OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY:
THE CASE OF THE POLICE

by

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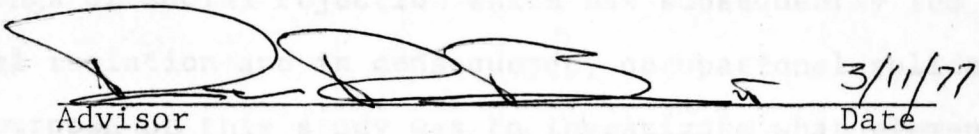

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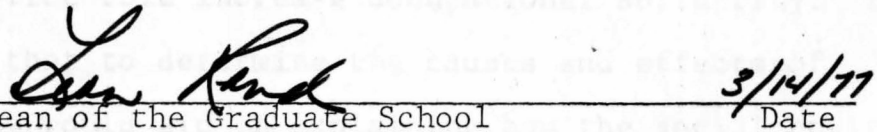

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ABSTRACT

OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY:
THE CASE OF THE POLICE

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The poor relationship police have established with the public has long been recognized as a serious problem. There has developed a "mutual resentment" for one another primarily from the police officer's ethos of policing and the citizen's sensitivity of being policed. The results of such a relationship have had considerable impact on police. They have developed strong feelings of social rejection which has subsequently led to social isolation and in consequence, occupational solidarity. The purpose of this study was to investigate what elements in the police role increase occupational solidarity. It was felt that to determine the causes and effects of solidarity would aid in explaining how the social environment effects police behavior and ultimately what modifications could be made to improve police-citizen relations. The study was based on a theory developed by Jerome Skolnick in 1966. Skolnick perceived police occupational solidarity to be a direct result of certain elements in the police role. He viewed the police role as having two principles,

danger and authority, which tended to increase social isolation and consequently resulted in a high degree of occupational solidarity.

In order to empirically evaluate this theory, a questionnaire was administered to police officers in Youngstown, Ohio. A similar questionnaire was administered to various student members of professional engineering organizations, who acted as a comparison group. The results of the survey suggested Skolnick's theory to partially hold true. That is, all the hypothesized variable relationships were positively correlated. However, the data revealed the possibility of a spurious relationship in the independent variables, danger and authority. It was suggested that the independent variables be reversed, i.e., the use of authority increases the element of danger in the police role instead of the hypothesized element of danger increasing the use of authority. Discussion suggested that any ameliorative action concerning police-public relations could be more easily dealt with if this data was further supported.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In recent years, there has been growing concern for the relationship police have established with the public. There has developed an ambivalence toward one another primarily from the peculiar nature of police-public interaction. Indeed, the police officer's ethos of policing and the citizens' sensitivity of being policed have created an unusual plight.

William A. Westley observed that police attitudes toward the public are at best anomalous.[1] On one hand, policemen recognize the political responsibilities of the department and are thus cognizant of the necessity for acting in a fashion that will meet public approval. On the other hand, they tend to view citizens with suspicion, as aliens, and not infrequently see themselves as victims of injustice, the public unappreciative of their efforts. Westley's survey indicated 73 percent of the men felt the public hated police and was against them, while only 12 percent felt that public liked and appreciated police.[2]

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[1]William A. Westley, Violence and the Police: A Study of Law, Custom, and Morality (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1970), p. 92.

[2]Westley, Violence, p. 107.

"From this perspective, Westley states, "(policemen) define the character and the judgements of the public as being poor and not worth giving attention to."[3]

Similarly, Gabor and Low noted the lack of public support and public apathy as a great concern to policemen:

> To Mr. Average Citizen, the police patrol car, weaving through traffic under siren and red light, is just another common, everyday occurance (sic). Mr. Citizen notes only that the police are intent on reaching a scene of emergency somewhere in the community. He gives no thought to the helmeted, uniformed man behind the wheel. He doesn't know the officer's name, and would not be likely to recognize him in a meeting on the street. He is not particularly interested in the officer's problems for he has his own to attend to. So, until he needs help or breaks the law, Mr. Citizen will remain detached and aloof from the uniformed men who will safeguard the community.[4]

One observer felt that policemen can only be expected to be as good or as bad as the situational conditions in which he has to do his job. "The policeman sees himself downgraded by the public, scorned by the press, hated by the poor, . . . and cast out from the society he believes he is helping to protect."[5]

Although Dodd feels the public has a distorted and ill-informed view of police, studies reveal a

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[3]Westley, Violence, p. 92.

[4]Ivan R. Gabor and Christopher Low, "The Police Role in the Community," Criminology, VIII (February, 1973), p. 403.

[5]David J. Dodd, "Police Mentality and Behavior," Issues in Criminology, III (Third Quarter, 1967), p. 49.

sizeable portion of the citizenry does have some respect for police.[6]

What, then, may be said about the remainder of the citizenry, likewise a sizeable portion? How do they view police action?

Westley concluded the public view to be a general condemnation of police and a characterization of them as ineffectual, brutal, corrupt, and ignorant.[7] The majority of citizens who develop anti-police attitudes are individuals who have occasional contact with police. Traffic patrol plays a major role in separating police from the "respectable community," i.e., the middle-class.[8] The average citizen when stopped for a traffic violation will interpret the police action as unjust. The middle-class frequently assumes police should be concerned with catching real criminals instead of victimizing law abiding citizens.[9]

Public hostility for police becomes more apparent when reflecting attitudes of the lower-class and minority groups. Since most police service is initiated by this

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[6]Philip H. Ennis, "Crime Victims and the Police," Trans-action, V (June, 1967), p. 38.

[7]Westley, Violence, p. 105.

[8]Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 56.

[9]Skolnick, Justice, p. 56; Oliver J. Keller, Jr. and Clyde B. Veddler, "The Police and Middle Class Conflicts," Police, IX (May/June, 1965), p. 7.

segment of the population, the lower classes account for the greatest amount of police-citizen interaction. These groups have come to resent the overt and covert restraint affixed them by police. Simply the sight of a blue uniform may induce hostility, for they have come to know what ill consequences may result. The hostility and resentment for police by minorities has by now been made an axiom in minority literature.[10] One survey indicated that 66 percent of a sample of Northern blacks felt police were prejudiced against them. It is because black people have "generally expected the worst from police and generally received it" that so many blacks intensely resent police.[11]

Thus, there has developed a "mutual resentment" between the public and police. The public is seen to interpret police actions as evil and threatening while the police are prepared to view public action as hostile, derogatory, and uncooperative. Consequently, the police

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[10]Westley, Violence, p. 105; Skolnick, Justice, p. 49; Gabor and Low, "Police Role," p. 407; Robert M. Fogelson, "From Resentment to Confrontation: The Police, The Negros, and the Outbreak of the Nineteen Sixties Riots," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXIII (June, 1968), p. 220; Joseph D. Lohman and Gordon E. Misner, The Police and the Community: The Dynamics of Their Relationship in a Changing Society (Washington: President's Crime Commission, (1966), p. 78; David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police: Confrontation in America (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 111.

[11]Fogelson, "Resentment," p. 20.

have responded to their feelings of social rejection in several ways. One has been a desire by "an appreciable precentage of members of some northern urban police department" to resign from the force.[12] For most policemen, however, the effect has taken the form of social isolation which has subsequently led to a high degree of occupational solidarity. Solidarity is the measure of inclusiveness and identification shared by members of a mutual interest. "Set apart from the conventional world, the policeman experiences an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu.[13] While this intense solidarity builds a strong "brotherhood" between police, it only serves to draw him further from the citizenry. As the gap between the police and public widens, so too does the understanding for each other, a necessary ingredient for a functional, ongoing society.

It is the purpose of this study, then, to investigate selected elements of the police role which are hypothesized to increase occupational solidarity. To determine the causes and effects of solidarity will aid in explaining how the social environment effects police behavior and ultimately the implications for improving police-citizen relations.

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[12]Albert J. Reiss, Jr., The Police and the Public (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 155.

[13]Skolnick, Justice, p. 52.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Within the realm of police science and criminal justice literature, there exists a myriad of information concerning police role, culture, and occupation. A large portion of this literature places focus on the behavioral aspects of police while stressing the implications of their actions. The literature, as such, introduces the reader to a diverse group of theoretical constructs regarding police behavior and its causal factors. Interestingly, while many constructs pertaining to police behavior may be intuitively appealing, only a few have been empirically based, and have consequently earned credibility.

One such construct is that of the policeman's "working personality," developed by Jerome Skolnick in 1966.[14] Skolnick perceives police occupation to be a direct result of certain elements operating in the police milieu. He views police role as having two principal variables, danger and authority, which should be interpreted in the light of a constant pressure to appear efficient.[15] This analysis of danger and authority as constituting the major

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[14]Skolnick, Justice, p. 42.

[15]Skolnick, Justice, p. 44.

components of police role form the independent variables upon which this study is based.

The police profession may be characterized as a combination of several occupations. Police constantly face a degree of danger, and in this respect can be likened to soldiers. Their problems of delegated authority are not unlike those of schoolteachers and the pressure to prove themselves efficient is similar to the pressure felt by industrial workers. A combination of these features, however, is unique to policemen. "The police, as a result of combined features of their social situation tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events."[16]

Policemen are part of an organization which is continually preoccupied with the threat of danger and have thus developed an unusual knack for perceiving certain people as dangerous. "The policeman, because his work requires him to be occupied with potential violence develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence."[17] As a result of being especially attentive to

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[16]Skolnick, Justice, p. 42.

[17]Skolnick, Justice, p. 45.

signs indicating danger, police have generally been characterized as suspicious people.[18]

> A man carrying a brown-paper parcel through a well-to-do neighborhood could be a burglar. He might also be lost or on his way home from work, but in any case the policeman may feel compelled to investigate. A policeman's world is filled with cues spelling potential danger to the community; the policeman will use his authority to determine whether the danger is real.[19]

Consequently, when police perceive a dangerous situation, they react in a fashion which will reduce the potential hazard. The reaction exhibited most often is an increase in the use of authority.[20] Authority may be defined as the ability to direct and restrain the citizenry by use of legal sanctions, e.g., stop and frisk, search and seizure. When faced with a potentially dangerous situation, police tend to lessen their exercise of procedural rules and regulations and increase their use of arbitrary authority. When facing outright hostility without the formal capacity to impose legal sanctions, the street partolman is especially prone to asserting authority.

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[18]Skolnick, Justice, p. 48; Westley, Violence, p. 106; James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 39.

[19]Bayley and Mendelsohn, Minorities, p. 89.

[20]Skolnick, Justice, p. 55; Bayley and Mendelsohn, Minorities, p. 90; Dodd, Police Mentality, p. 51; Ronald K. Tauber, "Danger and the Police: A Theoretical Analysis," Issues in Criminology, III (Third Quarter, 1967), p. 76; Wilson, Varieties of Police, p. 34.

