling their mother."
2. How about this picture? "The policemen are checking them." For what? "For guns."

3. How about this picture? "He is guarding prisoners."

4. Tell me about this one. "He is watching the people." Why is he doing that? "I don't know."

5. How about this picture? "He's talking to the lady, telling her what a nice boy she's got and everything."

6. What can you tell me about this picture? "There is a police officer and he found something and they are trying to find the owner."

7. What about this picture? "An officer is showing the lady some pictures of kids." Why is he doing that? "Because her kid might be lost and they're trying to identify him."

8. Tell me about this picture. "An officer is giving a ticket to the boy." Anything else? "No."

9. How about this one? "It's just a picture of a policeman."

10. Tell me what you think about this one. "It's a policeman and a woman putting her hand over her face, looking at the accident." Why is the policeman holding her? "She's frightened."

11. Tell me about this picture. "This man is calling a police officer, to pick the boy up." Why is he doing that? "Because the boy broke a window or something."

12. What is happening here? "The policeman is arresting the man for hurting little children."

Questions:

1. "Well, I'd talk to him ... maybe I'd marry him." Would you consider becoming a policeman if you were a boy? "I don't think so."

2. "If you are ever in trouble you can go to a policeman and he'll help you."

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<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 (October 17, 1960)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Race</td>
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1. Tell me about this picture. "There's been an accident and he's calling about it. The boy is watching him."

2. How about this picture? "I think it's a riot or something."

3. How about this picture? "It's a private street or something. Only certain people can go in it." What is the policeman doing? "He is making sure that nobody gets in there that isn't supposed to."

4. Tell me about this one. "He's just seeing their fun and seeing what they're doing."

5. What is happening here? "The policeman's talking to the little boy." What is he talking about? "Something happy."

6. Tell me what you think of this. "They might have done something wrong." Where do you think they are? "Somewhere in Los Angeles. It's the Los Angeles sheriff or something."

7. How about this picture? "He is showing them things that they have; records and booklets." Why do you think he's showing it to them? "They are curious and want to know what's going on."

8. What is happening here? "He's giving them a ticket."

9. Tell me about this picture. "He's just walking around doing what he's supposed to do."

10. What is happening here? "He's helping the lady since something happened to her." Why do you suppose he is holding her? "She's trying to do something and he doesn't want her to do it." What might she be doing that he doesn't want her to do? "Her husband might have gotten shot in an accident. He might be lying down. She wants to go to him and he won't let her."

11. What about this picture? "He's watching a car being towed away because it might have been in the wrong place or something."

12. What do you see in this picture? "He's just telling them what to do or something." Like what? "He might have crossed when it says 'Don't walk' and he's telling them to wait until it says 'Walk.'"

Questions:

1. "I don't know." If you were a guy would you consider becoming a policeman? "No." Any special reason? "Well, no."
2. "Arresting people and giving evidence of an accident. Telling people what they've done wrong and helping them to correct it."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 13
Horace Mann
10 (November 24, 1960)
Female
Caucasian

1. Tell me about this picture. "These boys are lost." What is the policeman doing about it do you think? "Calling their mothers."

2. What is going on in this picture? "He is helping them get across the street."

3. What is going on here? "The policeman is guarding so people can't get past."

4. How about this picture? "He is telling all the people to go home."

5. Tell me about this picture. "These kids were lost and their mother came when the policeman found her."

6. What happened in this picture? "The kids stole something and they are getting arrested."

7. Tell me about this picture. "These girls are visiting the policeman because they want to learn about becoming policewomen."

8. How about this picture? "He is giving those people a ticket." Anything else? "No."

9. Tell me about this one. "That's just a policeman." Anything else? "No."

10. What do you see in this scene? "There's been an accident." Why do you think the policeman is holding the lady? "Probably trying to stop her from crying."

11. What about this picture? "They could be lost or stole something." If you had to chose which one would you say? "Maybe that they were lost."

12. Tell me about this picture. "I think he jaywalked and the policeman is telling him off."
Questions:

Positive 1. "Okay." Would you be a policeman if you were a boy? "Sure, I'd be a policeman."
Positive 2. "Help people. ... He tries to make things so people won't get in a wreck or something."

