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SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF THE UNIFORM AS A FUNCTION OF THE RACE  
AND OCCUPATION OF ITS WEARER: A STATUS INCONSISTENCY  
APPROACH

by

Alice B. Kornblith

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
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Abstract

SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF THE UNIFORM AS A FUNCTION OF THE RACE  
AND OCCUPATION OF ITS WEARER: A STATUS INCONSISTENCY  
APPROACH

BY

Alice B. Kornblith

Advisor: Professor Barbara S. Dohrenwend

What does the uniform symbolize to its wearer, and in its symbolic capacity, how is the uniform perceived as functioning on the job? Of special interest was whether the uniform would be perceived by its Black wearer as protection against discrimination. In particular, a Black uniform wearer in a higher status occupation and thus status inconsistent, with his occupation higher than his racial status (O/R) was predicted to have more self-esteem to lose if people reacted to his racial status rather than his occupational status. Therefore, Black uniform wearers in higher status occupations were predicted to perceive their uniform as providing them with more 'psychological protection' than white uniform wearers or Black uniform wearers in lower status occupations. As a consequence of the perceived 'psychologi-

cal protection' provided by their uniform, Black uniform wearers in higher status occupations were predicted to (a) feel more confident on the job when in uniform (b) derive a greater sense of authority from their uniform and (c) like their uniform as well as (d) feel ambivalent about their uniform, more than white uniform wearers and Black uniform wearers in low occupational status positions.

In order to examine these hypotheses, two races, Black and white, and four occupations, police officers, security guards, registered nurses and nurse's aides, were chosen to be studied. Because the essence of these questions involved the relative consistency between occupational and racial status, the study was divided into two parts.

The first part of the study involved the determination of which positions were status consistent and inconsistent. A questionnaire was designed for this purpose, concerning the prestige of occupations and racial-ethnic groups. It was administered to 126 respondents drawn from a variety of sources: adult education courses, community college classes, a PTA group and parents of a private New York City high school. The results were that Black nurses and Black police officers were found to be status inconsistent O/R positions (occupation higher than racial status); white police officers, white aides and white guards were status in-

consistent R/O positions (race higher than occupational status); and Black aides, Black guards and white nurses were status consistent positions.

The second part of the study concerned uniform wearers' perceptions of and attitudes toward their uniform. Interview schedules were written for the four occupations, police officers, security guards, nurses and nurse's aides, and 120 respondents were interviewed: 30 per occupation of which half were Black and half were white.

In general, the results did not confirm the hypotheses, and therefore, did not support status inconsistency theory. Instead, race and occupation were found as significant main effects along with racial differences within occupation, which as a rule were not according to status inconsistency predictions. A major finding of the study was that white respondents perceived their uniform as enhancing public support for them, more than Black respondents. The implication of this result was that one's race was perceived as overriding one's occupation, as symbolized by the uniform, irrespective of the status of the occupation.

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## Introduction

From his observations of a psychiatric unit, Marcuse (1967) made the following analysis of the functioning of uniforms on the unit:

"It was...generally appreciated that a uniform, by eliciting a conditioned set of responses in its beholder, established features of social identity more predictably and more quickly than garments less specifically endowed with convention. Everyone realized that by functioning in this way, a uniform would transact much interpersonal business automatically, efficiently, condensing a great deal of necessary communication." (Marcuse, 1967,p.353).

Thus, Marcuse (1967) raises an issue central to a socio-psychological examination of all types of uniforms: the uniform as a mediator of interpersonal transactions. It is proposed that the symbolic nature of the uniform is the foundation for its functioning as a mediator in interpersonal interactions, and to which this study addressed itself.

The uniform is a symbol that possesses certain identifying characteristics. A symbol is an "object or action that represents another entity in virtue of some arbitrarily assigned conceptual relation between them" (Firth, 1951, p. 176). The relation between the object and what it is referring to are not easily seen. Thus, for example, there is no necessary relation between the uniform of a policeman and the authority invested in the role of policeman.

Nevertheless, by the repeated association between the policeman's blue uniform and the authority invested in him, his uniform acquires this symbolic meaning. All uniforms are thereby symbols, in the form of clothing, but not all symbols are necessarily uniforms.