Thus, when he encounters a situation where he perceives arrogance or hostility on the part of the citizenry, he may be tempted to make strong claims of authority, for which he may have few, if any, lawful grounds.[21] Whether police actually have the legal right to exercise authority seems to be of little concern to them. Police view the badge they wear as an obligation to maintain order and will do what is necessary to fulfill that obligation.[22] It may be concluded, then, the greater danger police perceive themselves to be involved in, the less judicious their exercise of authority will be.

With the relationship between danger and authority specified, it is then necessary to demonstrate how danger and authority foster the social isolation of police, and in consequence, promote police occupational solidarity.

Sociology and police science literature has unanimously concluded that police seem to feel isolated

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[21]Skolnick, Justice, p. 56.

[22]Skolnick, Justice, p. 56.

from the population they serve.[23] Police are said to be socially isolated when they feel a great social distance between themselves and the public. This sense of social isolation is at its worst in Black ghettos. So intense is Black resentment that many regard police with outright contempt.[24] James Baldwin has elucidated police social isolation in this passage:

> . . .The only way to police a ghetto is to be oppresive. None of the Police Commissioner's men, even with the best will in the world, have any way of understanding the lives led by the people that swagger about in twos and threes controlling, Their very presence is an insult, and it would be, even if they spend their entire day feeding gumdrops to children. They represent the force of the white world, and that world's criminal profit and ease, to keep the black man corraled up here, in this place. The badge, the gun in the holster, and the swinging club make vivid what will happen should his rebellion become overt. . .

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[23]Skolnick, Justice, p. 49; Milton Jirak, "Alienation Among Members of the New York City Police Department on Staten Island," Journal of Police Science and Administration, III (Second Quarter, 1975), p. 150; Tauber, "Danger and the Police," p. 77; Gabor and Low, "Police Role," p. 401; Richard N. Harris, The Police Academy: An Inside View (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 78; Larry L. Tifft, "The Cop Personality Reconsidered," Journal of Police Science and Administration, II (Third Quarter, 1974), p. 268; James F. Ahern, Police in Trouble: Our Frightening Crisis in Law Enforcement (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1972), p. 16; John P. Clark, "Isolation of the Police: A Comparison of the British and American Stiuations," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, LVI (September, 1965), p. 126; James Q. Wilson, "The Police and Their Problems: A Theory," Public Policy XII (Second Quarter, 1963), p. 192; Wilson, Varieties of Police, p. 42; Westley, Violence, p. 93.

[24]Fogelson, "Resentment," p. 222.

> It is hard, on the other hand, to blame the policeman, blank, good-natured, thoughtless, and insuperably innocent, for being such a perfect representation of the people he serves. He, too, believes in good intentions and is astounded and offended when they are not taken for the deed. He has never himself, done anything for which to be hated - which of us has? And yet he is facing, daily and nightly, people who would gladly see him dead, and he knows it. There is no way for him not to know it; there are few things under heaven more unnerving than the silent, accumulating contempt and hatred of a people. He moves through Harlem, therefore, like an occupying soldier in a bitterly hostile country; which is precisely what, and where he is, and is the reason he walks in twos and threes.[25]

While this resentment and hostility by Blacks may contribute to feelings of isolation, police often express their sense of separation from the public as a whole, not simply minorities. The problems most frequently selected are lack of public respect, lack of cooperation in enforcement of the law, and lack of understanding for the requirements of police work.[26] All these seem to reflect police resentment at being taken for granted. Policemen feel they should not be alone in their fight for public order and believe that being policemen does not relieve the general public of citizenship duties.[27]

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[25]James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 65-67.

[26]Skolnick, Justice, p. 50.

[27]Skolnick, Justice, p. 53.

The element of danger in the police role tends to separate the average citizen from the workaday world of policemen. The constant fear of physical injury keeps police on guard at all times.[28] Noted for their suspicious character, police have formed a "stereotyping perceptual shorthand" to see certain signs as symbols of potential violence and thus work at identifying and possibly apprehending suspicious people; the ordinary citizen does not. As a result, the citizen does not implicate himself in the required police response to danger.[29] "The element of danger in the policeman's role alienates him not only from the populations with a potential for crime, but also from the conventional respectable (white) citizenry, in short, from that segment of the population from which his friends would ordinarily be drawn."[30] Thus, the dangers of police work are seen to isolate policemen from both the criminal and non-criminal population.

The element of authority in the police role further contributes to police social isolation. For some time, policemen have been cognizant of their isolation from the public. Police generally blame enforcement of traffic laws as causal in creating public resentment.

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[28]Dodd, "Police Mentality," p. 51.

[29]Skolnick, Justice, p. 45.

[30]Skolnick, Justice, p. 54.

Skolnick points out that resentment, even hostility is generated in those receiving citations, in part because such contact is often the only one citizens have with police, and in part because municipal administrators and courts have been known to utilize police authority primarily to meet budgetary requirements rather than those of public order.[31] The application of a sanction such as a traffic ticket may place adults in a position equivalent to childhood experiences involving the use of sanctions. This tends to induce appropriate feelings of childish impotence and sheepishness, which may present problems for persons who like to view themselves as autonomous, responsible adults.[32] Thus, as a result of "speed trapping" and similar covert police activity, "(policemen) carry the brunt of public resentment."[33]

While traffic control plays a major part in isolating police from the citizenry, there remains one contributing feature all policemen share: they must direct and restrain the action and freedom of the community. This may take the form of regulating public morality, i.e., enforcing laws pertaining to gambling, prostitution, and drunkenness or simply their presence at sporting events, public rallies, and rock concerts. Police action in these

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[31]Skolnick, Justice, p. 56.

[32]Hans H. Toch, "Psychological Consequences of the Police Role," Police X (October, 1965), p. 87.

[33]Skolnick, Justice, p. 57.

situations may foster resentment on all levels of social strata. Certainly, those who have experienced restrictive action by police resent this intrusion upon the pursuit of their private interests.[34] When the average citizen finds himself a victim of police enforcing minor statutes, he typically thinks, "why is he bothering me, when he could be out catching a real criminal?"

Similarly, an innocent teenager or Black questioned on the street or told to move along is likely to feel harassed or perhaps the victim of prejudice.[35] It is not unlikely that frequent encounters with police, particularly those involving youths innocent of wrongdoing will increase their hostility toward law enforcement personnel.[36] The following quote reflects an interesting attitude toward police:

> Cops are conventional people . . . All a cop can swing in a milieu of marijuana smokers, interracial dates and homosexuals is the nightstick. A policeman who passed a Lower East Side art gallery filled with paintings of what happened to be female genitalia could think of doing only one thing-- step in and make an arrest.[37]

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[34]Clark, "Isolation," p. 126.

[35]Wilson, Varieties of Police, p. 41.

[36]Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology LXX (September, 1964), p. 210.

[37]Thomas R. Brooks, "New York's Finest," Commentary, XL (August, 1965), pp. 29-30.

Although a little sensationalized, it makes clear the point that police dependence on the use of authority maintains a constant state of friction with the public. This friction is subsequently viewed by police as public hostility and resentment and is interpreted as an inevitable separation from the social order.[38]

Thus, the element of authority as well as the element of danger in the police role is seen to contribute to the isolation of policemen. As police begin to perceive themselves as a minority group, disadvantaged and discriminated against, surrounded by, serving, and protecting a public which is at best apathetic and at worst hostile, they develop resources within their own world to combat this social rejection.

In order to provide a basis for ample esteem, dignity, self-respect and a belief in the value of their work, police have developed a high degree of occupational solidarity.[39] Solidarity may be viewed as magnified group

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[38]Toch, "Psychological Role," p. 87.

[39]Skolnick, Justice, p. 52; Leonard Savitz, "The Dimensions of Police Loyality," American Behavioral Scientist, XIII (May/August, 1970), p. 694; Gabor and Low, "Police Role," p. 407; Wilson, "A Theory," p. 192; Jirak, "Alienation," p. 151; Westley, Violence, p. 111; Dodd, "Police Mentality," p. 52; Michael Banton, The Policeman and the Community (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 84.

cohesiveness; policemen not only work together, but tend to play together, drink together, hunt together, and socialize together.[40] This seems only natural, for where else can they turn for companionship but their peers. The elements of danger and authority in their job has isolated them from the public.

Solidarity, often operationalized as "loyality"[41] and "subculture"[42] has several behavioral components which policemen necessarily exercise. First, is a "mutual assistance" which affords fellow officers a maximum priority of response to any officer requiring assistance. Savitz concluded that policemen are strongly impelled to immediate and unquestioned response to an injured or threatened officer.[43] The second is a high degree of "secrecy" which is defined as personal and conscious concealment of information, not only from the public, but also from supervisory and administrative levels within the organization.[44] Secrecy is seen to maintain group identity and support solidarity since it gives something in common to those who belong and differentiates those

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[40]Jirak, "Alienation," p. 150.

[41]Savitz, "Dimensions of Loyality," p. 695.

[42]Wilson, "A Theory," p. 192.

[43]Savitz, "Dimensions of Loyality," p. 695.

[44]Savitz, "Dimensions of Loyality," p. 695.

who do not.[45] "Secrecy is solidarity for it represents a common front against the outside world . . . Secrecy and silence are among the first rules impressed on the rookie. 'Keep your mouth shut, never squeal on a fellow officer, don't be a stool pigeon! . . . is one of the first things he learns."[46] Anyone who is a stool pigeon is, as a matter of course, ostracized. This may result in the cold shoulder (fellow officers refusing to talk)[47] or more severe action such as threats or assaults.[48]

Solidarity, then, may be seen as a product of social isolation, danger, and authority. The elements of danger and authority in the police role tend to socially isolate policemen from the community. This feeling of social isolation subsequently leads to a high degree of occupational solidarity.

From the preceeding review of the literature, the following recursive, theoretical model (graphically presented below) may be specified:

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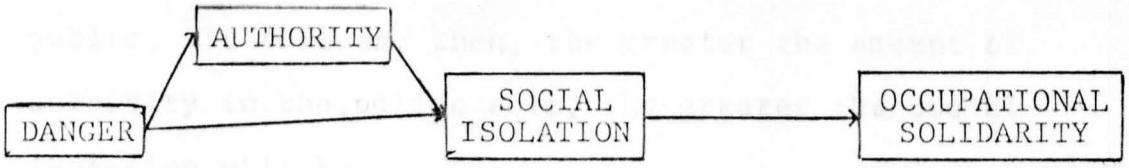
[45]Savitz, "Dimensions of Loyality," p. 695; Westley, Violence, p. 111; Wilson, "A Theory," p. 207; Skolnick, Justice, p. 59.

[46]Westley, Violence, pp. 111-112.

[47]Savitz, "Dimensions of Loyality," p. 695.

[48]Peter Maas, Serpico (New York: Bantam Books, 1973), pp. 168-210.



Delineation of Hypotheses

In concurrance with the literature, and the constructed model, the following five hypotheses are presented. Preceeding each stated hypothesis is a brief introduction followed by a summary.

