# Occupational Roles of Correctional Officers

by

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## ABSTRACT

### OCCUPATIONAL ROLES OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

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In order to test the research question: Is Zimmer's (1986) classification of the occupational roles of female correctional officers also relevant to male correctional officers? A questionnaire was administered to correctional officers at Trumbull Correctional Institute (TCI). Respondents were asked opinion questions that attempted to measure the characteristics of Zimmer's occupational roles. Results indicated that Zimmer's occupational roles were not applicable to male subjects of this study.

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# Chapter I

### Introduction

Interest in correctional officers is a fairly new phenomenon. Research is being compiled on ideas relative to correctional officers and their jobs; however, the research is still limited on the topic of the occupational roles of correctional officers (Philliber, 1987). The few studies that have touched on similar ideas are discussed in this study for comparison purposes. This following study attempts to add to the existing body of knowledge.

# Purpose

The present study is an extension of Zimmer's (1986) study and compares the occupational roles of male and female correctional officers. Zimmer's study was limited to female correctional officers working in male institutions. The present study concerns itself with male correctional officers, and the results are compared to Zimmer's study. This study attempts to determine if there is a differences between male and female correctional officers by determining whether Zimmer's occupational roles are also relevant to male correctional officers.

### Need

Research over the years has attempted to explain and describe the job of a correctional officer. Much research has been concerned with the existence of a guard subculture and with role conflict among correctional officers (Klofas & Toch, 1982; Hepburn & Albonette, 1980; Duffee, 1974; and Wheeler,

1961). Research is limited in the study of the occupational roles of correctional officers, however. The present study concentrates on Zimmer's concepts, and since there is limited research related to her concepts, there is a need to synthesize it with other research. Studies related to Zimmer's (1986) are obviously similar; however, each researcher developed unique names for similar ideas.

The object of this study is to satisfy the need to understand the occupational roles of correctional officers. It attempts to categorize the occupational roles of male correctional officers with the occupational roles of female correctional officers which Zimmer discovered through qualitative research. This present study can help correctional institutions to understand the occupational roles of their correctional officers. This understanding could possibly lead to improved training programs for correctional officers and administrators. Administrators may find through this research a preferable style of guarding that meets the needs of their institution. Since this present study is concerned with the differences between male and female correctional officers, there may be a need to train male and female officers somewhat differently.

# Research Question

The present study attempts to understand and compare the occupational roles of male and female correctional officers.

Because the goal of this research is to understand the

occupational roles of correctional officers, the research question is: Is Zimmer's classification of the occupational roles of female correctional officers also relevant to male correctional officers?

# Conceptual Definitions

The independent variable in the above hypothesis is sex.

The dependent variable and topic of this particular research is occupational roles. The conceptual definitions are defined below for purposes of this study.

- Sex: male or female
- 2. Occupational Roles: The following three occupational roles, defined by Zimmer, are considered adjustment strategies by her. Each role consist of several characteristics.
  - A. Modified Role: This correctional officer feels incapable of performing the job, and as a result relies on other correctional officers for protection.

    This correctional officer avoids working in direct contact with inmates and holds a negative attitude towards them.
  - B. Institutional Role: This correctional officer follows the rules by the "book."

    A professional image is maintained at all times towards everyone within the institution. This individual maintains

himself or herself in top physical fitness, does not become involved in any personal conversation with inmates, and does not hold a negative attitude toward inmates. This correctional officer is considered a loner and, at the same time, the ideal guard. A correctional officer in this role is receptive to working any assignment within the institution.

C. Inventive Role: This officer likes working in direct contact assignments with inmates, holds the belief that inmates would help and offer protection to the officer if trouble was to arise, and befriends and helps the inmates as well. Communication skills are utilized as a means of control rather than force, counseling is integrated into the job, and petty violations may be ignored to gain future compliance. A correctional officer in the inventive role depends upon the inmates for their shift to run smoothly.

# Overview of Thesis

Chapter one addresses the need and purpose of the present study. The research question is stated and variables defined. Chapter two, the literature review, consists of relevant research including studies examining the styles and types of correctional officers similar to Zimmer's occupational roles. The literature review discusses Zimmer's study in detail since the present study is an extension of it. Chapter two also reviews a study that somewhat replicates Zimmer's study. Finally, the literature review discusses the findings of studies looking at the difference between male and female correctional officers. These studies are important because the present study attempts to determine if there is a difference between Zimmer's female subjects and the male subjects of the present study.

Chapter three, the methodology, discusses the design of the present study along with the sample, setting, instrumentation, and procedures. The last part of chapter three contains the limitations and the statistics used to measure the research question.

Chapter four contains the SPSS statistical results, and chapter five discusses the strengths and weaknesses of this and other studies and suggests future research.

# Chapter II

### Literature Review

Lynn Zimmer (1986) conducted a study concerning three adjustment strategies used by female correctional officers in their work environment, which she called occupational roles. The three occupational roles female correctional officers assumed to adjust to the job were the institutional role, the modified role, and the inventive role.

According to Zimmer's findings, 11 percent of the sample assumed the institutional role. The women in this role precisely followed the formal rules of the administration. They sought a performance level that was equal to male coworkers and maintained a professional image. A commitment to physical fitness enabled them to perform their job adequately, and they were willing to work anywhere. They did not involve themselves in any personal conversations with inmates; however, they did not possess a negative attitude about the inmates. These women, often viewed as loners, chose the institutional role because the rules justified their actions. The institutional role was considered the "ideal" guard, and Zimmer claimed that it would not be a typical adaptation for a male correctional officer.

Zimmer found 43 percent of the women chose the modified role. These women believed they were not capable of performing the job as well as male co-workers. They avoided direct contact with inmates due to fear and relied on male

correctional officers to protect them. They agreed with the male correctional officers' opposition to female correctional officers working in the institution.

Forty-six percent of Zimmer's female subjects were in the inventive role. These women liked working in direct contact assignments and believed the inmates would protect them if problems would arise. They relied on the inmates for protection in contrast to women in the modified role that relied on male correctional officers. Intuition, communication, and counseling were more valued skills to these officers than physical strength. These women were dependent upon inmates and many times ignored petty violations to maintain control. Interestingly, women in this role experienced more harassment from male co-workers than women in the other two roles.