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 (March 25, 1960)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>Race</td>
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Positive 1. Tell me about this picture. "Somebody got in an accident and they're calling an ambulance." What are the boys doing? "Watching."
Negative 2. What is happening in this picture? "They're going over to see if someone's doing something wrong."
Negative 3. How about this scene? "He's watching for a car to rob something."
Negative 4. Tell me about this picture. "He's going to tell the hippies to get out of there."
Positive 5. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is just saying hi to the kids."
Negative 6. How about this picture? "The boys feel bad." Why do you think they feel bad? "They don't want their picture taken because they stole something."
Positive 7. How about this picture? "They are visiting the police station."
Negative 8. Tell me about this one. "He is taking a bottle away from her." What do you think the paper might be then? "A prescription." What reason might he have for taking the bottle away? "It's drugs or something."
Neutral 9. What do you think is happening here? "Well, it's a policeman." Anything else? "He got his picture taken."
Positive 10. What is happening here? "Maybe somebody shot somebody and called the police." Why do you think the policeman is holding the woman? "Because she is crying."
Positive 11. How about this one? "He saw a car going past real fast and he's telling the police about it."
12. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman picked him up ... he probably run into somebody."

Questions:

1. "I'd try to talk him out of it."
2. "Going out and arresting people ... and answering the phone in the office."

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<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>9 (June 22, 1961)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Race</td>
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1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is calling the station." What about the boys? "They are watching him." Why is he calling the station? "To show the boys how the phone works."

2. What about this picture? "If something happens they are there to stop it."

3. Tell me about this picture. "He is watching the cars." What for? "To see if there is a robbery."

4. How about this picture? "The policeman is watching them so they won't start a riot or something."

5. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's telling them safety rules about crossing the street."

6. What is happening in this picture? "These kids are sad because the police caught them stealing something."

7. How about this one? "The policeman is handing out books and telling them stuff about the police station." Why is he doing that? "They are on a field trip."

8. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's giving a couple of kids a ticket."

9. What do you see in this picture? "It's a picture." Who is it a picture of? "A chief."

10. How about this picture? "He is calming that lady down because her husband was in a robbery."

11. Tell me about this picture. "The boy is watching the policeman call the station to see how the phone works."
Negative 12. What might be happening here? "They might be arguing." What about? "He might have broke the law or something."

Questions:

Positive 1. "I wouldn't care. I'd encourage him to do it."

Negative 2. "He's got to give the people that were speeding and broke the law tickets. If there's a robbery he has to catch the robbers."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Neutral 1. What is happening in this picture? "The little kids are asking questions about why he is on the telephone."

Negative 2. Tell me about this picture. "It looks like they are throwing somebody out of the ball game or something."

Negative 3. How about this one? "The policeman is guarding to keep out the crooks."

Negative 4. What is happening here? "He's watching them to make sure they don't do anything wrong." Anything else? "No."


Negative 6. Tell me about this one. "It looks like the kid did something wrong and he's standing by him so the kid don't run." What might he have done wrong? "He stole something maybe."

Positive 7. What is happening in this picture? "It looks like he's visiting school, he's demonstrating something."

Negative 8. How about this one? "He's got a paper." What do you think the paper might be? "A ticket for those people or something."

Positive 9. What can you tell me about this picture? "It's just a policeman smiling."

Positive 10. How about this picture? "It looks like that lady, somebody related to her is in the hospital and he's taking her to them." Why do you think he is holding her? "So she won't get scared or anything."
1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's calling the parents of somebody what's lost."

2. How about this picture? "He's probably taking them in."

3. What is happening here? "He's conducting traffic." What do you think the sign might be for? "There's construction over here or something."

4. Tell me about this picture. "They're having fun." Why do you think he's watching them? "Well they are kind of dirty and everything."

5. What do you think could be happening here? "He's talking to the kids." What do you think he's talking to them about? "About safety rules and stuff."

6. How about this picture? "They're taking pictures or something." How does it look like the kids feel? "Rotten." Why do you think they feel rotten? "They might have stole something."

7. What is happening here? "He's telling the kids about something." Where do you think they are? "At the police station." What do you think he's telling them? "About safety and stuff."

8. Tell me about this picture. "He's giving the guy a ticket." Anything else? "No."
Neutral
9. How about this picture? "Oh, it's just a regular policeman."

Positive
10. Tell me about this one. "The policeman's bringing somebody to the hospital." Why do you think she has her arm around him? "I don't know ... she might be hurt."

Positive
11. What do you think of this one? "He's helping him because he might be lost."