It was stated heretofore, as police perceive themselves in a dangerous situation, they react to the potential hazard by increasing their use of authority, hence, the greater the danger, the greater the exercise of authority:

> Hypothesis 1: If the degree of danger in the police occupation increases, the use of authority in that occupation, then, will also increase.

The element of danger in the police role was shown to socially isolate police from both the criminal and non-criminal population. Thus, it may be intuitively reasoned that as the degree of danger in the police role increases, so will the degree of social isolation increase:

> Hypothesis 2: If the degree of danger in the police role increases, then the danger of social isolation will consequently increase.

The element of authority in the police role, further contributes to police isolation. Treated more extensively above, it was shown that various aspects of

authority serve to socially isolate policemen from the public. It follows, then, the greater the amount of authority in the police role, the greater the social isolation will be:

> Hypothesis 3: If the degree of authority in the police role increases, so will the social isolation of police.

The degree of occupational solidarity was viewed as a direct result of social isolation. As police perceive themselves as minority groups, disadvantaged and discriminated against, they develop a solidarity by which they live, ergo, as the degree of social isolation increases, so will the degree of occupational solidarity:

> Hypothesis 4: If the degree of police being socially isolated increases, then the degree of occupational solidarity will consequently increase.

It has been shown through the literature that police have a higher degree of occupational solidarity then other occupations. This characteristic has been attirbuted to the combination of danger and authority in their police role, therefore:

> Hypothesis 5: If the degree of danger and authority in an occupation increase, a subsequent increase in occupational solidarity will follow.

Summary

The hypotheses presented above form the questions which this research study will empirically investigate. The preceeding chapter has reviewed pertinent literature

concerning the occupational solidarity of policemen. The following chapter will delineate the research methodology used to successfully undertake evaluation of the hypotheses.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The preceeding chapter has delineated the conceptual framework on which this study is based. In order to effectively evaluate the preceeding generated hypotheses, proper collection and analysis of data must be employed. As Aronson and Carlsmith have pointed out, "the important and difficult feat involves translating a conceptual notion into a tight, workable, credible, meaningful set of experimental operations."[49] The present chapter places focus on the methodological considerations necessary to culminate a viable research study. The experimental research design, sample, instrumentation and procedure are individually discussed with emphasis placed on their limitations.

Research Design

This research study attempts to investigate causation of police occupational solidarity through the elements of danger and authority in the police role. Such a task necessitates selection of a research design most amenable to the particular environmental situation.

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[49]Eric Aronson and Michael Carlsmith, "Experimentation in Social Psychology," In Strategies of Social Research: The Methodological Imagination, Edited by Herman W. Smith, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), p. 91.

That is, although the researcher may wish to use a certain research design, there may exist factors in the research setting which impedes such action. A word is in order here concerning the nature of the research experiment. The process of experimentation refers to that portion of research in which variables (independent) are manipulated, while their effects upon other variables (dependent) are observed. Uppermost in the experimenter's concerns is the minimization of extraneous (alternate or rival) variables which might confound results. Randomization is employed to achieve as much pretreatment equivalence of groups as possible. By randomly assigning subjects to experimental (subjects receive treatment) and control (subjects receive no treatment) groups, the researcher wishes to reduce the operation of systematic bias or error in the study.

In the majority of social science research done today, however, random assignment to equivalent groups is not possible. This lack of randomization frequently stems from ethical and financial considerations, access to subjects, time elements, and subject cooperation. While randomization is the major means of obtaining equality between experimental and control groups, the researcher who cannot randomize still attempts to achieve some degree of equivalence by choosing a comparison group which closely matches the experimental group save for some agent or treatment presumed to cause change.

The investigation of causal factors regarding police occupational solidarity requires a research design in which one group has experienced the treatment (police) and one which has not (non-police). For the purposes of establishing the effects of that treatment, Campbell and Stanley present a "static-group comparison" design in which a group that has experienced a treatment is compared with one which has not.[50] The figure graphically presented below illustrates the static-group comparison design where X represents the exposure of a group to a treatment variable or event and O refers to some process of observation or measurement:

$$\begin{array}{ll} X & O \\ & O \end{array}$$

In this study, X represents the treatment, danger and authority. Observations, O, are performed in an ex post facto fashion upon the treatment group (police) and the comparison group (non-police). The term "ex post facto" refers to research which examines occurrances "after the fact." Therefore, police, who by virtue of being part of that occupation have experienced the treatment, danger and authority.

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[50]Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 12.

Threats to Validity

Although the static-group comparison design is the most viable method possible in the present study, it characteristically contains several limitations. As in most designs, there exist factors which jeopardize the validity of the research. Validity is defined as the degree to which the researcher has measured what he set out to measure.[51] Two types of validity are distinguished: validity of findings and validity of measurements. This section regarding experimental design concerns itself with the validity of findings, which can be further divided into internal and external validity. Internal validity is the basic minimum without which any experiment is uninterpretable.[52] It asks the question, "did, in fact, the experimental methods used make a difference in the specific results?"[53] That is, would different results have been observed if different methods had been employed? External validity concerns the question of generalizability. To what population, settings, treatment variables, and measurement variables can this effect be generalized? The primary emphasis in this section will focus on the threats to internal validity operative in the present research study. These sources of invalidity may offer

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[51]Herman W. Smith, Strategies of Social Research: The Methodological Imagination (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), p. 61.

[52]Campbell and Stanley, p. 5.

[53]Smith, p. 62.

plausible, rival interpretations to the researcher's findings if they are unaccounted for in the study design. That is, if the design fails to account for these threats, the data may be open to potential nonrandom sources of error.

The first threat operating is labeled "differential selection of subjects."[54] This threat refers to a biased or non-random assignment and selection of subjects which may contribute to spurious interpretations of findings. In the final analysis, differences between groups on the dependent variable may be due to subject selection procedures rather than to the independent variable. Phrased another way, the two groups might have differed prior to the treatment. This threat, a product of non-random assignment, is operative in this study, as in any ex post facto design. Thus, the systematic differences, which are typically introduced through the non-random selection of subjects is of great concern to the researcher. Since this threat may easily confound study results, the researcher must be extremely cautious in the interpretation of findings.

The second threat to internal validity operating in a static-group comparison design is termed "differential

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[54]Campbell and Stanley, p. 5.

mortality."[55] This threat concerns differential loss of respondents from comparison groups. Any time subjects drop out of the study, effects on the dependent variable might be accounted for by these differential "mortality" rates rather than by actual effects of the independent variable. Thus, even if the two comparison groups had once been identical, they might differ now, not because of any change on the part of the individual member, but rather because of the selective dropouts of persons from one of the groups. Differential mortality, then, might present a problem in this study if a large portion of police or non-police choose not to respond to the survey, i.e., self-select themselves out of the study. However, since only one (1) person out of one hundred sixty-two (162) choose not to respond to the questionnaire, mortality can be discarded as a serious threat to internal validity.

The final class of threats to internal validity operating in this study are labeled "selection-maturation interaction, etc. effects."[56] Differential sample selection as noted above, often works in conjunction with or in combination with maturation, history, mortality, and testing procedures to produce spurious results.[57] For example,

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[55]Campbell and Stanley, p. 5.

[56]Campbell and Stanley, p. 5.

[57]Smith, p. 64.

procedures might vary between non-random groups. The police sample might well differ from the non-police sample in their attitude about filling out a questionnaire. Police, perhaps being bored or simply tired of responding to surveys they feel are worthless, would certainly differ from the responses of non-police, in this case, student members of professional engineering organizations. Interestingly, both samples seemed extraordinarily interested in this study and its possible implications. Although both samples ostensibly appeared to be genuinely sincere in filling out the questionnaire, some doubt still remains that both groups perceived the survey to be worthwhile.

Non-random sample assignment in conjunction with "history" might differentially effect each group's answers to the questionnaire. For example, the police in Youngstown recently had a strike, the end product being their demands were met. This past occurance, history, may have an effect on the way they answer questions pertaining to, say, solidarity. The effect of group cohesiveness fresh in their minds could result in a strong favorability of solidarity. The non-police sample, being remotely apart from such occurance would answer the questions about solidarity with no reference to a strike in mind. While the threat of non-random sample selection-history interaction seems vague, it cannot, in the final analysis, be discounted.

All these threats to internal validity mentioned above are of utmost importance to the researcher who

attempts to investigate the causal analysis of a particular problem. Failure to recognize these experimental limitations can generate spurious interpretation of data, which will ultimately lead to incorrect explantions regarding the causes of the problem area.

This section has been a description of the research design used to investigate the occupational solidarity of police in Youngstown, Ohio. Emphasis was placed on the methodological limitations of the "static-group comparison" design. The following section pertains to 1) the samples used in the study, 2) the justification for the samples, and, 3) the limitations of using those groups.

Sample

In many research studies, the experimenter is unable to test all subjects concerning the event being studied. Various restrictions, such as finances, access to subjects, time considerations, and subjection cooperation impede such a comprehensive task. Researchers, therefore, must make concessions fitting these restrictions. In any study, however, a main concern of the experimenter lies with selecting a sample of the population which will truly represent the group being studied. The following section addresses that concern.

Police Sample

Sampled in a "purposive" fashion, the total number of police officers tested was sixty-one (61). The "purpose"

of choosing Youngstown Police Department was the characteristic of it being a "medium-sized" department. As opposed to the metropolitan department (whose bureaucratic policies fail to represent the average department) and the small city department (whose idiosyncratic characteristics tend to override policy) Youngstown's Police Department represents the "medium-sized city" department. It is appropriate, therefore, to choose an "average" department which intuitively would tend to reflect the majority of attitudes.

Restricting the sample to the police officers in Youngstown, Ohio, may effect the generalizability of the findings. This study, however, is concerned with the testing of a theory, that is, do the elements of danger and authority in an occupation increase occupational solidarity. Generalization in this context, then, is the application of a theory suggested by an experiment rather than the direct inference of results from a single study.[58] The inability to make generalizations to other police departments, in this sense, therefore, would not seem problematic.

The mean age of the police sample was 33.7 years while the youngest officer was 23 years and the oldest officer 65 years. The majority, 82 percent of the sample, were patrolmen. Detectives accounted for 6.6 percent, while

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[58]Morris Zelditch, "Can You Really Study An Army in a Laboratory," in Amilai Etyiomi, A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations, Second Edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1969), pp. 528-539.

sergeants and higher ranking personnel contributed 9.8 percent. The mean number of years on the force was 8.7. The range of years on the force spanned from 1 to 39 years. It appears the officers in Youngstown place a premium on education for the average officer has 1.6 years of college. The mean education of the father was 10.7 years of school and interestingly, 31.3 percent were steelworkers.

Engineering Sample

Investigation into the effects of danger and authority on the occupational solidarity of policemen necessitates the comparison of a similar group of individuals who have not been exposed to danger and authority in their occupations. Student members of professional engineering organizations were chosen for several reasons. First, the members of these organizations have little authority as students, and second, these members have little danger associated with their roles as engineering students.

