

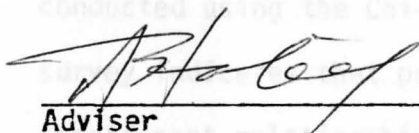
ABSTRACT

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN LAW ENFORCEMENT:
A SURVEY OF MAHONING COUNTY, STATE OF OHIO
MILITANCY OR MODERATION

by

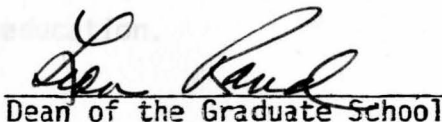
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ABSTRACT

This study consists of an extensive literature review regarding the collective bargaining process in police agencies. From this review it can be concluded that police officers have attempted to achieve basic economic goals by affiliating with labor unions or other associations. Review of the literature also indicates that two factors; a large influx of younger officers in the police agencies coupled with the public demonstrations and riots during the sixties might have created militancy within the police ranks for better work conditions and economic rewards.

In this study an attitudinal survey of the six largest law enforcement agencies in Mahoning County has been conducted. The employees of these law enforcement agencies are represented by the Fraternal Order of Police. Statistical analysis of the data was conducted using the Chi-square test. The conclusion drawn from this survey indicates that police militancy does exist, and there is no significant relationship between age or the amount of the formal education.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The state of Ohio, like some twenty other states, has shown great opposition to the labor movement in the public sector. As of 1979, government administrators and legislators have deterred the collective bargaining process. They are still attempting to use the exclusionary rule upon those in certain protective classifications by claiming the right of state sovereignty. The modified version of state sovereignty is the right to maintain, without interference or interruption, certain protective operations deemed necessary for the order and well being of any society. Public administrators, police executives and legislators assert there is a difference in the type of employment and position of trust that a police officer holds within a community which makes his position distinct from all other professions in the private sector.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to study the police officers viewpoint concerning collective bargaining. This study hopes to determine whether the fraternal associations or the labor type unions will prevail.

Increasing militancy among the police officers may be influenced

by many factors, some of which are purely local in nature, while others may stem from inequities of working conditions or financial rewards which exist in police work across the nation. The focus of this research will primarily be on the causes of police officers militancy, in so far as it relates to age and the amount of formal education.

Justification

Prior research has been very limited and it is difficult to identify the typical movement trend that is occurring in the area of collective bargaining in the police agencies. In Ohio, the controversial issue presently facing law enforcement personnel is whether the police officers have the right of collective bargaining. The Mahoning County area has special significance, since the 1969 declared strike in the Youngstown, Ohio, police department was the first one across the nation amongst police departments. Mahoning County is a highly unionized industrial region and even in the absence of the state laws recognizing collective bargaining rights of police unions, most police associations operate with the local government on an informal level.

Overview

The history indicates that law enforcement personnel has gone through several movements over the years. Attempts have been made by law enforcement personnel to achieve basic economic goals by affiliating with labor unions.

Civil Service was viewed as a method of disuniting from the political patronage system and bringing professionalization in police ranks.

The personnel selection system for employment was based upon the individual's qualifications. The personnel selection process enabled individuals entering the field to advance within the organization. Civil service reforms also gave individuals the job security which they sought, however, the old autocratic police manager still remained.

The quasi-military structure perpetuated the totalitarian management concept. The same administrative hierarchy not only controlled the associations formed by law enforcement agencies, but also regulated the lower echelon's wages. Without the police chief's recommendation to the governmental administration, the prospect of wage increases would not even be entertained.

After a 40 year lull from 1919, the 1960's brought about a complete turnabout in the police field. The public demonstrations and the racial riots of the 60's can be related to the criticism that followed. The public displeasure over how the police handled the situation caused the federal government to form investigatory commissions to review and recommend changes in local police policy and procedure. The recommendations of these commissions follow in capsule form:

Better educated police officers, better equipment, more training, with an over-all recommendation of stricter standards in hiring practices along with improved procedure and policies.

Because of the federal economic assistance programs it became pos-

sible for police administrators to improve the standards in the law enforcement field. The first problem to be confronted was the exodus of older officers, and the new breed of officer entering law enforcement. Another was the occupation as perceived by the individual. Most of the personnel believed that law enforcement was a profession and was held in high esteem within the community. When put to test this belief was found to be a myth. Shocked and dismayed, coupled with low salaries as compared to those of private enterprise, the police officers sought to develop other methods towards their goal attainment.

Disappointed police officers sought the labor union movement within the organization, in the hope of attaining their basic economic needs, and after accomplishing this task they planned to move toward their desired goal of professionalism. The problem in seeking basic economic needs through a labor union is that the only power available to the employees is the right to strike. They sought recognition as an organized body. As a consequence, about thirty states have given police the right to bargain collectively.

The state of Ohio has resisted legislations to allow collective bargaining for public service agencies such as police and fire departments.

Also significant to early labor history was the petitioning

Joseph B. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of
Growth and Organizations", The Police Chief (November 1976), p. 24.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

History of Labor Movement

The trade labor movement in the United States began in Philadelphia when the shoemakers organized a labor union in 1792. Increasing demands for products resulted in spreading of labor organizations to other trades and crafts. In spite of difficulties experienced by new organizations, these early unions survived the business collapse in 1837, 1854, 1873 and the panic of 1893. Of importance to this study is the fact that organized labor made no in-roads into the public sector until after the business panic era.

In 1889, ninety-seven years after labor in the private sector began to organize, the first public sector job action occurred when the five members of the Ithaca, New York, police force walked off their jobs. Oddly enough it was the police, the one group sworn to uphold the law, that took the first dramatic step to achieve their goal of correcting a grievous wrong. That first job action was taken by the police officers to regain \$12.00 per week salary which had been reduced to \$9.00 per week by city administrators.¹

Fraternal, Benevolent and Paternal Associations

Also significant to early labor history was the petitioning

¹Joseph D. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of Causes and Organizations", The Police Chief (November 1976), p. 24.

of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1897, by a group of "Special Police" from Cleveland, Ohio, requesting a local charter which was rejected. The rejection was based on the grounds that it was "not within the province of the trade-union movement" to grant charters to police because they were too often controlled by forces inimical to the labor movement.² The petition was also rejected because the AFL feared their own growth would be hampered, should public employee unionization be received unfavorably by the politicians.

The New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (NYPBA), which had been formed in 1894, co-existed in relative harmony with the city administration until 1914, when a major confrontation occurred. The city administrators tried to abolish the police officers' right of court appeal in the event of a dismissal, replacing this system with a less satisfactory one (Goethal Bill), whereby, future hearings would be conducted before the police commissioner and an administrative board. The Association, as an informal special interest group, was instrumental in defeating this proposed measure. This open conflict which was hazardous to the welfare of the police officers caused the Benevolent Association to avoid direct confrontation and to use more covert tactics. NYPBA also sought support of the press as a way to arouse public sentiment which hopefully would produce favorable

²Allen Z. Gamage and Stanley L. Sachs, "Development of Public Employee-Police Unions", International Associations of Chiefs of Police (Gaithersburg, Maryland, 1977) op. cit., p. 73.

legislation both at city hall and at the state level.

Patrolmen's Benevolent Associations (PBA), which are common to and most numerous in the northeast, without any national coordination, were originally formed to improve working conditions and to protect the police officers from political exploitation. PBA gave little opposition as they functioned in a low keyed manner and caused no problems for the police officials and administrators. PBA's were often headed by high ranking police personnel. PBA's requests and needs were processed by political means and favors. The military structure and their personified stature made them a sacrificial ally of the political system. To further the Association's end, 'slush funds' were created and used to manipulate the political system to their advantage.³

Twenty-one years after the Benevolent Association came into being, the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) was founded in 1915 at Fort Pitt, Pennsylvania, as a local organization. While the Benevolent Association's remained strong in the northeast, the Fraternal Order of Police found it's strength in the north central and southern United States. The F.O.P. with approximately 800 subordinate lodges, although without the organizational structure, comes closest to union framework. However, it does not participate in collective bargaining, other than that achieved on the local and informal level. It is written into the charter

³Ibid., p. 72

that the F.O.P. will not affiliate with any labor union or any like organization. The charter specifically prohibits strikes and any attempt to hinder or interfere with duties of the police. Any such action on the part of a member results in expulsion from the organization. Therefore, the local F.O.P. chapters mainly function as a lobbying and social welfare organization with occasional local bargaining. In this capacity, they function solely as a local chapter, and receive no support from other chapters or the national office.⁴

Public Employee Unrest

The advent of World War I caused discontent and general unrest in all sectors of public employment and particularly within law enforcement. Unrest grew rapidly during the fall and winter of 1917, eventually leaving the public employee populace to advocate the organized labor movement. Ever-rising prices and low salaries were considered to be a major cause of the move towards organized labor. It was felt that the labor movement was the most feasible way to solve their economic grievances. Police officers, at the start of World War I, suffered from rising costs of inflation as they were required to purchase their own uniforms, weapons and equipment in addition to paying increased living expenses.⁵

In September 1918, unrest gave way to decisive action in Cincinnati,

⁴Report of the I.A.C.P. Special Committee on Police Employee Organizations; "Police Employee Organizations", The Police Chief (December 1969), op. cit., p. 52.

