

ATTITUDES TOWARD PRIVATE POLICE
A CRITICAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS

by

Dennis Hurley

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Sociology

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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ISBN 0-315-33572-6

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with public attitudes toward the private police (ie. security guards). The main conclusion that this study draws is that most people are ambivalent or neutral toward the private police. In addition, dissatisfaction with the service provided by the private police results in unfavorable attitudes toward the private police (ATPP). Similarly, those who have experienced private police misconduct and those who have anecdotal information regarding the experiences of others with private police misconduct have unfavorable ATPP. These findings were interpreted through the use of critical conflict theory. A conclusion about the explanatory power of critical conflict theory could not be reached in this study.

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Chapter I
THE PROBLEM

In the book, Private Police, Hilary Draper asks the question "are we threatened by private armies beyond democratic control?" It is a question which should have special relevance for Canadians because of the recent patriation of the Canadian Constitution and the subsequent increase in concern for rights and liberties. The answer to the question, however, is that we do not know. There is a lack of research in the area of private police. Studies done by the Centre of Criminology in Toronto have shown that the private police outnumber the public police (Jeffries 1973: iv). We also know that the private police handle a great deal of deviance informally outside of the criminal justice system (Nettler 1978, p.78) and that the private police are virtually unregulated in this country (Stenning and Cornish 1975). Where regulatory agencies exist, formal complaint procedures are obscure and sanctions are virtually never used. This situation would seem to suggest one of "potential danger". Whether our concerns are justified will have to be determined by research. This study then represents an attempt at finding out what is going on in these private justice systems by looking at the public's attitudes toward private policemen.

Apart from a short paper by Lester and Nagiewicz(1980), no previous research has been done on attitudes towards private police. This has led Stenning and Shearing to state that

"there appears to have been no research undertaken in Canada or elsewhere which examines public attitudes towards, and perceptions of, private security personnel... (Law Reform Commission 1979, p.92)"

This study then, intends to address this lack of research by investigating the public's opinion of private police.

This study also presents an opportunity to examine the explanatory power of a recent theoretical perspective in criminology. The critical conflict perspective has emerged essentially in reaction to the deficiencies perceived in the more traditional approaches. Greenaway (1978, p.237) states that "critical conflict theory is the most promising among the alternative approaches to the sociology of law and social control". Whether this is so or not must be determined by research. It is to this end that this study is directed.

To reiterate, this study will be exploratory in nature. It represents a first step at obtaining a sound base of research data on which further research on the private police can be carried out. It will attempt to make sense of the findings theoretically and tentative suggestions will be offered. The findings will be interpreted in terms of critical conflict theory to determine if the conceptions of the public are consistent with such an interpretation.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 DEFINITION AND LEGAL POWERS

The definition of a "private" policeman is potentially very broad. One finds in the literature references to by-law enforcement officers, special constables, railway and harbor police, campus police, crown corporation security, contract security, armored car transport, commercial "in-house" security, and local neighbourhood vigilante groups. These private policemen are usually defined by comparing them to the public police. The resulting definition is usually based on one of the following dimensions:

1. public versus private property
2. public versus private places
3. accountability and sponsorship
4. peace officer status

The definition which results from use of the first dimension is very simplistic. Essentially it states that a public policeman is one who patrols public property while a private policeman is one who patrols private property. The problem with this definition is that it sometimes leads to artificial distinctions. For example, when we compare the

railway police from Canadian Pacific Railways (a privately owned, joint stock company incorporated under federal statute) with Canadian National Railways (a government owned, crown corporation) we find the former categorized as private police while the latter are categorized as public police (Freedman and Stenning 1977).

The second definition reads almost the same as the first. It states that a public policeman is responsible for public places while a private policeman is responsible for private places. This definition is a little better than the first because it avoids the problem of having to determine ownership of property. Freedman and Stenning, however, argue that no useful distinction can be drawn on the basis of this classification alone. They state that in those public places where the public has access as of right (ie. public streets) a security guard, a citizen, or a public policeman all have the same jurisdiction (although not necessarily the same powers) to enforce the law (1977).

To illustrate the third definition, Steinberg defines private police as including

"privately employed guards, patrolmen, watchmen and any others performing similar functions...does not include private detectives (emphasis added)(1972, p.585)."

In a similar vein, Spitzer and Scull differentiate public and private police on the basis that private policing is supported by "private" rather than "public" expenditures

(corporate revenues rather than tax generated budgets). They note, however, that as corporations expand their ability to "tax" the public, either directly through state subsidies or indirectly through administered prices, the source of funding becomes a less reliable differentia between public and private police (1977).

The fourth definition tends to revolve around the issue of whether or not the individual has peace officer status. A public policeman would have this status while a private policeman would not. Freedman and Stenning, however, state that it is impossible to equate the terms "peace officer" and "public police". It is possible in our criminal justice system to be a peace officer for some sections of the Criminal Code and not others (ie. a municipal constable appointed for by-law enforcement is limited to that only). We also run into problems when we realize that statutes other than Police Acts give power to appoint peace officers (ie. conservation officers, railway police, harbor police). Therefore, use of this dimension still does not lead to a clear and unambiguous definition.

We can see then, that the main problem with use of these dimensions in defining private police is that there is considerable overlap and ambiguity particularly with regard to quasi-police forces. For instance, is a CNR policeman a private policeman because he is accountable to CN or is he a public policeman because he has peace officer status? Sten-

ning and Cornish argue that when defining private police it is better to speak of a continuum rather than public/private dichotomies. Provincial and municipal police would be at one end while contract security, armored car transport, and "in-house" security (works exclusively for one company) would be at the other end. In between would be by-law enforcement officers, railway constables, etc. Such a continuum would be based on legal status where the closer one got to the middle of the continuum, the less clear one's legal status would appear to be (1975).

With this continuum in mind, Freedman and Stenning define private police as "people involved in security or law enforcement, whether peace officers or private citizens, whether publicly or privately employed, and whether they work on public or private property". They define public police as "peace officers whose peace officer status gives them both the right and the duty to maintain the peace in all public places". Private police do not have this duty (1977). The importance of this definition is that it does not equate the terms "peace officer" and "public police" and it allows us to include quasi-police forces within our definition of private police.

The public, however, probably do not use such a broad definition when they think of the term "private policeman". This assumption is based essentially on the basis of visibility. People would have more contact with contract secur-

ity employed at such places as sports stadiums and arenas, hospitals, airports, and apartment buildings than with quasi-police forces such as CN Police. The public, however, would have contact with in-house security in various retail outlets but would not always be aware of this due to the fact that this is usually "plainclothes" work. Therefore, this paper is going to restrict itself to the analysis of the far end of Stenning and Cornish's continuum and concentrate solely on contract security with special emphasis on Winnipeg. Private investigators, however, will not be considered. This is because, as Shearing et al. point out, private investigation work appears to be a small, albeit highly publicized, component of the total contract security picture (1980, p.95).

A security guard can be defined as a person who, for hire or reward, guards or patrols for the purpose of protecting persons or property (Stenning and Cornish 1975, p.75).

In Canada, the powers of security personnel are not specifically mentioned in the Criminal Code. Therefore, we must determine them from provisions relating to the general public. When we consider arrest, we find that warrants are not issued to private security personnel. To arrest without a warrant, the security guard as a citizen can arrest anyone he finds committing an indictable offence. In addition, by virtue of being an agent of an owner of property, the security guard can arrest without warrant anyone he finds commit-

ting a criminal offence (summary conviction or indictable) on or in relation to that property. Only indictable or summary conviction offences under federal criminal law can be the cause of a citizen arrest without warrant. Offences under provincial laws (although summary conviction offences), cannot be the cause of such an arrest.

When we consider detention, we find that the security guard can only detain someone if he lawfully arrests that person first or if that person consents to be detained. The suspect, however, must then be immediately turned over to a peace officer (unless that security guard holds peace officer status). This last provision effectively limits the security guard's right to interrogate an arrested suspect (no law actually prohibits interrogation).

On the issue of search and seizure, we find that it is doubtful whether security guards have a common law right to search an arrested person. In this area, we find consent (whether express or implied by conduct) to be their biggest tool. The only exception to this rule is the Federal Aeronautics Amendment Act (1973) which gives people other than peace officers (usually contract security guards) the right to search persons or property without a warrant and without reasonable and probable grounds (Freedman and Stenning 1977). This would account for Metropol's employment at Winnipeg International Airport where they routinely screen people about to board aircraft as a condition of entry.

Regarding force, we find that the security guard can use force in the course of making lawful arrests, in self defence, in defence of property, in preventing criminal offences, and in suppressing riots. However, he can use no more force than is reasonable. Lethal force is allowed only for self defence.

The Criminal Code does contain certain restraints which relate to security personnel although not specifically. These are:

1. impersonation of police personnel
2. restricted, concealed, or offensive weapons
3. wiretapping and electronic surveillance

Under section 119 of the Criminal Code it is a summary conviction offence to impersonate a peace officer. This provision prohibits security guards from portraying themselves as public police. For example, their uniforms cannot resemble those used by the public police. In Manitoba, the Police Act also prohibits security guards from holding themselves out as performing or providing police services.

Section 89(1) of the Criminal Code makes it a dual procedure offence (Crown can proceed by summary trial or by indictment) to possess a restricted weapon without a registration certificate. Section 87 also makes it a dual procedure offence to carry a concealed firearm without a permit. In Canada, the reasons for which a person may be issued a per-

mit by a provincial registrar (or RCMP Commissioner or provincial Attorney General) include:

1. to protect life
2. for use in connection with lawful profession or occupation (Freedman and Stenning 1977)

Although both these reasons could apply to security guards, we do not find many armed guards in Canada. In Manitoba, the regulatory agency estimates that 40 security guards out of 1500 licensees are permitted to carry firearms (Interview with C.Hill, Director of Police Services 27 March 1986). The reason for this paucity of armed guards is that the above guidelines were intended to be restricted mainly to peace officers or public police forces. As of April 1, 1987, security guards will have to meet the same standards at the range as the Winnipeg Police. When we consider other weapons we find that it is uncertain to what extent security guards are legally permitted to carry truncheons or other such weapons in public.

Section 178.11 makes it an indictable offence to wilfully intercept a private communication without first obtaining authorization from a judge. Authorization, however, is hard to get unless you are a peace officer. Therefore, security personnel must rely on the consent of one of the parties involved if they wish to intercept a private communication. The Privacy Act of Manitoba also makes it a tort (ie. inva-

sion of privacy) to use electronic surveillance devices without authorization.

Regulation at the provincial level is supplied through the Private Investigators and Security Guards Act (1970). This Manitoba act requires that contract guards and agencies both be licensed. Licensing, however, confers no additional powers or legal status on the guard. In-house guards are exempt from being licensed. Administration of the licensing used to take place from within the responsible Ministry (Attorney General) rather than through the public police. A Registrar, who was also the Administrative Services Officer for the Attorney General's Department, performed this regulatory function. As of Oct.31, 1983 this task is now being performed by Manitoba's new Director of Police Services (Free Press Sept. 27, 1983). A registrar still assists and handles public complaints. The only real qualification to hold a license in Manitoba is that the guard must be at least eighteen years of age (Stenning and Cornish 1975, p.95).

The Manitoba legislation also requires documents to be filed with the regulatory agency prior to any licensing decision. The initial application is quite short and elicits only basic information. It is filled out by the agency and sent in on the applicant's behalf. It is accompanied by a special affidavit which swears to the truth of the information given to the regulatory agency and indicates criminal record, prior refusals, suspensions, or cancellations of li-

cense, and use of other names. The annual fee for a license is fifteen dollars (Interview with C.Hill, Director of Police Services 27 March 1986).

Once an application is complete, the regulatory agency normally undertakes an investigation of some sort to verify the information submitted in the application. This investigation is nothing more than a criminal record check although the statutes specifically mention inquiries into the training or competence of the applicant as a separate focus of investigation. The Director of Police Services reports that when doing a security check, the registrar looks for the existence of a criminal record, the type of offence involved, the existence of any mental illness, and the reputation of the applicant. If the applicant has been convicted of an indictable offence, the registrar checks to see if his record has been clear for five years. The licensing decision is at the sole discretion of the registrar. If the situation warrants it, he can conduct an inquiry. His decision, however, can be appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench (Interview with C.Hill, Director of Police Services 27 March 1986).

While the applicant is waiting for the registrar's decision as to whether or not to issue a license, he can be granted a temporary license which is good for three months. This temporary license allows him to start work right away before being screened (Stenning and Cornish 1975, p.111).

As of April 1, 1986, temporary licenses will no longer be issued.

In Manitoba the statutes prohibit operating without a license, failure to wear a uniform with appropriate fabric patch labeled "Security Guard" on it whilst on duty, and failure to carry an identification card. In addition, it is an offence to fail to comply with the Act. The individual penalty for failing to do so is \$1000 and/or 1 year (Stenning and Cornish 1975, p. 120). The regulatory agency can also sanction delinquent licensees by nonrenewal, suspension, or cancellation of their licenses, forfeiture of the security bond (agency) and prosecution (on approval of the Attorney General within one year). The grounds for such actions include conviction of an offence under the Act, conviction of a criminal offence, untrue statement in license application, and public interest. Stenning and Cornish, however, report that the sanctions are virtually never used against agencies and agents.

2.2 ATTITUDES TOWARD PRIVATE POLICE

Having thus outlined the powers and legal regulation of private security in Manitoba, this study now turns its attention to consideration of the public's attitude toward this group. In this section, the following will be considered:

1. the attitude of the general public
2. the attitude of "co-workers"
3. the attitude of the public police
4. the attitude of other private police

Several authors have commented on the stereotypic security guard. Steinberg tells us that the typical private guard is an aging white male, poorly educated, usually untrained, and poorly paid (1972, p.590). The same observation has been made by Farnell and Shearing(1977) who found that the average security guard tended to be an aging male who was both poorly paid and poorly educated. Freedman and Stenning tell us that many people appear to join private security firms as a substitute for a career in the public police when they cannot, or can no longer, fulfill the latter's educational or physical requirements (1977, p.262).

Lipson, in his book On Guard, tells us that many security guards cannot do physical labor or intelligent labor so they go into the security field. He adds that security guards are the most unlettered, untutored, least trained, poorest paid, and physically marginal of all business employees. He says we can equate a guard with a mechanical dummy set up on a highway to wave a red flag continuously as a detour warning (1969, p.191).

The media also typically depict the security guard as inept. Consider, for example, the article in the Oct.2, 1981

Winnipeg Free Press which reported that a security guard, working in a shopping mall, broke the boredom of his job by phoning in bomb threats and fire alarms against his employers. Another example appeared in the Dec.15,1984 edition of the Free Press. It reported that a security guard, working in a cemetery, claimed he was run down by a truck while investigating a break-in. When the Winnipeg Police found him, he was lying on the ground feigning unconsciousness. It later turned out that the guard had made the story up.