According to Zimmer, all correctional officers adapted a style or role that fit them personally so that they could deal with fear and danger, achieve compliance from inmates, and develop relationships with co-workers. Although Zimmer's study was limited to female correctional officers, she stated that "some of the dimensions of each pattern coincided with aspects of typical male strategies for performing the job" (1986, p. 109). Zimmer, along with Susan Philliber (1987) stated that the occupational roles may be used by male correctional officers as a means of adaptation as well.

Zimmer interviewed 70 female correctional officers over the course of her research. Her primary means of data collection was at first the unstructured, open-ended interview; however, once she defined important issues, the interviews were shortened and were more structured. Her three occupational roles were discovered after she conducted these in-depth interviews with correctional officers, administrators, and male inmates. Zimmer's study was of an ethnographic nature and did not start with a clear set of research questions and hypotheses. In addition, the research was an inductive, "grounded-theory" approach, the results of which focused on the strategies female correctional officers used to adapt to their work environment. These strategies formed the basis for Zimmer's occupational roles.

A limitation of Zimmer's work was the inability to replicate her findings. Most important, she did not give any insight regarding what she asked her subjects during the interviews. In addition, while stating that a few structured questions were asked, she failed to specify what they were. Zimmer also failed to give any insight as to how she arrived at her three occupational roles. She merely stated that "the project eventually focused on different strategies female guards use for creating stable occupational roles in a largely hostile work environment" (Zimmer, 1986 p. 212).

Zimmer's work was exploratory in nature, studying women when they first began working in male institutions, and the

present study was an extension of her work. Zimmer can be considered a pioneer in the study of female correctional officers. This present study begins where Zimmer's study ended and follows her suggestion of examining the occupational roles of male correctional officers.

Joanne Belknap (1991) conducted a study with the primary goal of testing the findings of prior research, including Zimmer's, concerned with female correctional officers. The topics of prior research included: reasons for choosing corrections, attitudes about gender equality inside and outside of the work setting, preferred working environments, perceptions of occupational opportunities and obstacles, conflicts experienced on the job, and beliefs concerning gender differences among correctional officers (Belknap, 1991 p. 90).

The present study was concerned only with that part of Belknap's study relating to Zimmer's occupational roles. Belknap's study replicated aspects of Zimmer's, with some important differences.

Zimmer's research design was exploratory in nature at a time when women first began working in male institutions. Her research was conducted in 1980 and was ethnographic and inductive due to a lack of knowledge. Belknap's study was deductive. Her data, consisting of 35 female correctional officers was collected from a jail rather than from a prison.

Belknap used a structured interview format except for her final question. This final question was most relevant to the present study because it measured occupational roles. For that question, Belknap gave the female correctional officers a description of Zimmer's three occupational roles and asked them to classify themselves. In contrast, Zimmer had assigned the occupational roles to the female correctional officers after she collected the data and developed the roles.

When comparing Belknap's results to Zimmer's, Belknap found 48.6 percent of the women viewed themselves as institutional, compared to 11 percent of Zimmer's sample; 51.3 percent of Belknap's sample viewed themselves as inventive, compared to 46 percent of Zimmer's sample; and none of Belknap's subjects viewed themselves as modified, compared to 43 percent of Zimmer's sample.

A limitation of Belknap's study was that the actual behavior of the female correctional officers could be different from their own perception of themselves. For instance, the modified role is basically negative; there is no way of describing it as positive. The female subjects probably did not want to place themselves into this role. Allowing a subject to classify themself, as Belknap did, promotes social desirability. If Belknap had assigned the roles to the officers herself, the results might have differed.

A final limitation of Belknap's study was that the changes in corrections since Zimmer's study may have caused Belknap's results to differ from Zimmer's. For example, females have been working inside male institutions for years, and many views may have changed since 1980.

A study conducted by Sarah Ben-David (1992) looked at relationships between correctional officers, staff, and inmates. Gathering data through participant observation, a staff member questionnaire, and an inmate questionnaire, this study examined four variables: staff perception of the inmates, orientation of the relationship, relation model, and social distance. A Thurstone Scale was constructed to measure the four variables, and a data analysis was conducted on the participant observation information.

Ben-David found five distinctive prototypes or associations between staff and inmates. These prototypes had characteristics similar to Zimmer's occupational roles and can be considered a type, style, or role of a correctional officer. The five prototypes: punitive; custodial, the manager; patronage, the patron; therapist; and integrative; are described in the following paragraph.

Ben-David's punitive type had characteristics similar to Zimmer's modified role. Like the stereo typical jailer, the punitive type maintained maximum social distance and limited communication between correctional officers and inmates. Authoritative status was important to this type and was

obtained through ordering and demanding submission and obedience from the inmates, the majority of whom were viewed as "mean" and "bad."

The inmates were viewed as "kept" people by the custodial, manager type. This type was task-oriented and concerned himself with having a neat and clean ward and neat and clean inmates. Communication with inmates was limited, interaction was one-sided, social distance was at a professional level, and emotions were not involved in their relationships with inmates. A few characteristics of the custodial type were similar to Zimmer's modified role.

The patronage, patron type of Ben-David's study had characteristics similar to Zimmer's inventive role. Social distance was not as strict compared to the punitive or custodial types. While the degree of interaction between staff and inmates was decided solely by staff, the patronage type assisted or protected the "weaker" inmates, and some emotional involvement may have developed.

Ben-David's therapist type exhibited a few characteristics similar to Zimmer's institutional role. The therapist type had a professional staff-patient relationship with the inmates, wherein the inmate was viewed as a "patient" and the staff-member was to "advise and guide" the inmate only. A professional relationship was maintained along with professional social distance, and all ethical rules were viewed as important.

The integrative type, integrated all Ben-David's prototypes, and resembled not one but all of Zimmer's occupational roles because this type was flexible, using the prototypes appropriate to the individual inmate behavior. This type viewed an inmate as a person and interaction between him and the inmates was free and open; this free and open interaction especially resembled Zimmer's inventive role.