⁵Allen Z. Gammage and Stanley L. Sach, "Development of Public Employee-Police Unions", International Associations of Chiefs of Police (Gaithersburg, Maryland, 1977), op. cot., p. 73.

Ohio, when a large segment of the police withheld their services. As if by plan, 600 guardsman, assisted by boy scouts, took over the police duties with such efficiency that had it not been for the notoriety, no one would have missed the police on the streets of Cincinnati. At the same time when Cincinnati police were off work, the Boston police and fire forces were also waging a campaign for higher wages. At a critical point the firemen who were affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, voted to strike as a last resort to obtain their goal. The strike, however, did not materialize, since they were promised an equitable settlement. Two months later, in November 1918, the city commissioners, made an offer of accepting half of the demands. The police sent a delegation to confer with the mayor, amidst rumors of strike, which were denied from all parties involved. At this juncture, Edwin U. Curtis, a hard line advocate, was appointed police commissioner. He began his career with the comment:

Any member of the police department who is so dissatisfied that he cannot perform his work faithfully, honestly, and cheerfully, pending the decision regarding the requested salary increase may resign.⁶

In July 1919, a petition to organize a police union which was being circulated by Boston police officers came to the attention of Commissioner Curtis, who made it quite clear that he would vigorously oppose

⁶Ibid., p. 75.

any attempt to organize. However, within weeks, at the American Federation of Labor convention, the twenty-one year old AFL boycott against the chartering of police unions was lifted. For police, this action was a milestone and a vital step towards organizing unions. This was followed by 65 applications for charters; thirty-three were granted membership with total number of members being 2,265. By September 1919, the growth in membership had reached roughly 4,000 within 37 locals.⁷

Attributes

Since strikes are almost synonymous with unionism, it was inevitable that strikes would appear once police organize labor unions amongst police personnel. Prevalent attitude towards strikes was best expressed in the words of Woodrow Wilson who in 1919 said, "A strike of policemen of a great city, leaving that city at the mercy of an army of thugs, is a crime against civilization."⁸

It is important to note that while most strikes today are money oriented, the cause of the Boston job action was concerned with the right of police officers to organize and collectively bargain. The strike took place only after the strike leaders were fired and the officers were told they could not act as a collective body. The major factor

⁷Ibid., p. 77.

⁸Richard M. Ayres, "Police Strikes; Are We Treating the Symptoms Rather Than the Problem?", The Police Chief, (March 1977), op. cit., p. 63-64.

then was one of recognition.⁹

Public Unions

There are several national public employee unions which have become involved in collective bargaining and grievances. The most prominent of these is the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, which invited and admitted police associations as well as state and local governments in 1939. By 1944, only 39 police locals had joined AFSCME, but by 1951, 61 had joined, most of these were from the northeast and north central states. Police unions although still restricted during the 1950's had fallen in membership, but by December of 1970, AFSCME boasted of having approximately 11,000 police and sheriff department employees as members, 10,000 of which were in 90 locals in 20 states. The remainder were scattered in 36 locals in 15 states. It seemed management would tolerate associations concerned with social, fraternal and benevolent aims, but would not recognize or acknowledge 'unions' per se. These associations did eventually make in-roads through informal negotiations even though, in some instances, management was a member of the association. However, during the 40's and 50's public sector employers under the claim of sovereignty, strongly resisted police unions as noted in two 1943 court decisions in which the court favored the municipalities, i. e. Michigan: F.O.P. v. Harris (306 Mich. 68) and

⁹Joseph D. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of Causes and Organizations", The Police Chief, (November 1975), op. cit., p. 37.

F.O.P. v. City of Detroit (318 Mich. 182).¹⁰ As a result of these decisions (1944) the administration of the Detroit Police Department issued a blanket general order against any type of organizational activity. Also, that same year and again in 1957, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (I.A.C.P.) supported this sentiment and urged officers not to attempt to organize a union. Public opinion polls showed displeasure by a 55 percent negative response toward police unions.¹¹

The most prevalent and aggressive union, going against public sentiment and advocating organization of the police, has been the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers Union. Under the leadership of James Hoffa in 1958, the Teamsters announced its plan to organize the police nationwide. Soon after this announcement state legislators in most states were considering prohibiting such organizations. In addition, congressional leaders were threatening investigatory proceedings into Teamsters organizations.¹² As a result, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters remained out of any organizing activity regarding the police for 10 years. The Teamsters, in 1958, made a concerted effort to organize the New York Police Department. The police commissioner gave immediate recognition

¹⁰Ibid., p. 26. Also cited in Allen Z. Gammage and Stanley L. Sachs, "Development of Public Employee Police Unions", International Association of Chiefs of Police, (Gaithersburg, Maryland, 1977), op. cit., p. 87.

¹¹Ibid., p. 87.

¹²Joseph D. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of Causes and Organizations", The Police Chief (November 1975), op. cit., p. 26.

to the New York City Police Benevolent Association (NYPBA) as the bargaining agent for the police. During the 1950's, there was only one other police organization that emerged at a national level - the International Conference of Police Associations (ICPA). Since the ICPA's inception in 1953, it brought together several independent local police organizations, the benevolent police officers and deputy associations. It grew rapidly, to approximately 150 locals with 150,000 members, with its strength predominantly in the south. Being only an 'association of associations' not active in negotiating contracts, it finds its strength in numbers.¹³ While many of its affiliated, but independent locals are engaged in collective bargaining on an independent basis, the ICPA functions as a service organization on the national level.¹⁴ Made up of independent associations of either active or retired policemen, the ICPA's objectives, as outlined in its constitution, are "to collect, study, standardize, summarize and to disseminate factual data for the purpose of promoting the professionalization of the police agencies; and to strive for the establishment and maintenance of equitable wages, hours, retirement and working conditions for the mutual welfare, protection, and advancement of all police officers".¹⁵ Any

¹³Ibid., p. 12-13.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁵"Report of the I.A.C.P. Special Committee on Police Employee Organizations; Police Employee Organizations", The Police Chief, (December 1969), op. cit., p. 52.

collective bargaining efforts by ICPA affiliates are undertaken on the local level, without the support or intervention of the national organization.

Independent police locals which are not affiliated with any other association are numerous; they commonly bear names such as: Police Benevolent Association, Police Officers Association, Deputies Association, but there are a wide variety of other names. Two factors seem to determine whether a local organization will remain strictly local or will affiliate. First, some locals are too small since the cost of affiliation when compared to the benefits of affiliation are too great to bear. Secondly, some locals are so politically powerful within their jurisdiction that they are capable of obtaining their goals without affiliation. They simply do not need or want assistance from a national organization which might jeopardize the working relationship that they have already nurtured.¹⁶

Communications Gap - Era of Non-Conformity

Even though serious attempts have been made to unionize police since World War I, it was not until the 1960's that unionization began to gain any significant momentum. This momentum came not from strong union leadership or advocacy, but from officers themselves.

During the 1960's, police officers had the responsibility of ensuring public safety at love-ins, sit-ins, walk-outs, lock-outs, labor

¹⁶Joseph D. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of Causes and Organizations", The Police Chief (November 1975), op. cit., p. 28.

strikes, peace-walks, civil rights demonstrations; they also saw doves, hawks, hippies, and yippies, each with their own cause, each seeking a social means of expressing it. The anti-war supporters had the Vietnam War, the minorities and women had the civil rights movement and the young, the right of non-conformity.¹⁷

Police officers on the scene of these numerous demonstrations saw that more often than not, activists gained in-roads and achieved their goals. Police officers became aware of the fact that their grievances could be resolved in a similar way.¹⁸

Prior to 1961, the possibility of dealing with public employees collectively was denounced and rejected by government on the grounds of sovereign immunity. Typical of the statements made against public employee bargaining is that of Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts made during the Boston Police Strike: "...the authority of the Commonwealth cannot be intimidated or coerced. It cannot be compromised. To place the maintenance of the public security in the hands of a body of men who have attempted to destroy it would be to flout at sovereignty of the laws the people have made."¹⁹ In the same vein, a labor specialist, for the New York Times, A. H. Raskin, wrote

¹⁷Bernard G. Winckoski, "Police Unions: The Name of the Game: Collective Bargaining", The Police Chief (December 1969), op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁸Stephen C. Halpern, "Police Unionism: Do Police Unions Have Any Effect on Police Department Operations?", The Police Chief (February 1974), op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁹Report of the I.A.C.P. Special Committee on Police Employee Organizations, "Police Employee Organizations", The Police Chief (December 1969), op. cit., p. 54.

about public employee strikes, "Such tactics are disturbing when they are confined to raids on the public treasury overreaching any requirement of equity and forcing the diversion of funds needed for education, housing, health and other underfinanced civic responsibilities. But strikes in public agencies are increasingly directed toward compelling the community to do what unions think they ought to do in terms of the public police."²⁰

With the changing trend of the sixties the New York Policemen's Benevolent Association, the largest non-affiliated association, was calling for slowdowns and sick-ins during negotiations in 1962, 1966, and 1968. These sick-in protests were conceived by the Pontiac, Michigan, Police Officers Association during its 1966 work stoppage. The Detroit Police Officer's Association, a benevolent association, used a massive sick call in 1967. Detroit's work stoppage tactics proved to be catalyst for other towns in Illinois between 1969, and 1970. Stricter traffic enforcement with a period of slow down effort replaced the so-called 'blue flu'.²¹

Then in September of 1967, in Youngstown, Ohio, a dispute arose over police demands for a \$1,200.00 annual wage increase. The Fra-

²⁰Bernard G. Winckoski, "Police Unions: The Name of the Game: Collective Bargaining", The Police Chief (December 1969), op. cit., p. 38.