Kakalik and Wildhorn found in their U.S. study that only a minority of the private security respondents(40%) thought that the public's attitude toward them was favorable. In addition, 43% thought the public was indifferent to them, while 7% felt that the public "looked down" on security guards (1977, p.196). Shearing, Farnell and Stenning found that, although 51% of their security guard respondents thought the public believed they performed a valuable service, 21% still thought that the public was indifferent while 17% thought the public was condescending. Only 3% thought that the public was hostile to private security guards (1980, p.220).

Draper (1978) tells us that the sight of the security guard uniform often instills in members of the public the automatic assumption that the wearer possesses a degree of authority, power, and knowledge. The same observation has been made by Mewett. He states that it is not what they are

but what they seem to be that is important in the eyes of the ordinary citizen (Jeffries 1973, p. 20).

We can see then from the previous statements that there exists a continuum of public reaction to private security guards ranging from the stereotype of the inept guard to the impression that he is efficient. Labor's attitude, on the other hand, is an entirely different matter. It is to this that we turn to next.

When we consider the attitude of the security guard's "co-workers" we find that generally employees have little respect for contract security guards who in many cases are paid considerably less than the employee, who have less knowledge about the company than the employee and have little pride in their own positions (Jeffries 1973, p.66). Stenning and Cornish tell us that because of his low wage status, and his inevitable association with management personnel, the security guard finds himself with little or no practical authority, respect, or credibility with other workers (1975).

Kakalik and Wildhorn found in their study that 50% of the private security respondents thought that nonsecurity employees viewed them favorably, while 10% felt that they "looked down upon" them (1977, p.196). Overall, these respondents perceived a more favorable attitude among their "co-workers" than among the general public.

One would expect organized labor to have a negative attitude when one considers the practice of strikebreaking. Weiss(1978) declares that while municipal police were enforcing urban social discipline, national private police agencies were busy forging an industrial discipline at the workplace. They did this, he tells us, by using spies, blacklists, state power, sympathetic press, and strikebreakers. In Canada, it was really the RCMP (previously the NWMP) who originally acted as strikebreakers. Brown and Brown state that "by the 1930s the Mounties were the most notorious strikebreakers in Canada" (1973,p.27). Private security was still involved, however, either under direct contract to the RCMP (ie. Pinkerton's) or by collaborating with them after being hired by employers.

Johnson states that the new criminology's polemic claim that American law serves capitalist elites makes sense for private security. He claims this agency has taken care of business (interests) while the public police have taken care of labor. He says the development of private security has:

1. undermined American legal order and public order generally
2. underscored political untouchability and irresponsibility of big business in America
3. led to disproportionate violence of American labor history (1976,p.95)

The practice of strikebreaking is no longer legal in most of the United States. Most provinces in Canada, however, still tolerate the activities of professional strikebreaking companies (except British Columbia and Saskatchewan). The Report of the Strikebreakers Committee of the Ontario Federation of Labor and the Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto has documented the activities of several private security firms. For example:

1969 Anning Investigations Ltd. (owned by Wackenhut)
strikeguards escort scabs through pickets at Hanes
Hosiery Ltd., Toronto;

1971 SIS (Security Investigation System) Protection Co.
(owned by Burns) and Universal Investigation Service Ltd.
security guards carried baseball bats on scab trucks
during private garbagemen strike, Ottawa;

1972 Pinkerton's of Canada
strikeguards used against International Chemical Workers
Union at the DuPont plant, Kingston (Zwelling 1972).

Zwelling tells us that many security guards go into this line of work because they are unqualified for anything else. He also reports that while working as strikeguards, their co-workers often disdainfully call them "rent-a-cops". He says

"they are hired for intimidation by companies, ostensibly to protect property, although nothing in the performance of...security guard forces acting as strikeguards shows that they have succeeded in perpetrating anything but ill-feeling, provocative tension and mistrust (1972, p.58)."

When we consider the attitude of the public police to private security we find that a great many public police forces today look upon security guards as trespassers, as a necessary evil, and as being considerably down the scales as far as efficiency and authority is concerned (Jeffries 1977, p.42). Such an attitude is partly a result of the practice of many security companies not to allow their security guards to exercise their power of arrest and instead to rely on the public police for this. This reliance on the public police reinforces the view of public police officers as to the inferiority and incompetence of private security personnel (Stenning and Cornish 1975, p.183). Freedman and Stenning tell us that even when security personnel arrest someone, the public police want little to do with the prosecution (1977).

The 1977 Report of the Security Industry, as reported by Draper, found that there is friction between private security and law enforcement agencies. This was due to a lack of mutual respect, lack of cooperation, lack of communication, lack of knowledge about private security on the part of the police, and failure of the security industry to speak with a unified voice (1978, p.165). This atmosphere of distrust and disrespect has also been noted by Euller (1980).

Scott and McPherson report that some law enforcement officers think that private security guards are "gun-happy kids", "old men", "a cab driver out to make a fast buck in a

business where the demand is growing and no particular skills are required" or "some criminals who figure that the easiest way to rob a house is to be hired to guard it"(1971 p.81). The recent robberies in Britain (Nov.26,1983) of \$46 million in gold and in the United States (Sept.14,1983) of \$7 million in cash, both involving guards, lends credence to this last observation. A not quite so spectacular example occurred in Winnipeg on March 3,1983 when a security guard was caught breaking into stores in Eaton Place (Winnipeg Free Press, March 8,1983).

The view that private security are a "necessary evil" reflects the growing awareness, on the part of the public police, of private security's role in crime prevention. Draper(1978), Scott and McPherson (1971), Stenning and Cornish (1975) have all pointed to this ambivalent attitude. The public police simply do not have the manpower or resources to respond to all calls on private property.

Kakalik and Wildhorn found in their study that their security guards' interpretation of the typical public policeman's attitude toward private security guards was generally positive. Only 22% felt that the public police were indifferent to private security guards while 12% felt that the public police looked down on private personnel (1977, p.195).

Shearing, Farnell and Stenning reach a similar conclusion in their study. They found that only 1% of their security guard respondents believed that the police viewed them with hostility while 10% felt that the police took a condescending attitude towards them. Another 11% believed that the police were indifferent towards them. Overall, private security guards believe that the police view them more favorably than the public (74% compared to 50%) (1980, p.202).

When we consider the attitude of other private police we find that in-house guards regard themselves as specialists and hold contract security guards in low esteem (Law Reform Commission 1979). In a similar vein, Jeffries (1977) reports that most Security Directors of in-house operations denigrate the contract security industry.

In a book aimed at Security Directors of campus police forces, Powell lists ten disadvantages of using contract guards. Three of these are:

1. contract guards in many cases are unmotivated, unskilled individuals who are working as guards because it is the only position open to them. Others are "police buffs" who have been rejected by municipal and campus police departments for a variety of reasons....once they don a uniform they may consider themselves "Mr. Authority"

2. students are quick to realize that the uniform and badge are only for show, that the guard has no authority and cannot really provide effective protection and response to problems. Students label them "rent-a-cops"
3. there have been increasing cases of guards involved in thefts and other crimes while on duty (1981, p.21)

Other problems mentioned by Powell include high turnover rate, inadequate training and supervision, lack of knowledge about legal powers, and inappropriate response to security problems (standard response is to hire more guards).

2.3 ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLIC POLICE

Due to the paucity of research on public attitudes toward private police, we must turn our attention to the research which has been done on public attitudes toward public police. A review of the literature reveals that the variables race, age, sex, ses, and previous experience are important.

The variable which has received the greatest attention in the literature is race. American studies generally conclude that blacks evaluate the police more negatively than whites do. Alpert et al. found that among male prisoners at the Washington Corrections Reception Center a moderate relationship between racial status and negative attitudes toward police (ATP) existed. Nonwhites were more than twice as like-

ly to have negative feelings for the police than were whites (1977, p.467). Race, however, was relatively unimportant with respect to attitudes toward lawyers. Jacob found, in his Milwaukee study, that blacks perceive the police as more corrupt, more unfair, more excitable, more harsh, tougher, weaker, lazier, less intelligent, less friendly, more cruel, and more on the bad than good side than whites did (1971, p.73). However, he cautions that one cannot predict on the basis of race alone how favorable or unfavorable a person's perception of the police will be (which perhaps suggests the need for an intervening variable).

Smith and Hawkins, in their study, found a high level of negative feelings toward the police among minority groups. They argue that this was not significantly influenced by either arrest or victimization experiences. Instead they conclude that there appears to be a subcultural antipolice view among nonwhites of all ages (1973). Support for this view comes from Rusinko et al. who found that positive interaction with police officers among blacks did not foster the development of positive attitudes toward police like it did for whites (1978).

The race variable in Canadian studies has not received quite the same attention as it has in the United States. In the one study that dealt with native ATP, Skoog et al. (1980) posit the effect of race as intervening between socio-economic status and attitudes toward the police. They de-

scribe natives as holding considerably less favorable attitudes than a comparison group of whites drawn from Winnipeg, The Pas, and Norway House. They conclude, however, that native attitudes can be more accurately described as ambivalent.

When we consider the age variable in American studies we find that, in general, there is a positive relationship between age and ATP. In other words, young people tend to be less satisfied than adults. Schaefer et al. (1979) concluded that as respondents' age increased, so did their willingness to accord the police more latitude in stop and frisk situations. They also evaluated the job being done by police more positively. Smith and Hawkins feel that the young may be more anti-police because of the influence of the "youth culture". They found that white youths were more negative toward police than their elders but that age did not differentiate nonwhite attitudes about police fairness (1973).

The evidence on the age variable, however, is by no means conclusive. For instance, Jacob found that age was uncorrelated with satisfaction with police. On the other hand, Bouma (1972) found that antagonism toward police increased with age. O'Brien has also pointed to the aged becoming a dissatisfied minority with regards to police services (1978).

Canadian studies which have looked at the age variable have concluded that the young rate the police more negatively. Thornton(1975) posits the notion that the effect of age, a structural factor, on ATP is mediated by experiential factors such as the frequency and types of contacts with police. Klein et al., in a partial replication of Smith and Hawkin's study, found that age was the most consistent structural variable in predicting negative ATP (they did not investigate race however)(1978).

When we consider the sex variable we find that most of the American literature, as summarized by Decker, reports that sex accounts for little of the variation in ATP. Moretz Jr.(1980), using a semantic differential technique, found that among high school students, male and female views about the police were almost congruent. A few studies exist, however, which have found some effect. Bouma(1972) found that male students generally hold less favorable ATP than female students. An Australian study by Chappell et al. also found that females had greater respect for the police than males (1968).

Canadian studies which have looked at the sex variable either report that it has no effect or that its effect is mediated by experience with police which acts as an intervening variable (ie. Thornton). Curtis tells us that

"(since) women are more conservative than men and tend to identify more with the institutions of society, one might expect that female members of our sample would hold more favorable attitudes towards police than male members (1970, p.85)."

Courtis, however, found that 7% of the males and 5% of the females held unfavorable attitudes which led him to conclude that the sex variable is of doubtful consequence (1970, p.85).

Both Thornton and Klein et al. incorporate sex as a structural variable in their schemes. They state that sex is a significant variable in determining the rating or performance of local police (females more positive). They conclude, however, that the relative importance of this variable is small when compared to the impact of police experience itself.

Another variable for which the evidence is inconclusive is socio-economic status. Derbyshire (income, education), Bouma (father's occupational status), Jacob (income), and Albrecht et al. (income) have all reported a negative relationship between SES and ATP (higher status, less antagonism). Derbyshire stratified Los Angeles census tracts by income and education. From these he chose two lower class elementary schools and one upper middle class elementary school to sample from. His purpose was to evaluate the effectiveness of the "Policeman Bill" program (presented to one school in Watts). By comparing pictures the schoolchildren had drawn of policemen at work before and after presentation of the program with those drawn by the controls, he concluded that the program had a positive effect. However, children of lower class minorities living in the inner city

exhibited significantly more antipathy toward the police than youngsters living in an upper middle class area (1968, p.188). Derbyshire confounded his results, however, by drawing an all-black sample from Watts and an all-white sample from Westchester (upper middle class). We do not know, therefore, to what extent race contributes to the variation he found.

Schaefer et al. found while examining the impact of police shows on ATP that education was the single most important factor. It was positively related to the number of police shows watched which in turn was related to a negative belief about police integrity and a strong belief that police should function in a law enforcement rather than service capacity (1979).

Jacob(1971) found that although a negative relationship exists between income and ATP, its explanatory power is associated with "neighbourhood culture". He goes on to conclude that race and experience are stronger explanatory variables. Smith and Hawkins, on the other hand, found that education, occupation, and income were not related to ATP at all (1973).

Canadian studies which have examined socio-economic status include those done by Curtis (father's occupation), Thornton (income), and Klein et al. (education). Curtis'(1970) Toronto study found anti-police sentiment high-

est among those who came from a background characterized by fathers who were proprietors, managers, or officials of either small or large organizations. Thornton found that, other than age and sex, family income appeared to be the only other significant determinant of personal experience with violence, the police, and negative ATP. Thornton's sample, however, resulting from a mail survey with a 39% response rate, was found to under-represent those with low formal education and income and this prevented him from adequately dealing with SES as a variable (1975). Klein et al. found within their Calgary sample that those who were at the lowest income level were most favorable in their ATP(1978). Such a finding supports Johnson's thesis, referred to earlier, that the public police "take care of labor".

The last variable we will consider in this section is experience with the police. This variable has received a lot of attention during the last three decades largely through the work of Gourley(1954), Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969), and Bordua and Tifft (1971). These investigations have shown that those having greater personal contact with the police generally have the least favorable views of the police. It is necessary, however, to distinguish between positive and negative contact situations. Positive or voluntary contacts involve such things as having a policeman for a friend or requesting information and assistance. Negative or involuntary contact situations involve police enforcement of the

law with individuals as suspects. Such adversarial experiences frequently provoke hostility on the part of the individual ultimately lowering ATP. That it is the type of contact itself, rather than the probability that those having the most contacts with the police are members of low income and/or minority groups, is shown by Jacob's finding that blacks reporting favorable experiences with the police are more likely than their counterparts to give positive evaluations (Thornton 1975, p.326).

Experience with the police has several dimensions. Some of these are:

1. having a policeman as a friend or relative
2. dissatisfaction with police performance
3. observation of police misconduct
4. being the object of police law enforcement

Since having a policeman as a friend or relative is a positive contact situation, we might expect it to have a positive effect on ATP. However, this does not seem to be the case. Smith and Hawkins, using two indicators of police/citizen acquaintanceship, found that respondents knowing officers were no different in ATP than respondents who did not know individual officers. They conclude that knowledge of specific individuals does not alter the stereotyped view held about police in general (1973, p.144). In a similar vein, Scaglione and Condon(1980) found that those citizens

who had friends or relatives who were police were not inclined to be less critical of police than those who did not. Canadian studies have not really discussed this dimension. Curtis did include two indicators of it in his questionnaire. Unfortunately, he did not make any attempt to compare the percentage of his sample having a policeman as a friend or relative with their ATP. Thornton also included indicators of this dimension in his survey and he did report the correlations (friend .01, relative .03) but he did not include any discussion of his finding (1975, p.335).