When attempting to compare Ben-David's study to Zimmers, two limitations emerge. Ben-David's study was conducted in a psychiatric prison while Zimmer's was conducted in a typical prison, and Ben-David's study was conducted in Israel while Zimmer's was conducted in the United States. Even though Ben-David claimed prisons in Israel were typical institutions, meeting all of Goffman's criteria, there could be problems in comparing a typical prison to a psychiatric prison and in comparing prisons in the United States to prisons in Israel (Goffman, 1961).

For her study at Walpole State Prison in Massachusetts, Kelsey Kauffman (1988) interviewed correctional officers to determine their type. The officers were classified as: Pollyannas, White Hats, Hard Asses, Burnouts, and Functionaries, according to their attitude towards officers and towards inmates.

Most new recruits were classified as Pollyannas. They held a positive attitude toward both officers and inmates when first entering the prison. However, this attitude was

impossible to maintain for a long duration. Only one experienced correctional officer out of the 30 interviewed was considered a Pollyanne. This officer sincerely liked his or her colleagues, although critical of their behavior. This type found satisfaction in helping the inmates and focused on the inmates as individuals rather than as a group.

According to Kauffman, a White Hat held a positive attitude toward inmates and a negative one toward officers. The one White Hat discovered in Kauffman's sample enjoyed working with and helping inmates and considered some inmates as friends. This correctional officer complained about problems with colleagues and administrators. A White Hat's beliefs were similar to Zimmer's female correctional officers in the inventive role.

The Hard Ass was the polar extreme of the White Hat. The Hard Ass was hostile toward inmates and identified strongly with other correctional officers. A typical Hard Ass was young and inexperienced and viewed the prison setting as an adventure. A Hard Ass was not an effective way of survival inside the institution due to acts of revenge initiated by inmates.

The correctional officer classified as a Burnout possessed a negative attitude toward both officers and inmates. This officer burned out in every aspect of their life, professionally and personally, and the prison setting soon dominated their behavior.

Kauffman's Functionaries were ambivalent and indifferent of both officers and inmates. They viewed the job as nonproductive-never accomplishing anything. Their means of coping was to close their minds to everything around them.

Most correctional officers evolve into a "type" over time. This process usually begins with new, inexperienced officers starting as the primary types of Pollyannas, White Hats, or Hard Asses, usually in that order. Officers usually started with a positive attitude toward inmates and/or officers, developed a negative attitude toward inmates, and then became negative toward fellow officers. After becoming Burnouts, they eventually end up as a Functionary, or they resigned from their position. This last transition ending in physical and emotional withdrawal from the institution and everyone in it.

In another study, Ben Crouch (1980) collected data by participant observation in a large southern prison. He was hired as a guard for research purposes by top officials in the state's Department of Corrections. He worked in the prison setting for six weeks, requesting transfers to enable him to study different areas within the institution.

Crouch's study, found two styles of guarding within the same southern prison. Labeling them the field style or the "boot" and the building style or the "book," Crouch used the terms "boot" and "book" to symbolize the styles and the ways in which order was maintained.

The field style or "boot" focused on two primary goals: completing the agricultural task and returning to the prison with the same number of inmates that left the prison. As long as inmates did not attempt to run away and worked hard, dress and fights were somewhat ignored.

In contrast, the building style or the "book" was more bureaucratic and formalized than the field style. This style did not supervise inmates on task completion. Their job was to have inmates follow the administrative and conduct rules of the institution. This correctional officer was concerned with inmate behavior such as walking, talking, and dressing.

There was competition between the guards and the inmates within the building. One or the other was always trying to gain the upper hand. On the other hand, officers and inmates in the field exhibited a kind of paternalism. The inmate was the powerless child, and the officer was the parent in charge. Also, building officers relied on organizational routines for compliance. In the field, however, refusing to work jeopardized the maintaining of order more than a fight or escape. Refusing to work threatened the officer's authority, so field officers had to deal effectively with inmates before refusal to work surfaced.

While Crouch's two styles of guarding were relevant for that particular southern prison at that particular time, correctional officers are found between these two extremes today. Many prisons have eliminated prison labor, including the south, so Crouch's study was somewhat dated also.

The studies by Zimmer, Belknap, Ben-David, Kauffman, and Crouch did not examine differences between female and male correctional officers. This present study, on the other hand, examined differences between Zimmer's female subjects and male subjects from this study. Therefore, it was important to review literature concerning all differences found in prior research.

Stephen Walters (1992) discussed demographic differences that have been found between male and female correctional officers in prior research studies. The differences Walters 1) women more often came from urban discussed are: backgrounds and from professional or managerial families women were younger and better educated 3) most women did not have prior experience in the military and law enforcement 4) women were more often single, separated, or divorced 5) women were more often "service oriented" 6) women more often had negative attitudes toward co-worker, and feel problems were caused by co-workers 7) and of important interest, males and females were no different in their attitude towards inmates (Walter, 1992 p. 175-176). For further understanding of these findings see Jurik, 1985a, 1985b; and Jurik and Halemba, 1984. According to Kevin Wright and William Saylor, (1991) few studies examining how males and females experience the prison Work environment have been able to find any differences except

job-related stress. Female correctional officers were found to experience more job-related stress than males (see Cullen et al. 1985; and Stinchcomb, 1986).

Zimmer found through interviews with inmates that female correctional officers were more friendly than males and inmates were less likely to become physically aggressive toward female correctional officers (see also Kissel and Katsampes, 1980). Zimmer also found female correctional officers to better utilize communication skills and to be less likely to use force (see also Kissel and Katsampes, 1980).

Walters sent 616 questionnaires to all correctional officers working in direct inmate custody in three state prisons. The response rate was that of 196 officers, 157 male (80.1%) and 39 female (19.9%). Examining fourteen dependent variables, Walters found the following six varied at a statistically significant level when compared to gender.