²¹Harry E. Bolinger, "Police Unionism: Police Officers' Views on Collective Bargaining and Use of Sanctions", The Police Chief (February 1974), op. cit., p. 41.

ternal Order of Police, Lodge 28, joined forces with the Firefighters when negotiations came to a standstill. The newly formed association was called "Safety Forces". When a walkout occurred 90 percent of the police and fire department employees were on the picket lines and they did not return to work until the city obtained a temporary injunction. However, a permanent injunction could not be obtained until the city agreed to grant pay raises of \$100 a month for both the policemen and firemen. The formation of a temporary alliance, an impermanent injunction, and the strike in Youngstown is significant in that the court stipulated, that prior to any hearing on a permanent injunction, the city must agree to give an equitable wage settlement. The injunction then was not arbitrarily granted merely to get the men back to their jobs; rather, due consideration was given to the cause of the strike.²²

The year 1968 can be proclaimed as the year of public criticism. It first began in Newark, New Jersey, when the PBA executive board during negotiations for wages and fringe benefits with the city, made a resounding mandate of stricter law enforcement by the membership to be an ever present reminder to the business sector of the crisis existing in the wages of policemen.²³ Then the Democratic Convention in Chicago brought even more public criticism of the police for their performance in handling demonstrators. This criticism brought about over-

²²Allen Z. Gammage and Stanley L. Sachs, "Development of Public Employee-Police Unions", International Association of Chiefs of Police (Gaithersburg, Maryland, 1977), op. cit., p. 89.

²³Ibid., p. 89.

all improvement of police departments through improvement in facilities, equipment, salaries, training and the hiring of a better educated police force.

Also, in 1968, in Pontiac, Michigan, and in Salem, Ohio, the police forces were making efforts to obtain higher wages and better working conditions. Both were successful in meeting their goals almost exactly as they had demanded. In Cleveland, Ohio, raises were given to police as a result of "potent politicking" in city hall in November 1968.²⁴

Labor history among police officers would not be complete without mention of the National Union of Police Officers (NUPO) a national union founded by John Cassese a former president of the NYPBA. The NUPO was formed in 1969, and made a request to the AFL-CIO for a charter to become a national police union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. This request was not uncommon and it was within the scope of guidelines for membership in the AFL-CIO. The request was denied, however, on the grounds that NUPO was said not to be a true national union, due to a membership of only 8,000. The NUPO did not disappear due to the rejection of the AFL-CIO, but it affiliated itself with the Service Employees International Union and continues its organizing efforts on a national basis.²⁵

The most common reason for a strike is bargaining in bad faith.

²⁴Ibid., p. 89.

²⁵Joseph D. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of Causes and Organizations", The Police Chief (November 1975), op. cit., p. 28.

This was also the reason given in Albuquerque and Oklahoma City when they struck in July and October respectively in 1975. The Albuquerque problem was that in a prior negotiation, the police acceded to a request by the city administration and were the first amongst public employee unions to sign an agreement. It was expected that the other union agreements would allow similar benefits. However, other public employee unions received additional benefits. It was assumed that in expiration of the police officers agreement the city would automatically extend these benefits without negotiations and proceed with negotiations of other issues. Instead, an impasse occurred, and the negotiations went to the advisory arbitration. The arbitrators recommended a 10 per cent across-the board increase. The proposal was submitted to city council which rejected this recommendation and approved reduced percentage. The police viewed the city's rejection as bargaining in bad faith and struck.²⁶

Professionalism - Possible Turning Point

After Florida public employees were legislatively permitted to bargain, the Police Benevolent Association was formed in Pinellas County, during the fiscal year 1974-1975, and was able to negotiate a substantial raise for its membership. By 1976, the city council, in St. Petersburg, and the Pinellas County Commissioners, began tighter

²⁶Richard M. Ayres, "Police Strikes Are We Treating the Symptoms Rather Than the Problem?", The Police Chief (March 1977), op. cit., p. 66.

fiscal controls. The previous wages and fringe benefits mutually agreed upon were rescinded. Frustrated by this move, the rank and file became prime candidates for recruitment by any national labor union. The Teamsters, already organized in the town of Auburndale, Florida, in 1975, began a move to have officers join their organization. The campaign was highly publicized by the news media, and the city council granted a sufficient raise which resulted in the PBA holding its membership intact and kept the Teamsters temporarily out of the union.²⁷

Like Pinellas County, Florida, the New Orleans police union had limited bargaining rights. Early in 1976, the police voted to disaffiliate itself from the AFL-CIO - SEIU (Service Employees International Union), and thereafter, joined the Teamsters and in January 1978, received its charter.

The Teamsters, like the SEIU, were not able to negotiate an acceptable contract. Since that date, the voluntary membership in the Teamsters has been dwindling. Vincent T. Bruno, president of the Police Association of New Orleans believes that if the Teamsters could gain a good workable contract in New Orleans, then they would soon control the whole state of Louisiana.²⁸

²⁷Tim Bornstein, "Police Unions: Dispelling the Ghost of 1919", Police Magazine (Criminal Justice Publications, Inc., New York, New York, September 1978), op. cit., p. 30

²⁸Ibid., p. 32 - 34.

The work slowdown continued until late in 1978, when the union membership walked off the job and after a brief period the police officers returned, but vowed if something wasn't done they would return to the picket lines. Early in 1979, at the time of the Mardi Gras, height of the tourist season, the police walked out. What resulted was similar to the Boston strike in 1919. The employees returned without a wage package, however, none were fired. The political and public dismay over the action of the police officers resulted in an erosion of support by all segments within the community.

These two areas discussed, may go down in the history as labor movement's failures and a turning point from the militant to a more moderate bargaining position.

Conflict - Police Labor Relations

The industrial workforce began to derive benefits from the nation's economic growth through collective bargaining, while the public sector still relied on the traditional political patronage system. The organized political machinery controlled the bureaucratic government until the civil service reform movement came into existence. As the political bosses began to disappear from the political arena, government agencies became larger and impersonal which resulted in the unionization of the public sector. Employees found that by unionizing and through the power of the strike they were able to improve wages and working conditions. This meant even more to the immigrant and to the lower class American. The public sector union became the

successor of the old political machine.²⁹

The unionization was brought on by civil service complexity, lack of confidence and trust in local, state and federal legislatures, and inadequate salaries and fringe benefits. Job security was no longer a prime consideration. The leadership in the labor movement, however, cannot be credited to the police. It was public school teachers, firefighters, general municipal, state and national workers who led the unionization movement which finally spread into the ranks of law enforcement. However, law enforcement groups moved cautiously, watching and waiting on the sidelines maintaining a low profile due, no doubt in part, to the memory of the Boston strike. When police began unionizing, some of those involved in law enforcement made concerted efforts to raise qualifications and standards for law enforcement personnel. Many of these same people believed that job actions and strikes violated professional ethics and conflicted with their obligation to uphold public safety.³⁰

The 1960's and 1970's saw a significant increase in both organizing efforts and collective bargaining by the police. With the new breed of police officer wanting to change working conditions, with the ever-increasing liberal attitudes of the court system, the race riots and the general public apathy of the period placed added pres-

²⁹Robert Nisbet, "Public Unions and the Decline of Social Trust in Public Employee Unions", Public Employee Unions (Lexington, Massachusetts, 1976 Edition), op. cit., p. 30.