The second dimension to be considered here is dissatisfaction with police performance. Since this is a negative contact situation it is likely to have a negative effect on ATP. Decker cites Parks who found that those respondents who were victims of a crime and satisfied with the police handling of their call (positive contact situation) had similar ATP to those who had not been victims. Those who were dissatisfied, however, were more likely to manifest negative evaluations of them (1981, p.84). That it is the level of satisfaction and not victimization per se is shown by Smith and Hawkins' (1973) finding that anticipation of property victimization and recent victimization did not have an effect on ATP. Canadian studies which have examined this dimension have also found dissatisfaction resulting in lowered ATP. Klein et al. found that dissatisfaction with police handling of police-citizen encounters (as measured by the

respondents rating the constable with whom they had contact on an interpersonal effectiveness scale) was reflected in a more negative ATP (1978).

When we consider the third dimension we find that observation of police misconduct (a negative contact situation) negatively affects ATP. Smith and Hawkins tell us that 44% of those respondents who saw a policeman do something wrong (ie. traffic violation, brutality) had negative ATP while only 22% of those respondents who did not see a policeman do something wrong had negative ATP (1973, p.141). This relationship remained strong even when race, age, sex, income and education were controlled. Canadian studies are similar in this regard. Thornton tells us that

"the major conclusion is that public evaluation of police is largely a function of knowledge or experience of police misconduct. Such knowledge or experience is, in turn, primarily related to age and income... (1975, p.340)"

Klein et al. add that witnessing physical mistreatment of someone else at the hands of the police affects ATP more than experiencing the mistreatment oneself. They argue that this is due to either the suspect thinking he deserved it or the witness taking the incident out of context (1978).

An interesting finding that emerges from the work of Klein et al. is that media coverage of police misconduct has only minor impact upon ATP. This is important in light of Smith and Hawkins' (1973) contention that instances of police brutality reported in the media perpetuate a cycle of

shared misunderstandings. They argue that the public and the police both perceive the other as being more hostile than is in fact the case. The police, faced with a "hostile" public, adopt a more authoritarian attitude in order to assure that actions will be seen as legitimate and authority will not be questioned. The public then becomes more critical and further instances of police brutality are reported. Koenig, however, does not agree. On the basis of his RCMP data, he states that although public disrespect does bother the police, they appear neither to exaggerate its incidence nor to habitually respond to it with extra-legal force (1975).

The last dimension to be considered here is the effect of law enforcement encounters. Since this is a negative contact situation it is likely that those who have experienced law enforcement encounters with the police (ie. arrest) would hold negative ATP. However, the evidence on this variable is not conclusive. Rusinko et al. report that generally those youths who have been the object of law enforcement hold negative ATP. Positive contact (help with a problem, friendly talks), however, can neutralize anti-police attitudes of delinquent youth (but only for whites)(1978).

Alpert and Hicks, in their study of prisoners' attitudes, found that while those prisoners with no previous convictions were four times more likely to have relatively positive attitudes toward the police than were prisoners with

previous convictions, the vast majority of each category of prisoners reported relatively negative ATP(1977). Thus, it appears that the effect of this variable may be cumulative.

A finding which suggests that the type of enforcement experience must be considered has been made by Smith and Hawkins. They found that while there was no relationship between receiving a traffic ticket and negative ATP, there was a relationship between being arrested and negative ATP (1973).

Canadian studies, on the other hand, have produced some anomalous results. Klein et al. do not agree with Smith and Hawkins' conclusion that the arrest experience causes a more negative ATP. They argue that those experiencing physical arrest tend to rate the police higher. They do agree, however, that the receipt of a traffic ticket has no significant effect on ATP (1978).

Thornton reports that police contact through arrest ranks fifth as a determinant of ATP behind police experience (misconduct), age, personal violence (witness assault) and crime experience (victimization) (1975, p.335). As such, its effect was found to be minimal.

To summarize the research findings just presented, the following points can be made:

1. nonwhites evaluate the police more negatively than whites do.
2. in general, the young evaluate the police more negatively than the old do. Some conflicting results, however, have been reported for the age variable.
3. the sex variable has little effect on ATP.
4. conflicting results have been reported for the sex variable.
5. having a policeman as a friend or relative has no effect on ATP.
6. dissatisfaction with police performance results in lowered ATP.
7. observation of police misconduct results in negative ATP.
8. conflicting results have been reported for law enforcement encounters especially between U.S. and Canadian studies.

2.4 CRITIQUE

The majority of studies reviewed in the previous section report that, in general, the public holds positive ATP. The other studies do not report such a preponderance of opinion. In an effort to determine whether the conflicting images of police-community relations were resulting from problems in measurement methodology, White and Menke compared general items measuring ATP (ie. "Most police are competent in their

work.") to specific items (ie. "Police almost never treat suspected criminals with brutality."). They found that opinion items of a general nature reflect the public as very positive toward the police while opinion items of a specific nature reflect the public as negative toward the police (1978, p.216). The studies reviewed here used the general measure predominantly. Only Thornton, Hadar and Snortum, and Bouma included measures of both in their studies.

Another criticism which can be levied is that, in general, the majority of studies done on ATP are atheoretical. A similar conclusion was reached by White and Menke after reviewing the studies done by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Lohman and Misner; Biderman et al.; Reiss; Ennis). They feel that because these studies do not use theory to develop measures they cannot reduce or control threats to the validity of the data collected (ie. reactivity and demand). Therefore, they conclude that

"the vast majority of the empirical literature assessing the mood of the public toward criminal justice agencies is not useful for informing policy decisions (1978, p.205)."

The papers which do make explicit mention of theory include:

1. Klyman and Kruckenberg - Theory of Dogmatism
2. Albrecht and Green - Principle of Attitude Consistency

3. Primeau et al. - Role Theory
4. Klein et al. - Consensus Theory
5. Thornton - Conflict Theory

The first two of these are psychological theories. Dogmatism is a concept developed by Rokeach which refers to a relatively closed cognitive organization of beliefs and disbeliefs about reality organized around a set of beliefs about absolute authority. These in turn provide a framework for patterns of intolerance towards others (Klyman and Kruckenberg 1974, p.222). Highly dogmatic individuals would have negative ATP. However, Klyman and Kruckenberg found no significant difference between this group and those with low dogmatism.

Albrecht and Green use the principle of attitude consistency (degree to which related attitudes exhibit the tendency to cluster together) to show that various public relation programs have failed because they did not consider the larger context of which ATP constitutes only a part (1977). The principle of attitude consistency has also implicitly appeared in the works of Alpert and Hicks, Amorso, and Jacob.

Primeau et al. pursue a line of research suggested to them by role theory. Starting with the premise that to understand a role it is necessary to examine, not only various role occupants' conceptions of the function, but a sampling of audience conceptions as well, they proceed to interview

several social groups. They conclude that law enforcement activity by the police tends to generate most of the contacts which may become important in attitude formation (1975, p.196).

Klein et al. found that most people form their attitudes toward the police on the basis of their own experience. They interpret this finding to suggest that the consensus model has greater explanatory power than the conflict model. Thornton(1975) also found that it is experience with the police that determines whether the evaluation of the police is negative or positive. He interprets this finding, however, to support the conflict model. It is my contention that Klein et al. have misinterpreted their findings and that this accounts for the two contradictory conclusions.

Klein et al. begin with the assumption that the criminal law is a codification of the values of a people and has legitimacy because of a high level of agreement regarding the criminality of certain acts (1978, p.442). This is a basic tenet of consensus theory. Klein et al.'s next statement, however, is where they begin to go wrong. They state that

"utilizing this model, attitude toward the police...is primarily the outcome of CONTACT-SPECIFIC ENCOUNTERS with the police rather than a function of group membership (emphasis added)(1978, p.443)."

They go from talking about ideals (culture) shaping attitudes to talking about material conditions (structure) shaping attitudes. What we need to know is whether attitudes

exist independently of experience or whether they are the product of such experience. Klein et al. do not provide an answer to this because they do not make a distinction between the two.

In their discussion of "critical criminology", Klein et al. state that

1. there exists an elite which uses the law to control threats to its social position by criminalizing the threatening acts of powerless groups
2. the function of the police is to coerce acquiescence on the part of the powerless
3. the existence of more negative ATP among these powerless groups is seen as a direct outcome of a CATEGORICALLY DIFFERENT TREATMENT by police (emphasis added)(1978, p.443)

The first two of these are not assumptions of critical criminology. They belong to a variant of materialist criminology called instrumentalist or ruling class determinist. Secondly, notice the similarity between "contact-specific encounters" and "categorically different treatment". Are these both not examples of experience? I maintain that they are. Therefore, there is no way to "prove" one model over the other since the same data can be used to support each model.

Thornton does distinguish between ideational (cultural) factors and experiential factors. He argues, however, that the latter are the more powerful predictors. He also hypothesizes that ideational factors would exert their strongest effect in the case of those not having direct interpersonal exchanges with the police (1975, p.338). Using a "Conception of Human Nature" scale (ie. The average person is conceited), Thornton did find some support for this ideational hypothesis among those indicating no experience or knowledge of police misconduct.

2.5 THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

In this study, critical conflict theory will be examined to see how it makes sense of the data we obtain. Critical conflict theory is one brand of radical criminology which should be distinguished from other brands of radical criminology and from conflict theory in general. Bohm (1982) tells us that within radical criminology there are three interpretations of how various factors (ie. capitalism, state, law, and crime control) are inter-related. While fundamentally sharing some basic assumptions, these three interpretations differ on how they see the manipulation of the state. The three brands of radical criminology are:

1. RULING CLASS DETERMINIST/INSTRUMENTALIST
2. ECONOMIC DETERMINIST/STRUCTURALIST

3. DIALECTICAL/CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY (1982, P.585).

Radical criminologies are all critical of traditional classical and positive criminologies and are conversant with Marxism. In addition, they are specific in their identification of the explanatory variables that presumably account for crime (ie. political economy of capitalism). They also feel that conflict is a fundamental element of all societies and that the particular nature of this conflict in society is fundamentally related to the historical and social distribution of productive private property in that society (1982, p.568).

According to Comack-Antony, other components of radical criminology include a humanistic definition of crime (violation of human rights), a commitment to Praxis on the part of the criminologist and an image of the criminal that emphasizes the structural components and power differentials in society as they relate to the designation of "who is criminal" (1980, p.239).

In the instrumentalist brand of radical criminology the state in capitalist societies is an instrument or tool used by the "ruling class" to further its own interests (Smandych, 1983). The legal system (ie. police) is also seen as an instrument which can be manipulated, either directly or indirectly by applying pressure on the state, by the capitalist class as a whole or by particular fractions of capi-

tal (Beirne 1979, p.379). The law is seen as first and foremost a reflection of the interests of the ruling class. Both Beirne and Smandych point to the unity of the capitalist class in this perspective. The capitalist class is seen as a group devoid of internal dissensions and antagonisms (1979, p.379).

In the structuralist brand of radical criminology the functions of the state are determined by the structures of society (ie. the market). The state exercises a relative autonomy in its relationship with capitalist class members and their interests (Smandych 1983, p.51). In other words, the capitalist class cannot manipulate the state at will. Bohm tells us that it is the long run stability of capitalism rather than the short term interests of individual capitalists that determine state policy. One implication of this is that the law and the legal system are not always in the objective interests of the capitalist class. Proponents of structuralism also state that the capitalist class is a highly fractionated class with divergent political and economic interests.

There are problems, however, with these two brands of radical criminology. Both have been criticized for using undialectical analyses (Bohm 1982, p.577). Both only examine the external determination of state activity (external manipulation or external constraint). Internal mechanisms within the state which guarantee its class character (ie.

nondecision-making and repression) are not explored (Gold et al. 1975, p.37). Structuralism has been criticized for almost entirely eliminating conscious action from its analyses (1975, p.39). Instrumentalism, on the other hand, has been criticized for tending towards voluntarism and for failing to transcend a pluralist framework (social and political groupings rather than classes). Beirne states that instrumentalism is vulnerable to simple empirical refutation and that it ignores the partial autonomy of the legal system and law once developed (1979, p.379). Gold et al. add that instrumentalism cannot account for reforms undertaken by the state that are opposed by large segments of the capitalist class (1975, p.35).

Critical criminology attempts to address these concerns by using the dialectic in its analyses. What this means is that progress (in this case, the development of criminological theory) comes as the result of conflict and synthesis. An idea (thesis) gets under way. Then its opposite (antithesis) makes its appearance. Out of the clash between the two, there comes an ultimate synthesis, which makes a further step toward truth. The synthesis then becomes another thesis and the process goes on. This is called the "Hegelian dialectic of progress" (Barnes 1948, p.59).

Therefore, in the third brand of radical criminology, critical criminologists view the capitalist state as both a structure constrained by the logic of the society within

which it functions and as an organization manipulated behind the scenes by the ruling class and its representatives (Bohm 1982, p.577). According to Quinney, everything relating to crime (ie. legal system, law) must be understood in terms of the objective economic conditions of production and the subjective struggle between classes that is related to these conditions (1979, p.446).

Critical conflict theory is not deterministic unlike structuralism and the positivist criminologies. Some allowance is made for man as a determining actor exercising free will. According to this analysis, man is both product and producer of society (Taylor et al. 1973, p.50). In other words, there is an ongoing dialectic between the individual and society.

In critical criminology the private police are an example of "unproductive labor". Their labor has use value but it does not have exchange value. Their job is to reproduce the capitalist system and maintain capitalist production relations (social harmony) so that further capitalist accumulation is possible (Quinney 1979, p.449).

Within this perspective, public attitudes toward private police must be analysed within the context of the political economy of the state. What this means is that the legal system is not separate from the political and economic systems. Public attitudes must be analysed within this con-

text. With the fiscal crisis of the state and the diminished ability of the public police to provide direct services to private enterprise, the private police function to provide a secure environment (order maintenance) and permit the accumulation of capital (profit protection)(Spitzer/Scull 1977). The private police concentrate on problems of pilferage, theft, and labor disputes. They ignore the actions of upper class entrepreneurs engaged in white collar crime or corporate deviance because this class, as employers of private police, have already defined what is most threatening to business and where the thrust of police activity should be. To the extent that the private police concentrate like this then negative public attitudes toward them are seen to result from the categorically different treatment they give to youth, minorities, and the working class (including their "co-workers"). Those who perceive differential group treatment will also have negative ATPP. This last qualification is necessary because in the critical conflict perspective the individual is not passive. He does not have to directly experience the oppressions of state and law in order to perceive them negatively. The individual can arrive at this conclusion on his own.

The first hypothesis this study will investigate was suggested by the literature on strikebreaking and the attendant attitudes of the security guards' "co-workers". It reads as follows:

HYPO. 1 - UNION MEMBERS WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE WITH PRIVATE POLICE THAN INDIVIDUALS WHO DO NOT BELONG TO A UNION.