Negative
12. Tell me about this last picture. "That man might have broken the law or something." Anything else? "No, that's all."

Questions:
Positive
1. "I would feel happy for the person but I wouldn't be one."

Negative
2. "Arrest someone or kill someone."

Child
Number 18

School attended
Horace Mann

Age
9 (May 10, 1961)

Sex
Male

Race
Caucasian

Negative
1. Tell me about this picture. "These kids done something wrong and the police is calling the wagon to come get them."

Positive
2. How about this one. "Well, it looks like police in a parade or something."

Positive
3. What about this picture? "He's guarding construction so no one falls in and gets hurt."

Negative
4. Tell me about this picture. "He's watching those hippies." Anything else? "I think he'll probably tell them to get out of there."

Positive
5. What is happening here. "He's found these kids and he's giving them back to their grandma."

Negative
6. What is going on in this picture? "He's arresting those kids for something they done wrong." Anything else? "No."

Positive
7. What is happening here? "Some little kids from the school are visiting the police station."

Negative
8. How about this picture? "He's giving a ticket to the kids that were speeding."
9. Tell me about this picture. "He's looking up. He's trying to talk somebody out of jumping off a ledge."

10. What do you think about this picture? "They might be at a hospital and some lady got hurt and he took her there."

11. How about this picture? "He's calling for something and the boy came walking up and he stopped." What do you think the policeman is calling about? "Somebody robbed a store."

12. Tell me about this picture. "Maybe that guy was speeding and he's giving him a ticket and telling him when to come to court."

Questions:

1. "Okay." Have you ever thought about becoming a policeman? "Yeah."

2. "Watch for people breaking the law. Watch for people that are speeding."

Child School attended Number 19 Horace Mann
Age 19 (March 14, 1961)
Sex Male
Race Caucasian

1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman found two lost children." What is he doing? "He's calling the station about it."

2. How about this picture? "It looks like a riot."

3. What do you think about this picture? "He's guarding the street so nobody will get in."

4. Tell me about this picture. "He's watching what the guys are doing so there won't be any trouble."

5. How about this one? "He's talking to them." What about? "Safety probably."

6. How about this picture? "They feel bad because they are poor." What is the policeman doing? "He's taking them around." Why do you think he is doing that? "I don't know." What do you think is happening? "They are getting their picture taken." Why? "He'll get it put in the news to let them know what's happening."
7. Tell me about this picture. "He is asking them questions." What might he be asking? "Oh, like where they are from." Where do you think they are? "At the police station."

8. What do you think is happening here? "He's taking those two men into the police department." Why do you think he's doing that? "They might have stole something."

9. How about this one? "The man's getting his picture taken." Is it anybody special? "Yeah, it's a policeman."

10. Tell me about this one. "He's taking that lady to the hospital." Why is he holding her? "Because something might have happened and the lady started to cry."

11. How about this picture? "This boy is in trouble with the policeman for throwing rocks at cars."

12. How about this one? "The policeman is getting this man for a traffic violation."

Positive

Questions:

1. "I don't know ... glad?" Have you ever thought about becoming a policeman? "No, I wouldn't be that ... there's something else I really want to be."

Negative

2. "He goes out looking for stuff and reports it to the police station." What kind of stuff does he look for? "Some kind of trouble."

Child

School attended

Age

Sex

Race

Number 20

Horace Mann

9 (May 18, 1961)

Male

Caucasian

Negative

1. Tell me about this picture. "They're watching him." What do you think the policeman might be calling about? "To report the kids cause they did something wrong."

Negative

2. How about this one? "The police are breaking up some sort of thing. They're probably looking for somebody." Why? "They did something probably."

Negative

3. What is happening here? "He's on guard duty to stop the guys."

Negative

4. How about this picture? "He's watching them because they might do something wrong."
5. What do you think about this one? "He's telling that little kid something." What do you think he's talking about? "Probably safety."

6. How about this picture? "The policeman caught those guys doing something wrong ... so they are getting their picture taken."

7. What is going on in this picture? "The policeman is showing the girls some pictures." What sort of pictures? "People who did a crime." Why are the people looking at those? "They are witnesses."

8. What is happening here? "The police is giving them a ticket." What do you think the man will do with it? "Pay it."


10. What is happening in this picture? "It's a policeman who just arrested a lady."

11. Tell me about this picture. "The boy did something wrong and the policeman is calling in about him."

12. What is happening here? "The man ran a stoplight and hit a person and the policeman is arguing with him."

Questions:

1. "I wouldn't care?" Would you consider becoming a policeman? "No."