A comparison between student members of professional engineering organizations and police officers may seem unreasonable at the outset, however, several contributing factors make this contrast a viable one. First, both groups consider themselves to have an occupation, or a profession. Each is in a system where there is a high investment in evaluating individual performance. Infractions among officers and students are fairly common so that the exposure of one may expose others. Both police

and students have developed a subculture that prohibits testimony about misconduct precisely because the penalities that dominate the system may jeopardize a life career by banishment.[59] Hence, since both groups may seem to possess some degree of solidarity, and police possess danger and authority and engineering students do not, a comparison between the two may result in an explanation of the causes of solidarity. However, again the researcher must realize the limitations of using groups such as these. Systematic biases introduced through a non-random selection of subjects may confound results. Thus, the researcher's unawareness of existing threats may lead to spurious interpretations of findings.

The engineer sample was composed of members from the American Institute of Chemical Engineers (60.4%), the American Society of Civil Engineers (24.8%), and the American Institute of Industrial Engineers (14.8%). The mean age of the engineers' sample was 21.2 years with the youngest student being 17 years and the oldest being 32 years. The majority of the respondents were seniors or graduate students (46.5%). Juniors comprised 14.9%, sophomores 21.8%, and freshman 16.8%. The average time as an engineering student ranged from 2 years to 6.5 years,

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[59]Reiss, p. 213.

with the mean being 2.2 years. The father's educational mean was 12.8 years of school with the lowest being 8 years and the highest 17 years. Surprisingly, 40.6% of the fathers were steelworkers as opposed to 31.7% for the police sample. 18.8% of the fathers had skilled jobs and 18.8% were in a professional role. Comparing the sample's age reveals that the average policeman tested was 12.6 years older than the average engineering student. The average education of the father in the engineering sample was 2.1 years more than the father's in the police sample. The researcher must consider these findings in the final analysis in order to evaluate test group similarity. Failure to consider these facts could lead to the misinterpretation of data.

This section has described the sample groups used in this study. Selection of the police and engineer samples as comparison groups was justified on theoretical grounds. The next section presents the instrumentation of the study: variable dimensions, scaling, and the formation of the questionnaire.

Instrumentation

Instrumentation refers to the device by which reliable and valid data is generated. Various forms of instruments exist and the use of a particular one is contingent upon the researcher's situational conditions.

In order to tap individual's attitudes regarding occupational solidarity, a survey was deemed most appropriate. The interview survey technique is quite popular among social science researchers. The researcher felt, however, that the sensitivity of several questions (those regarding secrecy between fellow officers) might cause the subjects to react in an unnatural way. Further, due to lack of finances, access to subjects, and time considerations, the self-administered questionnaire was chosen as most practical.

The instrumentation used in the collection of data necessitates consideration of the second type of validity, "validity of measurements."[60] This type of validity asks the question,"how valid is the instrument used to collect data?" In an attempt to improve the validity of a questionnaire, the researcher must investigate all existing techniques that serve to minimize validity errors. The following strategies were used in this study to increase the survey's validity.

Prior to its administration, extreme caution was taken in the formation of the questionnaire to determine if the right questions were being asked. In other words, was the questionnaire going to measure what it attempted to measure. In order to insure proper question formation,

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[60]Smith, p. 76.

each variable the researcher wished to ask about had to have viable dimensions and operational definitions. In accordance with the literature, each variable (danger, authority, social isolation, and occupational solidarity) was divided into three conceptual dimensions. It should be noted that when more than one indicator of a variable has been combined into a single measurement, this process is termed "scaling." Scaling is a way of combining a number of items to measure a single variable. The more indicators of a variable, therefore, increase the researcher's confidence that the questionnaire is measuring what is intended. Accordingly, a scale containing the three dimensions was developed for each variable.

The first scale created was for the danger variable. The three that covered all aspects were: 1) Fear of Physical Injury,[61] 2) Fear of Injury to Self-Esteem,[62] 3) Fear of Unknown Injury.[63] The operational definitions of the three dimensions are as follows. Fear of physical injury refers to the fear of being physically harmed as a result of the occupation. The fear of injury to self-esteem concerns the fear of damage to

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[61]Westley, Violence, p. 93.

[62]Tom Denyer, et.al., "The Policeman as Alienated Laborer," Journal of Police Science and Administration, 3 (March, 1975), pp. 251-258.

[63]Westley, Violence, p. 93.

the individual's self-admiration and esteem as a result of the occupation. The fear of unknown injury refers to the fear of an unknown danger in an occupation which the individual cannot discern.

The second scale, authority, also consisted of three dimensions. They were viewed as: 1) Perception of Power,[64] 2) Desire and Need to Control Other's Behavior,[65] 3) Ability to Exercise Verbal and Physical Control.[66] The perception of power refers to the degree in which the individual perceives his role in an occupation to be powerful. The desire and need to control other's behavior refers to just that, e.g., enforcing laws, regulating behavior. The ability to exercise verbal and physical control concerns the ability in an occupation to verbally and physically restrain people.

The third scale, social isolation, was Dean's Alienation subscale of 1960.[67] The reliability coefficient of this scale is .84. The indicators of social isolation were: 1) Separativeness,[68] 2) Physical Inability to

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[64]Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969), pp. 109-160.

[65]Niederhoffer, pp. 109-160.

[66]Niederhoffer, pp. 109-160.

[67]Dwight G. Dean, "Dean's Alienation Scale," in Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964), p. 323.

[68]Dean, pp. 325-326.

Socialize Outside of Occupation,[69] 3) Monopolization of Time.[70] Separativeness concerns the individual's feelings of being separated from the people outside the occupation. Physical inability to socialize outside of the occupation refers to the job incapaciting the individual to associate with people other than those in the occupation. Monopolization of time concerns the occupation's control of the individual by consuming all his time.

The final scale is occupational solidarity. The first dimension of this scale, 1) Group Cohesiveness, was devised by Seashore and reported a reliability coefficient of .70.[71] The remaining dimensions include: 2) Loyality (mutual assistance and secrecy),[72] 3) Job Identification.[73] Group cohesiveness is the tendency of members in an occupation to stick together. Loyality refers to the level of mutual assistance one member of an occupation is willing to give another member. Loyality also refers to the amount of secrecy members of an occupation are willing to provide.

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[69]Dean, pp. 325-326.

[70]Dean, pp. 325-326.

[71]Stanley E. Seashore, "Seashore's Group Cohesiveness Index," in Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964), p. 216.

[72]Savitz, p. 695.

[73]Jirak, p. 150.

The reliability of these scales was further enhanced by pretesting the questions. Several of the pretested scales mentioned above reflect reliability coefficients, and thus can be labeled "reliable." Since most criticisms leveled against questionnaires hinge upon upon poorly designed questions, and thus validity of measurement, the researcher must take time and pretest questions to see if the researcher and the respondent correspond in frame of reference. That is, will the subject interpret the questions the way they were framed? If not, the question must be reworded accordingly. The questions addressing the police sample were pretested by a panel of judges: policemen attending class at Youngstown State University. Several adjustments were made upon listening to feedback concerning the questions. Similarly, a group of engineering students pretested the engineer questionnaire and subsequent changes were made. At least three questions were formed for each variable dimension totaling a minimum of nine questions per variable. The majority of questions to both groups were exact in wording except for the necessary changes to differentiate sample characteristics. For example, the policemen were asked: "Do you feel your role as a police officer places you in a potentially dangerous situation?" Similarly, engineering students were asked:"Do you feel your role as an engineering student places you in a potentially dangerous situation?"

However, several questions relating to occupational solidarity had to be altered in order to satisfy the particular situation. The police, for instance, were asked this question regarding secrecy: "If I observed a fellow officer accepting gratuities, I would immediately report him to the proper authority." The engineering students, on the other hand, were asked this question: "If I observed a fellow student cheating and the professor asked me if I saw him, I would deny it even though I knew I would receive a failing grade if the truth came out." Since non-equivalent questions are a possible source of measurement error, extreme caution was used in formulating the questions to maximize instrument similarity.

The questionnaire began with an explanation of procedure which was followed by several demographic questions, e.g., age, race, education, father's occupation, etc. Aside from two questions concerning danger, all questions were quantified by employing the "Likert Summated Rating Method."[74] Only four responses to each statement were allowed: (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, (4) strongly disagree.

For analytical purposes, each question was given a variable name and placed in a "codebook" (See Appendix B). Responses to all questions were given numerical ratings

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[74]Smith, p. 147.

such as (1) for "yes", (2) for "no", (1) for "strongly agree", (2) for "agree", (3) for "disagree", and (4) for "strongly disagree". In the process of establishing a value for each variable (for statistical purposes), all questions could not be given equal weight. Since one question might be more direct than another, each question was given a weight in terms of its significance in determining the variable value. For example, the question "To what degree do you perceive your role as a police officer being physically dangerous to your well-being" is more important to the danger scale than "I never know what to expect on the job from day to day". Although each question taps a different element of danger, the individuals who pretested the questionnaire felt that one was stronger measure than the other. Hence, in the determination of a danger value, the former was given a value of two (2), while the latter was given a one (1).

In an effort to increase subject response, the questionnaires were printed by a professional lithographer (See Appendix A). Parten has pointed out that the attractiveness of the questionnaire can make all the difference in the recipient's motivations to respond.[75] This case supports that contention for only one (1) respondent out of one hundred sixty-two (162) failed to cooperate.

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[75]Michael Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 158.

This section has described the methods used in formation of the questionnaire. Methods implemented to increase reliability and validity were discussed. The next section explains how, where, when, and why the questionnaires were administered.

Procedure

Up to this point, the present chapter on research methodology has been concerned with the appropriate design, effective sampling procedures, and the development of the instrument. This sections applies those considerations with the administration of the questionnaire.

Administration of the Police Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered to the police sample through the cooperation of several high-ranking police officials. This cooperation was secured by submitting a research proposal to the department's chief (See Appendix C for proposal). Upon evaluation of the proposal, the chief enthusiastically gave permission to proceed. The distribution center of the questionnaires was located in the roll call room for patrolmen and the detective offices for detectives. Roll call at the Youngstown Department occurred six times daily: 6:00 A.M.; 7:00 A.M.; 2:00 P.M.; 3:00 P.M.; 9:00 P.M.; and 10:00 P.M. All six roll calls were attended and the patrolmen at each were administered the questionnaires prior to tour assignment. The detectives,

because of the nature of their tour assignments, were tested in their office on an individual basis.

The administration began with an introduction of the researcher by the captain. The researcher and captain stood facing the men for complete audibility. The following introduction was used:

> "Men, this is Robert Corrigan of Youngstown State University. He is taking a survey in cooperation with the department to determine various aspects of the police occupation. The chief has urged all of you to cooperate, for the results will benefit both parties concerned. However, filling out this questionnaire is strictly on a voluntary basis."

The researcher followed that introduction with several statements:

> "I would like all you men to realize that responses will be held in strictest confidence and no one will know how each of you answered. Please be sure to answer the way you really feel. Take your time, read the directions and consider each question carefully. Thank you very much for your cooperation."