- 1. Females were more likely to be unmarried.
- Females were more likely to work in minimum security institutions.
- 3. Females were less custody oriented.
- 4. Females were more accepting of other female correctional officers.
- 5. Females had better relationships with correctional officers in general.
- 6. Females had a better opposite sex relationship with co-workers.

Walters' findings contradicted prior research in the areas of job stress, relationships with co-workers, and educational levels. However he found marital status, security level assignments, correctional philosophy, and acceptance of female

correctional officers were shown to be significant in prior research.

found significant Walters a few differences in demographic characteristics, too. For instance, he found female correctional officers were more likely to be unmarried, findings similar to Jurik and Halemba (1984) and Jurik (1985). His findings also contradicted the research by Halemba (1984) and Jurik (1985) that found female correctional officers were more educated than male officers. In addition, Walters' study supported prior research showing that female correctional officers were more "service oriented", and he found female subjects had lower scores relating to custody orientation. Walters found no significant difference in job satisfaction between male and female correctional officers, which supports prior research, and contrary to prior research by Cullen et al. (1985) and Stinchcomb (1986), job stress did not vary significantly by gender (Walters, 1992). Walters also found female correctional officers to view co-workers more positively than males, contradicting the findings of Jurik and Halemba (1984).

In another study, data collected through field observation conducted from 1983 to 1985 by Lincoln Fry and Daniel Glaser (1987) supported earlier findings that male staff possessed a negative orientation toward female staff. According to Fry and Glaser, prior research conducted by Holland et al., (1979); Petersen (1982); and Holeman & Kreps-

Hess (1983) found female correctional officers to be viewed positively by inmates and negatively by male correctional officers.

Fry and Glaser examined six different staff attitude scales by gender. The six scales were stress, organizational commitment, positive evaluation of co-workers, negative evaluation of co-workers, evaluation of inmate services, and negative impact of job on self. The only statistical significant difference found between males and females was the evaluation of inmate services, which the female correctional officers rated lower. Fry and Glaser concluded that the differences between gender in work adjustment may be a result of the difference between traditional and non-traditional females (1987, p. 47).

In a longitudinal study examining gender and occupational socialization among correctional officers conducted by Ben Crouch and Geoffrey Alpert (1982), data were collected from a cohort of three consecutive recruit classes. The recruits completed questionnaires and were then interviewed. A second phase of data collection took place six months after the recruits began working within the prison. This phase of data collection consisted of a follow-up interview that included questions of experience, expectation, and work-related task. Crouch and Alpert's study used the Thurston Attitude Toward Punishment of Criminals Scale (see Shaw & Wright, 1968), and the Critical Incidents Scale developed by Kercher and Martin

(1975), and consisted of a sample size of 84 correctional officers. The independent variables reviewed which were believed to influence attitude change were: age, race, sex, education, and unit assignment. Crouch and Alpert were distinctly looking at the changes in correctional officers' attitudes. For an important study examining changing attitudes of correctional officers see Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973.

An analyses of variance and covariance conducted by Crouch and Alpert showed that race and education did not have any significant influence on punishment or aggression; however, statistical analysis indicated age was significant. Yet when Crouch and Alpert held sex constant to measure the actual impact of age, age was found to be insignificant. End results showed that female correctional officers became more tolerant and nonpunitive overtime when compared to male correctional officers, who became more punitive and aggressive over time. This information was pertinent to the present study.

A limitation of Crouch and Alpert's study was that the correctional officers in the study worked only with same sex inmates. This may have been due to the time frame of the study since few female correctional officers supervised male inmates during that time period.

### Summary

The literature review critiqued studies similar to

Zimmer's study of the occupational roles and the differences between male and female correctional officers. It also attempted to compare and contrast studies to that of Zimmer's study.

Studies focusing on differences between male and female correctional officers were reviewed to determine differences found in previous studies. Prior studies comparing male and female correctional officers, which were previously discussed in detail, can be found in the following summation.

Jurik (1985a) (1985b) and Jurik and Halemba (1984) found women to more often come from urban backgrounds; professional or managerial families; were younger and better educated; most had no prior military or law enforcement experience; more often were single, separated, or divorced; more often "service oriented"; more often maintained a negative attitude of coworkers; and believed problems were caused by co-workers. Wright and Saylor (1991); Cullen et al. (1985); and Stinchcomb (1986) found job-related stress to be the only difference between male and female correctional officers. However, Walters (1992) found no difference between male and female correctional officers' job stress. Zimmer (1986) found female correctional officers to be more friendly and to better utilize communication skills than male correctional officers (see also Kissel and Katsampes, 1980). Walters' findings supported Jurik and Halemba (1984) and Jurik (1985) that female correctional officers were more often unmarried.

However, Walters' findings contradicted Halemba (1984) and Jurik (1985) that female correctional officers were more educated. Walters' study found female correctional officers to more often be "service oriented" and possess lower custody oriented scores. Walters' findings contradicted the findings of Jurik and Halemba (1984) that female correctional officers view co-workers negatively. Crouch and Alpert (1982) found female correctional officers to be more tolerant and nonpunitive over time in comparison to male correctional officers.

# Chapter III

# Methodology

### Design

The research design of the present study is of a descriptive nature attempting to describe correctional by categorizing them according to Zimmer's occupational roles. All correctional officers, male and female, must find ways of dealing with fear and danger, ways of gaining inmate compliance, and ways of achieving good working conditions with their co-workers (Zimmer, 1986). A focus of this study was to determine whether male correctional officers assumed occupational roles to meet these needs. Zimmer concluded female correctional officers occupational roles due to discrimination, harassment, testing by inmates, and tokenism. However, all correctional officers must develop techniques that allow them to survive on the job, a future study is needed to explain why correctional officers, male and female, assume one occupational role or another.

### Sample

Permission to conduct this research at Trumbull Correctional Institution (TCI) was requested from the Department of Corrections in Columbus, Ohio, and from the Human Subjects Committee of Youngstown State University; permission was granted by both organizations. Correctional Officers from Trumbull Correctional Institution were the

subjects for this study. TCI employs 160 officers, an average of 40 officers working per shift.