Due to the lack of research on public attitudes toward private police, it was necessary to look at the attitudinal data that exists on the public police to find hypotheses that might be relevant. From this body of literature the following hypotheses emerge:

HYPO. 2 - NONWHITES WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE WITH PRIVATE POLICE THAN WHITES;

HYPO. 3 - YOUNG PEOPLE WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE WITH PRIVATE POLICE THAN OLDER PEOPLE;

HYPO. 4 - MALES WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE WITH PRIVATE POLICE THAN FEMALES;

HYPO. 5 - THE LOWER CLASS WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE WITH PRIVATE POLICE THAN EITHER THE MIDDLE CLASS OR UPPER CLASS;

HYPO. 6.1 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO KNOW A PRIVATE POLICEMAN PERSONALLY WILL HOLD MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDES THAN THOSE WHO DON'T;

HYPO. 6.2 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN DISSATISFIED WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF PRIVATE POLICE WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES THAN THOSE WHO HAVEN'T BEEN;

HYPO. 6.3 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE OBSERVED PRIVATE POLICE ENGAGED IN MISCONDUCT WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES THAN THOSE WHO HAVEN'T;

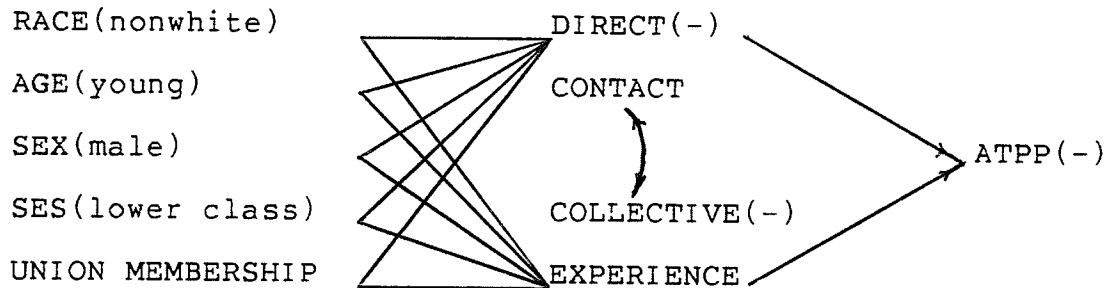
HYPO. 6.4 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN THE OBJECT OF NEGATIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT BY PRIVATE POLICE WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES THAN THOSE WHO HAVEN'T BEEN.

The next hypothesis to be investigated in this study was included because of theoretical considerations (remember the

individual is not passive in the critical conflict perspective). It reads as follows:

HYPO. 7 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO PERCEIVE DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT ON THE PART OF PRIVATE POLICE WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES THAN THOSE WHO DON'T.

Diagrammatically these relationships can be shown as follows:



Collective experience as an intervening variable is really an indirect form of contact. Collective experience is a collection of beliefs about the private police which belong to certain groups such as union locals, family, and peer groups. The original basis for such beliefs was based on direct contact (ie. attitudes engendered while witnessing strikebreaking activity or the knowledge that a friend had a negative encounter with a private policeman). Perception of differential group treatment could be considered an example of a belief based on indirect contact.

Collective experience as a concept is similar to "neighbourhood culture" as developed by Jacob. He states that the general reputation of the public police in black neighbourhoods has become so bad that good experiences do not bring

about correspondingly good evaluations. This he attributes to a greater proportion of blacks in the ghetto with bad experiences than in other neighbourhoods. The indirect effect of this situation is that although individual blacks may report satisfactory experiences, they are much more likely to know persons who have had worse experiences (1971, p.79).

Therefore, the last hypothesis to be investigated in this study is as follows:

HYPO. 8 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO KNOW SOMEONE PERSONALLY WHO HAS WITNESSED PRIVATE POLICE MISCONDUCT WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES THAN THOSE WHO DO NOT.

To sum up, individuals who are nonwhite, young, male, lower class, and union members are more likely to have direct negative contact (ie. arrest, witness misconduct) and collective negative experience with private police. Those who experience such direct and indirect contact are in turn more likely to have negative attitudes toward the private police.

Chapter III
RESEARCH DESIGN

A sample of 1150 adult residents of Winnipeg was randomly selected using a cluster sampling technique. Using the 1984 revised edition of the Henderson Directory, the sample was drawn in two stages. In the first stage, 230 sample streets were randomly selected from the total number of streets (3337). In the second stage, 5 sample households were randomly selected from each sample street. Any householder who had been an adult resident of Winnipeg for more than 1 year could answer the questionnaire. The sample size of 1150 was determined by combining the results of previous research with an estimation of the typical response rate (40%) to be expected from a mail questionnaire. Using Curtis' marginals from his questions on level of friendship and quality of job performance we end up with the following equation:

$$\text{Sample Size } 460 = \frac{30}{(.31 \times .21)} \text{ n of smallest cell size}$$

When we take into account the anticipated response rate of 40%, the desired sample size increases to 1150.

In February 1985, 1005 questionnaires were mailed out. 145 addresses were deleted from the sample because they were either business addresses or because the cluster selected

did not have five households in it. A follow-up letter was sent out to nonrespondents four weeks later. A total of 491 questionnaires were returned, giving us a response rate of 49%.

To assess the representativeness of the sample, the results from the questions on sex, age, and education were compared with the results from the 1981 Census of Winnipeg. The Police Agency Survey was found to have an over-representation of males in it. This result may be due to a bias in the way the Henderson Directory is set up. If the name listed in the directory is usually the "man of the house", this would account for an over-representation of males because the questionnaire was specifically addressed to the name in the directory.

The Police Agency Survey was also found to under-represent those with less than a Grade 12 education and over-represent those with Grade 12 or a university education. In addition, the age group 20-24 was under-represented while the age group 35-44 was over-represented. The typical respondent of the Police Agency Survey can be described as a white, middle-class male, 45 years of age, and who has lived in Winnipeg for 28 years.

The research instrument for the Police Agency Survey was a mail questionnaire (see appendix). It contained questions asking for each respondent's attitude, their evaluation of

TABLE 1
REPRESENTATIVENESS

	STATISTICS CANADA	POLICE AGENCY SURVEY
SEX		
	%	%
Male	48	70
Female	52	30
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=584,840)	(n=484)
AGE		
	%	%
20-24	14	6
25-34	25	23
35-44	16	27
45-54	14	16
55-64	14	15
65-69	6	6
>70	11	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=584,840)	(n=477)
EDUCATION		
	%	%
Less than grade nine	16	8
Grade 9-13 incomplete	32	12
Grade 9-13 complete	10	22
Post high school training incomplete	6	4
Post high school training complete	16	17
Some university	10	15
University degree	10	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=456,820)	(n=474)

service received, their knowledge of misconduct, and their suspect-related contacts with both the Winnipeg Police and

contract security in Winnipeg. A section on demographics was also included.

The variables in the Police Agency Survey are race, age, sex, socio-economic status, union membership, direct contact, and collective experience. These independent variables (with the exception of union membership) have all been found to be important in the literature on public attitudes toward public police. In order to make some comparisons with this literature and contract security, the section on the Winnipeg Police was included.

The dependent variable in this study (attitude toward private police) can be defined as that collectivity of opinion the individual expresses relative to the various dimensions of private police effectiveness. To operationalize this variable, each respondent was asked a Likert scaled question:

How favorable or unfavorable do you feel toward security guards in Winnipeg?

After considering White and Menke's (1978) criticism of general measures such as the one above, it was decided to include a summed index scale which would get at each respondent's specific attitude. The following five items made up this scale:

- A lot of crime is prevented because security guards are doing their job correctly.
- Security guards often abuse their authority.
- Sometimes security guards frisk and search

without good reasons.

- Security guards are careful not to arrest innocent persons.
- Security guards frequently use more force than they need to when carrying out their duties.

Likert-type response categories for these items ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree and were coded 1-5 in an anti to pro-police direction. A high score of 25 on this scale would indicate a very positive attitude toward security guards. A score of 5, on the other hand, would indicate a very negative attitude.

Race, age, and sex were all asked as items instead of as questions. It was felt that they would be less subject to respondent bias this way. In the case of age, the respondent was asked to give the year in which he or she was born. The resulting figure was later converted into actual years of age during the coding phase.

To operationalize socio-economic status each respondent was asked a question on occupation with a specification probe. Then using Blishen and McRobert's (1976) revised socio-economic index each respondent was placed in one of the following class intervals:

20-29	LOWER CLASS
30-39	LOWER MIDDLE CLASS
40-59	MIDDLE CLASS
60-75	UPPER CLASS.

A question on education was also included to help check the representativeness of the sample.

Union membership was operationalized by asking the respondent if he/she had ever belonged to a union. The respondent was also asked if anyone else in the household had ever been a member of a union.

Multiple measures were utilized in dealing with the variable "direct contact". The first measure dealt with whether respondents had any friends or relatives who were security guards and whether they knew a security guard, other than a friend or relative, on a first name basis. The second measure asked respondents to rate the service they received from a security guard when they asked him for information and/or assistance. The next measure consisted of a question with a specification probe which asked for the respondent's knowledge of security guard misconduct. The final measure dealt with whether or not the respondent had ever experienced arrest or been suspected of a crime by a security guard.

A scaled response question dealing with the perception of differential group treatment was included because of the theoretical considerations mentioned in Chapter 2. This question reads as follows:

If a person is an Indian, do you think this usually makes a difference in how he/she is treated by security guards in Winnipeg?

Collective experience was operationalized by asking the respondent if anyone he/she knew personally had ever seen a security guard do something considered improper or illegal.

In the section on the Winnipeg Police, the same questions were asked of respondents as were asked in the security guard section. The reason for this was that since the questions on security guards came from the literature on ATP, it was thought necessary to include questions on ATP so that we could see if we obtained similar results to those reported in the literature. To the extent that the results are similar, then we will have more faith in our measures.

Chapter IV
DATA ANALYSIS

Data from the questionnaire were computer analysed using SPSS-X (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) as developed by Norusis. The first program run was frequencies which in turn was followed by a crosstabulation of all major variables.

The frequencies for the dependent variable, attitude to-

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL ATTITUDINAL ITEMS

	ATPP %	ATP %
Favorable	37	63
Neutral	46	27
Unfavorable	17	10
	<u>100%</u> (n=474)	<u>100%</u> (n=466)

ward private police, can be seen in Table 2. We can see that about half of our respondents describe themselves as neutral toward the private police. Our finding that 46% of our sample has a neutral or ambivalent attitude toward contract security is subject to a sampling error of 5 percentage points in either direction, meaning it could be as much

as 51 or as little as 41 percent. The chance that an identical sample would produce a result within this range is 95 out of 100. In other words, there is only a 5 percent chance that the sample finding is farther than 5 percentage points in either direction.

When we compare this finding with the respondents' attitude toward police we find that about two-thirds of our sample (63%) describe themselves as favorable. This finding is not as high as some other studies have found. Courtis (using the same five point scale) found that 86% of his sample had favorable ATP (1970) while a study done for the RCMP in Dauphin found that 97% had confidence in the police (Free Press Oct.3,1984).

To explain this difference it might be useful to consider what was happening in Winnipeg at the time the data were collected. On the positive side, we have the establishment of the Law Enforcement Review Agency (an independent agency which handles public complaints) and the initiation of the Crimestoppers Program (television re-enactments of unsolved crimes hoping to elicit tips in exchange for money). On the negative side, we have a major parking ticket-fixing scandal, an incident of a police officer committing gross indecency, and the release of the report on the 1983 anti-U.S. rally in which club-swinging police clashed with demonstrators protesting the U.S. invasion of Grenada. These events do not in themselves explain differences in ATP but they are suggestive.

When our sample was asked to rate the performance of contract security, half said they did an average job. When the same question was asked about the Winnipeg Police, two-thirds (65%) said they did a good job. The Winnipeg Area Study included a similar question in its 1984 survey. They found, however, that only half of their respondents (51%) felt the Winnipeg Police did a good job (Free Press Sept.22,1984). Both studies found that only 5% said the Winnipeg Police were doing a poor job. Items most often mentioned in the Police Agency Survey were a rising crime

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERFORMANCE RATINGS

	ATPP2 %	ATP2 %	WAS %
Good	34	65	51
Average	50	30	44
Poor	16	5	5
	<u>100%</u> (n=415)	<u>100%</u> (n=476)	<u>100%</u> (n=577)

rate and abuse of authority (rudeness).

Judging from Table 3 it would appear that the public has a lower opinion of the job performance of contract security when compared to the Winnipeg Police. Items most often mentioned were insufficient training and the type of personnel contract security attracts.

When we turn to a discussion of specific attitudinal items we find that the summed index scale on ATPP yielded a reliability co-efficient of .845 (alpha) while the summed index scale on ATP yielded a reliability co-efficient of .806 (alpha). However, we were unable to use the summed index scales because several respondents did not respond to all items in the scales. Therefore, we will have to discuss each item separately.

What is most striking about the series of specific attitudinal items on security guards is that nearly half of our respondents describe themselves as neutral or ambivalent to each activity of security guards mentioned (Table 4). This would suggest that the average Winnipegger is largely ignorant of security guards' use of arrest, search, and force. Such an interpretation is consistent with the general measure of ATPP in Table 2.

Winnipeggers, however, are not so ambivalent when it comes to the Winnipeg Police (Table 5). More than half of our respondents (57%) agreed with the statement that a lot of criminals go to prison because the police are doing their job correctly. Similarly, 52% agreed with the statement that police are careful not to arrest innocent persons. One in five, however, felt that the police frequently use more force than they need to when carrying out their duties and that police often use extreme measures to get confessions. Similarly, one in four (23%) said that police sometimes frisk and search without good reasons.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIFIC ATTITUDINAL ITEMS

	ATPPA	ATPPB	ATPPC	ATPPD	ATPPE
	%	%	%	%	%
Agree	41	26	11	39	15
Neutral	47	42	51	54	49
Disagree	12	32	38	7	36
	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$
	(n=469)	(n=467)	(n=456)	(n=459)	(n=458)

ATPPA = A lot of crime is prevented because security guards are doing their job correctly.

ATPPB = Security guards often abuse their authority.

ATPPC = Sometimes security guards frisk and search without good reasons.

ATPPD = Security guards are careful not to arrest innocent persons.

ATPPE = Security guards frequently use more force than they need to when carrying out their duties.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIFIC ATTITUDINAL ITEMS-B

	ATPA	ATPB	ATPC	ATPD	ATPE
	%	%	%	%	%
Agree	57	18	23	52	21
Neutral	35	41	35	34	32
Disagree	8	41	42	14	47
	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$
	(n=481)	(n=473)	(n=471)	(n=480)	(n=473)

ATPA = A lot of criminals go to prison because the police are doing their job correctly.

ATPB = Police often use extreme measures to get confessions.

ATPC = Sometimes police frisk and search without good reasons.

ATPD = Police are careful not to arrest innocent persons.

ATPE = Police frequently use more force than they need to when carrying out their duties.

Such findings contrast sharply with the 10% who initially

said they were unfavorable toward the Winnipeg Police. This lends credence to White and Menke's observation that specific attitudinal items generally uncover more negative attitudes than general attitudinal items.