For clothing to be considered a uniform, it must meet the following criteria. First, uniforms include all of the visible clothing of a person, extending from the neck to the knee (or ankle) thus including shirt plus skirt (or pants). Second, the uniform is standardized according to set criteria (e.g. color, style) so that within each type, the uniforms are similar. The criteria may include color and style so that every aspect of the uniform is virtually identical, or the criterion may involve only color, as in nurses' uniforms. There can be minor variations along these criteria differentiating uniforms, like the precinct numbers on policeman's uniforms or a number of stripes indicating rank in the police and military. However, these variations are standardized within the subdivisions of the institutions, and are not the result of an individual's choice. In order to maintain standardization, sanctions are applied when rules are stretched or broken.

A third condition defining a uniform is that it be imposed by an organization upon its members, although en-

trance into the organization may be voluntary (e.g. firemen) or involuntary (e.g. Prisoner). This factor of imposition, accompanied by sanctions for non-compliance, distinguishes uniforms from conventional dress which on occasion makes groups of people look very much alike. The businessman's suit of the 1950's and the jeans of today, worn by students, are examples of this. The crucial difference between this and uniforms is the individual's choice in what he wears.

Fourth, uniforms are designed to indicate one's membership or participation in an organization, to those within and outside of the organization. Thus, uniforms can be distinguished from fashions in conventional dress. A person may dress like his friends or colleagues to indicate symbolically a feeling of belonging, but he does not belong to either a formal or informal organization. Uniforms, by indicating membership, aim to be distinctive from other organizations so as to avoid confusion. The similarity between many guards' uniforms and the policeman's uniform is a matter of disturbance to policemen because of the resulting confusion.

Lastly, the uniform is designed to indicate the role in the organization, both to those within and outside of the organization. Whatever behaviors are expected of the

individual in his role, the uniform should come to symbolize these behaviors.

One issue of definition is whether or not the equipment that normally accompanies one on the job (e.g. policeman's gun and nightstick) should be considered as part of the uniform. If the uniform is a symbol, the distinction between uniform and equipment is that of a symbol vs. a sign. The uniform is being conceived of as a symbol with an arbitrarily assigned conceptual relation between itself and the job it represents. Equipment is more of a 'sign' in that it "represents another entity in virtue of some intrinsic or integral relation perceived between them" (Firth, 1951, p. 176). For example, heavy dark clouds are a sign of rain because of the integral relation between them and common experience. Similarly, a gun and nightstick are a sign of force, not a symbol of it. The relation between the equipment and its functions are integral to each other, not arbitrary. However, by virtue of the gun being a sign of force, it may still become symbolic of other things, like death or fear or protection. Even when equipment takes the form of clothing, it doesn't cover the full extent of visible clothing, nor by itself does it necessarily indicate membership and role in an organization. Equipment is imposed more by the nature of the job rather than by the organiza-

tion of which one is a member. For these reasons, equipment is not being considered as part of the uniform.

Some Proposed Effects of the Uniform upon its Wearer

In the initial consideration of the consequences for the individual of wearing a uniform we will focus upon three related effects: (a) anonymity (b) increased salience of the role in interpersonal interactions and (c) sense of solidarity with one's group.

Anonymity, a loss of individuality, would seem to be one possible consequence of wearing uniforms (Joseph and Alex, 1972). The role would become easily identifiable, but the person in the role might feel deprived of some of his usual cues of his own identification. The uniform, by virtue of being standardized and covering the full extent of visible clothing, limits the degree to which the person can express his own individuality.

If anonymity is indeed an effect of wearing a uniform, what are its effects? One possible result of feeling more anonymous by being in uniform is a freer expression of one's feelings and actions. If one feels that one is less easily identifiable by being in uniform, one might also feel that one could not be held responsible for one's actions. Would a person in uniform be more likely to display anger and commit aggressive acts than if he were in street clothes?

Zimbardo (1970), in a laboratory experiment, induced anonymity in his subjects by having them put on very large lab coats and hoods over their heads, so that they were covered from head to foot in identical outfits. Subjects dressed in this fashion shocked 'victims' for twice the amount of time than those wearing their everyday clothes with big name tags. The extent to which the uniform could serve as a facilitator of actions would be dictated largely by the norms of the role. For example, a policeman is trained as a crime fighter and is equipped with gun and nightstick, both potential weapons of violence. However, there are strong rules and regulations as to their use and sanctions against their misuse. In Zimbardo's experiment (1970), the instructions were to administer strong shocks, under the ruse of subjects then making empathy judgments with regard to the 'victim'. One can see that the uniform might serve as a facilitator of aggression more easily when it is working with the rules and expectations of the situation (as in Zimbardo's experiment), and not against them.