The police sample completed the questionnaire in approximately 7 to 10 minutes. After the last officer finished, the questionnaires were collected by the administrator who again expressed appreciation. Administration went smoothly and subsequent reports from various officers indicated that the survey was well done and well received. Upon the study's completion, letters of gratitude for assistance rendered were sent to the department's chief and captain. (See Appendix D)

Administration of the Engineer Questionnaire

Distribution of the engineer questionnaires took place in the classroom prior to classtime. Coincidently, all of the individuals in the classes were members of one of the organizations. This meant no one had to sit idle while others were busy. Six classes were attended between the times of 10:00 A.M. and 5:40 P.M.

The faculty advisor began by introducing the researcher. As in the usual classroom situation, the professor and the researcher faced the students. The following instructions were given:

> "I would like to introduce Robert Corrigan. He is currently working on his master's thesis on police occupations and he would be grateful if you would help him by filling out this questionnaire."

The researcher followed with these comments:

> "I am very interested in getting your opinions on various elements in the police role as they relate to you as engineering students. If you have any questions regarding my study, I will be happy to discuss them with you after class. Be assured that your responses will be held in strictest confidence and no one will know how you answered the questions. Please be sure to answer all questions the way you really feel. Take your time, read the directions, and consider each question carefully. Thank you very much for your cooperation."

The engineers took approximately 5 to 8 minutes to complete the questionnaire. After the last student finished, the questionnaires were collected and everyone was thanked again. As in the police sample, feedback from several engineering students reported good interest and

compliments regarding the questionnaire. Upon the study's completion, each faculty advisor received a letter of gratitude. (See Appendix E)

Limitations of Procedure

In the administration of a questionnaire, there exists limitations to which the researcher must be concerned. Experimenter characteristics biasing subject response and subject characteristics in experimentation account for potential invalidity of measurements.

In questionnaire administration, subject perception of the experimenter can make a significant difference in cooperation. Whether the researcher is deemed "friendly" or "unfriendly" is based upon, in part, his appearance. The experimenter in this study was careful to dress and groom accordingly so as to increase subject cooperation.

The subject's preconceived notions about research may present several uncontrollable problems. One is the subject's motivation to volunteer and cooperate in the experiment. If the subject has had negative prior experiences with research, the probability is that the subject will fail to volunteer for future experiments. Seeing that only one (1) out of one hundred sixty-two (162) failed to cooperate, this problem can be discarded. The second problem in this category is the subject's beliefs concerning the particular hypotheses being investigated.

If the subject has the desire to be a "good subject," the effect will take the form of answering questions in a fashion which he perceives to be what the researcher is "getting at." On the other hand, if the subject wishes to throw off the study results, an effort will be made to answer questions contrary to what is viewed as what the researcher is "getting at." This undiscernable problem can only hope to be discounted by the subject's perception of researcher sincerity and politeness.

Summary

This chapter has focused on the methodological considerations in the present study. The research design, sampling, instrumentation, and procedure were individually discussed in terms of evaluating the hypotheses, which were set forth in Chapter II. A discussion of the study's limitations was included in each section. These limitations cannot be over emphasized. The actual effects of these limitations on the collected data cannot be enumerated, however, in order to appropriately interprete the findings, the researcher must keep them in mind.

In the following chapter, these methodological considerations are applied to the data and the hypotheses are evaluated.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Resulting from the review of the literature in Chapter II, a model was developed concerning the causation of police occupational solidarity. Basically, the elements of danger and authority cause the police to become socially isolated from the population they police which consequently leads to a high degree of occupational solidarity. This model was generated from Jerome Skolnick's classic study of the Westville, California police department. To date, no verification of Skolnick's conception exists, hence, this study purports to examine the proposed determinants of police occupational solidarity. Five hypotheses regarding the model were generated from the literature and are listed below:

H_1: If the degree of danger in the police occupation increases, the use of authority in that occupation, then, will also increase.

H_2: If the degree of danger in the police role increases, then the degree of social isolation will consequently increase.

H_3: If the degree of authority in the police role increases, so will the social isolation of police.

H_4: If the degree of police being socially isolated increases, then the degree of occupational solidarity will consequently increase.

H_5: If the degree of danger and authority in an occupation increases, a subsequent increase in occupational solidarity will follow.

In order to present the findings in a systematic fashion, the chapter is arranged in five parts; one for each hypothesis. Each part begins with a restatement of the respective hypothesis followed by a description of the analysis used to evaluate that hypothesis. All sections conclude with a presentation of the findings.

Hypothesis 1:

If the degree of danger in the police occupation increases, then the use of authority in that occupation will consequently increase.

The first hypothesis derived from the theoretical model concerns the relationship between danger and authority. In order to measure that relationship elucidated in chapter two, it was necessary to correlate the two variables. The correlation method employed was the product-moment correlation coefficient devised by Pearson. Its purpose in this analysis is to act as a measure of association indicating the strength of the linear relationship between the two variables, danger and authority. This bivariate correlation technique provides the experimenter with a single number which summarizes the relationship between the two variables. This number (called the corelation coefficient), indicates the degree to which the variation or change in one variable is related to variation or change in another. Thus, the Pearson product,

designated as "r", is extremely useful to determine the strength of variable relationships.

Three criteria must be met, however, before employing this measure of association. First, the data must be "interval level" data. This means that the level of measurement categories must be defined in terms of fixed or equal units. Secondly, the data must be "homoscedastistic." The term homoscedastisity refers to the existence of a bivariate normal distribution, i.e., that the bivariate values are distributed normally around the least squares line. The third condition is that data must be linear. That is, the bivariate relationship holds throughout the spectrum of values. Since the data is "interval level" and the observation of relevant scattergrams revealed the data to be linear and homoscedastistic, the Pearson product-moment correlation technique was deemed viable.

In order for the reader to gleen the significance of the specified variable relationships, interpretation of the correlation coefficient is presented. The correlation coefficient ranges between +1.00 and -1.00 with a perfect positive relationship reflected by an r of 1.00 and a perfect negative relationship reflected by an r of -1.00. If the value of r is close to 0, the reader may assume there is little or no linear relationship between variables.

When the Pearson r is squared, another statistic is formed (r^2). This symbol, meaning "variance explained" refers to a measure of the proportion of variance in one variable "explained" by the other. (r), on the other hand, measures the dynamic aspect of this relation, measuring the rate of change in one variable relative to the other. "Because of this conceptual distinction, we may say that r is primarily a predictive devise to forecast, for example, the expected level of performance on one variable from observed performance on another."[76] Consequently, r^2 may be viewed as a summarizing measure weighing the influence, or force exerted by one variable on the other. Mathematically, r^2 is expressed as the ratio between "variance explained" by "total variance." It is expressed in percentages (%). The question arises as to what amount of variance explained is significant enough to be considered worthwhile. According to studies in the social sciences, five (5) percent of explained variance is considered high enough to justify further investigation of the hypothesis.[77] With these referents in mind, hypothesis 1 is evaluated.

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[76]John H. Mueller, Karl F. Schuessler and Herbert L. Costner, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology, (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), p. 131.

[77]Richard R. Bennett, "Occupational Socialization, Reference Group Affiliation and Value Change: The Case of the Police" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Washington State University, 1975), p. 45.

In the first hypothesis, the predicted relationship is that the element of danger in the police role will increase the use of authority. By implimenting the Pearson product-moment correlation, a coefficient of (r=.4596) was revealed. More easily interpreted, danger accounts for 21% (r^2=.2112) of the variance in authority. Stated differently, twenty-one percent (21%) of the time, knowledge of danger will allow prediction of the level of authority.

With this correlation in mind, hypothesis 1 seems to explain a large portion of the variance in question. Accordingly, since the linear relationships are strong (r=.4596), the variables danger and authority are closely associated. This empirical association, however, does not assume causation; only statistical contingency. The researcher, therefore, may only make logical inferences where causation operates and how strong it is. Since 21% (r^2=.2112) of the variance in authority is explained by danger, it would appear that the element of danger in the police role is closely related to the subsequent use of authority. Based on these findings, hypothesis 1 may be tentatively supported.

Hypothesis 2:

If the degree of danger in the police occupation increases, then the degree of social isolation will increase.

The second hypothesis concerns the relationship between the element of danger in the police role and social

isolation. It is hypothesized that as the degree of danger increases, the degree of social isolation will also increase. This hypothesis was evaluated by the use of Pearson's product-moment correlation. Observation of relevant scattergrams revealed the data to be linear and homoscedastic. As shown in Table 1, a correlation coefficient of ($r=.2054$) was found. This relationship, while not being as strong as danger and authority, does denote a positive linear relationship. Danger was shown to explain 4.2% ($r^2=.0416$) of the variance in social isolation.

Although the preceeding calculations do suggest a positive linear relationship, the variance in social isolation explained by danger fails to meet the minimum 5% variance explained level which is considered high enough to justify further investigation of the hypothesis. Accordingly, hypothesis 2 is rejected.

Hypothesis 3:

If the degree of authority in the police role increases, then the social isolation of police will subsequently increase.

The third hypothesis concerns the relationship between the element of authority in the police role and social isolation. It is hypothesized that as the degree of authority in the police role increases, the degree of social isolation will also increase. Since the

scattergrams regarding these variables reflected linearity and homoscedasticity, the evaluation of this hypothesis was achieved by the Pearson product-moment correlation. Table 1 presents the findings. A correlation coefficient of (r=.2929) was found, which denotes a positive linear relationship. The proportion of variance in social isolation explained by authority was 8% (r^2=.0857). Based on the findings, hypothesis 3 may be tentatively supported.

TABLE 1

Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients

	DANGER	AUTHORITY	SOCIAL ISOLATION	OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY
DANGER	1.0000			
AUTHORITY	0.4596	1.0000		
	(0.2112)			
SOCIAL ISOLATION	0.2054	0.2923	1.0000	
	(0.0421)	(0.0854)		
OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY	0.0223	0.0766	0.3467	1.0000
	(0.0004)	(0.0058)	(0.1202)	

N = 61

Numbers in parentheses are (r^2).

Hypothesis 4:

If the degree of police being socially isolated increases, then the degree of occupational solidarity will consequently increase.

The fourth hypothesis concerns the relationship between social isolation and occupational solidarity. It is hypothesized that occupational solidarity will increase as a result of increased social isolation. This hypothesis was also evaluated by using the Pearson product-moment correlation. Upon evaluation of scattergrams, these variable distributions were also found to be linear and homoscedastic. Table 1 presents the correlations relevant to this hypothesis. A correlation coefficient of ($r=.3467$) was found. This coefficient is relatively high and indicates there is a strong linear relationship between social isolation and occupational solidarity. The amount of variance in occupational solidarity explained by social isolation was 12% ($r^2=.1202$). Therefore, since occupational solidarity and social isolation are positively and linearly related, hypothesis 4 may be tentatively supported.