2. "His job is to arrest people."

Child
School attended Jefferson
Age 11 (March 8, 1960)
Sex Male
Race Spanish-American

1. What is happening in this picture? "It's police with two little kids." What are they doing? "He's calling some other police to come and get them."

3. Tell me about this one. "Here's a sheriff ... he's standing in front of a sign." Why is he standing there? "Because it's raining." Anything else? "No."

4. What about this one? "The police is there and there's a whole bunch of people all over." What is the policeman doing there with all the people? "There's too much people so he's making sure there's not no fights."

5. Tell me about this picture. "There's a policeman and a mother and two little kids talking to him." About what? "To be friendly."

6. How about this picture? "There's a policeman and two little kids and another man ... the two little kids are holding up a sign." What do you think the police is doing there? "He's there to find them because they run away."

7. What do you think is happening in this picture? "He's at the police station and there's a whole bunch of people with him." Why are all the people there? "Probably something happened and they seen it."

8. Tell me about this picture. "Here's a sheriff with a man and a lady, talking to them. It looks like a ball or something in his hand." What would you guess he's talking to them about? "It looks like he's giving them a ticket."

9. How about this picture? "It's a policeman ... he looks nice."

10. What about this picture? "There's the sheriff, he's helping a lady who looks like she got beat up."

11. How about this picture? "The policeman's talking on the phone and there's a little kid next to him." Why do you think he's talking on the phone? "I don't know. Maybe that little kid is just sitting there watching him."

12. What about this one? "The police got the man for jaywalking."

Questions:

1. "I'd feel glad."

2. "He gives tickets and takes bad people to jail."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race
Number 22
Jefferson
11 (March 29, 1960)
Male
Spanish-American
1. Tell me about this picture. "There's a guy on a motorcycle. The cop's talking to the boys." What do you think is happening? "Somebody stole something."

2. What about this picture? "They're having a riot."

3. Tell me about this one. "That boy's looking at that hat with plastic over it." What would you guess is happening? "They're having a parade."

4. How about this one? "There's some hippies." What's the policeman doing? "Watching them so they won't get into any trouble."

5. Tell me about this one. "A policeman is just talking to a boy." Anything else? "No."

6. What about this picture? "A little boy is lost and the policeman has them."

7. How about this picture? "He is telling those people something and he's watching that they don't do something wrong again."

8. Tell me about this picture. "He's mad at the people and he's giving them a ticket."

9. How about this one? "It's a happy policeman."

10. Tell me about this picture. "He is arresting the lady and taking her to jail."

11. How about this one? "He found that little boy who was lost or run away."

12. What about this picture? "He's talking to the man about walking when it says 'don't walk' and he'll probably make him pay."

Questions:

1. "I don't know." Would you ever become a policeman? "I don't know."

2. "He helps people who are lost and takes people who steal to jail."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 23
Jefferson
10 (September 22, 1960)
Male
Spanish-American
Neutral 1. Tell me about this one. "The policeman's talking on the telephone." What do you think he's saying? "There's been a wreck or something."

Negative 2. How about this one? "They are fighting with everyone and the police is breaking it up."

Negative 3. What about this picture? "The policeman is standing in the street." Why do you think the police is standing in the street like that? "He's looking at somebody. They got in a fight or a wreck or something."

Negative 4. Tell me about this one. "He's watching those kids climbing a tree to make sure they don't get into bad trouble."

Positive 5. Look at this one now. "The policeman's talking to the little boy." What is he talking about? "Just talking about the day and things like that."

Negative 6. How about this picture? "The cop is standing by the kids." Why do you think he is doing that? "They did something bad."

Positive 7. Tell me about this one. "He is telling the people about what it's like to be a police."

Positive 8. What about this one? "That policeman is talking to that man and lady." Why is he talking to them? "He's giving them a ticket or something."

Positive 9. What about this picture? "It's a policeman who is smiling at some people."

Negative 10. Tell me about this picture. "He is walking with the girl who got into trouble." What will he do? "He'll take her to the jail car."


Negative 12. Tell me about this picture. "He's going to get that man for jaywalking."

Questions:

Negative 1. "Okay I guess, but he probably wouldn't be my friend."