A second demonstration of the effects of anonymity was reported by Pollaczek and Homefield (1954) about stutterers. In a case study, it was found that when stutterers put on masks and role-played various scenes, the stuttering was completely eradicated in some cases. However, as soon as

the masks were taken off, the stuttering reappeared just as quickly as it had disappeared. A possible explanation for this is that the mask enabled the individual to dissociate himself as a person from this 'other person' whose role he played: anonymity through dissociation. Similarly, perhaps the uniform helps some people who are very insecure in their role to perform adequately by this dissociation - a submerging of the self into the role.

A second result of anonymity might be the uniform wearer's strongly valuing certain institutional identifications like his identification number, which is distinctly his, as an emotional compensation for the felt depersonalization resulting from the uniform.

An increase of the saliency of the role in interpersonal interactions, created by the presence of the uniform is a second possible consequence of wearing uniforms (Joseph and Alex, 1972). In a sense, it is the other side of the coin from anonymity; the individual is diminished while the role is enhanced.

The uniform is a means of equalizing individuals through the pronouncement of the common role. Marcuse (1967) refers to this as "the distracting function" (p.354), in that it distracts attention from other bases of distinguishing individuals, like race and sex. This aspect of

the uniform is of particular interest in the present study.

The fact that the uniform is an everpresent symbol of the role might structure and limit the range of possible interactions between people. "Once an interactant accurately locates the position of other interactants on the basis of behavioral, symbolic or artifactual cues, the range of possible role behaviors is reduced from near infinity to a small number." (Sarbin and Allen, 1968. p.510). On the other hand, the uniform, by virtue of identifying the role, ought to clarify and thereby reduce ambiguities with regard to reciprocal expectations of behavior, making interactions easier.

Because the uniform is such a visible announcement of role, stereotyping may occur immediately upon encounter and may either draw people together, warp the interaction so that it proceeds along stereotyped lines or even prevent it altogether, depending upon the nature of the stereotype. The attitudes of the perceiver of the uniform are crucial to an understanding of the range of effects of uniforms and to arguments made for switching from uniform to street clothes. In an interview with a former nun, it was stated that the argument given by nuns who want to be rid of the habit is that they are categorized by it, and that people relate to them, not as individuals. but through their role of 'nun'

with all their values, stereotypes, and prejudices that go along with that. A wider group of individuals might be disposed to avail themselves of a nun's services if she were in street clothes; not just Catholics, but Protestants and Jews as well. People might be more able to consider nuns as females rather than neuters and thereby more approachable for help with regard to sexual problems.

However, opening up the range of interaction might make things more uncertain and tense so that only people who preferred less structured settings might approach nuns who now wear street clothes. In other words, the effect of nuns wearing street clothes might be to open them up to a different type of individual; those preferring less structured settings or those with an anticlerical attitude. In addition, one runs the risk of not bringing nuns together with people who have very positive attitudes towards nuns; nuns would be in street clothes and not identifiable.

The uniform by identifying the role can become a strong symbol for the role, and the expectations one can have for people in that role. Consequently, the uniform can then in a very real sense become a very functional asset to the job. For example, the policeman's uniform, as a symbol of authority, is used to help maintain order. In a field experiment, Bickman (1971,1972) demonstrated the effect of the uniform

in obedience situations. Using confederates dressed as a civilian, milkman and a guard (a uniform similar to a policeman's), the guard received the most compliance to various demands; (1) 'pick up that paper bag' (2) 'give that man a dime' and (3) 'stand on the other side of a 'no standing' sign'. The results showed that the guard's uniform was the strongest symbol of authority of the three. The uniform had established the legitimacy of this person to give orders.

Another possible effect of the increased salience of the role, at the expense of the individual is to pressure the individual to conform to group or institutional expectations. In military establishments, students in parochial schools, prisoners, and members of sports teams, there is a de-emphasis of the individual and greater concern for the group, group efforts and team spirit. This pressure to conform to the group actually focused upon the use of uniforms in a large company (privileged communication, 1973). The company was considering having its workers switch from street clothes into uniforms and therefore instituted a trial period of wearing uniforms in various locations. In two offices, one situated in the East and one in the mid-west, there were a couple of women who chose to continue wearing their own clothes rather than switch to the new

'company apparel'. In the mid-West, the pressure to conform was as blatant as: "You wear what we wear or get out."