We now turn our attention to a bivariate analysis of the hypotheses delineated in chapter 2. For this study, a result is statistically significant if only 5 times in 100 could such a result occur by chance-errors due to sampling (probability less than .05). The chi-square test of differences was used to measure this. To measure the degree of association and the direction of ordering, the statistic gamma was used. Gamma indicates to what extent prior knowledge of a case's value on one variable better enables one to predict the case's value on the other variable. In other words, gamma indicates how strongly two variables are related to each other. For example, a gamma value of .37 would be a moderate relationship while a gamma value approaching 1.00 would be a strong relationship.

For this section, the following interpretive guide will be followed:

<u>PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VALUES</u>	<u>INTERPRETATION</u>
6-10%	slightly more likely
11-20%	somewhat more likely
21-30%	more likely
>31%	much more likely

Belonging to a union or else having a family member who belongs to a union may influence attitudes toward the private police. Union members who have encountered security guards employed as strikebreakers or who have heard about security guards acting as strikebreakers may hold negative ATPP. Therefore, our first hypothesis suggests that

HYPOTHESIS 1 - UNION MEMBERS WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE OF PRIVATE POLICE THAN INDIVIDUALS WHO DO NOT BELONG TO A UNION.

Table 6 shows that there is no relationship between union membership and experience of security guard misconduct ($\gamma=.09$). The same also applies to union membership and knowledge of security guard misconduct ($\gamma=.06$). When the other direct contact situations were compared to union

TABLE 6
EXPERIENCED SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY UNION MEMBERSHIP

PPMISC	UNION MEMBERSHIP	
	No %	Yes %
Yes	7	6
No	93	94
	<u>100%</u> (n=243)	<u>100%</u> (n=219)

chi-square=.07 df 1 significance .78 $\gamma=.09$

membership, the relationships were still not significant.

When we compare one's experience of Winnipeg Police misconduct with union membership we find a slight relationship

which is not significant ($\gamma=.24$). From Table 7 we can see that non-union members are slightly more likely to ex-

TABLE 7
EXPERIENCED POLICE MISCONDUCT BY UNION MEMBERSHIP

MISCON	UNION MEMBERSHIP	
	No %	Yes %
Yes	22	14
No	78	86
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=247)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=218)

chi-square=3.62 df 1 significance .06 $\gamma=.24$

perience police misconduct.

There is no relationship between union membership and knowledge of Winnipeg Police misconduct ($\gamma=.12$). Similarly, for the other direct contact variables there is no relationship with union membership. However, asking the police for information is related to having someone in the family who is a union member. Those respondents who have a union member in their family are somewhat less likely to ask the police for information and/or assistance. This relationship is weak although it is significant ($\gamma=.29$, Table 31).

The literature on attitudes toward the police tells us that non-whites evaluate the police more negatively than whites do. Therefore, our second hypothesis suggests that

HYPOTHESIS 2 - NONWHITES WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT

NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE
EXPERIENCE OF PRIVATE POLICE THAN WHITES DO.

Unfortunately, we did not receive enough variation in this variable to do an adequate analysis. 92% of our sample was white while only 4% was nonwhite (n=18).

The literature on ATP tells us that the young evaluate the police more negatively than the old do. Therefore, our third hypothesis suggests that

HYPOTHESIS 3 - YOUNG PEOPLE WILL HAVE MORE
DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE
NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE OF PRIVATE POLICE THAN
OLDER PEOPLE DO.

We can see from Table 8 that there is no relationship between one's knowledge of security guard misconduct and their age although the gamma (.41) suggests that there is a moderate relationship. The reason for such a high gamma in the absence of a relationship is due to the fact that 2 cells have no cases in them. Similarly, there is no relationship between one's experience of security guard misconduct and

TABLE 8
KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY AGE

PPMISC3	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
Yes	9	9	7	3	2	0	0
No	91	91	93	97	98	100	100
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=65)	(n=129)	(n=100)	(n=72)	(n=61)	(n=27)	(n=06)

chi-square=9.23 df 6 significance .16 gamma=.41

their age ($\gamma=.21$).

When we consider other direct contact variables we find that there is only a weak relationship which is not statistically significant between asking a security guard for information and/or assistance and one's age ($\gamma=.12$). Respondents in the 19-28 age range are slightly more likely to have asked a security guard for assistance. Age, however, does not play a role in how respondents rate this assistance.

Age plays a larger role when we consider ATP. Table 9 shows us that knowledge of Winnipeg Police misconduct is related to age ($\gamma=.42$). Those respondents who are 19-28 years of age are slightly more likely to have knowledge of Winnipeg Police misconduct. This moderate relationship is

TABLE 9

KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT BY AGE

MISCON3	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
Yes	26	20	15	9	7	0	0
No	74	80	85	91	93	100	100
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=65)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=129)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=98)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=71)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=59)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=28)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=06)

chi-square=20.65 df 6 significance .002 $\gamma=.42$

significant. Similarly, age is related to experience of Winnipeg Police misconduct ($\gamma=.26$). Those respondents

who are 19-28 years of age are slightly more likely to experience Winnipeg Police misconduct. This weak relationship is significant (Table 36).

Asking a Winnipeg Policeman for information and/or assistance is also weakly related to age ($\gamma = .01$). Those respondents who are 39-58 years of age are slightly more likely to ask for assistance than the other age groups. This relationship is significant (Table 34). notice how this contrasts with the findings on the private police where the younger respondents were slightly more likely to ask for assistance. Another difference is that, in this case, age is related to how the respondents rate this assistance. Those respondents who are in the 19-28 age category are slightly more likely to rate the assistance provided by the Winnipeg Police as poor or below average ($\gamma = .12$). This weak relationship is significant (Table 37).

Having a policeman as an acquaintance is slightly related to age although it is not statistically significant ($\gamma = -.11$). Those respondents who are over 69 years of age are somewhat less likely to have a policeman as an acquaintance. Having a policeman as a friend or relative, on the other hand, is not related to age.

The literature on attitudes toward the police tells us that sex has little effect on ATP. To determine if this also applies to ATPP, our fourth hypothesis suggests

HYPOTHESIS 4 - MALES WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT
NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE

EXPERIENCE OF PRIVATE POLICE THAN FEMALES DO.

We can see from Table 10 that there is no relationship between sex and one's experience of security guard misconduct although the gamma value (.37) suggests that there is a moderate relationship. The reason for such a high value is due to the small number of categories involved. As the precision decreases, the gamma increases. Similarly, there is no relationship between sex and one's knowledge of security

TABLE 10

EXPERIENCED SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY SEX

PPMISC	SEX	
	Male	Female
Yes	8	4
No	92	96
	100%	100%
	(n=332)	(n=138)

chi-square=1.88 df 1 significance .17 gamma=.37

guard misconduct (gamma=.14). When we consider the other direct contact variables we find that sex is not related to asking a security guard for information nor is it related to having a security guard as a friend or acquaintance.

Sex, however, does play a role when we consider our findings on ATP. There is a moderate relationship between sex and one's experience of police misconduct (gamma=.50). From Table 11 we can see that males are somewhat more likely to

have experienced Winnipeg Police misconduct. This relation-

TABLE 11
EXPERIENCED POLICE MISCONDUCT BY SEX

MISCON	SEX	
	Male	Female
Yes	22	9
No	78	91
	100% (n=335)	100% (n=139)

chi-square=11.09 df 1 significance .0009 gamma=.50

ship is significant. Sex, however, is not related to knowledge of police misconduct (gamma=.11). It is also not related to asking a policeman for information or having a policeman as a friend or relative.

There is a weak relationship between sex and having a policeman as an acquaintance (gamma=-.21). Males are somewhat more likely to have a policeman as an acquaintance than females are. This relationship is significant (Table 42).

The literature on attitudes toward the police tells us that conflicting results have been obtained for the effect of socio-economic status on ATP. To further investigate this variable, our fifth hypothesis suggests

HYPOTHESIS 5 - PEOPLE FROM THE LOWER CLASS WILL HAVE MORE DIRECT NEGATIVE CONTACT AND MORE COLLECTIVE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE OF PRIVATE POLICE THAN PEOPLE FROM THE UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASSES.

We can see from Table 12 that there is no relationship between social class and experience of security guard misconduct ($\gamma = -.06$). Similarly, there is no relationship between social class and knowledge of security guard miscon-

TABLE 12
EXPERIENCED SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY SOCIAL CLASS

PPMISC	SOCIAL CLASS			
	LC	LMC	MC	UC
	%	%	%	%
Yes	2	7	7	6
No	98	93	93	94
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=46)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=54)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=203)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=118)

LC = Lower Class

LMC = Lower Middle Class

MC = Middle Class

UC = Upper Class

chi-square=1.83 df 3 significance .61 $\gamma = -.06$

duct ($\gamma = -.02$).

There is an almost nonexistent relationship between social class and having a security guard as an acquaintance which is not statistically significant ($\gamma = .002$). Those respondents who come from the lower middle class are slightly more likely to have a security guard as an acquaintance. However, having a security guard as a friend or relative and asking a security guard for information are not related to social class.

When we look at the effect of social class on ATP, we find that the only relationship that exists is between social class and asking the police for information. This weak relationship is significant ($\gamma = -.13$). From Table 13 we can see that those respondents from the lower middle class are somewhat less likely to ask a Winnipeg Policeman for information and/or assistance. However, those members of the lower middle class who did ask a policeman for information were just as likely to rate this service as good as the other classes (with the exception of the lower class who were

TABLE 13
ASKED POLICE FOR INFORMATION BY SOCIAL CLASS

PINFO	SOCIAL CLASS			
	LC %	LMC %	MC %	UC %
Yes	83	60	76	81
No	17	40	24	19
	$\frac{100\%}{(n=48)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(n=55)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(n=206)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(n=121)}$

LC = Lower Class

LMC = Lower Middle Class

MC = Middle Class

UC = Upper Class

chi-square=10.86 df 3 significance .01 $\gamma = -.13$

more undecided).

From the literature on attitudes toward the police we are told that having a policeman as a friend or relative has no effect on ATP. To determine if this also applies to ATPP, our sixth hypothesis suggests

HYPOTHESIS 6.1 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO KNOW A PRIVATE POLICEMAN PERSONALLY WILL HOLD MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRIVATE POLICE THAN THOSE WHO DON'T.

We can see from Table 14 that there is a weak relationship between having a security guard as a friend and ATPP. However, this relationship is not statistically significant ($\gamma = -.06$). Those respondents who have a security guard as a friend or relative are slightly more likely to have un-

TABLE 14

ATPP BY SECURITY GUARD FRIEND

ATPP	SECURITY GUARD FRIEND	
	No %	Yes %
Unfavorable	16	24
Neutral	47	37
Favorable	37	39
	<u>100%</u> (n=423)	<u>100%</u> (n=46)

chi-square=3.41 df 4 significance .49 $\gamma = -.06$

favorable ATPP.

There is no relationship between ATPP and having a security guard as an acquaintance ($\gamma = -.02$). However, having a security guard as an acquaintance is related to knowledge of security guard misconduct. This moderate relationship is significant (Table 46). Respondents who report having a security guard as an acquaintance are slightly more likely to have knowledge of security guard misconduct ($\gamma = -.46$).

Similarly, those respondents who report having a security guard as a friend or relative are slightly more likely to have knowledge of security guard misconduct although this relationship is not significant ($\gamma = -.43$). The reason for the high gamma value is due to the small number of categories involved. As the precision is decreased, the gamma value increases.

We can see from Table 15 that there is no relationship between having a Winnipeg Policeman as a friend or relative and ATP ($\gamma = -.09$). Similarly, there is no relationship between having a Winnipeg Policeman as an acquaintance and

TABLE 15

ATP BY WINNIPEG POLICE FRIEND

ATP	WINNIPEG POLICE FRIEND	
	No %	Yes %
Unfavorable	9	12
Neutral	26	28
Favorable	65	60
	<u>100%</u> (n=349)	<u>100%</u> (n=115)

chi-square=7.02 df 4 significance .14 $\gamma = -.09$

ATP ($\gamma = .06$).

However, there is a relationship between having a Winnipeg Policeman as a friend or relative and knowledge of police misconduct ($\gamma = -.35$). This moderate relationship is

significant. Those respondents who report having a Winnipeg Policeman as a friend or relative are somewhat more likely to have knowledge of police misconduct (Table 48). Similarly, there is a moderate relationship between having a Winnipeg Policeman as an acquaintance and knowledge of police misconduct ($\gamma = -.37$). This relationship is also significant. Those respondents who report having a Winnipeg Policeman as an acquaintance are somewhat more likely to have knowledge of police misconduct (Table 49).

The literature on ATP tells us that dissatisfaction with police performance results in lowered ATP. To see if this applies to ATPP, our seventh hypothesis suggests

HYPOTHESIS 6.2 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN DISSATISFIED WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF PRIVATE POLICE WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRIVATE POLICE THAN THOSE WHO HAVEN'T BEEN.

Although no relationship exists between ATPP and asking a security guard for information, there is a strong relationship between the rating this service receives and ATPP ($\gamma = .83$). This relationship is significant. Those respondents who rate the service provided by security guards as poor or below average are much more likely to have unfavorable ATPP (Table 16).

Perception of differential group treatment is moderately related to the security guard service rating ($\gamma = .56$). This relationship is significant (Table 61). Those respondents who perceive DGT2 are more likely to rate the service

TABLE 16

ATPP BY SECURITY GUARD SERVICE RATING

ATPP	SECURITY GUARD SERVICE RATING		
	Below Avg.	Average	Good
	%	%	%
Unfavorable	64	33	6
Neutral	36	59	36
Favorable	0	8	58
	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$	$\overline{100\%}$
	(n=14)	(n=24)	(n=80)

Caution should be exercised when interpreting this table due to the small number of respondents in some categories. chi-square=52.90 df 8 significance .0000 gamma=.83

they receive from security guards as below average or average.

Asking a security guard for information is moderately related to having knowledge of security guard misconduct (gamma=.52). This relationship is significant (Table 50). Those respondents who have asked a security guard for information are slightly more likely to have knowledge of security guard misconduct.

Asking a Winnipeg Policeman for information and/or assistance is weakly related to ATP although it is not significant (gamma=-.07). Those respondents who asked a Winnipeg Policeman for information are slightly more likely to have favorable ATP. Asking a Winnipeg Policeman for information, however, is not related to having knowledge of police misconduct (gamma=.10).

We can see from Table 17 that there is a strong relationship between ATP and the service rating the Winnipeg Police received ($\gamma=.63$). This relationship is significant. Those respondents who rated the service they received as poor or below average are somewhat more likely to have unfa-

TABLE 17

ATP BY WINNIPEG POLICE SERVICE RATING

ATP	WINNIPEG POLICE SERVICE RATING		
	Below Avg. %	Average %	Good %
Unfavorable	34	15	5
Neutral	37	46	17
Favorable	29	39	78
	<u>100%</u> (n=35)	<u>100%</u> (n=62)	<u>100%</u> (n=246)

chi-square=95.21 df 8 significance .0000 $\gamma=.63$

favorable ATP.