Negative 2. "They have to arrest people lots."
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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Child</th>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Number 24</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>10 (October 6, 1960)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Spanish-American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Number 25</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>9 (August 11, 1961)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Negative
1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman's on the telephone. He might be calling the police station to get these kids."

### Positive
2. How about this picture? "It's just some people playing by a park." What about the policemen? "They are just watching."

### Positive
3. Tape was not clear.

### Negative
4. Tape was not clear.

### Positive
5. Tape was not clear.

### Positive
6. Tell me about this picture. "The boys are at the bike races." What about the policeman? "He is giving riding tips."

### Neutral
7. Tape was not clear.

### Positive
8. Tape was not clear.

### Positive
9. Tape was not clear.

### Positive
10. What is happening here? "The policeman is taking the lady at a hospital because she's hurt."

### Negative
11. Tape was not clear.

### Negative
12. What about this picture? "The policeman is mad at some man from a bank ..." Tape foggy here.

### Questions:
1. "Fine, I guess."

### Positive
2. "They watch the world especially with their dogs ... and they catch people stealing and stuff."
1. What is happening in this picture? "They are talking about what to do to the little kids." What will they do? "Something not very nice."

2. Tell me about this picture. "It's a riot."

3. How about this one? "He's watching the traffic." Why is he doing that? "So there won't be any wrecks."

4. Tell me about this one. "It's hard to tell. There's some kind of trouble."

5. How about this picture? "He's talking to the little boy." About what? "About the safety rules for crossing the street."

6. Tell me about this picture. "The kids are lost and the policeman is advertising their pictures."

7. What about this one? "He's talking to them about cars." Anything else? "No, I guess not."

8. What is happening in this picture? "He's talking and he's got a piece of paper in his hand." What do you think it is? "It is a ticket for jaywalking."

9. How about this picture? "It's a police officer." Anything else? "No."

10. Tell me about this one. "He is holding the lady." Why do you think he is doing that? "I think because she is hurt."

11. What do you think about this one? "The police is talking to a boy." What are they saying? "I don't know ... the boy is listening."

12. Tell me what you think about this picture. "The man jaywalked and the policeman is arguing with him."

Questions:

1. "Happy."

2. "He watches for the traffic and keeps out the crime."

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<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Number 26</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>9 (June 6, 1961)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Spanish-American</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negative 1. Tell me about this picture. "It's some people talking to police but they won't talk."

Negative 2. How about this one? "The police are making them leave their meeting." Anything else? "No."

Negative 3. What do you think about this picture? "The police is guarding people out."

Negative 4. Tape was not clear.

Positive 5. How about this picture? "The little boys were talking to the police." Why do you think the boys are talking to the policeman? "They are lost."

Negative 6. Tell me about this one. "He stole something from the store and the police come or something."

Negative 7. How about this picture? "The policeman is checking on all those people." Why is he doing that? "They are suspects."

Negative 8. Tell me what you think of this one. "He's trying to give them a ticket and they won't take it."

Neutral 9. What about this picture? "That's a police chief."

Negative 10. Tell me about this one. "They're taking away a lady that's drunk." How does she feel about that? "Not so good."

Negative 11. What do you think of this picture? "The policeman is talking to the boy because he stole something. He's maybe going to take him to the police station."

Negative 12. Tell me about this picture. "He's hiding something from the police." What makes you think that? "He's got his car parked in the middle of the street."

Questions:

Positive 1. "Okay ... they get lots of excitement."

Negative 2. "They like to find robbers and surround buildings."

Child
School attended Jefferson
Age 9 (June 22, 1961)
Sex Male
Race Spanish-American

Neutral 1. Tell me what you think is happening. "The policeman is calling someone." What about? "There might be a wreck or something."
Negative  2. Tell me about this picture. "There might have been a riot or something."
Negative  3. How about this one? "There's a policeman standing there." What do you think he's doing? "He's watching everybody waiting for somebody to do something wrong."
Negative  4. How about this one? "He's looking at the people to see if they are doing something wrong."
Positive  5. Tell me about this picture. "He's just talking to them." How does it look like everyone feels? "Good."
Neutral  6. Tape was not clear.
Neutral  7. Tape was not clear.
Negative  8. How about this picture? "He's holding a ticket or something in his hand." What is he going to do? "Give it to those people."
Positive  9. Tape was not clear.
Negative  10. Tell me about this picture. "This lady's crying because something happened ... maybe somebody shot someone she knows." Why is the policeman holding her? "To keep her from getting away."
Neutral  11. What about this one? "It looks like he got in a wreck or someone got hurt." What about the boy? "He's just watching."
Negative  12. What do you think happened here? "This policeman's talking to the man because he looks like he did something wrong."