³⁰Ibid., p. 29.

ures upon the police. Because of these pressures, police officers were asking not only for higher pay, but they were also trying to inform the public of these problems and gain their support.³¹

Most of the young people recruited into the police service today have been born since World War II and know little about life in a major depression; their fathers have always been employed, as they themselves; they have been raised in a social affiliative era and have belonged to such organizations since entering elementary school; they are accustomed to being patted on the back for a job well done; and finally, they have enjoyed a greater degree of independence than have the young people of any previous generation. By the time they are recruited into the police they have been conditioned to expect a great deal of independence.³²

The type of occupation in which a police officer is engaged, sets him apart from other workers. The mythical code of behavior for police was much more stringent than that of the written code of the legal and medical professions.³³ The perceived code of behavior for the professional police officer was shattered in June 1974, when the National Symposium on Police Labor Relations, found that the current status of the police occupation lies somewhere between professional and non-professional. They Symposium maintained that police are semi-professional because they are not required to have professional training and education nor do they subscribe to a unifying code of

³¹Richard M. Ayres, "Police Unions: A Step Toward Professionalism", Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 3 No. 4, (Northwestern University School of Law, 1975), op. cit., p. 400.

³²Paul M. Whisenand and R. Fred Ferguson, The Managing of Police Organizations (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1978), p. 98.

³³Harry E. Boninger, "Police Officers Views on Collective Bargaining and Use Sanctions", Police Unionism (February 1947), op. cit., p. 91.

ethics applying to all members.³⁴

The upsurge in the labor movement first began in response to the attitudes which were perceived by the political, public and judicial system and then secondly, by the National Symposium which had left them discouraged and frustrated. With the social trust in their democratic system dissolving in the 1900's and the process of dissolution continuing through to the present, they relied upon the quasi-legal demonstrations which not only attracted attention, but produced results. With each victory they flexed their muscles more openly and with this action won impressive pay raises and improved fringe benefits.³⁵

The national police organizations which are benevolent and fraternal still fall into the category of lobbyist or consultant categories and are independent of the local groups who started the present revolutionary labor movement. Police bargaining used the same tactics that organized labor had used and even though statutes were violated, police officers generally received immunity from prosecution in the bargaining sessions. Whether this style of bargaining will become permanent will depend upon whether the states change their statutes so that bargaining rights can be legally exercised by the police.

Dissatisfaction and grumbling did not materialize overnight, but began like any other labor movement, with small groups discontented

³⁴Richard M. Ayres, "Police Unions: A Step Toward Professionalism", Journal of Police Science and Administration Vol. 3 No. 4, (Northwestern University School of Law, 1975), op. cit., p. 401.

³⁵Bernard G. Winckoski, "Police Unions: The Name of the Game: Collective Bargaining", The Police Chief (December 1969), op. cit., p. 32.

about their wages and working conditions. The growth and development period required solidarity among the police as a means of achieving basic needs which unfortunately, never were realized. The men were dismayed by not having professional status, by the loss of public trust and confidence, by the lack of solidarity and by management's apparent disinterest in their employee's welfare. The police officers were aware of the negative public opinion brought about by their unionization, which the public viewed as an unacceptable activity. Yet, unionization did provide the basic working elements; wages and improved working conditions. Management should have been aware of the revolutionary movement within its ranks during the interim period of growth and should have realized the type of emotional issues which were building up within the employees. Management should not have been so naive as to think that if these issues were ignored, they would dissolve as in the past. Employee-employer relationships in the past depended upon loyalties to the political machinery at a time when there was no solidarity within the ranks. However, when there is a phenomena of volitalization, where basic beliefs of professionalism are shattered, where communications go unheard, where political exploitation exists, and when public support is lost, an explosive situation is created.³⁶

³⁶Robert Nisbet, "Public Unions and the Decline of Social Trust in Public Employee Unions", Public Employee Unions (Lexington, Massachusetts, 1976), op. cit., p. 13.

The 1960's brought an increasing concern about crime in the street, campus disruptions, protests against the Vietnam War, and the Supreme Court's decision about rights of suspects. The police were asked to perform sensitive and difficult tasks in these areas and often, as in the disorders at the 1968 Democratic Convention, police were criticized for their performance. This criticism led to efforts to upgrade departments by improving facilities, equipment, and salaries, and by obtaining better trained and better educated men on the force. Yet, the veteran officers who were involved in the original confrontations of the sixties pressed for union participation while the younger men strove for stronger fraternal ties aimed at improvement.

This is clearly evident in Baltimore, where research showed that a majority of the department veterans belonged to the police union primarily pressing for monetary benefits, while the younger men belonged to the Fraternal Order of Police, which sought to influence such police policies as patrol, recruitment, and training procedures. A similar situation developed in Buffalo, the presence and operation of a group of patrolmen called the 'Silver Shields', may have prompted the official negotiating unit, the Police Benevolent Association, to take a more militant stand on some issues.³⁷

Money (higher pay) has become the main objective of the majority of police officers. Because of suppression, police officers have lost sight of other objectives. Their thinking has been confused and they maintain the notion that strength lies only in numbers, thus avoiding a more logical approach. The trend, therefore, has been toward union-

³⁷Stephen C. Halpern, "Police Unionism: Do Police Unions Have Any Effect on Police Department Operations?", The Police Chief (February 1974), p. 35.

ization as opposed to professionalization. A study of the labor history of the Mahoning Valley reveals that in 1967, when the Fraternal Order of Police, Lodge 28, united with the Firefighters (AFL-CIO) and formed what is now called the 'Safety Forces', they formed a united front in an effort to obtain economic goals. Thus, it is safe to say that this unification was due to both organizations having the same goal and objective.

The society appears to have become hardened to mere numerical strength because of numerous demonstrations and the riot years which they endured during the sixties. To change this existant public opinion, the 'Safety Forces' demonstrated to the public what it is like to live in a community without safety forces on the job. In depriving the community of their services, they dismissed the public's perception of the police officer as a gun-slinging, club-swinging, door-rattling, non-thinking militaristic automaton who can't make it any other way.³⁸

Police personnel had to rely on the political bosses for their jobs to such an extent that they became insecure in their employment. Their bargaining rights were through an 'appeal system'. The scope of bargaining began with the chief of police. If he felt a common need, he would bring it to the attention of the mayor who then recommended it to the legislative body. Denial meant that an individual had only one recourse, that being to approach the political bosses. If it was

³⁸Martin D. Stefanic, "Professionalization in Law Enforcement", The Police Chief (July 1974), op. cit., p. 63.

felt that the individual was worthy of a wage increase, he would be given an advancement within the police hierarchy. This process was followed by all public employees, since the right to organize and bargain was disclaimed by the claim of municipal, state and federal rights of sovereign power. To some degree the public employee seemed content with this procedure since during the late 18th and the early part of the 19th century the country was going through the business panic eras, which caused insecurity in the private sector, i. e., business panics prior to 1837, 1854, 1873 and 1893. World War I came about then and the public employee again began to complain that they were underpaid. They were given security through a civil service system which seemed to satisfy most.

Years passed from the time of the Great Depression, and the claim of disparity was rekindled by the public employees. However, as World War II began, security still remained uppermost in their minds. The public employees sat back patiently awaiting their just rewards in anticipation of a business decline which generally followed the end of any war. Instead, the nation continued at a steady pace maintaining a strong economic growth which again saw the public employee fall further behind economically. Civil Service no longer seemed appealing to them since it did not satisfy their security and needs as was originally intended. Then surprisingly within the next twenty years, political rights of sovereign power were challenged in our judicial system

and set aside. This brought public employees before the bargaining table and as they were inexperienced, it was a frustrating adventure since the early debates only focused on what was bargainable.³⁹

When it came to police officers, it appeared that collective bargaining was not a right and the hotly contested issue arose again over public sovereignty. Police officers were faced with opponents who viewed the police and the army as separate and distinct from the rest of the public sector. Their position was firm and the police officer had no other recourse but to impose sanctions upon the administration to gain economic needs. Quickly, opponents denounced the work stoppages, demonstrations and 'blue flu' as inconsistent with "good police conduct". They further emphasized that dissidence was detrimental to the entire police service to attain professionalism in one breath, but in actuality, were holding over them, the laws which legally prohibit police from striking. However, many police agencies overcame these obstacles using the same tactics as employees in the private sector, such as, amnesty for everyone involved in any work stoppage as part of the settlement.⁴⁰

Another problem was the loss of social status for the police officer. Where he was once highly regarded if not respected, he became in the sixties the symbol of the immediate representative of the establishment and, as in the past, he became the front rank guardian of the establishment, the political system, thus bringing the law to bear

⁴⁰Harry E. Bolinger, "Police Unionism: Police Officers' Views on Collective Bargaining and Use of Sanctions", The Police Chief (February 1974), op. cit., p. 42.

on the dissenting people. The police soon drew the attention of the general public, and criticism. The front line officer began to question the actions of the political system that placed him in this situation and further began to analyze just how important they were as a service element in our society.⁴¹

Arguments arose as to the problem solving method to be implemented and some argued that through organizing they would become professional and only then would they draw attention to their situation. Others argued that if one analyzed the situation, the difference was education. If police service is to obtain this goal of professionalism and be recognized by other professionals, they must become educated which is entirely opposite from the present job-oriented training. "After all, a professional is expected to know all about world affairs, arts, sciences,...as scholarly intellectualities." Then you must commit your life to that profession and not display the attitude common to the lower social status of an hourly wage employee. Most police services are demanding professional advantages without considering the whole of the situation such as, the need to earn, not demand, to recognize and take responsibility and to admit to the inadequacies of unionization.⁴²

⁴¹Joseph D. Smith, "Police Unions: An Historical Perspective of Causes and Organizations", The Police Chief (November 1975), op. cit., p. 26.