The sample for the present study was non-random; all the correctional officers on duty were given the opportunity to complete a questionnaire in order to increase response rate. A random sample was not possible due to administrative restraints and because such a sample would have permitted the researcher to know the names of correctional officers working within the institution. The sample size for this study was 56.

## Setting

Trumbull Correctional Institution is located in Leavittsburg, Ohio. The facility is considered a close-security level; however, all custody levels have been housed together for some time. TCI houses only male offenders.

### Instrumentation

Data for this study was collected through self-administered questionnaires, designed in the form of a Likert type scale with the responses being strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree. The questionnaire was composed of questions that focused on the characteristics attributed to Zimmer's three occupational roles: modified, inventive, and institutional. Fifty-five of the questions were designed solely for the present study.

The following scales, designed to measure certain items in previous studies, were used in the present study solely to

measure the ascribed characteristics of occupational roles.

The present study used eleven items from the Attitude Towards Prisoners Scale Melvin, Gramling, and Gardner (1985) designed (See Appendix A and Appendix C). A factor analysis was conducted, resulting in a 36-item Likert scale which was shown to have merit in assessing general attitudes towards prisoners; the items correlated at least .47 using this factor. The Attitude Towards Prisoners Scale also showed a moderate to high split-half (r=.84 to .92), and test-retest was shown to possess a moderate to high reliability across time (r=.82).

When social desirability was checked, response distortion was not discovered. Several groups of questions were contrasted and showed considerable validity; a correlation between the Attitude Towards Prisoners Scale and the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability scale was -.02 (p>.10).

The Professional Orientation Scale (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989), designed by Klofas and Toch (1982) and replicated by Whitehead et al. (1987), was also used in the analysis of this study. A factor analysis resulted in a 17-item, four factor measure of the role orientation of correctional officers. The four factors were social distance (five items), measuring correctional officers' preference for direct contact with inmates; punitive orientation (four items), measuring officers' preference for harsh prison conditions for inmates; concern with corruption of authority

(five items), measuring the degree an officer feels inmates can not be trusted; and counseling roles (three items), measuring officers' preference for rehabilitation and counseling.

For purposes of the present study, counseling roles and punitive orientation were not needed in measuring the three occupational roles. Reliability coefficients for the measures are: counseling roles (.76), concern with corruption of authority (.77), social distance (.75), and punitive orientation (.72). Whitehead et al. (1987) reported the following reliability coefficients for the same measures which are: counseling roles (.78), concern with corruption of authority (.65), social distance (.59), and punitive orientation (.64). Klofas' and Toch's social distance scale and concern with corruption of authority scale were used (see Appendix A and Appendix C).

A Dependence Upon Inmates Scale from Arizona State University's School of Justice Studies (Hepburn & Crepin, 1984) was used in the present study (see Appendix A and Appendix C).

Several questions used in the questionnaire were constructed for the present study to measure certain characteristics of each occupational roles that prior studies did not address (see Appendix A and Appendix C). The questionnaire addressed certain demographic information such as age, sex, education, race, years as a correctional officer,

and years within Trumbull Correctional Institution. This demographic information was useful in the present study for descriptive purposes, and may prove to be valuable in future research to explain why correctional officers assume a particular occupational role.

# Procedures

The researcher distributed the self-administered questionnaires to the correctional officers at TCI at the beginning of each shift during roll call. An opening statement on the questionnaire advised the officers of the researcher's name and university of study, the purpose of the study, that participation was voluntary, and that all information would remain anonymous. The researcher remained to collect the completed questionnaires and to solve any problems that might arise.

## Limitations

Those limitations not already discussed in the literature review and methodology sections are discussed below.

The present study has attempted to limit answers being based on social desirability rather than actual attitudes and behaviors. To accomplish this, the guidelines presented by Earl Babbie (1992) were followed in constructing the questionnaire, and questions were worded so that the respondents would not be tempted to avoid negative responses or characteristics.

To check for internal validity in the present study, four questions were designed for each characteristic. Two of the questions agreed with the characteristic and two disagreed with that characteristic. However, the characteristics with an opposite view did not need the two agreeing and two disagreeing responses.

The present study's questionnaire was designed in the same manner to check for internal validity. For example, if a correctional officer responded strongly agree or agree to two questions, they needed to respond strongly disagree or disagree to the other two questions to possess that characteristic. Questions asking the opposite view of the characteristic were reversed scored for analysis purposes.

# Analysis

Frequency tests were conducted on every question. The frequency scores were useful in the understanding of demographic information.

Correlation coefficients were conducted to determine which variables correlated at a significance level of .05 and .01. The only variables the present study was concerned with were those that highly correlated. The last step of the analysis was to determine, by reviewing an individualized printout of every respondent's score, which characteristics they possessed from the chosen significant variables.

### Summary

Chapter three was devoted to methodological issues and

discussed the research design, setting, sample, instrumentation, limitations, and procedures. The type of statistical tests used in this study, along with the rationale for their use, was discussed also.

# Chapter IV

### Results

The following research question was tested:

Is Zimmer's classification of the occupational roles of female correctional officers also relevant to male correctional officers?

The total number of respondents was 57; however, only 56 questionnaires were usable, resulting in a sample size of 56.

The computer program SPSS computed the data for the present study on the Youngstown State University mainframe, and the results were analyzed by the researcher.

Frequency tests were conducted, and the results are provided in demographic tables 1 through 4.

Table 1 contains the frequency scores of the variable sex. Male subjects composed 89.3% of the sample, and female subjects composed 10.7% of the sample.

Table 2 shows that white subjects represented 85.7% of the sample, black subjects represented 12.5% of the sample, and the category other represented 1.8% of the sample.

Table 3 contains the frequency scores of the variable education. Subjects with a high school diploma or GED represented 32.1%, some college represented 42.9%, associates degree represented 8.9%, bachelors degree represented 10.7%,

some graduate work represented 3.6%, and graduate degree represented 1.8% of the total sample.

Table 4 provides the frequency scores for the variable age. The age group 21 to 30 represented 50% of the sample, the age group 31 to 40 represented 28.6% of the sample, and the age group 41 to 52 represents 21.4% of the sample.