Quick identification of role, for purposes of institutional control over the individual's behavior when outside the supervisor's purview, might work as a general deterrent to corruption of the principles of any role. Doing something corrupt would appear to be more difficult for an officer when made conspicuous by a uniform. In fact, police were put into uniform in the 1840's so as to prevent shirking of their work (Richardson, 1970). It might be harder for a nun to behave contrary to her vows of poverty, chastity and charity when in habit because the uniform exposes her to the public's scrutiny.

The uniform not only symbolizes the occupation and expectations for specific types of role-related behavior, stereotyped attitudes, but also more generally, the status of the occupation. Occupational status as symbolized by the uniform is a factor of all uniforms (Joseph and Alex, 1972). In this society, occupational status is an important and powerful element and therefore may be an important variable in the structure of interactions.

The increased salience of the role created by the presence of the uniform may have an effect upon the wearer as well as the perceiver of the uniform in an interaction.

Perhaps feelings of pride, humiliation, embarrassment or ambivalence about one's job are more often experienced because of the visibility of the uniform. In fact, uniforms can be used as a means for either increasing or decreasing a person's feeling of self-worth. In military and paramilitary organizations, the uniform bears various symbols and markings that communicate the person's rank as well as his role. Reward and punishment can visibly be dispensed through the use of these symbols. As one's rank fluctuates, so could one's feeling of pride or shame. If the occupation is itself of high prestige without internal ranking, then the uniform might serve as a continuous external prop for self-worth enhancement.

For low ranks and low prestige roles, the uniform could serve as a means for humiliating and debasing individuals. Prison garb is ill fitting, drab, and unbecoming in general, making it more difficult to retain feelings of self-worth. The uniform is not the only mechanism by which this is done. The prisoner has no rights and little control over any aspect of his own life, with uniforms being only one part of this 'total institutional' life (Goffman, 1961).

The logical extreme of the increased salience of the role at the expense of the identity of the individual, created by the uniform, would be situations where the role

totally overwhelms the individual, as in total institutions' (Goffman, 1961). The uniform in the military, prisons, some religious institutions, and back wards of mental hospitals must take on a very special meaning because of the total immersion of the self in the role. It becomes symbolic of one's entire way of life. Therefore, the meaning of and feelings towards the total institutional uniform must be much broader and deeper than they are to the usual uniform of a more limited role. An example of this is the resistance of some nuns to switching into street clothes. The habit has become so intimately tied up with their identity that to wear street clothes would be almost tantamount to losing a sense of who they are (personal communication, 1971). Bettelheim's (1965) account of the psychological disintegration of prisoners in a concentration camp illustrates the same point. Some prisoners, identifying out of terror with the Gestapo officers, saved and cherished and wore bits of the officers' uniforms. This display symbolized the prisoners' emulation and incorporation of the Gestapo's values and behavior.

By increasing the salience of the role, the uniform also may heighten feelings of solidarity with one's fellow group members. No doubt the solidarity of a group would be present or absent with or without the uniform, but the uni-

form might enhance the effect. In discussing 'fixed costumes' such as uniforms, Flugel (1950) stated that they were "symbolic of the feelings, sentiments and interests that unite the group" (p.133). Perhaps an increased sense of solidarity due to uniforms would be largely a result of being able to spot a comrade from a distance, enabling members of a group to react to each other more often. Also, if the individual is proud of his job, and likes his work, his uniform might come to symbolize these things and add to his initial friendliness to a co-worker.

Solidarity might simultaneously bring people closer together for in-group functioning but also separate them more widely from other groups and the public at large. Public reaction to those in uniform might help to differentiate them from others, while tightening the unity within the group.

The three major effects of uniforms suggested: (1) anonymity (2) increased salience of the role in interpersonal interactions and (3) feelings of solidarity have consequences for both in-group and out-group behavior as well as feelings and perceptions. The effects hypothesized are directly related to the essential criteria for a uniform as set forth in the definition.

### Functions of the Uniform: Manifest and Latent

Given the above three posited effects of uniforms, what functions do uniforms serve for the individual and society? "The function of any recurrent activity, such as the punishment of a crime, or a funeral ceremony, is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1935, p. 396). Social function refers to observable objective consequences, not to subjective dispositions, such as aims or motives. These objective consequences may cover the range of being dysfunctional and non-functional, as well as functional, as long as the net balance is functional (Merton, 1957). If the net balance is functional, then the social practice survives; if not, then it becomes extinct.