⁴²Martin D. Stefanic, "Professionalization in Law Enforcement", The Police Chief (July 1974), op. cit., p. 63.

A number of states have initiated training and the federal government through Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has given specific allotments of funds for education. Through these concerted efforts a number of agencies are now requiring two-year and even four-year degrees in colleges as a selection standard for police officer employment. Furthermore, the fast changing legal cul- minations require a constant upgrading of in-service training to keep abreast of new developments. This mandatory training further qualifies the policemen towards meeting professional status. Law enforcement is a demanding challenge due to its unique characteristics; first, it is a para-military organization, which inherently resists change, whereas professionalization requires flexible administrative procedures. Second, police agencies have statutory provisions in the laws which they are mandated to enforce. Third, for years a chief of police has been selected from within the ranks. This means that he has a close working relationship with the political as well as the business community. These characteristics restrict the leadership towards the attainment of total professional status.⁴³

Internal Climate

Probably the major change in the police agencies to occur because of unionizing is the breakdown of the para-military structure where the strict authoritarian method forms a distinct hierarchy. Unions recognize

⁴³Douglas Harman and Cole Hendrix, "The Challenge of Managing Law Enforcement", Public Management (1973), op. cit., p. 3.

the employees right to participate in the decision making process and further encourage the employee to be involved, formally or informally, in deciding the policies, procedures and programs along with management. The upper echelon of the ranks and the elite of the political reigning power structured their work hours for a normal 9 to 5 day. The balance of the work force had to work the night shifts, in addition to the unpleasant tasks assigned to them. This resulted in a dual police force with the latter creating an informal organization with its own leadership within the formal structure. Now with collective bargaining this concept was broken down to where management now must compensate economically with shift differential, seniority rights and grievance procedures. Further argument is that "unionization was fostered by, and also contributes to, the professionalization of police. The push was clearly evident when the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1968, was adopted." This is apparent in that department veterans are more interested in increased salaries and benefits, while the younger, more educated want a voice in policy and programs as well as increased benefits.⁴⁴ The apparent failure of police administrators not providing these basic needs coupled with the political system provided the cause and the means. Their position and attitudes resulted in lack of control over the rank and file which is confirmed throughout the entire history of law enforcement in the United States.

⁴⁴Stephen C. Halpern, "Police Unionism: Do Police Unions Have Any Effect on Police Department Operations?", The Police Chief (February 1974), op. cit., p. 35.

...International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1958... stated that police agencies are semi-military in nature, and police officers...are required to forego certain personal privileges enjoyed by employees in private industry.⁴⁵

This inattention to employee desires is unfortunate because police are becoming more reluctant to accept the unilateral decisions of city management pertaining to police salaries and conditions of employment. When the traditional lines of communication fail and employees have not been provided with an orderly procedure for adjusting grievances, conflicts develop. Contrary to beliefs held by many administrators, unions do not initiate movements to unionize a police department, they merely respond to the police officers' requests for assistance in gaining benefits that have otherwise been unobtainable. Even after being accepted in the collective bargaining process, the administrative attitude is that police officers are lower level employees who under the classical autocratic theory, must follow orders of their superiors or resign. This does not provide for an adequate base of dealing with modern police unions. When police employees encounter municipal administrators who consider their organizational and collective bargaining activities, 'a privilege' that can be revoked, they may feel that they are being accorded 'second class citizen' status and look to stronger, more established unions for representation.⁴⁶

Craft unions rely on apprenticeships to accomplish the mandatory

⁴⁵Report of The Special Committee on Police Employee Organizations, "Police Employee Organizations", The Police Chief (December 1969), p. 55.

⁴⁶Harry E. Bolinger, "Police Officers Views on Collective Bargaining and Use Sanctions", Police Unionism (February 1974), op. cit., p. 40.

training requirement. The police also feel that the training and experience which they receive before assignment is equivalent to and on a par with union type apprenticeship programs. Nowhere in the annals of history can one find a police union favoring education beyond that which is required prior to entry or training. Nor can one find where members of a profession, other than the technical skill trade, are members of a labor union. Attainment of a social goal of recognition and acceptance would be a requiem for unionism if this is to be the initial phase in their objective plan. The populace served would be antagonistic toward this form of association. That professionalism would succumb to the immediate need of financial betterment is most certainly the rule rather than the exception.

The power to strike is the most potent element of a union. Without this tool, the organized labor movement in this country would have become extinct long ago. Police unions are no different. It is foolish and naive to believe that police unions would not resort to this ultimate weapon. Even President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 'Champion of Labor', alluded to the position of bargaining with no weapons or tools when he declared; "The very nature and purpose of Government makes it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with government employee organization...particularly, I want to emphasize that militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organization of government employee".⁴⁷

⁴⁷Report of the Special Committee on Police Employee Organizations, "Police Employee Organizations", The Police Chief (December 1969), p. 54.

In the heat of economic struggle government must have a major concern for the safety and welfare of its constituents. One needs only to review the history of unionization to see that strikes bring about open warfare. It is also feared that the leadership who controls the army and the police can dictatorally control the nations political scene. Another concern is the police officer himself, who takes an oath of office to protect life, limb and property for the society and then also makes a conflicting allegiance to the union which represents his own interests. It is likely that out of need, he will choose allegiance to his union. Divided loyalties and divided authority presents a unique problem which is of major concern and not to be set aside or be ignored.

There is also the administrative view. Classical authorities have been rejecting the movement towards unionization. In the existing quasi-military organization, the upper levels of management feel that the employee is receiving fair treatment. Police managers also feel that even if the system changed toward a more humanistic approach and employed the 'Motivation and Hygiene Factors' the professional has more positive satisfiers than achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility and growth or advancement. Police executives claim their protests to the movement in favor of professionalism has been denounced by pointless, underhanded tactics such as the increasing executive orders, legal opinions and legislation. These tactics are rejecting their legitimate right to belong to a profession rather than be required to engage

in collective bargaining negotiations. Police executives further claim they are now faced with police unions and union tactics presently being legitimized as having rights by the states and through local legislation. These same administrators often fear that their personal decisions, plans and policies would be impaired because of employees involvement in the decision making process. They further believe that this will deprive them of effective control over their subordinates which could possibly result in the implementation of union interests and objectives. Eventually, union objectives become primarily aimed at financial betterment rather than upgrading the standards and qualifications of law enforcement. Police administrators concluded that until the union and its rank and file attain their desired goal, there will be no assurances of labor peace in the public sector.

Citizens and Police Managements Attitude

Juris and Feuille in their 1973, publication "Police Unionism: Power and Impact in Public Sector Bargaining", assert that the real impact of the union has been to force shared decision-making in the areas of wages, fringe benefits, minimum manning, shift level requirements and control over nature of assignments. All these economic and working conditions infringed upon the freedom of the administrator to implement new programs. They further analyzed the union position regarding various prerequisites to professionalism. It was concluded that indeed police unions interferred with managements quest for pro-

fessional standing. In various union samplings it was found that such factors, generally regarded as managerial, (lateral transfers, senior-patrol status, education, and recruitment criteria) were acted upon in a negative manner by the unions and this was regarded by management as being contrary to their effort to achieve professionalism.⁴⁸

In 1972, another survey, this one by J. Dudley McClain with college students who had just become of age to vote considered the question of whether public employees had the right to unionize and strike. The survey was broken down even further to classify those occupations and functions which 'affect the public interest' and those which involve 'protective' functions. The significance of his study revealed that although his hypothesis was right in that unionizing in the public sector was legitimate, he found that those in the protective classification were viewed as less legitimate. Subsequently, the results on the questions as to the right to strike were viewed even less legitimate than those protective classifications right to unionize. In the question of the right to unionize policemen and firemen which were categorized together, 52.9 percent of those college students favored unionization and 23.3 percent favored strike practices. Then in another question, classifications were broken down even further to specific groups and in this policemen were in a separate category. The college

⁴⁸Hervey A. Juris and Peter Feuille, Police Unions: Power and Impact in Public Sector Bargaining, D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Mass., (1973), p. 117.

students favored by 44.8 percent allowing unionization and 43.5 percent were against.⁴⁹

Productivity

Incentive for productivity in the public sector is no different than awards through bonuses and incentive programs in private industry. For years the concept has been ignored primarily because the public sector claims they cannot compete in the labor market economically and that their performance level cannot be measured quantitatively. The example given is the police officer whose employment performance is merely an assessment opinion as to how he achieves co-operation and respect within a community. However, public employers attempting to improve police service began to examine the concept with the feeling and belief that if it could be applied in industry. It is a sufficiently important concept to be applied in the public sector. Applying this technique called 'productivity' is simply equating it to 'efficiency'. It is the overall performance standards set up by the employer to measure the input versus the output.