Table 1 Sex

50	89.3%
6	10.7%
56	100
	-

Table 2 Race

White	48	85.7%	
Black	7	12.5%	
Other	1	1.8%	
motol	56	100	
Total	20	100	

Table 3 Education

High School or GED	18	32.1%
Some College	24	42.9%
Associates	5	8.9%
Bachelors	6	10.7%
Some graduate	2	3.6%
Graduate	1	1.8%
Total	56	100

	Table Age	4	
21-30	28	50.0%	_
31-40	16	28.6%	
41-52	12	21.4%	
Total	56	100	

To test the research question, correlation coefficients were conducted to determine which variables correlated at a significance level of .05 and .01. The only variables used were those that met the .05 or .01 level of significance. If a variable was found to correlate highly in one occupational role, it could not be used if it also correlated highly in another occupational role.

Zimmer's modified role contained four characteristics or variables, and only those highly correlated variables were chosen to indicate that role's characteristics. Prior to correlation coefficient testing, 16 variables were designed for this study. End results of the testing produced four variables that were used to represent the modified role.

Zimmer's inventive role contained seven characteristics or variables. Correlation coefficient testing reduced the 30 variables designed for this study to a significant seven variables. Only those seven variables that correlated at a .05 and .01 level were used to represent the inventive role.

Zimmer's institutional role contained eight characteristics or variables. After correlation coefficient testing, the 32 variables designed for this study were reduced to eight variables. These eight highly correlated variables represented the institutional role.

Tables 4 through 6 list the highly correlated variables that were used to test the research question.

#### Table 4 Modified Variables

- 1. I feel limitations within the institution do not permit me to perform my job adequately.
- Working in direct contact with inmates is my least favorite assignment.
- 3. I only rely on myself for protection.
- 4. Give a prisoner an inch and he'll take a mile.

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# Table 5 Inventive Variables

- If I want to do my job, it's better to work with the inmates than to work alone.
- 2. I believe integrating counseling into my job helps the inmates.
- 3. Force controls inmates rather than communication skills.
- 4. I prefer direct contact assignments.
- 5. It is necessary to ignore certain petty violations.
- 6. You get to like the inmates you work with.
- 7. If I were in trouble on the range, I believe some of the inmates would come to my aid.

# Table 6 Institutional Variables

- It is a must to always follow the rules exactly.
- A professional image must be maintained in dealing with inmates.
- Physical fitness is a must in guard work.
- 4. You must keep conversations with inmates short and business like.

- 5. Prisoners are neither better nor worse than other people.
- 6. Socializing with correctional officers is of little importance to me.
- I am viewed far from the perfect guard.
- 8. My skills limit me to where I can work.

After the most significant variables were chosen, the respondent's scores were reduced from strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree to either agree or disagree. Agree was given a value of 1, disagree a value of -1, and undecided was a 0.

Each respondent's answers were examined and compared to every significant variable found in tables 4, 5, and 6. To be classified into one of the occupational roles, respondents had to possess several of that role's characteristics and a very limited number of characteristics fitting the other occupational roles.

A respondent had to answer agree to variables 1, 2, 4 and answer disagree to variable 3 (see Table 4) to be classified into the modified role. Only two of the 56 respondents could be classified as modified, answering all four variables correctly. One of these two respondents also scored one (14.3%) in the inventive role and four (50%) in the institutional role. The other respondent scored one (14.3%) in the inventive role and one (12.5%) in the institutional role.

A respondent had to answer agree to variables 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and answer disagree to variable 3 (see Table 5) to be classified into the inventive role. Two respondents possessed

six (85.7%) of the seven variables and were classified inventive. One of these respondents also scored one (25%) in the modified role and five (62.5%) in the institutional role. The other respondent scored three (75%) in the modified role and two (25%) in the institutional role.

A respondent had to answer agree to variables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and disagree to variable 7 and 8 (see Table 6) to be classified into the institutional role. One respondent was classified as institutional, possessing six (75%) of the eight variables. This respondent scored two (28.6%) in the inventive role and 0 in the modified role.

The results of the present study indicated that Zimmer's occupational roles were not applicable to the male subjects of this study. An additional and important finding was that although six females were participants in the study, none of them were classified into an occupational role.

#### Chapter V

#### Discussion

Zimmer's findings may have been relevant for that time, for that institution, and for that sample of female subjects. However, the results of the present study indicated that Zimmer's occupational roles were not relevant to this study's sample. Only five males out of 56 subjects could be classified into Zimmer's occupational roles, and interestingly, the six female subjects in this study were not classifiable. Belknap's study, a replication of Zimmer's study, found only two occupational roles to exist. Many changes have occurred in the correctional field since Zimmer's study was conducted nearly ten years ago; these changes may play a part in the differing results of this study and Belknap's study.

It is also important to stress the fact that Zimmer's study was undertaken when women first began working with male inmates. They have worked inside male institutions for almost a decade now. This change in women's work roles in male institutions may also play a part in the differing results between Zimmer's study and this study.

Studies previous to Zimmer's study found that women were not accepted in the prison work environment (Fry and Glaser, 1987; Holland et al., 1979; Petersen, 1982; and Holeman and Kreps-Hess, 1983), and Zimmer claimed women used occupational roles both as a means of adaptation to the prison work

environment and because they suffered from tokenism and harassment. If this is true, women should still be using these roles as a means of adaptation, since acceptance of women in the prison work environment has not yet been achieved. The six women in this study, however, did not assume occupational roles. There appears to be a problem when considering these facts. Either the studies that say women are not accepted in the prison setting are incorrect or Zimmer's decision as to the reason women took on the occupational roles was incorrect.

Also, as stated in the literature review, Zimmer and Philliber believed that male correctional officers used the occupational roles as a means of adaptation too. This study must reject their belief that male correctional officers use the occupational roles as a means of adaptation.