Questions:
Positive  1. "I'd be happy."
Positive  2. "Watching to see that nothing is wrong ... and he stops riots."

Child
School attended  Number 28
Age  Jefferson
Sex  10 (October 9, 1960)
Race  Male

Neutral  1. Tape was not clear.
Negative 2. What is happening in this picture? "It's a riot and he's trying to break it up."

Positive 3. Tell me about this picture. "It looks like he is standing there and they are getting ready for a parade."

Neutral 4. How about this picture? "The policeman is just standing there watching them." Why is he watching them? "I don't know."

Positive 5. What about this one? "He's leaning down talking to the little kids." Why is he talking to them? "I guess the little boy asked him something."

Negative 6. How about this one? "It looks like that guy did something bad and they have to take a picture of them to put in the record."

Negative 7. Tape was not clear.

Positive 8. What about this one? "I think I know this guy. It looks like he's got some A-1 sauce." What is the paper? "I think he's going to tell the people how to use it with the paper."

Positive 9. What is happening in this picture? "It's a picture of a police officer standing with his uniform on smiling."

Positive 10. Tell me about this picture. "It's a police officer holding the lady trying to calm her down." What happened? "I guess somebody got hurt real bad."

Neutral 11. How about this picture? "The police officer is letting the kid watch him talk on the phone and he's watching him talk."

Negative 12. Tell me about this one. "This looks like Jack Benny and a police officer is talking to him, it looks like down in Chicago." What does it look like the policeman is talking to him about? "It looks like he's telling him not to do anything."

Questions:

Negative 1. "I wouldn't mind it." Do you think you'd like to become a policeman? "I don't think I'd like to be one."

Negative 2. "He has to go out on his beat and he doesn't hardly get any time off."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Number 29</th>
<th>Jefferson</th>
<th>10 (January 29, 1961)</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Spanish-American</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tell me about this picture.</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>The policeman is calling about something wrong.</td>
<td>What are the kids doing?</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>They are watching.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What is happening here?</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>They are helping people across the street.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. How about this one?</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>He is guarding to keep out all the people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Tape was not clear.</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. What do you think about this picture?</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>He is just talking to them and their mother is watching.</td>
<td>Anything else?</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Tell me about this one.</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>They stole something or something.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Tape was not clear.</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Tell me about this one.</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>That guy is drunk and the policeman is taking him to jail.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. What do you think is happening here?</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>The lady got beat up and the policeman is helping her.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11. What is happening here?</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>The boy is watching the policeman or he's in trouble. If you had to choose which would you say?</td>
<td>He's just watching.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Tell me about this picture.</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>The guy is in trouble with the policeman.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions:</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>&quot;Mmmmmmmmm ... happy.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>&quot;He helps people who are in trouble.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negative 1. What is happening here? "It's hard to tell. There was a wreck or somebody stole something." What about the boys? "They are just looking at the policeman."

Negative 2. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman are getting the people out of the street because they are blocking traffic."

Negative 3. How about this picture? "The policeman is standing there so nobody can get in."

Neutral 4. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is watching the people dig." Why are the people digging? "That is their job and the policeman is watching."

Positive 5. Tell me about this picture. "It looks like the policeman is talking to the kids." What is he talking about? "He's just saying hi."

Positive 6. How about this picture? "It looks like something happened and the policeman is helping the kids."

Positive 7. Tell me about this picture. "The people are giving complaints so the police can work on them."

Negative 8. What is happening here? "It looks like the policeman is giving the man a ticket."

Positive 9. Tell me about this picture. "This is a policeman standing in the street and he just got a badge."

Positive 10. How about this picture? "It looks like someone did something to the lady and she is covering her face ... the policeman is helping her."

Negative 11. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is calling about that car being overparked and the boy is watching."

Negative 12. What do you think about this picture? "He's talking to that guy who done something he shouldn't have done."

Questions:

Positive 1. "I'd feel proud."

Negative 2. "He watches the cars speeding and for people what steal."
Questions:

1. "I'd feel good."