Hypothesis 5:

If the degree of danger and authority in an occupation increases, a subsequent increase in occupational solidarity will follow.

This hypothesis concerns the relationship between the independent variables (danger and authority) and the dependent variable (occupational solidarity). It is

hypothesized that as the degree of danger and authority in an occupation increases, the degree of occupational solidarity will subsequently increase. In order to test that hypothesis, a comparison of two groups is necessary. The comparison made in this study is between police officers and student members of professional engineering organizations. Engineering students were selected due to the lack of danger and authority associated with their roles. A viable method of determining the degree of occupational solidarity present in the respective samples is to compare the mean scores of each group on the occupational solidarity variable. A statistical test, "t-test for pooled estimate of standard error," is used to measure the differences between sample means. The justification for using the "t" test in the present study is threefold. Upon observation of relevant scattergrams, three features were revealed: (1) the distributions were found to be normal; (2) variance in both groups appeared to be similar; (3) and the standard error of differences were normally distributed. The "t-test for pooled estimate of standard error" was employed to offset small and unequal sample sizes. The goal of the "t" test is to establish whether or not the difference between two samples is "significant." Significance means "indicative of" or "signifying" probable differences between groups. Before the "t" test may be used, a null hypothesis must be formulated.

The researcher is really interested in the substantive question of the research hypothesis, but must get at it "statistically" through the null hypothesis. This ostensibly unnecessary step in phrasing hypotheses stems from the way statistical tests are set up. All inferential tests yield quantities which are interpreted along the baseline of some kind of statistical probability distribution. Depending on its position, the less likelihood there is of this value's chance occurance, the greater probability there is of its statistical significance. A hypothesis in the null simply states that there is no difference between the groups being studied. The null hypothesis is assumed to be true. If it is later rejected (because it has been found unlikely to be true), the researcher may consider the initial hypothesis as a viable alternative. The hypothesis to be investigated here is stated the following way:

H_0: The degree of police occupational solidarity is no different than the degree of engineering student occupational solidarity.

The "t" test was calculated and a value of (t=5.352) was found. Using a "t" table of distributions, the level of significance was shown. Comparing the degrees of freedom (N-2) with the levels of significance, it was observed that(t=5.352) was significant beyond the .0005 level ($p \cong .000000149$) in a one-tailed test. The one-tailed test was used because of the researcher's attempted

prediction in the direction which the sample result should deviate from the null situation. The researcher, therefore, in only concerned with one tail of the sampling distribution. The alpha level of significance selected prior to testing was the (.05) level, basically because it has been considered appropriate for the social sciences. Since the probability computed by the "t" test well exceeds the alpha level, the null hypothesis may be rejected. Since H_0 has been rejected, the original hypothesis, H_5, may be tentatively supported. The reader must be aware, however, that when a sample result is termed "statistically significant," it only means that the result is unlikely to have occurred if the null hypothesis were really true. Accordingly, actual acceptance of H_5 is without justification.

Evaluation of the preceeding hypotheses sheds light on the degree of credibility of the theoretical model generated in Chapter II. It was shown by an analysis of each hypothesis that all variables in the model indeed have positive relationships. The element of danger was shown to intuitively predict authority (r=.4596), and although hypothesis 2 was rejected, a positive linear relationship between danger and social isolation was found. Authority was associated with social isolation (r=.2929) and social isolation was shown to have an effect upon occupational solidarity (r=.3467). In short, all but one hypothesis was tentatively supported. Considering this,

it appears that Skolnick's constructs regarding the occupational solidarity of police held true, at least to the policemen in Youngstown, Ohio.

A question still remains, however, concerning the theoretical model. It was shown that the element of danger tends to increase the use of authority which consequently leads to increased social isolation. Further, the element of danger was shown to have a positive relationship with social isolation. What, however, would happen to the relationship between danger and social isolation if authority was held constant? That is, does danger have the same effect on social isolation without authority operating? If not, the relationship between danger and social isolation may be spurious.

A method called "partial correlation" can be used to locate spurious relationships between variables. Basically, partial correlation provides a single measure of association describing the relationship between two variables while adjusting for the effects of one or more variables. A partial correlation was employed in this analysis to correlate danger and social isolation while controlling for the effects of authority. The results showed that when authority was held constant, the correlation between danger and social isolation dropped from ($r=.2054$) to ($r=.0834$). It can be reasoned, then, that authority is clearly having an effect on the relationship

between danger and social isolation, and the relationship is spurious. Accordingly, it appears that Skolnick's construct needs adjustment.

Considering the decrease in correlation between danger and social isolation when authority was held constant, and the increase in correlation when authority was operating, the effect of authority in this model might well be to increase the element of danger. Thus, instead of the hypothesized relationship of danger increasing authority, the reverse appears to be true. Further consideration and verification of this possibility, however, must await future research.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings on the five hypotheses presented in this study. Basically, all but one of the hypotheses were tentatively supported. Correlation coefficients for each variable relationship demonstrated positive linear associations. Furthermore, the proportion of variance explained in all but one variable was considered great enough to justify further investigation of the hypotheses. However, upon examination of the independent variable relationships, a change in the theoretical model was discussed. This change was based on the possibility of a spurious relationship between danger and social isolation. It is recommended, therefore, that the independent variables in the model, danger and authority, be reversed. As

discussed earlier, statistical associations do not assume causation; logic does. The variables in the theoretical model were empirically shown to be correlated and the proportion of explained variance suggested causation as hypothesized. It may be reasoned, therefore, that the elements of danger and authority in the police role increase social isolation which consequently leads to occupational solidarity.

A discussion of the study's limitations in Chapter 3 stated that generalizability would be difficult to achieve due to the lack of randomized samples. This study has investigated the effects of danger, authority, and social isolation on occupational solidarity in Youngstown, Ohio. It cannot be assumed that investigation of other police departments would reveal the same results. No generalizations, then, should be made to other police departments concerning their occupational solidarity. Next, the concluding chapter presents a summary and discussion of all material presented heretofore.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This research study has investigated the causal factors related to the occupational solidarity of policemen. The investigation was based upon a model regarding police occupational solidarity developed by Jerome Skolnick in 1966. Basically, Skolnick maintains that the elements of danger and authority in the police role contribute to social isolation and consequently police occupational solidarity. Five hypotheses were generated from this model and are as follows:

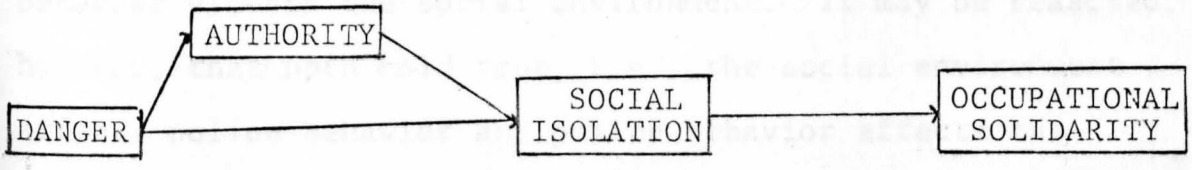
> Hypothesis 1: If the degree of danger in the police occupation increases, the use of authority in that occupation, then, will also increase.
>
> Hypothesis 2: If the degree of danger in the police role increases, then the degree of social isolation will consequently increase.
>
> Hypothesis 3: If the degree of authority in the police role increases, so will the social isolation of police.
>
> Hypothesis 4: If the degree of police being socially isolated increases, then the degree of occupational solidarity will consequently increase.
>
> Hypothesis 5: If the degree of danger and authority in an occupation increase, a subsequent increase in occupational solidarity will follow.

In an attempt to empirically evaluate these hypotheses, two separate samples were taken. The first sample consisted of sixty-one (61) police officers from

the Youngstown Police Department. Subjects varying in rank from patrolmen to captains were chosen. A comparison group of one hundred-one (101) student members of professional engineering organizations were also chosen. Due to the absence of danger and authority associated with their potential roles in an engineering occupation, these individuals were chosen as a comparison group. Each group was asked to fill out a questionnaire pertaining to the four variables in the theoretical model (danger, authority, social isolation, and occupational solidarity). Cooperation was good from both groups, with only one (1) person out of one hundred sixty-two (162) failing to complete the questionnaire.

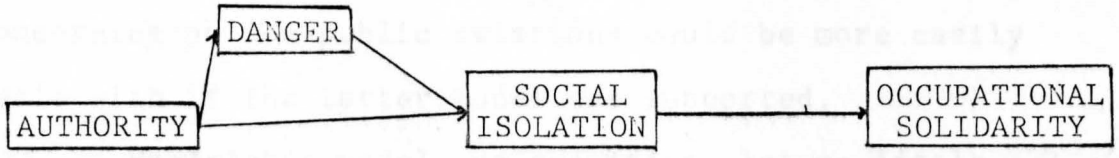
Evaluation of the hypotheses produced some interesting and unexpected results. Hypothesis 1 was tentatively supported when a correlation coefficient of (r=.4596) was revealed. Since 21% (r^2=.2112) of variance in authority was explained by danger, it can be assumed that the element of danger in the police role and the use of authority are related. Investigation of hypothesis 2 revealed that danger and social isolation were correlated (r=.2054). Danger explained 4.2% (r^2=.0416) of the variance in social isolation. While 4.2% of the variance explained does denote a positive linear relationship, it is not considered high enough to support the hypothesis. The correlation coefficient found in hypothesis 3 was (r=.2929), which

denotes a positive linear relationship. The proportion of variance in social isolation explained by authority was 8% (r^2=.0857). Accordingly, hypothesis 3 was tentatively supported. The correlation found between social isolation and occupational solidarity was relatively high (r=.3467) and indicated a strong linear relationship between the two variables. Since 12% (r^2=.1202) of variance in occupational solidarity was explained by social isolation, it was reasoned that hypothesis 4 may also be tentatively supported. Hypothesis 5 investigated the effects of danger and authority on occupational solidarity. Comparing the police with members of professional engineering organizations revealed that danger and authority did have an effect on occupational solidarity. Hypothesis 5, therefore, was tentatively supported. While the majority of hypotheses were tentatively supported (which indicates that danger, authority, and social isolation does increase occupational solidarity), the possibility of a spurious relationship was found. The model as specified by Skolnick was graphically represented as:



The variable danger in the police role was hypothesized to create an increase in the variable social

isolation, which subsequently increased occupational solidarity. Interestingly, the data reveals that instead of the element of danger increasing the use of authority, the possibility is that the use of authority increases the element of danger. Thus, the model should look like this:



Specifically, then, this would mean that the increased use of police authority accounts for the increased danger in that occupation. While the end result is still specified as an increase in occupational solidarity, this reversal of independent variables lends insight into how the social environment affects police behavior. If the latter model can be supported, then, it would appear that the increased use of authority places policemen in more potential danger than when authority is not increased. If this holds true, the question now becomes not how the social environment effects police behavior, but how police behavior effects the social environment. It may be reasoned, however, that both hold true, i.e., the social environment effects police behavior and police behavior effects the social environment. It might be suggested, therefore, that a decrease in police use of authority may result in a decrease in the element of danger in that occupation.