The differences in the results of Zimmer's study and this study may also be due to methodological issues. Zimmer's study was qualitative in nature consisting of in-depth interviews. She did not specify her methods either, other than to say she conducted in-depth interviews. She also failed to tell how she arrived at her results. In comparison, the present study was quantitative using questionnaires as a means of data collection. The questionnaire was chosen because of the ability to reduce the data into numbers for analysis purposes and to reduce subjectivity. This study's attempt to clarify and measure the occupational roles did not

succeed in showing that the roles exist as Zimmer defines them.

#### Strengths and Weaknesses

One important weakness of any study conducted inside the prison setting is the influence of the hostile environment. According to Hagan, (1982) history is any event within the context of an experiment that may produce the result and in return threaten the internal validity. Prior to the present study's data collection, a correctional officer was fired, and one was assaulted. When the correctional officers were questioned about their feelings toward these incidents, they stressed the commonality of such occurrences.

Correctional officers also stressed that the new generation of extremely violent criminals, criminals without remorse, caused extra stress within the institution. This new generation of criminals also was causing more problems than usual between the older criminals and correctional officers.

Lack of interest by the respondents in this or any other study is always a limitation in a study. Many correctional officers did not want to be bothered filling out a questionnaire. This lead the researcher to wonder about the accuracy of the respondents' answers.

Difficulty arises when concepts or ideas are believed by researchers to exist without a theoretical basis. Zimmer fails to give any basis as to how she arrived at her occupational roles. Since this study is based on Zimmer's

study, if her study lacks a theoretical basis, this study lacks a theoretical basis too. A limitation to this study, therefore, is the absence of a theoretical basis to which to attribute the occupational roles.

Another limitation is the inability to know if the instrument is measuring what it is intended to measure. Reliability and validity were monitored by the manner in which the questions were phrased. Every characteristic had at least four questions to test against each other. The four questions were reduced to one highly correlated question for the best representation of that characteristic. This study was unable to use the more powerful statistical tests due to the structure of the questionnaire and the number of variables being examined.

The inability to acquire a random sample due to administrative restraints was another limitation of the present study. Also, another limitation was that although TCI employs 160 officers, with a potential of 100 to 130 officers being present in one working day, the actual sample size was only 56.

Another limitation concerned Zimmer's use of terms. She defined and gave many good examples of her three occupational roles; however, she failed to define the term occupational roles. There were also instances when she interchanged occupational roles with the terms style and strategy, which can have different meanings. This uncertainty of definitions

and terminology created the problem of not knowing exactly what was being studied.

#### Future Research

It is apparent, after interpreting the results of this study and comparing them to Zimmer's and Belknap's studies, that the issue of the occupational roles of correctional officers is an issue that still needs to be resolved. Zimmer's study, conducted at a time when women began entering male prisons, found women assumed an occupational role. Even though the present study was unable to find any existence of Zimmer's occupational roles on a large scale, it does not say that such roles do not exist.

Future research is needed to determine whether correctional officers do use a role, type, or style to adapt to their job, and, if roles, types, or styles exist, what the characteristics of these roles are. It is also important that future research begin by theorizing about where and how the roles may have developed in the first place. Future research needs to begin anew by looking aggressively at the occupational roles of correctional officers.

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## Appendix A Table of Scales

Attitude Towards Prisoners Scale are questions: 13 18 19 25 38 39 54 60 62 72 83

Klofas and Toch's social distance scale are questions: 71 73

Klofas and Toch's concern with corruption of authority are questions:
24 33 36 42

Hepburn and Crepin's dependence upon inmates are questions: 61 69 76 80 81 82

Questions designed for the present study are questions: 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 20 21 22 23 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 34 35 37 40 41 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 55 56 57 58 59 63 64 65 66 67 68 70 74 75 77 78 79 84 85

Appendix B
Response Table

response lable						
Respondent	Modified(%)	Inventive(%)	Institutional(%)			
1	25	28.6	25			
2	50	14.3	62.5			
3	50	0	25			
4	0	28.6	75			
5	25	28.6	50			
6	25	85.7	62.5			
7	50	14.3	50			
8	50	14.3	50			
9	75	14.3	50			
10	25	42.6	37.5			
11	75	42.6	50			
12	50	0	25			
13	75	42.6	62.5			
14	50	57.1	50			
15	25	28.6	62.5			
16	50	28.6	62.5			
17	50	14.3	37.5			
18	50	14.3	62.5			
19	100	14.3	50			
20	25	0	25			
21	50	42.6	37.5			
22	75	42.6	37.5			
23	50	0	37.5			
24	25	14.3	62.5			
25	50	42.6	50			
26	25	28.6	25			
27	50	57.1	62.5			
28	0	71.4	50			
29	0	14.3	37.5			
30	25	42.6	50			
31	75	85.7	25			
32	25	14.3	37.5			
33	50	42.6	50			
34	50	0	62.5			
35	0	71.4	62.5			
36	25	42.6	50			
37	0	42.6	25			
38	50	57.1	50			
39	50	14.3	37.5			
40	50	57.1	50			
41	25	0	50			
42	50	14.3	12.5			
43	50	28.6	50			
44	75		12.5			
45	50	42.6	0			
46	0	71.4	62.5			
	•		02.0			

Respondent	Modified(%)	Inventive(%)	<pre>Institutional(%)</pre>
47	50	14.3	62.5
48	50	71.4	50
49	50	71.4	50
50	25	42.6	50
51	50	0	37.5
52	25	28.6	50
53	100	14.3	12.5
54	75	14.3	50
55	50	28.6	37.5
56	0	28.6	37.5