2. "He catches robbers and goes to the car wrecks, looking for stolen cars."
1. **Tell me about this picture.** "The boys are lost and the policeman is calling in about them."

2. **Tape was not clear.**

3. **How about this picture?** "He is working for a parade."

4. **What about this picture?** "He is keeping out people who aren't supposed to be there."

5. **Tell me about this one.** "The policeman is just saying hi to the kids."

6. **What about this picture?** "The kids were lost and the policeman found them."

7. **How about this picture?** "The policeman is showing the girls the laws." **Anything else?** "That's all."

8. **Tell me about this one.** "This policeman is arresting these people."

9. **How about this one?** "Someone is taking a picture of a policeman."

10. **What about this picture?** "Something happened and the policeman is trying to calm the lady down."

11. **How about this one?** "This boy is lost and the policeman is calling about him."

12. **Tell me about this picture.** "The man is getting blamed for walking on a red light."

**Questions:**

1. "I'd feel good."

2. "He keeps the law and helps people."

---

**Child**

- School attended: Number 33
- Age: Jefferson
- Sex: 9 (August 14, 1961)
- Race: Female

**Race**

- Spanish-American
Positive
1. Tell me about this picture. "The boys are lost and the policeman is calling about them."

Negative
2. How about this picture? "The people did something wrong and the policemen are checking up on them."

Positive
3. Tell me about this one. "This policeman got an award for something."

Positive
4. Look at this one. "The people are talking back to the policeman." What is the policeman doing there? "Seeing that they don't give any dope out."

Positive
5. How about this picture? "The little boy bumped into the policeman." What are they doing? "Just talking."

Positive
6. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman found these kids." What are they doing? "They are having their picture taken."

Negative
7. How about this one? "This man is talking to kids that took dope ... no ... okay, that's my answer."

Negative
8. Tell me about this picture. "These people did something wrong." What is the policeman doing? "He is giving them a parking ticket."

Neutral
9. How about this one? "This is just a picture of a policeman."

Positive
10. Look at this one now. "The policeman is helping the lady."

Negative
11. How about this picture? "The boy did something wrong and the policeman is calling his mother."

Negative
12. Look at this picture. "The man did something wrong and the man is telling him not to do it again."

Questions:
Positive
1. "I'd feel good."

Positive & negative
2. "He helps people and looks for people what done something wrong."

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<tr>
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<td>Jefferson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>9 (July 30, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neutral 1. Tell me about this picture. "The boys are watching the policeman calling for a fire."

Negative 2. How about this picture? "It's a picture of a riot."

Positive 3. Look at this picture. "They are getting ready for a parade."

Negative 4. How about this picture? "The policeman is arresting those teenagers."

Neutral 5. What do you think about this picture? "The policeman is talking to the boy and he's asking him where he lives."

Positive 6. Tell me about this picture. "They are taking a picture for when a kid's lost." Anything else? "That's it."

Positive 7. What do you think about this one? "The policeman is checking off the names of the people on welfare and giving them their money."

Negative 8. Tell me about this picture. "He is giving the people a ticket."

Neutral 9. Look at this one now. "It is a picture of a policeman standing."

Negative 10. How about this picture? "The policeman is taking her in to arrest her."

Positive 11. What about this picture? "The policeman is calling the police officer for somebody sick ... his parents maybe." Anything else? "No."

Negative 12. "The policeman is telling the man not to park his car there."

Questions:

Positive 1. "I would feel fine."

Negative 2. "He gives people tickets and arrests them."

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<tr>
<td>School attended</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 (September 10, 1960)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neutral 1. Tell me about this picture. "There's been a wreck and the policeman is calling." What are the boys doing? "They are watching the policemen."
Questions:

1. "I would feel good about it."
2. "He helps you."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 36
Jefferson
10 (December 2, 1960)
Female
Caucasian

Neutral
1. Tell me about this picture. "The policeman is calling something about the cars." Anything else? "No."

Negative
2. How about this picture? "They are clearing away a riot."
3. Tape was not clear.
Negative 4. Tape was not clear.
Negative 5. Tape was not clear.
Positive 6. How about this picture? "The boys are lost and the policeman is staying with them until their mother comes." Who is the lady in the picture? "Their mother coming."
Neutral 7. Tape was not clear.
Negative 8. Tell me about this one. "The policeman is giving that man a ticket for something he did wrong."
Positive 9. Tape was not clear.
Positive 10. What about this picture? "The policeman is helping the lady."
Negative 11. Look at this picture now. "The boy did something wrong and the policeman is calling the station."
Negative 12. Tape was not clear.
Questions:
Positive 1. "I would be happy."
Positive 2. "He takes care of guys that get hurt and he catches speeders."