Experience as a victim per se is not related to ATP ($\gamma=-.03$). However, the rating the Winnipeg Police received for their handling of the complaint is related to ATP ($\gamma=.63$, Table 52). This strong relationship is significant. Those respondents who rate the police handling of their victimization as poor or below average are much more likely to have unfavorable ATP. The types of crimes most often mentioned by victims include theft, break & enter, and vandalism.

The literature on attitudes toward the police tells us that the observation or experiencing of police misconduct results in negative ATP. In order to see if this also applies to ATPP, our eighth hypothesis suggests

HYPOTHESIS 6.3 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE OBSERVED PRIVATE POLICE ENGAGED IN MISCONDUCT WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRIVATE POLICE THAN THOSE WHO HAVEN'T.

We can see from Table 18 that there is a strong relationship between ATPP and experiencing security guard misconduct ($\gamma=.62$). This relationship is significant. Those respondents who have experienced security guard misconduct are more likely to have unfavorable ATPP. Some of the items which constitute misconduct include being intoxicated on the

TABLE 18
ATPP BY OBSERVATION OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT

ATPP	OBSERVATION OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT	
	Yes %	No %
Unfavorable	43	15
Neutral	47	46
Favorable	10	39
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=30)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=437)

chi-square=23.49 df 4 significance .0001 $\gamma=.62$

job, use of excessive force, and theft.

There is a moderate relationship between ATP and experiencing Winnipeg Police misconduct ($\gamma=.42$). This rela-

tionship is significant. Those respondents who have experienced police misconduct are somewhat more likely to have unfavorable ATP (Table 19). Some of the items which constitute this misconduct include traffic violations, brutality, and violations of police regulations (ie. sleeping on the

TABLE 19

ATP BY OBSERVATION OF WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT

ATP	OBSERVATION OF WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT	
	Yes %	No %
Unfavorable	21	7
Neutral	36	25
Favorable	43	68
	<u>100%</u> (n=83)	<u>100%</u> (n=372)

chi-square=24.14 df 4 significance .0001 gamma=.42

job, drinking on the job).

The literature on ATP tells us that conflicting results have been obtained when studies have tried to assess the effect of law enforcement encounters (ie. arrest) on ATP. To test this variable, our ninth hypothesis suggests

HYPOTHESIS 6.4 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN THE OBJECT OF NEGATIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT ENCOUNTERS BY PRIVATE POLICE WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRIVATE POLICE THAN THOSE WHO HAVEN'T BEEN.

Unfortunately, we did not receive enough variation in this variable to do an adequate analysis. Only 5% of our sample reported that they had been arrested by a Winnipeg Policeman

while only 2 people reported that they had been arrested by a security guard.

The next hypothesis to be investigated in this study suggests that

HYPOTHESIS 7 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO PERCEIVE DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT ON THE PART OF PRIVATE POLICE WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRIVATE POLICE THAN THOSE WHO DON'T.

When we look at Table 20 we see that there is a weak relationship between ATPP and perception of differential group treatment ($\gamma=.27$). This relationship is significant. Those respondents who perceive differential group treatment

TABLE 20
ATPP BY PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT

ATPP	PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT		
	Yes %	Sometimes %	No %
Unfavorable	26	18	8
Neutral	43	47	30
Favorable	31	35	62
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=139)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=165)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=53)

chi-square=24.09 df 8 significance .002 $\gamma=.27$

are slightly more likely to have unfavorable ATPP.

Age is the only background variable that appears to be related to perception of differential group treatment ($\gamma=.19$). This weak relationship is significant. Those re-

spondents who are 19- 28 years of age are more likely to perceive differential group treatment (Table 53).

When we consider ATP, we find that there is a moderate relationship between perception of differential group treatment and ATP ($\gamma=.57$). This relationship is significant. Those respondents who perceive differential group treatment

TABLE 21

ATP BY PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT-B

ATP	PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT			
	Very Serious	Pretty Serious	Not Very Serious	Does Not Occur
	%	%	%	%
Unfavorable	55	20	5	3
Neutral	17	38	27	0
Favorable	28	42	68	97
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=18)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=50)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=164)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=38)

chi-square=99.04 df 12 significance .0000 $\gamma=.57$

are much more likely to have unfavorable ATP (Table 21).

Age and sex, in this case, are the only background variables that are related to perception of differential group treatment ($\gamma=.23$ & $-.24$, Tables 54 & 55 respectively). These weak relationships are both significant. Those respondents who are 19-28 years of age are somewhat more likely to perceive differential group treatment as very serious or pretty serious. Those respondents who are female are also somewhat more likely to perceive differential group treatment as very serious or pretty serious.

The only experiential variable that is related to the perception of differential group treatment by the police is the experiencing of Winnipeg Police misconduct ($\gamma=.49$, Table 56). This moderate relationship is significant. Those respondents who have experienced police misconduct are more likely to perceive differential group treatment as very serious or pretty serious.

The last hypothesis to be investigated in this study suggests that

HYPOTHESIS 8 - THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO KNOW SOMEONE PERSONALLY WHO HAS WITNESSED PRIVATE POLICE MISCONDUCT WILL HOLD MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD PRIVATE POLICE THAN THOSE WHO DO NOT.

Table 22 tells us that there is a moderate relationship between knowledge of security guard misconduct and ATPP ($\gamma=.44$). This relationship is significant. Those respondents who have knowledge of security guard misconduct are more likely to have unfavorable ATPP. Some examples of the incidents reported include theft, unprofessional behavior, and being intoxicated on the job.

There are no background variables related to having knowledge of security guard misconduct. However, experiencing security guard misconduct, asking a security guard for information, and having a security guard as an acquaintance are all related to having knowledge of someone else experiencing security guard misconduct ($\gamma=.93, .52, -.46$ respectively).

TABLE 22
ATPP BY KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT

ATPP	KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT	
	Yes %	No %
Unfavorable	41	15
Neutral	38	46
Favorable	21	39
	100% (n=29)	100% (n=433)

Caution should be exercised when interpreting this table due to the small number of respondents in one category. chi-square=19.24 df 4 significance .0007 gamma=.44

The strong relationship between experiencing security guard misconduct and having knowledge of security guard misconduct is significant. Those respondents who report that they have knowledge of security guard misconduct are much more likely to have experienced security guard misconduct (Table 57).

The moderate relationship between asking a security guard for information and having knowledge of security guard misconduct is significant. Those respondents who have asked for information are slightly more likely to have knowledge of security guard misconduct (Table 50).

The moderate relationship between having a security guard as an acquaintance and having knowledge of security guard misconduct is significant (Table 49). Those respondents who have a security guard acquaintance are slightly more likely to have knowledge of security guard misconduct.

If our measures are valid, then we should expect there to be a relationship between having knowledge of security guard misconduct and perceiving differential group treatment since both are forms of indirect contact and collective experience. When we look at Table 23, this is what we do find ($\gamma=.45$). Those respondents who have knowledge of security guard misconduct are more likely to perceive differential group treatment. This moderate relationship is signif-

TABLE 23

DGT2 BY KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT

DGT2	KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	60	37
Sometimes	36	47
No	4	16
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=25)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=329)

Caution should be exercised when interpreting this table due to the small number of respondents in one category. $\chi^2=6.03$ df 2 significance .05 $\gamma=.45$

icant.

When we look at ATP we find that having knowledge of Winnipeg Police misconduct is related to ATP ($\gamma=.47$). This moderate relationship is significant. Those respondents who have knowledge of police misconduct are somewhat more likely to have unfavorable ATP (Table 24). Some of the items which were mentioned include brutality, violations of police regulations, and abuse of authority.

TABLE 24

ATP BY KNOWLEDGE OF WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT

ATP	KNOWLEDGE OF WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT	
	Yes %	No %
Unfavorable	24	7
Neutral	34	25
Favorable	42	68
	<u>100%</u> (n=70)	<u>100%</u> (n=376)

chi-square=28.99 df 4 significance .0000 gamma=.47

Age is the only background variable related to knowledge of police misconduct (gamma=.42). This moderate relationship is significant. Those respondents who are 19-28 years of age are slightly more likely to have knowledge of police misconduct (Table 9).

Having a policeman as a friend or acquaintance, and experiencing Winnipeg Police misconduct are all related to having knowledge of police misconduct (gamma=-.35,-.37,.78 respectively). Those respondents who have a policeman as a friend are somewhat more likely to have knowledge of police misconduct. This moderate relationship is significant. Similarly, those respondents who have a policeman as an acquaintance are somewhat more likely to have knowledge of police misconduct. This moderate relationship is also significant. Those respondents who have experienced police misconduct are much more likely to have knowledge of police misconduct. This strong relationship is significant (Tables 48,49, & 58).

Although asking a Winnipeg Policeman for information and/or assistance is not related to knowledge of police misconduct, the evaluation of that service is ($\gamma=.52$). This moderate relationship is significant (Table 59). Those respondents who have knowledge of police misconduct are somewhat more likely to rate the service provided by the police as poor.

If our measures are valid, then we should expect there to be a relationship between having knowledge of police misconduct and perceiving differential group treatment since both are examples of indirect contact and collective experience. When we look at Table 25, this is what we do find ($\gamma=.47$). Those respondents who have knowledge of police misconduct are more likely to perceive differential group treatment as very serious or pretty serious. This moderate

TABLE 25
DGT BY KNOWLEDGE OF WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT

DGT	KNOWLEDGE OF WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT	
	Yes %	No %
Very Serious	15	5
Pretty Serious	31	15
Not Very Serious	48	64
Does Not Occur	6	16
	<u>100%</u> (n=48)	<u>100%</u> (n=227)

chi-square=14.57 df 3 significance .002 $\gamma=.47$

relationship is significant.

To summarize the research findings just presented, we find that

1. hypothesis one (union membership) is not supported;
2. there is not enough variation in our sample to evaluate hypothesis two (race);
3. hypothesis three is not supported. However, there is a statistically significant relationship between age and ATPP. Those respondents in the 19-48 age range are slightly more likely to have unfavorable ATPP. There is also a statistically significant relationship between age and DGT2. Those respondents who were 19-28 years of age were more likely to perceive differential group treatment;
4. hypothesis four (sex) is not supported;
5. hypothesis five (ses) is not supported;
6. hypothesis 6.1 receives some support although it is in the opposite direction to that postulated. Respondents who have a security guard as a friend or relative are slightly more likely to have unfavorable ATPP;
7. hypothesis 6.2 is supported since those respondents who were dissatisfied with the service provided by security guards are much more likely to have unfavorable ATPP;
8. hypothesis 6.3 is supported since those respondents who have experienced security guard misconduct are more likely to have unfavorable ATPP;

- 9. there is not enough variation in our sample to evaluate hypothesis 6.4 (arrest);
- 10. hypothesis seven is supported since those respondents who perceive differential group treatment are slightly more likely to have unfavorable ATPP;
- 11. hypothesis eight is supported since those respondents who have knowledge of security guard misconduct are more likely to have unfavorable ATPP.

When the data were checked for correlate weighting artifacts we found that experiencing police misconduct was affecting the relationship between union membership and ATP. Table 26 shows us that, when we control for the experiencing of police misconduct, those respondents who are non-union members are more likely to have unfavorable ATP. When we don't control for the experiencing of police misconduct, we find that there is no relationship between union membership

TABLE 26

ATP BY UNION MEMBERSHIP BY EXPERIENCED POLICE MISCONDUCT

	EXPERIENCED WINNIPEG POLICE MISCONDUCT			
	Yes		No	
	UNION MEMBERSHIP	UNION MEMBERSHIP	UNION MEMBERSHIP	UNION MEMBERSHIP
	No	Yes	No	Yes
ATP	%	%	%	%
Unfavorable	29	7	8	7
Neutral	33	40	26	23
Favorable	38	53	66	70
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=51)	(n=30)	(n=182)	(n=180)

and ATP.

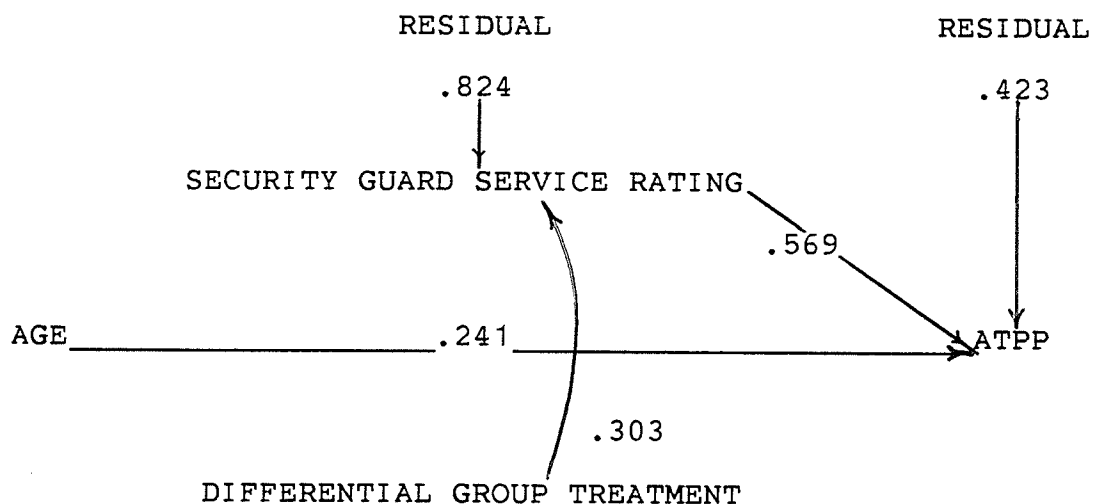
Similarly, when we control for the knowledge of police misconduct, we find that those respondents who are non-union members are somewhat more likely to have unfavorable ATP. When we don't control for knowledge of police misconduct, we find that there is no relationship between union membership and ATP.

This form of multi-variate analysis is important to carry out since a relationship between two variables (or the lack of a relationship) may appear to have a particular direction because these variables are both correlated with another variable. In other words, the inter-relationship between two independent variables can affect the appearance of a relationship between each independent variable and the dependent variable. In this study, a complete assessment of whether correlate weighting artifacts were affecting the descriptions of the directions of relationships between the independent and dependent variables could not be made. With the three-way breakdowns, there simply wasn't enough variation in our sample. In other words, the number of respondents in the smallest cell size in the three-way breakdowns was below 5.

The last form of analysis carried out in this study was multiple regression. Multiple regression enables us to determine the relative contribution of each independent or predictor variable in estimating values of the dependent or

predicted variable when all other variables are controlled at the same time. After a correlation matrix was run and checked for multi-collinearity, a series of scatterplots were run to check for any violations of the assumptions which underlie regression (ie. linearity). Then, a series of regression equations were run in an attempt to form a model. If a variable did not meet the significance criteria, it was deleted from the equation and the regression was re-run. What this meant was that if an independent variable's beta weight was less than two times its standard error B it was deleted.