The standard measure of productivity in private industry is the ratio of outputs, such as goods or service, to input such as labor, capital, or energy. Private employers have long tried to bargain wages (i.e. Output) on the basis of employee accomplishment of work assignments (i.e. Input).⁵⁰

⁴⁹J. Dudley McClain, "How the New College-Age Voters in Texas View the Right of Policemen to Unionize and Strike:", The Police Chief (November 1972), op. cit., p. 69.

⁵⁰John H. Burpos, "Improving Police Agency and Employee Performance Through Collective Bargaining", The Police Chief (April 1974), p. 32.

New York City was the first to further redefine the concept in 1970, when they announced productivity standards for each city department. The result of non-compliance with the norms would result in a cost of living raise, but no increase in salary when the next contract negotiations came about.⁵¹ The city further reserved the right to set standards for a particular agency, but would bargain over levels of acceptable performance.

The union recognized the city's right under the New York Collective Bargaining Law to establish and/or revise performance standards or norms notwithstanding the existence of prior performance levels, prepare work schedules and to measure the performance of each employee or group of employees.⁵²

The city of New York experienced one obstacle blocking the police productivity program and that was the union. Union resistance was over the clarification on management's definition of increased benefits, the possibility of reducing or eliminating employees and a written agreement stipulating the type of innovative programs to be implemented. In formal collective bargaining sessions all of the issues were resolved and a finalized agreement reached with the union.

Management instituted a four-phase program to improve efficiency and cost effectiveness. The new programs featured not only cost reduction but deployment processing and techniques to be employed.

In their collective bargaining mediation procedures, fact-finding and arbitration were implemented within the safety forces. Mediation

⁵¹Edwin Hamilton, "Productivity: The New York City Approach", Public Administration Review Vol. 32 p. 786.

⁵²Ibid., p. 32.

involved a neutral third party situation where both sides relied on his persuasion and suggested methods toward solving the problem in order to achieve a settlement.

Fact-finding, also known as advisory arbitration, consisted of a panel of three. Each participant has a member of their choice and the third person had to be mutually acceptable to both parties. The hearings were conducted in an informal manner, the evidence was gathered and the non-binding recommendations were submitted for the purpose of settling any dispute. Legislated arbitration was similar to that of fact-finding with the exception of a single neutral party who conducted the hearing and submitted his recommendations. New York City's concept of productivity bargaining with the police service had two important facets. First, the type of programs introduced had to not only improve performance, but had to be statistically measurable. Secondly, the relationship to the individual employees performance also had to be measured. This brought out the creativity on both sides and insured union participation because success or failure hinged on total participatory employee and managerial methods.

The city of Kalamazoo, Michigan, implemented a similar type of employee and managerial participatory method and experienced measurable success. The city was able to negotiate, in a contract clause with the Fraternal Order of Police, and annual firearms qualification policy that would be able to accomplish their goal of proficiency

while the FOP and its members would have monetary incentive to attain its goal.

The first successfully implemented program resulted in expanding productivity bargaining which brought forth such programs as physical fitness, educational attainment for promotional advancement, driver qualification tests and rules for non-conflicting off-duty employment.

Management's implementation effort regarding the scope of productivity within the police organization must be an on-going process. Constant evaluation and planning must be the staffs' main objective, especially in the areas of concern, such as crime reduction and efficiency in the general services provided. Goal attainment can only be accomplished through constant updating methods in order that procedures deemed ineffective can be eliminated. Management must use every available tool including utilizing the human factor mechanisms within the organization. The lower echelon must feel that they are a part of the organization in that they participate in the decision making process. This should reduce or possibly eliminate the internal power struggle which exists in an organization between its administrators and workers. Management must further recognize that when the traditional methods presently employed seem ineffective it is then time to implement alternate techniques. The formal and the informal groups must also realize that the adaptations and innovations must be flexible enough to allow for modification or changes without destroying the original goal.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Major Concepts and Specific Hypotheses

The literature reviewed in chapter two indicates that since 1960, there has been a mass exodus of older police officers from their departments. It is thought that younger and less educated officers tend to be more militant. A second factor which is thought to lead to increased militancy in the country's police departments is the effects of the various demonstrations and riots that occurred during the years 1960 - 1970. While the exodus of older police officers and the effects of the demonstrations and riots could lead to an increased militancy in the police, these ideas have not been investigated. In the present study the following hypotheses were tested.

1. There is a relationship between militancy and age in police officers.
2. There is a relationship between militancy and education in police officers.

The null (hypothesis of no difference) for each of the hypotheses was tested with the Chi-square χ^2 test. Significance for the rejection of the null was set at the .05 level of probability.

Sampling Population

The focal point of the study is Mahoning County, one of eighty-

eight counties that lie within the state of Ohio's political jurisdiction. It is located in the northeastern portion of the state covering some 425 square miles with twenty-five political entities, either cities, townships or villages and consists of a population of 304,527.⁵³

The law enforcement population in Mahoning County, consists of twenty-six police agencies. Nineteen of these agencies are empowered to provide service to the community. Twelve agencies have full time manpower allocations for patrol and other related services. The total full time complement of the twelve agencies is 492 sworn police officers.⁵⁴

Selection Process

The collective bargaining survey was administered to five law enforcement agencies and the Mahoning County Sheriff's Department. These departments provide all or part of the services to cities, townships, and villages within the county. Police agencies represented by the FOP in the following communities were asked to participate: Austintown, Boardman, Campbell, Struthers, Youngstown and the Mahoning County Sheriff's Department. Other cities and villages were excluded because they were not represented by the FOP.

⁵³Lt. Edward P. Nemeth, "Mahoning County Police Manpower Analysis" Mahoning County Sheriff's Department, (Youngstown, Ohio, January 1979).

⁵⁴Ibid.

Data Collection

The questionnaire displayed in Appendix A was taken to each agency. Officers were requested to volunteer to complete the survey. Questionnaires were identified by number and were passed out randomly to the officers. Furthermore, the men were instructed to seal their questionnaires in envelopes and return them to the offices of Chiefs of Police or Sheriff.

Age was nominally classified into seven class intervals as follows:

TABLE I
AGE: CLASS INTERVALS AND WIDTH

GROUP	AGE
A	21 - 25
B	26 - 30
C	31 - 35
D	36 - 40
E	41 - 45
F	46 - 50
G	51 and over

Education was defined as a nominal variable with the class A equal

to twelve years of school; B equal to or greater than one quarter of college education.

Militancy was operationally defined as the responses to questions eight through nineteen of the questionnaire. Officers used a six point Likert scale which ranged from Strongly Agree through Strongly Disagree to indicate their agreement with a statement. Reproduced below are the twelve items. At the end of each item the letters SA or SD indicates the direction of scoring for militancy.

TABLE II
ANALYSIS OF MILITANCY EVALUATION ITEMS

QUESTION	EVALUATION ITEM	MILITANCY
8	Strength in Numbers	SA
9	Present Bargaining Power	SA
10	Right to Strike	SD
11	Job Action	SA
12	Community Protection	SD
13	Community Service	SD
14	Fraternalism	SA
15	Civil Service Security	SA
16	Written Contracts	SA
17	College Monetary Compensation	SA
18	Supervision Image	SD
19	Advancement Opportunity	SA

SA - Strongly Agree

SD - Strongly Disagree

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The issue in this study is the attitude of police officers regarding collective bargaining as a method of seeking economic gain.

The null hypotheses tested specifically states:

1. There is no statistically significant relationship between age and police militancy.
2. There is no statistically significant relationship between formal education and police militancy. :

Individual police officers were from five political sub-divisions and the Mahoning County Sheriff's Department. Individual attitudinal questionnaires completed by these officers formed the basis of comparison between age, education and militancy (See Appendix A).

A total of 400 questionnaires were distributed in six law enforcement agencies; 232 questionnaires were returned and classified as follows:

TABLE III

CLASSIFICATION OF POLICE OFFICERS BY EDUCATION AND AGE

<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>N</u>
A (HIGH SCHOOL)	A 21 - 25	23
	B 26 - 30	57
B. (SOME COLLEGE)	C 31 - 35	35
	D 36 - 40	27
	E 41 - 45	20
	F 46 - 50	26
	G 51 - +	44

It was found (Question #5) that 200 or 86% of the men in the sample were members of an FOP lodge.

The present relationship between the employee and governmental agencies in grievance procedure are shown in question 6.

The responses to Question 7 indicates that 181 or 78% of the men in the sample preferred the FOP, while only 16 or 7% in the sample preferred the labor unions, specifically the Teamsters.

Questions 8 through 19 were submitted to Chi-square (χ^2) tests for the Age and Education variables. Table IV displays the items and the results of each test. The frequency of occurrence for each response is displayed in Appendix B.