Similarly, if the use of authority and the element of danger decreased, it may be intuitively reasoned that social isolation and occupational solidarity would subsequently decrease. Hence, if social isolation were to decrease, police might not feel as alienated from the public they serve. Thus, any ameliorative action concerning police-public relations could be more easily dealt with if the latter model was supported.

Skolnick's model, as specified, leaves little hope for the improvement of police-citizen relations. That is, it is unlikely the dangers of police work will decrease without reason. The result of this situation is exemplified in the present hostility citizens hold for police. If the proposed change in model variables can be supported (the use of authority causes the element of danger), a tentative solution to the police-citizen relations problem is in sight. The problem would now center upon decreasing the police use of authority, which would theoretically decrease danger, social isolation, and occupational solidarity. This suggested decrease in police authority should not be taken to mean legal police rights (power to arrest, search and seizure, etc.), but perhaps a change in the police attitude toward the enforcement of law. More discretion and a friendlier disposition may reduce the potential danger of citizen violence while increasing the relationship between the public and the

police. Naturally, further consideration of this possibility must await future research endeavors.

The completion of a research study is the time a researcher contemplates the changes he would make if the study were to be replicated. The investigation of a problem similar to the present one should make several recommended adjustments. The random assignment of treatment and control groups, if possible, would allow for a true experimental design which can eliminate most serious threats of systematic bias or error in design and measurement. In addition, randomly selected subjects from various police departments, instead of just one, would increase the capabilities of making generalizations to other police departments. While student engineers were without the elements of danger and authority in their roles, the researcher replicating such a study not employing a true experimental design, should make an effort to obtain a comparison group which matches police more closely. While this comparison group is not without merit, another group more closely related might increase the study's viability.

APPENDIX A

Sample Questionnaires

YOUNGSTOWN
POLICE OCCUPATIONAL SURVEY

It is very important that you answer all the questions the way YOU really feel. Let us assure you that the information you give us will be held in strictest confidence and no one will know how you answered the questions.

Please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate answer or by filling in the appropriate space.

1. Racial Background:

   a. White
   b. Black
   c. American Indian
   d. Mexican American
   e. Other: _____

2. Age: _____ years.

3. Your education:

   a. Grade school
   b. Some high school
   c. High school graduate
   d. College-# of years____
   e. Post graduate

4. How much education does (did) your father have?

   a. Grade school
   b. Some high school
   c. High school graduate
   d. College-# of years____
   e. Post graduate

5. What is (was) your father's occupation? _____

6. How many years have you been a member of this police force? _____years, _____months

7. What is your present rank? _____

8. Please state the age and occupation of your 3 closest friends:

   Age_____ Occupation_____

   Age_____ Occupation_____

   Age_____ Occupation_____

9. How many banquet dinners, dances, social affairs, etc. does your department have annually? _____

10. How many of these activities have you attended or participated in? _____

11. During your average day as a police officer, do you ever fear being physically injured? Yes____ No____

12. To what degree do you percieve your role as a police officer being physically dangerous to your well-being:

    a. Not very dangerous
    b. Somewhat dangerous
    c. Uncertain
    d. Dangerous
    e. Very dangerous

13. What degree do police officers have power to control other people's behavior, e.g. give commands, enforce obedience:

    a. No power
    b. Small Amount of power
    c. Uncertain
    d. Considerable power
    e. Great power

14. Do you feel your role as a police officer places you in a physically dangerous situation? Yes____ No____

Listed below are a number of questions. There is no "right" or "wrong" answers, and you will probably agree with some and disagree with others. Read each statement carefully, then indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate answer. Please do not omit any questions.

If you strongly agree, circle SA
If you agree somewhat, circle A
If you strongly disagree, circle SD
If you disagree somewhat, circle D

15. I always seem to notice the way people dress and walk. SA A D SD

16. Sometimes I feel as though I make people behave unnaturally. SA A D SD

17. Its easy to find friends as long as you're friendly. SA A D SD

18. I believe the members of this occupation get along better than members of other occupations. SA A D SD

19. I often get the feeling that people don't appreciate my work. SA A D SD

20. I must often tell people what to do and what not to do. SA A D SD

21. Most people are just naturally friendly and helpful. SA A D SD

22. I never talk about police work outside of my working hours. SA A D SD
23. I never know what to expect on the job from day to day. SA A D SD
24. Being a policeman doesn't give me the right to tell someone how to behave. SA A D SD
25. My work keeps me from doing other activities I'm interested in. SA A D SD
26. A policeman should never testify against a fellow officer regardless of what he has done. SA A D SD
27. Sometimes I feel as though something or someone is trying to stop me from succeeding. SA A D SD
28. My very presence in a crowd may keep people from acting in a disorderly fashion. SA A D SD
29. I don't get invited out by my friends as often as I'd really like. SA A D SD
30. I feel as though I am really a part of this occupation. SA A D SD
31. I realize that the way I present myself on the job will determine the amount of respect I receive. SA A D SD
32. My role as a police officer demands that I enforce the law. SA A D SD
33. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world. SA A D SD
34. If I had an opportunity to do the same work, only with different people, I would make the change. SA A D SD
35. People are always "putting me down" because I'm a police officer. SA A D SD
36. I feel an obligation to reprimand people for breaking the law. SA A D SD
37. I feel most people today are seldom lonely. SA A D SD
38. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like. SA A D SD
39. If I observed a fellow officer accepting gratuities, I would immediately report him to the proper authority. SA A D SD
40. I must frequently use physical force to keep people from breaking the law. SA A D SD
41. I find real friends easy to find. SA A D SD
42. I never seem to have time to chat with a neighbor. SA A D SD
43. If I was ON DUTY, I would immediately render assistance to a fellow officer I percieved to be in trouble, even though it meant placing myself in a potentially dangerous situation. SA A D SD
44. If I was OFF DUTY, I would immediately render assistance to a fellow officer I percieved to be in trouble, even though it meant placing myself in a potentially dangerous situation. SA A D SD

Thank you for your cooperation
on this project.

YOUNGSTOWN

POLICE OCCUPATIONAL SURVEY

It is very important that you answer all questions the way YOU really feel. Let us assure you that the information you give us will be held in strictest confidence and no one will know how you answered the questions.

Please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate answer or by filling in the appropriate space.

1. Racial Background:

   a. White
   b. Black
   c. American Indian
   d. Mexican American
   e. Other: _____

2. Age: _____ years.

3. What is your present class standing:

   a. Freshman
   b. Sophomore
   c. Junior
   d. Senior
   e. Post-graduate

4. How much education does (did) your father have?

   a. Grade school
   b. Some high school
   c. High school graduate
   d. College-# of years_____
   e. Post-graduate

5. What is (was) your father's occupation? _____

6. How many years have you been an engineering student?

   _____years, _____months.

7. Please state the age and major course of study or occupation of your 3 closest friends:

   Age_____ Major or Occupation_____

   Age_____ Major or Occupation_____

   Age_____ Major or Occupation_____

8. How many benefit dances, social affairs, athletic teams, etc. does your organization have annually? _____

9. How many of these activities have you attended or participated in? _____

10. During the average day as an engineering student, do you ever fear being physically injured? Yes_____ No_____

11. To what degree do you perceive your role as an engineering student being physically dangerous to your well-being:

a. Not very dangerous
b. Somewhat dangerous
c. Uncertain
d. Dangerous
e. Very dangerous

12. What degree do engineering students have power to control other people's behavior, e.g. give commands, enforce obedience:

a. No power
b. Small amount of power
c. Uncertain
d. Considerable
e. Great power

13. Do you feel your role as an engineering student places you in a physically dangerous situation? Yes____ No____

Listed below are a number of questions. There is no "right" or "wrong" answers, and you will probably agree with some and disagree with others. Read each statement carefully, then indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate answer. Please do not omit any questions.

If you strongly agree, circle SA
If you agree somewhat, circle A
If you strongly disagree, circle SD
If you disagree somewhat, circle D

14. I always seem to notice the way people dress and walk. SA A D SD

15. Sometimes I feel as though I make people behave unnaturally. SA A D SD

16. Its easy to find friends as long as you're friendly. SA A D SD

17. I believe the members of this organization get along better than members of other organizations. SA A D SD

18. I often get the feeling that people don't appreciate my work. SA A D SD

19. I must often tell people what to do and what not to do. SA A D SD

20. Most people are just naturally friendly and helpful. SA A D SD

21. I never talk about schoolwork outside the classroom. SA A D SD

22. I never know what to expect in class from day to day. SA A D SD
23. Being an engineering student doesn't give me a right to tell someone how to behave. SA A D SD
24. My schoolwork keeps me from doing other activities I'm interested in. SA A D SD
25. If I observed a fellow student cheating and the professor asked me if I saw him, I would deny it even though I know I would recieve a failing grade if the truth came out. SA A D SD
26. Sometimes I feel as though something is trying to stop me from graduating. SA A D SD
27. My very presence in a crowd may keep people from acting in a disorderly fashion. SA A D SD
28. I don't get invited out by my friends as often as I'd really like. SA A D SD
29. I feel as though I am really involved in this organization. SA A D SD
30. I realize that the way I present myself in class will determine the amount of respect I recieve. SA A D SD
31. My role as an engineering student demands that I enforce the law. SA A D SD
32. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world. SA A D SD
33. If I had an opportunity to take the same classes, only with different classmates, I would make the change. SA A D SD
34. People are always "putting me down" because I'm an engineering student. SA A D SD
35. I feel an obligation to reprimand people for breaking the law. SA A D SD
36. I feel most people today are seldom lonely. SA A D SD
37. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like. SA A D SD
38. If I was involved in a group project and recieved no help from the other members, I WOULD tell the professor I did most of the work. SA A D SD
39. I must frequently use physical force to keep people from breaking the law. SA A D SD
40. I find real friends easy to find. SA A D SD
41. I never seem to have time to chat with a neighbor. SA A D SD
42. I am sure that my fellow students would help me on an assignment that was supposed to be done by myself. SA A D SD
43. I would be willing to aid a fellow student on a project even though the professor forbad it SA A D SD
44. I would immediately render assistance to a fellow student I percieved to be in trouble, even though it meant placing myself in a potentially dangerous situation. SA A D SD

Thank you for your cooperation
on this project.