After following these steps, the resulting model can be shown as:



We can see from this model that we can account for 58% of the variation in attitudes toward the private police. In addition, we can see that the most important predictor of ATPP is the degree of satisfaction with the service provided by security guards.

When this model was checked for mathematical adequacy, it was discovered that the total effect between differential group treatment and ATPP was not completely due to differential group treatment's indirect associations with ATPP via the other independent variables affecting it. The original zero order correlation between DGT2 and ATPP was .365 while the generated value was .172. The difference between these two values is greater than .050. Therefore, this model is

TABLE 27
MATHEMATICAL ADEQUACY OF REGRESSION MODEL

	AGE	PPSERV	DGT2	ATPP
AGE	X	0	0	.241
PPSERV	0	X	.303	.569
DGT2	0	.303	X	.172
ATPP	.241	.569	0	X

zero order correlation co-efficients and generated values

not mathematically sound.

When the regression was run on ATP the only predictor that was found was the police service rating. This variable explained 34% of the variation in ATP and had a zero order correlation co-efficient of .433.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The data upon which this thesis is based have contributed to building a sound base of research data on the private police. This research supports the assertion that most people form their attitudes toward the private police on the basis of their evaluation of the service provided by the private police.

Due to a paucity of research data on the private police, the direction this thesis took came from previous research on the public police. It might be useful at this point to examine our findings on the public police and compare them to this literature.

The race variable has received a great deal of attention in American studies on the public police. However, we were not able to evaluate the effect of race on ATP since we did not receive enough variation in our sample.

When we consider previous research on age and ATP we find that, in general, the young evaluate the police more negatively than the old do. Our study found that, although age was not directly related to ATP, it was related to experiencing or having knowledge of police misconduct (young

slightly more likely). Age was also related to asking for police assistance and the rating that this assistance received. Those respondents who were 19-28 years of age were slightly more likely to rate police assistance as poor or below average.

Sex, as a variable in previous research on ATP, was found to have little effect. Our study found essentially the same thing. However, sex was related to our respondents experiencing police misconduct (males somewhat more likely). Males were also found to be somewhat more likely to have a policeman as an acquaintance.

When we consider previous research on socio-economic status and ATP we find that conflicting results have been obtained. Our study found that SES had no effect on ATP. In this respect, our findings are similar to those of Smith and Hawkins (1973). SES, however, was related to asking for police assistance. Those respondents from the lower middle class were somewhat less likely to ask a policeman for information or assistance.

In the literature, having a policeman as a friend or relative had no effect on ATP. Our study reached the same conclusion. Having a policeman as a friend, relative, or acquaintance was not related to ATP. In this regard, our findings parallel those of Smith and Hawkins (1973), and Scaglione and Condon (1980).

Previous studies have found that dissatisfaction with police performance resulted in negative ATP. Our study found that the service rating the police received was related to ATP. Those respondents who rated the service they received as poor or below average were somewhat more likely to have unfavorable ATP. Such a finding is consistent with those of Klein et al. (1978).

In the literature, observation of police misconduct resulted in negative ATP. Our study also reached the same conclusion. It found that those respondents who had experienced police misconduct were somewhat more likely to have unfavorable ATP. In this respect, our findings are similar to those of Smith and Hawkins (1973), Thornton (1975), and Klein et al. (1978).

The effect of law enforcement encounters on ATP has been contradictory in previous studies. However, our study was not able to evaluate this variable because we did not receive enough variation in our sample.

Generally speaking, the results of our study on ATP are similar to those reported in the research literature. Therefore, we can conclude that the results are not just peculiar to our population. When we look at ATPP, we find the same variables that were important in ATP are important in ATPP. The respondent's perception of differential group treatment, his knowledge of misconduct, his experience of

misconduct, and the rating he gave for service were all found to be the most significant variables in both cases.

The main conclusion that this study draws about the public's attitude toward the private police is that most people are ambivalent. In other words, the public simply doesn't know or care that much about the private police. This is to be expected when one considers how systems of private justice operate. Scraton and South tell us that companies who employ private systems of security are pursuing a strategy of containment (1984). They want to set and operate the limits of crime. Matters are handled internally so that the company retains close control of discipline (cost minimization and production control). The formal rule of law is invoked only as a last resort. Therefore, the general public would only become aware of the activities of private police when the formal rule of law is invoked (and this usually occurs when one of the private policemen is the one charged).

One must remember that private justice systems operate as alternatives to criminal justice. As such, they have different objectives. Within private justice systems it is profit that guides order maintenance and it is loss rather than crime which is of primary concern. Therefore, attaching individual responsibility for wrongdoing takes second place to loss reduction (Shearing et al. 1980, p.249).

The next conclusion that this study reaches is that dissatisfaction with the service provided by the private police results in negative ATPP. Critical conflict theory tells us that one of the goals of capitalist companies is profit maximization (Henry, 1982). Therefore, companies motivated by profit are going to hire the cheapest private policemen that it can (cost minimization). Unfortunately, these individuals are also the most physically marginal, the least trained, and the most uneducated. Thus, we should not be surprised when we find that the service they provide to the public is sometimes unsatisfactory.

Critical conflict theory also tells us that it is the employers of private police who define what is most threatening to business and where the thrust of police activity should be. Public dissatisfaction results when there is an incongruence between the demands of the employer and demands of the public. Take, for example, an incident reported in the June 29, 1984 edition of the Winnipeg Free Press in which several bicycles were stolen from the local exhibition grounds. A man claimed he was forced by a security guard to move his bicycle and put it in a designated area for bikes. When the man later came out of the exhibition, he found his bike had been stolen. The man subsequently claimed that the security guard was responsible. To counter this claim, the head of security for the exhibition replied

We're not down there to look after people's bicycles. We're there to look after exhibition property and crowd control (Winnipeg Free Press June 29, 1984).

Protection of exhibition property and crowd control were defined by the employer as where the thrust of private police activity should be. Protection of customers' bicycles was not defined as threatening to business so no attempt was made to safeguard them. This in turn resulted in public dissatisfaction.

This study also reaches the conclusion that those who have experienced private police misconduct will have negative ATPP. Again we find that the company's goal of maximizing profit through cost minimization is responsible for this. To keep labor costs down, the company hires the cheapest private policemen that it can. The problem with this policy is that the company ends up with the most unqualified personnel. To make matters worse, training programs are often nonexistent or superficial (Steinberg 1972, p.585). Security personnel end up ignorant of their legal powers and authority (Kakalik and Wildhorn 1972). Thus, use of these ill-trained, low quality personnel sometimes leads to instances of private police misconduct.

The three main types of misconduct that this study uncovered were intoxication, excessive force, and theft. Scraton and South tell us that theft from employers is a response within the company to low wages and poor working conditions. For these writers "crime at work" constitutes political action in the sense that it constitutes an attack on the hegemony of class discipline launched from what autonomous

space is available (1984, p.11). Their analysis applied only to workers but I think it can be extended to cover private policemen alienated from their work roles.

Irini and Prus tell us that the treatment an offender receives often reflects his willingness to recognize the legitimacy of the private policeman's authority (1982, p.73). Therefore, the use of excessive force can be seen to result from those situations where offenders have defied the authority of private policemen.

Intoxication on the job, as a form of misconduct, is related to the type of personnel employed as private policemen when companies pursue a policy of cost minimization. As mentioned earlier in this section, these private policemen are the most physically marginal, the least trained, and the most uneducated. For some, their lack of professional standards makes it easy to turn to alcohol to alleviate boredom. For others, the social consequences of alcoholism puts them at the bottom of the labor pool where they often find employment as private police.

The next conclusion that this study reaches is that those who perceive differential group treatment and have knowledge of private police misconduct will have negative ATPP. Since critical conflict theory is not deterministic, the individual is not passive. He does not have to have direct contact with private policemen to have a negative attitude. All he

needs is collective experience or, in other words, anecdotal information about the private police. In critical conflict theory this information would not be subcultural in origin. Instead, it would derive from micro-relationships such as the relationships within a peer group. Our study found that respondents who were 19-28 years of age were more likely to perceive differential group treatment. Our study also found that those respondents who were 19-48 years of age were slightly more likely to have unfavorable ATPP.

This collection of beliefs, based on direct contact others in one's peer group have had, is not political consciousness. These individuals who perceive differential group treatment are just aware that private policemen are always hassling them as a group.

The next conclusion this study reaches is that having a private policeman as a friend or relative is related to negative ATPP. This finding was not statistically significant but it is important since it is in the opposite direction to that postulated. It was originally thought that, since having a private policeman as a friend or relative is a positive contact situation, it would cause the individual to be less critical. It now appears that this is not the case. One explanation might be that individuals who have a private policeman as a friend know about more instances of private police misconduct. When we look at the data, this is what we find. Those respondents who report having a private po-

liceman as a friend or relative are slightly more likely to have knowledge of private police misconduct. This relationship, however, was not statistically significant.

In this study, no attempt was made to directly test or empirically demonstrate the assumptions of critical conflict theory. Critical conflict theory was used as a heuristic device. That is to say, critical conflict theory was used to explain the findings and make sense of the data. With regard to the findings in this study, it showed that it was capable of this. However, this is not to say that such an explanation is totally incompatible with other theories or that alternative explanations could not be made. In fact, our findings on our respondents' knowledge of security guard misconduct (hypo. 8) are consistent with a symbolic interactionist interpretation while our findings on age (hypo. 3) are consistent with a consensus theory interpretation. Therefore, we cannot make a conclusion about the explanatory power of critical conflict theory.

Areas that require further research include the effect of race on ATPP and the effect of arrest on ATPP. Our study was not able to evaluate these variables because we did not receive enough variation in our sample. The type of sampling technique that we used was a cluster sampling technique. To get at these variables, the researcher would have to use a stratified sampling technique. This requires that he knows how to divide the population meaningfully and has

the required information to do it. Once he divides the population into sub-groups (ie. white and nonwhite) he then draws a random-type sample separately from each sub-group. This would give him enough variation so that he could carry out his analyses.

In the area of private police, there are other issues that need to be addressed. For instance, what are the effects of the recent influx of immigrants into security guard positions? What effect does the foreign ownership of these security agencies have? What effect does the increased growth of areas designated as private places (ie. North Portage Development) have on patterns of policing? Answers to these questions will further our understanding of the private police.

One implication that emerges from this study is that the public should be educated about the role and powers of the private police. Remember that the main conclusion that this study draws about the public's ATPP is that most people are ambivalent. They simply do not know that much about the private police. The danger with this is that cases of misconduct could end up being not reported because the public is not aware that the private policeman is acting beyond the scope of his authority. Although the number of cases of misconduct reported in this study is small, the effect it has on ATPP is significant. We should realize that a secondary system of policing which operates inefficiently affects

people's attitudes to policing in general (Freedman and Stenning 1977).

Appendix A
TABLES & QUESTIONNAIRE

TABLE 28
ATPP BY UNION MEMBERSHIP

	UNION MEMBERSHIP	
ATPP	NO	YES
	%	%
Unfavorable	19	15
Neutral	45	48
Favorable	36	37
	<u>100%</u> (n=243)	<u>100%</u> (n=219)

chi-square=4.74 df 4 significance .316 gamma=.06

TABLE 29
ATP BY UNION MEMBERSHIP

	UNION MEMBERSHIP	
ATP	NO	YES
	%	%
Unfavorable	13	6
Neutral	27	26
Favorable	60	68
	<u>100%</u> (n=237)	<u>100%</u> (n=217)

chi-square=5.72 df 4 significance .221 gamma=.13

TABLE 30
KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT BY UNION MEMBERSHIP

MISCON3	UNION MEMBERSHIP	
	NO %	YES %
Yes	16	13
No	84	87
	<u>100%</u> (n=238)	<u>100%</u> (n=217)

chi-square=.60 df 1 significance .44 gamma=.12

TABLE 31
ASKED POLICE FOR INFORMATION BY UNION MEMBERSHIP2

PINFO	FAMILY UNION MEMBER	
	NO %	YES %
Yes	79	68
No	21	32
	<u>100%</u> (n=264)	<u>100%</u> (n=175)

chi-square=6.87 df 1 significance .009 gamma=.29

TABLE 32
ATPP BY AGE

ATPP	AGE						
	19-28 %	29-38 %	39-48 %	49-58 %	59-68 %	69-78 %	>79 %
Unfavorable	19	26	22	11	5	4	0
Neutral	51	45	46	51	38	42	33
Favorable	30	29	32	38	57	54	67
	<u>100%</u> (n=67)	<u>100%</u> (n=129)	<u>100%</u> (n=101)	<u>100%</u> (n=73)	<u>100%</u> (n=61)	<u>100%</u> (n=26)	<u>100%</u> (n=06)

chi-square=47.67 df 24 significance .003 gamma=.25

TABLE 33

ATP BY AGE

ATP	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Unfavorable	13	15	6	3	9	3	20
Neutral	25	26	28	35	20	21	60
Favorable	62	59	66	62	71	76	20
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=64)	(n=127)	(n=95)	(n=71)	(n=65)	(n=29)	(n=05)

chi-square=42.56 df 24 significance .011 gamma=.16

TABLE 34

ASKED POLICE FOR INFORMATION BY AGE

PINFO	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	67	75	80	81	74	53	67
No	33	25	20	19	26	47	33
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=67)	(n=130)	(n=101)	(n=74)	(n=65)	(n=30)	(n=06)

chi-square=12.62 df 6 significance .05 gamma=.01

TABLE 35

ASKED SECURITY GUARD FOR INFORMATION BY AGE

PPINFO	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	35	25	21	27	21	24	0
No	65	75	79	73	79	76	100
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=66)	(n=130)	(n=101)	(n=73)	(n=62)	(n=29)	(n=06)

chi-square=7.18 df 6 significance .31 gamma=.12

TABLE 36
EXPERIENCED POLICE MISCONDUCT BY AGE

MISCON	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
Yes	24	22	21	15	13	0	0
No	76	78	79	85	87	100	100
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=67)	(n=130)	(n=100)	(n=72)	(n=63)	(n=29)	(n=06)

chi-square=12.93 df 6 significance .04 gamma=.26

TABLE 37
POLICE SERVICE RATING BY AGE

PSERV	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
Below Avg	18	13	10	0	10	8	0
Average	20	18	22	18	10	13	25
Good	62	69	68	82	80	79	75
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=45)	(n=98)	(n=79)	(n=61)	(n=48)	(n=15)	(n=04)

chi-square=36.07 df 24 significance .05 gamma=.12

TABLE 38
POLICE ACQUAINTANCE BY AGE

PACQNT	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
No	43	50	42	48	54	67	83
Yes	57	50	58	52	46	33	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(n=67)	(n=129)	(n=101)	(n=75)	(n=65)	(n=30)	(n=06)

chi-square=10.42 df 6 significance .11 gamma=-.11

TABLE 39
ATPP BY SEX

ATPP	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
	%	%
Unfavorable	16	19
Neutral	46	47
Favorable	38	34
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=330)	(n=140)