TABLE IV
CHI-SQUARE TESTS FOR AGE, AND MILITANCY AND FOR EDUCATION
AND MILITANCY

QUESTION	ITEM	χ^2 AGE	χ^2 EDUCATION
8	Strength in Numbers	**	**
9	Present Bargaining Power	12.1582	.3570
10	Right to Strike	8.3567	.2043
11	Job Action	6.3595	.1337
12	Community Protection	4.5564	.0000
13	Community Service	4.7079	.0008
14	Fraternalism	9.7248	.4813
15	Civil Service Security	4.2281	1.0214
16	Written Contracts	4.6239	.2257
17	College Monetary Comp.	30.9416*	32.4217*
18	Supervision Image	8.1019	.7537
19	Advancement Opportunity	3.0462	1.1012

* $P < .05$

** Cell frequency = 0 for too many cells.

As can be seen in Table IV, Questions 8 and 17 are significant at the .05 level. The responses to question 8 indicates that regardless of age or education, 228 of 231 police officers maintain the attitude that the only fair and equitable collective bargaining process is through collective actions by all members of the police department. The responses to question 17 indicates that men who have attended college believe that they should be given additional compensation, while men who have not attended college do not think that college attendance should receive additional compensation.

In all other cases the null hypothesis could not be rejected. The distribution by age and education presented in question 9 indicates that the present organization (FOP) serves their best interests. The tabulated results indicate a degree of moderation and no significant difference. The test revealed a χ^2 statistic of 12.1582 for age and .3570 for education which is not significant at the .05 level.

In question 10, the question of whether police officers should not have the right to strike was examined, to determine the degree of militancy, the tabulated results indicate that eighty-one percent disagree, and thus, no significant difference is noted. This test statistic revealed a χ^2 value of 8.3567 for age and a .2043 for education which is not significant.

Question 11 was also used to examine the degree of militancy because Ohio law prohibits strikes by public employees. The issue was

formed around other job action, such as mass arrest and ticketing coupled with a work slowdown, sick-ins, etc. Fifty-five percent disagreed with this method. The χ^2 test was 6.3595 for age and .1377 for education which is not significant.

Question 12, the National Guard should be sent into a community to protect the citizenry should a strike occur. The negative response indicated a seventy-five percent objection to the Guard being sent into their community. This writer found the χ^2 value of 4.5564 for age and a .000 for education was not significant.

The fraternal association's belief of strength in numbers was the issue in question 13. Police supervisory personnel are permitted to join and participate in the fraternal association. The position issue addressed was; should the supervisory personnel remain and maintain services to the community in case of a strike? The age category test result was 4.7079 and the education, .0008 which is not significant. Question 14 was a test of the moderate position of the fraternal association as opposed to the position held by labor unions. The rationale of the police officers is that all members of the police agency should belong to the FOP. The response revealed eighty percent agreed with the question and resulted in 9.7248 for age and .4813 for education which measures no significant difference at the .05 level.

Job security under the present Civil Service System is a weak process was asked in question 15. The statistical response revealed

sixty-two percent take the moderate position as indicated by results of 4.2281 for age and 1.0214 for education. This indicates that in their minds, the basic economic needs have not been met. These results show no significant difference between age or education.

The security of having a written contract and also the recognized right to bargain collective was addressed in question 16. Fifty-seven percent agree to contract negotiations at a test statistic of 4.6239 for age and a .2257 for education. These results indicate no significant difference at a .05 level.

Question 17 involved monetary compensation for college credits, or a college degree. The researcher found a significant difference resulting from the response.

Question 18 addressed the area of militancy where the higher educated police officer would demand more influence in the decision making process. This question was asked if acknowledgement by the upper echelon was given for a job well done. Results were that age had a 8.1019 and education a .8537, which indicates no statistical significance.

Question 19 concerned a position of militancy. The question addressed the opportunity for advancement under the present Civil Service System. The researcher found no statistically significant difference between age and education at the .05 level. Age resulted in a 3.0462 level and education a 1.1012 result.

The test failed to reject the null hypothesis which indicates that age or education are not significant factors for the militancy that exist within law enforcement ranks in Mahoning County. This single study does not indicate a significant finding, but rather, reflects that the writer failed to reject the null hypothesis. Further studies and more sophisticated testing in the future, is required to establish equality or identity of militancy with the ranks of law enforcement.

Consideration must be given to the treatment of other extraneous variables which may have had a significant impact on the survey.

Stability and reliability could not be determined for the questionnaire design. The writer is not familiar with this area and cannot determine at this time the test failed to reject the null hypothesis of these factors.

The results may be highly biased in terms of the prior exposure to another extraneous variable, peer pressure. There is no way to measure peer pressure in the sample design used, since all have been exposed to other police officers. Even if the sample had not undergone exposure to other police officers, they were still brought in to a community with a strong labor union orientation. These beliefs would be reflected in a vast majority of the police officers within Mahoning County.

The null could not be rejected for the relationship between age, education and militancy. These two variables could perform a supporting

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study was to indirectly assess attitudes towards a militant position in police officers. Based on an evaluation of the data it appears that militancy does exist within the ranks of law enforcement officers within Mahoning County. It can be concluded that the membership is content to remain associated with Fraternal Order of Police rather than affiliate with the labor unions.

Consideration must be given to the treatment of other extraneous variables which may have had a significant impact on this survey.

Stability and maturity could not be controlled in the questionnaire design. The writer is not familiar with this area and cannot determine at this time the best method to use in the measurement of these factors.

The sample may be highly biased in terms of the prior exposure to another extraneous variable; peer pressure. There is no way to measure peer pressure in the sample design used, since all have been exposed to other police officers. Even if the sample had not undergone exposure to other police officers, they were still brought up in a community with a strong labor union orientation. These beliefs would be reflected in a vast majority of the police officers within Mahoning County.

The null could not be rejected for the relationship between age, education and militancy. These two variables could perform a supporting

role to other primary variables and may be dependable indicators in a pro-union sample. The two variables age, and education may be applicable to any industrial region in terms of pro-unionization.

It can be inferred from the survey results that the sample cannot be construed as ideal. Other studies are needed in which the subject matter is submitted to more powerful statistical techniques. Further studies should be implemented which consider behavioral measures of militancy (e.g. participation in job action) or other variables.

APPENDIX A

Police Attitudinal Questionnaire

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Employer _____

Type of Service _____

Current Rank _____

Do you believe that your employer will take prompt action in cases involving violation of the discipline code of your police department?

Yes _____ No _____

6. Does your employer's unit and the governmental agency have a mutually agreed upon grievance procedure?

Yes _____ No _____ Do not know _____

A. Does the grievance procedure relate to binding arbitration?

Yes _____ No _____ Do not know _____

B. If above answer is yes, in your opinion is it effective?

Yes _____ No _____

7. In your opinion which organization or group is most effective in handling your grievances? (Check One Only)

- | | |
|---|----------|
| A. Fraternal Order of Police | A. _____ |
| B. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees | B. _____ |
| C. Teamsters | C. _____ |
| D. Parolene Benevolent Association | D. _____ |
| E. None of the above | E. _____ |
| F. Other (Specify) | F. _____ |

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age as of your last birthday:

21-25 _____ 26-30 _____ 31-35 _____ 36-40 _____ 41-45 _____ 46-50 _____
51 and over _____

2. Educational Attainment: (Circle number of years completed)

High School 9, 10, 11, 12 College 1, 2, 3, 4

3. Present Base Salary: \$ _____

4. Type of Government employed by:

City _____ County _____ Township _____

5. Do you belong to an employee unit that formally engages in bargaining with the administration of your jurisdiction?

Yes _____ No _____

6. Does your employee unit and the governmental agency have a mutually agreed upon grievance procedure?

Yes _____ No _____ Do not know _____

A. Does the grievance procedure culminate in binding arbitration?

Yes _____ No _____ Do not know _____

B. If above answer is yes, in your opinion is it effective?

Yes _____ No _____

7. In your opinion which organization as they currently function would best serve your interests? (Check One Only)

- | | |
|--|----------|
| A. Fraternal Order of Police | A. _____ |
| B. American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees | B. _____ |
| C. Teamsters | C. _____ |
| D. Patrolman Benevolent Association | D. _____ |
| E. None of the above | E. _____ |
| F. Other (Specify) | F. _____ |

NOTE: CIRCLE THE RESPONSE YOU FEEL BEST ANSWERS THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

8. The only way a fair and equitable collective bargaining agreement can be obtained is through united action by all members of the police department.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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9. The bargaining power of my present organization serves my interests.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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10. Police Officers should not have the right to strike.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

11. Because Ohio law prohibits strikes, the police should take other forms of job action.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

12. If a strike occurs, the National Guard should be sent into the jurisdiction.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

13. If a strike occurs, the police supervisory personnel should remain and maintain the services to the community.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

14. All police supervisory personnel should belong, have voting rights, and the right to hold office in the organization representing the department.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

15. Job security under Civil Service is a very weak process.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

16. Contract negotiations is a much better method of job security.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

17. Those who have college credits, or a degree, should be given additional monetary compensation.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