#### Appendix C

I am a graduate student at Youngstown State University working on my thesis. I am interested in finding out how you view your job as a correctional officer at TCI. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Your responses will help

to improve correctional officers' training and our ur	nderstanding of the institution's needs	. I woul	ld appre	eciate i	t if you	took a
few minutes to fill out this questionnaire. Many that	anks.					
The state of the s						
How old are you? (age at last birthday)	_					
the guint will reflect the						
2. What is your sex? (circle one) 1. male	2. female					
3. What is your race/ethnicity? (circle one)						
1. White						
2. Black						
3. Hispanic						
4. Asian						
5. American Indian						
6. Other, specify						
24, is no content in parties? Self-frechology, they will find						
4. Circle the number associated with the highest d	egree you have earned.					
1. Did not finish high school						
2. High school diploma or GED certificate	e day with irresim.					
3. Some college but no degree						
4. Associate degree						
5. Bachelors degree						
6. Some graduate work						
7. Completed Graduate degree						
5. How long have you worked for TCI? months	years					
Milds produce success interfer he ad littles to hydritestical to a						
6. Is this your first job as a correctional officer? (ci	rcle one)					
1. Yes						
2. No	of Donalds					
The vest of the property are stopped the sor	and the Prin eded of up.					
1. How many years have you been a correctional of	officer? months years					
The little Victima for their perfect greats						

Use the following responses as the key:

### SA= Strongly Agree / A= Agree / UD= Undecided / D= Disagree / SD= Strongly Disagree

QUESTION	SA	A	UD	D	SD
8. I feel incapable because of the limitations within the institution.	1	2	3	4	5
<ol><li>In my opinion, communication skills work better than any type of force.</li></ol>	1	2	3	4	5
10. I prefer job assignments that requires very little inmate contact.	1	2	3	4	5
11. It is necessary to rely on other guards for protection.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I stay away from direct contact post as much as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Give a prisoner an inch and he'll take a mile.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Other guards will protect me.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I choose positions whenever possible that requires little contact with inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I only rely on my self for protection.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Working in direct contact with inmates is my least favorite assignment.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Prisoners never change.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Most prisoners are stupid.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I keep myself in top physical shape.	1	2	3	4	5
21. It is crucial that petty violations are not ignored.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Other guards are only concerned about their own safety.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Performing the job by the "book" is a must.	1	2	3	4	5
24. If an officer is lenient with inmates, they will take advantage of him.	1	2	3	4	5
25. You should not expect too much from a prisoner.	1	2	3	4	5
26. My skills limit my ability to perform this job.	1	2	3	4	5
27. A professional image must be maintained in dealing with inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I can sympathize with the inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I feel limitations within the institution do not permit me to perform my job adequately.	1	2	3	4	5
30. The prison environment is no place for a professional image.	1	2	3	4	5
31. It is a must to always follow the rules exactly.	1	2	3	4	5
32. Physical fitness is a must in guard work.	1	2	3	4	5
33. A personal conversation with an inmate invites corruption.	1	2	3	4	5
34. Physical fitness is a minor priority in guard work.	1	2	3	4	5
35. A professional image is of little importance in a prison setting.	1	2	3	4	5
36. You must keep conversations with inmates short and business like.	1	2	3	4	5
37. A professional image must be maintained in dealing with co-workers.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Prisoners are neither better or worse than other people.	1	2	3	4	5
39. The values of most prisoners are about the same as the rest of us.	1.	2	3	4	5
40. I feel my attitude of inmates is neither positive nor negative.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I am viewed far from the perfect guard.	1	2	3	4	5
<sup>12.</sup> A good principle is not to get "close" to inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
<sup>13. I</sup> see other correctional officers outside of work.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Socializing with correctional officers is of little importance to me.	1	2	3	4	5
<sup>10. I have</sup> no preference as to where I work.	1	2	3	4	5
6. A guard and the second seco					

### Response key:

### SA= Strongly Agree / A= Agree / UD= Undecided / D= Disagree / SD= Strongly Disagree

QUESTION	SA	A	UD	D	SD
47. I consider myself to be the "ideal guard".	1	2	3	4	5
48. I prefer direct contact assignments.	1	2	3	4	5
49. I am far from the perfect guard.	1	2	3	4	5
50. A personal conversation with an inmate harms no one.	1	2	3	4	5
51. I consider myself to be selective when it comes to job assignments.	1	2	3	4	5
52. Training is inadequate relative to a correctional officer's job duties.	1	2	3	4	5
53. Force controls inmates rather than communication skills.	1	2	3	4	5
54. There are some prisoners I would trust with my life.	1	2	3	4	5
55. Inmates will behave on my shift if they are given small breaks on petty violations.	1	2	3	4	5
56. I prefer working alone.	1	2	3	4	5
57. I like to spend time on my shift working with inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Other correctional officers consider me to be the "ideal guard".	1	2	3	4	5
59. I believe integrating counseling into my job helps the inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Most prisoners are victims of circumstance and deserve to be helped.	1	2	3	4	5
61. I have to depend on the inmates if I am going to get my job done.	1	2	3	4	5
62. Some prisoners are pretty nice people.	1	2	3	4	5
63. I can count on some inmates if trouble was to arise.	1	2	3	4	5
64. My skills limit me to where I can work.	1	2	3	4	5
65. I prefer using communication skills to control inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
66. I have many correctional officers as friends.	1	2	3	4	5
67. My job would be impossible if I enforced all violations.	1	2	3	4	5
68. Communication skills are a waste of time to use on inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
69. If I want to do my job, it's better to work with the inmates than to work alone.	1	2	3	4	5
70. I am willing to work any assignment.	1	2	3	4	5
71. You get to like the inmates you work with.	1	2	3	4	5
72. If you give a prisoner your respect, he'll give you the same.	1	2	3	4	5
73. It is important for an officer to have compassion.	1	2	3	4	5
74. I try to counsel the inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
75. Whenever possible, I choose assignments that require me to work with inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
76. If I am not careful about how I treat inmates, they can make my job really hard for me.	1	2	3	4	5
77. Counseling is a part of other officers' job description.	1	2	3	4	5
<sup>78</sup> . If I were in trouble on the range, I believe some of the inmates would come to my aid.	1	2	3	4	5
<sup>79</sup> . It is necessary to ignore certain petty violations.	1	2	3	4	5
80. It is often better to adjust to what is better for the inmate than to go strictly by the					
book.	1	2	3	4	5
81. My job would be difficult if the inmates didn't cooperate.	1	2	3	4	5
82. I feel safe when working among the inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
83. Prisoners need affection and praise just like anybody else.	1	2	3	4	5
84. I enjoy working with inmates.	1	2	3	4	5
R5 F	-	-	_	-	_