chi-square=2.45 df 4 significance .65 gamma=-.07

TABLE 40
ATP BY SEX

ATP	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
	%	%
Unfavorable	10	9
Neutral	27	27
Favorable	63	64
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=326)	(n=136)

chi-square=1.34 df 4 significance .86 gamma=.05

TABLE 41
KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY SEX

PPMISC3	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
	%	%
Yes	7	5
No	93	95
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=330)	(n=136)

chi-square=.17 df 1 significance .68 gamma=.14

TABLE 42
POLICE ACQUAINTANCE BY SEX

PACQNT	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
No	46	57
Yes	54	43
	<u>100%</u> (n=337)	<u>100%</u> (n=143)

chi-square=3.9 df 1 significance .05 gamma=-.21

TABLE 43
ATPP BY SOCIAL CLASS

ATPP	SOCIAL CLASS			
	LC	LMC	MC	UC
Unfavorable	14	6	17	24
Neutral	41	43	47	46
Favorable	45	51	36	30
	<u>100%</u> (n=44)	<u>100%</u> (n=54)	<u>100%</u> (n=205)	<u>100%</u> (n=119)

chi-square=16.28 df 12 significance .18 gamma=-.20

TABLE 44
ATP BY SOCIAL CLASS

ATP	SOCIAL CLASS			
	LC	LMC	MC	UC
Unfavorable	19	9	9	5
Neutral	32	26	26	28
Favorable	49	65	65	67
	<u>100%</u> (n=47)	<u>100%</u> (n=53)	<u>100%</u> (n=199)	<u>100%</u> (n=116)

chi-square=16.58 df 12 significance .17 gamma=.09

TABLE 45
SECURITY GUARD ACQUAINTANCE BY SOCIAL CLASS

PPACQNT	SOCIAL CLASS			
	LC	LMC	MC	UC
No	82	69	79	76
Yes	18	31	21	24
	<u>100%</u> (n=45)	<u>100%</u> (n=55)	<u>100%</u> (n=205)	<u>100%</u> (n=118)

chi-square=3.39 df 3 significance .34 gamma=.002

TABLE 46
KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY PPACQNT

PPMISC3	SECURITY GUARD ACQUAINTANCE	
	NO	YES
Yes	5	12
No	95	88
	<u>100%</u> (n=364)	<u>100%</u> (n=103)

chi-square=5.57 df 1 significance .018 gamma=-.46

TABLE 47
KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY PPFRIEND

PPMISC3	SECURITY GUARD FRIEND	
	NO	YES
Yes	6	13
No	94	87
	<u>100%</u> (n=422)	<u>100%</u> (n=47)

chi-square=2.74 df 1 significance .098 gamma=-.43

TABLE 48

KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT BY POLICE FRIEND

MISCON3	POLICE FRIEND	
	NO %	YES %
Yes	12	23
No	88	77
	<u>100%</u> (n=347)	<u>100%</u> (n=119)

chi-square=6.58 df 1 significance .01 gamma=-.35

TABLE 49

KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT BY POLICE ACQUAINTANCE

MISCON3	POLICE ACQUAINTANCE	
	NO %	YES %
Yes	10	20
No	90	80
	<u>100%</u> (n=226)	<u>100%</u> (n=239)

chi-square=7.45 df 1 significance .006 gamma=-.37

TABLE 50

KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY PPMISC3

PPMISC3	ASKED SECURITY GUARD FOR INFORMATION	
	YES %	NO %
Yes	12	4
No	88	96
	<u>100%</u> (n=115)	<u>100%</u> (n=354)

chi-square=8.11 df 1 significance .004 gamma=.52

TABLE 51

ATP BY ASKED POLICE FOR INFORMATION

ATP	ASKED POLICE FOR INFORMATION	
	YES %	NO %
Unfavorable	9	10
Neutral	25	31
Favorable	66	59
	<u>100%</u> (n=344)	<u>100%</u> (n=118)

chi-square=2.76 df 4 significance .60 gamma=-.07

TABLE 52

ATP BY VICTIM SERVICE RATING

ATP	VICTIM SERVICE RATING		
	BELOW AVG %	AVERAGE %	GOOD %
Unfavorable	34	3	6
Neutral	33	62	11
Favorable	33	35	83
	<u>100%</u> (n=24)	<u>100%</u> (n=34)	<u>100%</u> (n=122)

chi-square=67.72 df 8 significance .0000 gamma.63

TABLE 53

DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT BY AGE

DGT2	AGE						
	19-28 %	29-38 %	39-48 %	49-58 %	59-68 %	69-78 %	>79 %
Yes	59	37	35	37	35	13	75
Sometimes	31	51	51	51	36	67	0
No	10	12	14	12	29	20	25
	<u>100%</u> (n=58)	<u>100%</u> (n=103)	<u>100%</u> (n=79)	<u>100%</u> (n=52)	<u>100%</u> (n=45)	<u>100%</u> (n=15)	<u>100%</u> (n=04)

chi-square=27.20 df 12 significance .007 gamma=.19

TABLE 54
DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT-B BY AGE

DGT	AGE						
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69-78	>79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very Serious	15	5	6	4	5	0	25
Pretty Serious	30	26	16	9	16	0	25
Not Very Serious	40	57	71	70	60	69	50
Does Not Occur	15	12	7	17	19	31	0
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=33)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=74)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=70)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=46)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=37)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=13)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=04)

chi-square=28.85 df 18 significance .05 gamma=.23

TABLE 55
DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT-B BY SEX

DGT	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
	%	%
Very Serious	6	9
Pretty Serious	14	29
Not Very Serious	66	48
Does Not Occur	14	14
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=204)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=77)

chi-square=10.06 df 3 significance .018 gamma=-.24

TABLE 56
EXPERIENCED POLICE MISCONDUCT BY DGT

MISCON	DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT-B			
	VERY SERIOUS %	PRETTY SERIOUS %	NOT VERY SERIOUS %	DOES NOT OCCUR %
Yes	39	41	16	10
No	61	59	84	90
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=18)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=51)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=170)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=39)

chi-square=21.21 df 3 significance .0001 gamma=.49

TABLE 57
EXPERIENCED SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY PPMISC3

PPMISC	KNOWLEDGE OF SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT	
	YES %	NO %
Yes	48	3
No	52	97
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=29)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=437)

chi-square=90.01 df 1 significance .0000 gamma=.93

TABLE 58
EXPERIENCED POLICE MISCONDUCT BY MISCON3

MISCON	KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT	
	YES %	NO %
Yes	51	12
No	49	88
	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=69)	$\overline{100\%}$ (n=392)

chi-square=60.30 df 1 significance .0000 gamma=.78

TABLE 59

POLICE SERVICE BY KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT

PSERV	KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE MISCONDUCT	
	YES %	NO %
Below Avg	25	8
Average	26	16
Good	49	76
	<u>100%</u> (n=53)	<u>100%</u> (n=292)

chi-square=31.77 df 4 significance .0000 gamma=.52

TABLE 60

EXPERIENCED SECURITY GUARD MISCONDUCT BY DGT2

PPMISC	DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT		
	YES %	SOMETIMES %	NO %
Yes	11	6	4
No	89	94	96
	<u>100%</u> (n=137)	<u>100%</u> (n=165)	<u>100%</u> (n=52)

chi-square=3.78 df 2 significance .15 gamma=.34

TABLE 61

SECURITY GUARD SERVICE RATING BY DGT2

PPSERV	DIFFERENTIAL GROUP TREATMENT		
	YES %	SOMETIMES %	NO %
Below Avg	16	9	0
Average	32	16	0
Good	52	75	100
	<u>100%</u> (n=38)	<u>100%</u> (n=44)	<u>100%</u> (n=11)

chi-square=10.44 df 4 significance .0337 gamma=.56

D. Hurley
Rm. 310, Isbister Bldg.
183 Dafoe Road
University of Manitoba
R3T 2N2

January 25th, 1985

Dear Householder:

RE: POLICE AGENCY SURVEY

A researcher at the University of Manitoba is studying what the people of Winnipeg think about different police agencies in their city. Your co-operation with this study will help us determine whether or not these agencies need improving. Any person in your household may answer this questionnaire providing they are over 18 years of age and have lived in Winnipeg for over one year.

Your household was chosen from a scientific sample of all Winnipeg households. The information you give us is put together with information from many Winnipeggers. You and your answers are never identified. We are interested only in an overview and as such, will not be reporting any individual's specific answers.

Since it is very important to the study to get a complete response, a follow-up letter will be sent to non-respondents. Recipients wishing no further contact can avoid this follow-up by simply mailing back the blank questionnaire.

If you wish to have more information, please feel free to contact me at

Yours sincerely,

D. Hurley
Principal Investigator

4. Now I would like you to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following items.

a) A lot of criminals go to prison because the police are doing their job correctly.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

c:19 __

b) Police often use extreme measures to get confessions.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

c:20 __

c) Sometimes police frisk and search without good reasons.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

c:21 __

d) Police are careful not to arrest innocent persons.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

c:22 __

e) Police frequently use more force than they need to when carrying out their duties.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

c:23 __

5. a) Do you have a close friend or relative who is a policeman?

Yes.....2
No.....1

c:24 __

b) Do you know a policeman well enough to call him by his name if you saw him on the street?

Yes.....2
No.....1

c:25 __

6. a) Have you ever requested information and/or assistance from the Winnipeg Police?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)

No.....2 (GO TO 7)

c:26 _

b) How would you rate the service you received from the Winnipeg Police?

Excellent.....5

Good.....4

Average.....3

Below Average.....2

Poor.....1

c:27 _

7. a) Have you ever been a victim of crime?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)

No.....2 (GO TO 8)

c:28 _

b) What was the crime? (MOST RECENT)

c:29,30 _

c) Were the Winnipeg Police informed or did they find out about this incident in any way?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER d)

No.....2 (GO TO 8)

Don't Know.8 (GO TO 8)

c:31 _

d) How would you rate the service you received from the Winnipeg Police?

Excellent.....5

Good.....4

Average.....3

Below Average.....2

Poor.....1

c:32 _

8. a) Have you ever seen a Winnipeg Police officer do something considered improper or illegal?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)

No.....2 (GO TO 9)

c:33 _

b) Describe incident(s):

c:34,35 _

9. a) Has anyone you know personally ever seen a Winnipeg Police officer do something considered improper or illegal?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)
No.....2 (GO TO 10)

c:36 __

b) Describe incident(s):

c:37, 38 __

10. a) Have you ever been contacted by Winnipeg Police as a suspect in a crime?

Yes.....1
No.....2

c:39 __

b) Have you ever been arrested by Winnipeg Police?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER c)
No.....2 (GO TO 11)

c:40 __

c) What was the crime? (MOST RECENT)

c:41, 42 __

11. Would you say unfair treatment of the poor by the Winnipeg Police is a very serious problem, pretty serious, not very serious, or does not occur?

Very serious.....1
Pretty serious.....2
Not very serious.....3
Does not occur.....4
Don't know.....8

c:43 __

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT SECURITY GUARDS IN WINNIPEG. A SECURITY GUARD CAN BE CONSIDERED A PERSON WHO, FOR HIRE, GUARDS OR PATROLS FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROTECTING PERSONS OR PROPERTY.

12. How favourable or unfavourable do you feel toward security guards in Winnipeg?

Very				Very
Unfavourable			Favourable	
1	2	3	4	5

c:44 __

13. a) Overall, do you think security guards in Winnipeg do an excellent, good, average, below average, or poor job?

Excellent.....	5	} (GO TO 14)
Good.....	4	
Average.....	3	
Below Average.....	2	(ANSWER b)
Poor.....	1	(ANSWER b)
Don't Know.....	8	

c:45 __

b) Why do you think these security guards do a below average or poor job?

c:46, 47 __

14. Now I would like you to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following items.

a) A lot of crime is prevented because security guards are doing their job correctly.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

c:48 __

b) Security guards often abuse their authority.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

c:49 __

c) Sometimes security guards frisk and search without good reasons.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

c:50 __

d) Security guards are careful not to arrest innocent persons.

Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

c:51 __

e) Security guards frequently use more force than they need to when carrying out their duties.

	Strongly Agree			Strongly Disagree	
1		2	3	4	5

c:52 __

15 a) Do you have a close friend or relative who is a security guard?

Yes.....2
No.....1

c:53 __

b) Do you know a security guard well enough to call him by his name if you saw him on the street?

Yes.....2
No.....1

c:54 __

16 a) Have you ever requested information and/or assistance from a security guard in Winnipeg?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)
No..... 2 (GO TO 17)

c:55 __

b) How would you rate the service you received from him/her?

Excellent.....5
Good.....4
Average.....3
Below Average.....2
Poor.....1

c:56 __

17 a) Have you ever seen a security guard in Winnipeg do something considered improper or illegal?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)
No..... 2 (GO TO 18)

c:57 __

b) Describe incident:

c:58, 59 __

18 a) Has anyone you know personally ever seen a security guard in Winnipeg do something considered improper or illegal?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER b)
No..... 2 (GO TO 19)

c:60 __

b) Describe incident:

c:61

19. a) Have you ever been contacted by a security guard in Winnipeg as a suspect in a crime?

Yes.....1
No.....2

c:62 __

b) Have you ever been arrested by a security guard in Winnipeg?

Yes.....1 (ANSWER c)
No.....2 (GO TO 20)

c:63 __

c) What was the crime? (MOST RECENT)

c:64, 65 __

20. If a person is an Indian, do you think this usually makes a difference in how he/she is treated by security guards in Winnipeg?

Yes.....1
Sometimes....2
No.....3
Don't Know...8

c:66 __

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME BACKGROUND QUESTIONS SO THAT WE CAN GET AN OVERVIEW OF ALL THE PERSONS WHO HAVE TAKEN PART IN THE SURVEY.

21. Your sex

Male.....1
Female.....2

c:67 __

22. The year in which you were born

c:68, 69 __

23. Your race

Native Indian.....1
Metis.....2
Inuit.....3
Black/Negroid.....4
Oriental.....5
White/Caucasian.....6
Other _____.....7

c:70 __

24. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- No schooling.....1
- Elementary - incomplete.....2
- Elementary - complete.....3
- Junior High - incomplete.....4
- Junior High - complete.....5
- High School - incomplete.....6
- High School - complete.....7
- Post-High School Training - incomplete.....8
- Post-High School Training - complete.....9
- Some University.....10
- Bachelor's Degree..... 11
- Master's Degree.....12
- Professional degree/Doctorate.....13

c:71, 72 __

25. a) What is/was your job..your occupation?

c:73, 74 __

b) What does/did this job involve? (DESCRIBE)

c) What kind of place do/did you work for?

Industry _____

26. a) Have you ever belonged to a Union?

Yes.....2

No.....1

c:75 __

b) Has anyone in this household ever belonged to a Union?

Yes.....2

No.....1

Don't Know.....8

c:76 __

IN CLOSING, IS THERE ANYTHING YOU WOULD LIKE TO SAY OR ADD?

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO DO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

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