18. My commander and immediate supervisor acknowledge the fact that a job is well done.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	-------------------	----------------------	----------	----------------------

19. In my mind, I foresee little or no opportunity for advancement.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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APPENDIX B

Tabulated Response
Percentage and Chi-square Test

Questions 1 Through 19

Age	Total	Percentage
25-29 years	22	3.2
30-34 years	10	14.7
35-39 years	35	51.1
40-49 years	87	126.0
50-59 years	101	147.0
60-69 years	26	37.7
70 years and over	44	63.4
TOTAL	732	100.0

QUESTION 7
 NUMBER AND PERCENT BY EDUCATION

Education	Total	Percentage
Non-college Attendance	58	82.7
College Attendance	124	177.6
TOTAL	712	100.0

QUESTION 1

AGE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE RESPONDENTS

Age	Total	Percentage
21-25 years	23	9.9
26-30 years	57	24.6
31-35 years	35	15.1
36-40 years	27	11.6
41-45 years	20	8.6
46-50 years	26	11.2
51 years and over	44	19.0
TOTAL	232	100.0

QUESTION 2

NUMBER AND PERCENT BY EDUCATION

Education	Total	Percentage
Non-College Attendance	98	42.2
College Attendance	134	57.8
TOTAL	232	100.0

QUESTION 4
SURVEY DISTRIBUTION AND RESPONSE

Area	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Cities	277	69.3	165	41.3
County	60	15.0	30	7.5
Townships	63	15.7	37	9.2
TOTAL	400	100.0	232	58.0

QUESTION 5
FORMAL COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Response	Total	Percentage
Yes	200	86.2
No	32	13.8
TOTAL	232	100.0

QUESTION 6
GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

Response	Total	Percentage
Yes	139	59.9
No	50	21.6
Do not know	43	18.5
TOTAL	232	100.0

QUESTION 6A
CULMINATION - BINDING ARBITRATION

Response	Total	Percentage
Yes	45	19.4
No	104	44.8
Do not know	83	35.8
TOTAL	232	100.0

* Black Knights of Black Knights and Ohio Civil Service Employees Assoc.
** State and County Fraternal Order of Police.

QUESTION 6B

EFFECTIVENESS OF BINDING ARBITRATION

Response	Total	Percentage
Yes	25	55.6
No	20	44.4
TOTAL	45	100.0

Responded only if Question 6A was answered Yes

QUESTION 7

CHOICE OF ORGANIZATION

Age	A	B	C	D	E	F
21-25 years	17	0	1	3	1	0
26-30 years	48	0	6	3	2	1*
31-35 years	22	0	1	4	5	2+
36-40 years	21	1	1	1	3	0
41-45 years	13	0	4	1	2	0
46-50 years	21	0	1	0	3	1**
51 years & over	39	0	2	0	2	0
TOTAL	181	1	16	12	18	4

* Black Knights + Black Knights and Ohio Civil Service Employee Assoc.

** State and County Fraternal Order of Police

QUESTION 7

CHOICE OF ORGANIZATION

Education	A	B	C	D	E	F
Non-College Attendance	76	1	7	2	10	1
College Attendance	105	0	9	10	8	3
TOTAL	181	1	16	12	18	4

A - Fraternal Order of Police

B - American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

C - Teamsters

D - Patrolman Benevolent Association

E - None of the above

F - Other (Specify)

The Chi-square Test Formula is as follows:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{\text{all cells}} \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Level of Significance (P) = .05

NS - No significant difference

SD = Significant Difference

O = Indicates Observed Value

E = Indicates Expected Value

QUESTION 8

Age	Agree	Disagree
21-25 years	23	1
26-30 years	54	1
31-35 years	35	0
36-40 years	27	0
41-45 years	20	0
46-50 years	26	0
51 years and over	43	1
TOTAL	228	3

QUESTION 8

Education	Agree	Disagree
Non-College Attendance	96	1
College Attendance	132	2
TOTAL	228	3

QUESTION 9

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	15	8	23
26-30 years	44	13	57
31-35 years	25	10	35
36-40 years	22	5	27
41-45 years	12	8	20
46-50 years	22	4	26
51 years & over	40	4	44
TOTAL	180	52	232

N = 232 df = 6 $\chi^2 = 12.1582$ P = NS

QUESTION 9

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	78	20	98
College Attendance	102	32	134
TOTAL	180	52	232

N = 232 df = 1 $\chi^2 = .3570$ P = NS

QUESTION 10

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	4	19	23
26-30 years	5	49	54
31-35 years	8	30	38
36-40 years	4	23	27
41-45 years	4	15	19
46-50 years	9	17	26
51 years & over	10	34	44
TOTAL	44	187	231

N = 231 df = 6 $\chi^2 = 8.3567$ P = NS

QUESTION 10

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	20	78	98
College Attendance	24	109	133
TOTAL	44	187	231

N = 231 df = 1 $\chi^2 = .2043$ P = NS

QUESTION 11

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	10	13	23
26-30 years	20	36	56
31-35 years	17	18	35
36-40 years	10	17	27
41-45 years	8	12	20
46-50 years	16	10	26
51 years & over	22	22	44
TOTAL	103	128	231

N = 231 $\chi^2 = 6.3595$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 11

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	41	54	95
College Attendance	62	74	136
TOTAL	103	128	213

N = 231 $\chi^2 = .1337$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 12

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	8	15	23
26-30 years	12	43	55
31-35 years	11	24	35
36-40 years	4	22	26
41-45 years	3	16	19
46-50 years	7	19	26
51 years & over	12	32	44
TOTAL	57	171	228

N = 228 $\chi^2 = 4.5564$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 12

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	24	72	96
College Attendance	33	99	132
TOTAL	57	171	228

N = 228 $\chi^2 = .0000$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 13

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	8	14	22
26-30 years	22	35	57
31-35 years	14	21	35
36-40 years	7	20	27
41-45 years	6	12	18
46-50 years	9	17	26
51 years & over	22	22	44
TOTAL	88	141	229

N = 229 $\chi^2 = 4.7079$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 13

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	37	59	96
College Attendance	51	82	133
TOTAL	88	141	229

N = 229 $\chi^2 = .0008$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 14

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	17	6	23
26-30 years	41	14	55
31-35 years	24	11	35
36-40 years	25	2	27
41-45 years	17	2	19
46-50 years	22	4	26
51 years & over	38	6	44
TOTAL	184	45	229

N = 229 $\chi^2 = 9.7248$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 14

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	80	17	97
College Attendance	104	28	132
TOTAL	184	45	229

N = 229 $\chi^2 = .4813$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 15

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	7	16	23
26-30 years	26	27	53
31-35 years	12	23	35
26-40 years	8	18	26
41-45 years	8	11	19
46-50 years	10	16	26
51 years & over	16	28	44
TOTAL	87	139	226

N = 226 $\chi^2 = 4.22812$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 15

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	41	56	97
College Attendance	46	83	129
TOTAL	87	139	226

N = 226 $\chi^2 = 1.0214$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 16

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	13	10	23
26-30 years	34	19	53
31-35 years	18	15	33
36-40 years	17	9	26
41-45 years	7	11	18
46-50 years	13	12	25
51 years & over	24	19	43
TOTAL	126	95	221

N = 221 $\chi^2 = 4.6239$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 16

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	53	43	96
College Attendance	73	52	125
TOTAL	126	95	221

N = 221 $\chi^2 = .2257$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 17

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	18	5	23
26-30 years	34	21	55
31-35 years	24	11	35
36-40 years	11	17	28
41-45 years	8	11	19
46-50 years	7	18	25
51 years & over	12	32	44
TOTAL	114	115	229

N = 229 $\chi^2 = 30.9416$ df = 6 P = SD

QUESTION 17

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	27	70	97
College Attendance	87	45	132
TOTAL	114	115	229

N = 229 $\chi^2 = 32.4217$ df = 1 P = SD

QUESTION 18

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	11	11	22
26-30 years	41	15	56
31-35 years	27	8	35
36-40 years	22	5	27
41-45 years	11	7	18
46-50 years	18	7	25
51 years & over	32	11	43
TOTAL	162	64	226

N = 226 $\chi^2 = 8.1019$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 18

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	71	24	95
College Attendance	91	40	131
TOTAL	162	64	226

N = 226 $\chi^2 = .7537$ df = 1 P = NS

QUESTION 19

Age	Agree	Disagree	Total
21-25 years	13	10	23
26-30 years	35	22	57
31-35 years	24	11	35
36-40 years	14	13	27
41-45 years	13	7	20
46-50 years	17	9	26
51 years & over	24	20	44
TOTAL	140	92	232

N = 232 $\chi^2 = 3.0462$ df = 6 P = NS

QUESTION 19

Education	Agree	Disagree	Total
Non-College Attendance	63	35	98
College Attendance	77	57	134
TOTAL	140	92	232

N = 232 $\chi^2 = 1.1012$ df = 1 P = NS

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