APPENDIX B

Code Book

CODE BOOK FOR POLICE OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY STUDY 1976

POLICE OFFICERS (POLICE)

Access Code:

Columns

1-3		=Subject number
4	TSTGRP	=Test group 1=police officers 2=engineering students
5	TGBD	=Test group broken down 0=no response 1=police officers 2=civil engineers 3=mechanical engineers 4=chemical engineers 5=industrial engineers

Demographics:

6	RACIAL	=Racial background 1=White 2=Black 3=American Indian 4=Mexican American 5=Other
7-8	AGE	=Age (Absolute number in years)
9-10	YOURED	=Your education 8=grade school 10=some high school 11=high school graduate 12+number=college 17=post graduate
11-12	FATHED	=Father's education 8=grade school 10=some high school 12=high school graduate 12+number=college 17=post graduate

13	FATHOC	=Father's occupation 1=unskilled 2=semi-skilled 3=skilled 4=professional
14-16	YEARS	=Years on the force (numbers in months)
17	RANK	=Present rank 1=probationary patrolman 2=patrolman 3=corporal 4=detective 5=sergeant 6=above sergeant

Closest Friends:

18-19	FA1	=Closest friends AGE #1 (absolute number in years)
20-21	FA2	=Closest friends AGE #2 (same as above)
22-23	FA3	=Closest friends AGE #3 (same as above)
24	FO1	=Closest friends OCCUPATION #1 1=Police 2=Non-police
25	FO2	=Closest friends OCCUPATION #2 (same as above)
26	FO3	=Closest friends OCCUPATION #3 (same as above)

Social Activities:

27-28	SOCACT	=Department's annual social activities (absolute number)
29-30	PARTIS	=Activities participated in (absolute number)

Variables Relating to Danger and Authority:

31	DA1	=Danger 1=yes 2=no
32	DA2	=Danger 1=not very dangerous 2=somewhat dangerous 3=uncertain 4=dangerous 5=very dangerous

33	AU1	=Authority 1=no power 2=small amount of power 3=uncertain 4=considerable power 5=great power
34	DA3	=Danger 1=yes 2=no

Variables Relating to Danger, Authority, Social Isolation, and Occupational Solidarity:

35	DA4	=Danger 1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=disagree 4=strongly disagree
36	AU2	=Authority (same as above)
37	SI1	=Social isolation 1=strongly disagree 2=disagree 3=agree 4=strongly agree
38	OS1	=Occupational solidarity (same as 35)
39	DA5	=Danger (same as 35)
40	AU3	=Authority (same as 35)
41	SI2	=Social isolation (same as 37)
42	OS2	=Occupational solidarity (same as 35)
43	DA6	=Danger (same as 35)
44	AU4	=Authority (same as 37)
45	SI3	=Social isolation (same as 35)
46	OS3	=Occupational solidarity (same as 35)
47	DA7	=Danger (same as 35)
48	AU5	=Authority (same as 35)
49	SI4	=Social isolation (same as 35)
50	OS4	=Occupational solidarity (same as 35)

51	DA8	=Danger (same as 35)
52	AU6	=Authority (same as 35)
53	SI5	=Social isolation (same as 35)
54	OS5	=Occupational solidarity (same as 37)
55	DA9	=Danger (same as 35)
56	AU7	=Authority (same as 35)
57	SI6	=Social isolation (same as 37)
58	SI7	=Social isolation (same as 35)
59	OS6	=Occupational solidarity (same as 37)
60	AU8	=Authority (same as 35)
61	SI8	=Social isolation (same as 37)
62	SI9	=Social isolation (same as 35)
63	OS7	=Occupational solidarity (same as 35)
64	OS8	=Occupational solidarity (same as 35)

CODE BOOK FOR POLICE OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY STUDY 1976

ENGINEERING STUDENTS (ENGSTU)

Access Code:

Columns:

1-3		=Subject number
4	TSTGRP	=Test group 1=police officers 2=engineering students
5	TGBD	=Test group broken down 0=no response 1=police officers 2=civil engineers 3=mechanical engineers 4=chemical engineers 5=industrial engineers

Demographics:

6	RACIAL	=Racial background 1=White 2=Black 3=American Indian 4=Mexican American 5=Other
7-8	AGE	=Age (absolute number in years)
9-10	CLASS	=Present class standing 13=Freshman 14=Sophomore 15=Junior 16=Senior 17=Post graduate
11-12	FATHED	=Father's education 8=grade school 10=some high school 12=high school graduate 12+number=college 17=post graduate
13	FATHOC	=Father's occupation 1=unskilled 2=semi-skilled 3=skilled 4=professional

14-16	YEARSE	=Years as an engineering student (number in months)

Closest Friends:

17-18	FA1	=Closest friends AGE #1 (absolute number in years)
19-20	FA2	=Closest friends AGE #2 (same as above)
21-22	FA3	=Closest friends AGE #3 (same as above)
23	FOM1	=Closest friends MAJOR or OCC. #1 1=engineering student 2=non-engineering student
24	FOM2	=Closest friends MAJOR or OCC. #2 (same as above)
25	FOM3	=Closest friends MAJOR or OCC. #3 (same as above)

Social Activities:

26-27	SOCACT	=Organizations annual social activities (absolute number)
28-29	PARTIS	=Activities participated in (absolute number)

Variables Relating to Danger and Authority:

30	DA1	=Danger 1=yes 2=no
31	DA2	=Danger 1=not very dangerous 2=somewhat dangerous 3=uncertain 4=dangerous 5=very dangerous
32	AU1	=Authority 1=no power 2=small amount of power 3=uncertain 4=considerable power 5=great power
33	DA3	=Danger 1=yes 2=no

Variables Relating to Danger, Authority, Social Isolation, and Occupational Solidarity:

34	DA4	=Danger 1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=disagree 4=strongly disagree
35	AU2	=Authority (same as 34)
36	SI1	=Social isolation 1=strongly disagree 2=disagree 3=agree 4=strongly agree
37	OS1A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)
38	DA5	=Danger (same as 34)
39	AU3	=Authority (same as 34)
40	SI2	=Social isolation (same as 36)
41	OS2A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)
42	DA6A	=Danger (same as 34)
43	AU4A	=Authority (same as 36)
44	SI3A	=Social isolation (same as 34)
45	OS3A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)
46	DA7A	=Danger (same as 34)
47	AU5	=Authority (same as 34)
48	SI4	=Social isolation (same as 34)
49	OS4A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)
50	DA8A	=Danger (same as 34)
51	AU6A	=Authority (same as 34)
52	SI5	=Social isolation (same as 34)
53	OS5A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 36)

54	DA9A	=Danger (same as 34)
55	AU7	=Authority (same as 34)
56	SI6	=Social isolation (same as 36)
57	SI7	=Social isolation (same as 34)
58	OS6A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 36)
59	AU8	=Authority (same as 34)
60	SI8	=Social isolation (same as 34)
61	SI9	=Social isolation (same as 34)
62	OS7A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)
63	OS8A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)
64	OS9A	=Occupational solidarity (same as 34)

APPENDIX C

Research Proposal to Youngstown Police Department

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF POLICE OCCUPATIONAL SOLIDARITY

by

Robert S. Corrigan

Youngstown State University

Master's Thesis

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

In recent years, there has been growing concern for the relationship police have established with the public. There has developed a "mutual resentment" for one another primarily from the peculiar nature of police-public interaction. Indeed, the police officer's ethos of policing and the citizen's sensitivity of being policed have created an unusual situation. Consequently, the public has come to interpret police action as evil and threatening while the police are prepared to view public action as hostile, derogatory and uncooperative.

The results of such a relationship have had considerable impact upon police. They have developed strong feelings of social rejection which has subsequently led to social isolation and in consequence, occupational solidarity. Solidarity is the measure of inclusiveness and identification shared by members of a mutual interest. Set apart from the conventional world, policemen experience an exceptionally strong tendency to find their social identity within their occupational milieu. While this solidarity builds a strong "brotherhood" between policemen, it only serves to draw them further from the citizenry. As the gap between the police and the public widens, so does the understanding for each other, a necessary characteristic of a homogenious society.

It is the purpose of this study, then, to investigate what variables in the police role tend to increase occupational solidarity. It has been hypothesized (Skolnick, 1966) that occupational solidarity is a direct result of the elements of danger and authority in the police role. As Skolnick sees it, danger and authority tend to increase social isolation which subsequently increases occupational solidarity. This study will attempt to measure the validity of that theory. To determine the causes and effects of solidarity will aid in explaining how the social environment effects police behavior and ultimately what modifications can be made to improve police-citizen relations.

PROCEDURE

The effects of danger and authority on police occupational solidarity will be measured by implementing a short questionnaire to the police officers in Youngstown, Ohio. The questionnaire will consist of several open and closed ended questions which will take approximately five to seven minutes to complete. All questions pertain to either danger, authority, social isolation, or occupational solidarity. A sample question exemplifies those that appear on the questionnaire:

> Answer the following questions with one of these five statements:
>
> (sa) strongly agree
> (a) agree
> (u) uncertain
> (d) disagree
> (sd) strongly disagree

1. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
2. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.

The questionnaire should be administered at the beginning of each tour of duty to minimize departmental inconvenience and to afford maximum possible input.

This study is not intended to discredit or embarrass the Youngstown Police Department in any way, but rather to contribute to the advancement of police science knowledge. Upon completion of the study, this author will be pleased to give the Youngstown Police Department a copy of the results with a sincere appreciation for rendering assistance.

APPENDIX D

Letters of Gratitude

Police Sample

Department of Criminal Justice

11/29/76

Dear Chief Baker:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and your men for taking the time to assist me in the "Police Occupational Survey" you were given. Your cooperation in this matter was indeed appreciated and reflects your keen interest in the advancement of police science knowledge.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Corrigan
Graduate Student

Department of Criminal Justice

11/29/76

Dear Captain Komara:

I am writing this letter to express my appreciation to you for rendering assistance in my "Police Occupational Survey". Your cooperation was the key factor in gaining access to the police officers in Youngstown. Without your help, this study would not have been possible. Upon completion of the project, I will forward a copy with pleasure.

Again, thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Corrigan
Graduate Student

APPENDIX E

Letters of Gratitude

Engineer Sample

Department of Criminal Justice

12/3/76

Dr. Jack D. Bakos
Department of Civil Engineering
Youngstown State University
Youngstown, Ohio 44555

Dear Dr. Bakos:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for recently assisting me in the collection of data for my master's thesis. Your cooperation was vital and certainly appreciated. Upon the study's completion, I will be happy to forward you a copy of the results.

Again, thank you for your assistance.

Respectfully,

Robert S. Corrigan
Graduate Student

Department of Criminal Justice

12/3/76

Dr. John A. Stevens
Department of Chemical Engineering
Youngstown State University
Youngstown, Ohio 44555

Dear Dr. Stevens:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for recently assisting me in the collection of data for my master's thesis. Your cooperation in this matter was vital and is certainly appreciated. Upon the study's completion, I will be happy to forward you a copy of the results.

Again, thank you for your assistance.

Respectfully,

Robert S. Corrigan
Graduate Student

Department of Criminal Justice

12/3/76

Dr. John L. Kearns
Department of Industrial Engineering
Youngstown State University
Youngstown, Ohio 44555

Dear Dr. Kearns:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for recently assisting me in the collection of data for my master's thesis. Your cooperation was vital and is certainly appreciated. Upon the study's completion, I will be happy to forward you a copy of the results.

Again, thank you for your assistance.

Respectfully,

Robert S. Corrigan
Graduate Student

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