Child
School attended
Age
Sex
Race

Number 37
Jefferson
10 (November 3, 1960)
Female
Caucasian

Neutral 1. Tell me about this picture. "The kids are watching the policeman call the station about a car without a license plate."
Negative 2. How about this picture? "The policemen are in the park making sure no one does anything wrong or starts a fire."
Negative 3. What about this picture? "The policeman is guarding. The street is blocked so that the kids should not interfere."
Negative 4. Look at this picture. "The police is telling the kids to stop climbing the tree, to knock it off and go."
Positive 5. How about this picture? "The police stops to talk to the kids, but he has to be going somewhere."
Negative 6. Tell me about this picture. "The kids done something really bad." (She can't remember what the picture is for and this really bothers her.)

Positive 7. Look at this picture. "The policeman is talking about safety, like on bicycles and crossing the street."

Negative 8. How about this picture? "He is giving the guy a ticket or else he has something on him he wasn't supposed to have."

Positive 9. What about this picture? "The policeman sees a lost animal, a lost cat or dog, and he is standing looking into the trees."

Positive 10. Tell me about this one. "The policeman is trying to calm the lady down." What happened to her? "She ate something bad."

Negative 11. Look at this picture. "The policeman is calling about a car parked in a no parking zone and the boy is watching."

Negative 12. How about this? "The policeman is telling the guy to stop jaywalking."

Questions:

Positive 1. "I would feel safe and grateful if he lived next to me."

Neutral 2. "There are meter maids and they check red light breaking."

Child School attended Number 38
Age 10 (April 13, 1960)
Sex Female
Race Negro

Positive 1. Tell me about this picture. "The boys are runaways and the policeman is calling someone about it."

Negative 2. How about this one? "The police are clearing people off the street."

Neutral 3. Look at this picture now. "The policeman is just looking at people." Anything else? "No."

Negative 4. What about this picture? "He is looking at the people just to make sure they don't do anything wrong."

Positive 5. What do you think about this picture? "He is asking the boy how he's doing."
6. Tell me about this picture. "They are trying to see if anyone knows that address the boys are holding up." Why? "I don't know." Anything else? "No."

7. Look at this picture now. "They are at the police office and he is showing the girl something and the others are watching." What is he showing her? "Just some papers."

8. How about this one? "He is giving the man a ticket."

9. Tell me about this one. "This is a police just looking for a picture."

10. Now look at this one. "The policeman is showing her someone that's hurt. Something happened to the lady or to a relative and he is taking care of her."

11. What do you think about this picture? "He is calling the boy's parents because he run away."

12. Now tell me about this one. "He is talking to the man like the man did something he didn't like."

Questions:

1. "Mmmmmmm ... I don't know." Would you be a policeman if you were a guy? "No, I wouldn't be one."

2. "They give tickets and find runaways."

Child
School attended Jefferson
Age 9 (May 11, 1961)
Sex Female
Race Spanish-American

1. Tell me about this picture. "The kids are lost and are watching the policeman call the station."

2. How about this picture? "The police are telling the people to get out of there."

3. What about this one? "This is a chief. He is announcing something to the men who were in jail working."

4. Look at this picture. "He is watching to see if they'll do anything wrong."

5. How about this one? "The police is talking to the kids to see how they are."
6. Now take a look at this picture. "They are holding a picture because he and the other boy's lost."

7. Tell me about this one. "The girl is talking to the police. He gave them work to do and they're giving it back to the policeman." What sort of work? "About whether police is good and all that."

8. Now how about this one? "He is telling him something." What does he have in his hand? "He has shoe polish and he is giving it to them." Why is he doing that? "Because they gave him some once."

9. What about this picture? "This is a picture for a police family of the policeman who is just retiring."

10. How about this one? "The lady's husband just got killed and the policeman is trying to comfort her."

11. Tell me about this picture. "The boy is lost and the police is calling his mother."

12. What about this picture? "The police is mad because that man might have jaywalked."

Questions:

1. "I don't know." Would you ever think about becoming a policeman? "Yes."

2. "He looks for people what do wrong things."