In addition, the objective consequence may be manifest or latent. Manifest functions are those objective consequences which contribute to the adjustment or adaptation of a system which are intended and recognized by its participants. Latent functions are those which are neither intended nor recognized (Merton, 1957). In terms of uniforms, they may in certain instances be dysfunctional or non-functional as well as functional, and also serve latent as well as manifest functions. Also, what could have origin-

nally been a latent function may now be manifest or vice versa. What may be intended and recognized by one group or some members, may not be intended and recognized by others within the same organization. Does that make the function manifest or latent? Or, if the consequence is now recognized but was not initially intended, does that make it manifest or latent? Merton's constructs (1957) are not entirely clear. However, on a theoretical basis, Merton has made an important differentiation between types of functions which is helpful when considering the functional aspect of the proposed effects of the uniform.

Discussions with members of various organizations that now require or have recently required their members to wear uniforms suggest several major manifest and latent functions of uniforms. Three manifest functions that appear directly related to the proposed effect of the uniform increasing the salience of the role are: (1) easy identification of the role of the wearer for purposes of (a) establishing the type and legitimacy of the role occupant and (b) institutional control of the role occupant and (2) the establishment of a nonmaterialistic atmosphere for certain institutions (e.g. religious and penal).

For the first function, an easy identification of the role, the uniform can quickly indicate the form of help as

as well as the legitimacy of help which is of particular benefit during a crisis, as with firemen and policemen. The uniform rapidly identifies who is an enemy and who is an ally as in (a) soldiers during wartime (b) prisoners vs. guards and (c) in athletic competitions.

The use of the uniform to establish institutional control over the individual may be a second manifest function, recognized and intended by the organization and its members. However, it may have a dysfunctional aspect in that the wearer may resent the imposition of this control.

A third manifest function may be the use of the uniform to demonstrate nonmaterialism. In religious orders, the nonmaterialistic emphasis symbolizes the poverty aspect of the religious' vows. In parochial schools where uniforms are worn by the students, one of the reasons stated is that this prevents children from poorer homes from feeling bad because their clothes are inferior to those who are better off. In penal institutions, the nonmaterialism takes the form of punishment. The prisoner is said not to deserve his own choice or nice selection of clothes.

Latent functions, those functions that are unintended and unrecognized, encompass several of the proposed outcomes of uniforms. The use of the uniform to pressure an individual to conform, the distracting function of the uni-

form (Marcuse, 1967) previously described, and the use of the uniform to increase or decrease an individual's self worth are all possible latent functions of uniforms, stemming from the uniform's increasing the salience of the role. A greater distancing between people in uniform, from those not in the same uniform, may be a possible latent dys-  
function, stemming from the proposed effect of the uniform's enhancing the solidarity among group members.

If the individual feels greater anonymity in the uniform, this may have a latent dysfunction for society in the loss of felt responsibility for one's acts. From the individual's standpoint however, this may be a manifest function, in that he recognizes the uniform as lessening the burden of responsibility from his shoulders. A second possible dysfunction resulting from the proposed effect of the uniform increasing one's anonymity is an increase in worker dissatisfaction. The uniform wearer may feel that people don't treat him as an individual, but as an object, without feelings.

The above list of manifest and latent functions is probably not exhaustive, but serves as a basis for understanding why uniforms have survived in many different roles, due to a net balance of functional aspects. The functional and symbolic aspects of uniforms seem to be highlighted best

at times of change, when people are either switching into or out of uniforms.

The Change out of Uniform: Nuns, Psychiatric Nurses and  
Policemen

Switching from uniform to street clothes has emerged as an important issue within the last five years for certain groups who have traditionally worn uniforms. Interviews with several nuns, psychiatric nurses and policemen suggest that a common reason runs through all three groups. In general, the expectations of the public with regard to what these roles are, runs contrary to what the person in the role interprets his role to be. The uniform is seen by its wearer as symbolizing something negative or outdated to the public (or parts of the public) and that his own behavior and attitudes have changed from this. It can be viewed as a learning lag between prior events, behavior and attitudes associated with the uniform, and current practice which might be different. For example, nuns have undergone an enormous change within the church. Many freedoms are allowed them now which were forbidden as recently as ten years ago. Since the habit still symbolized their medieval, sheltered, nonfeminine existence to the public, many nuns have chosen to modify or discard the habit altogether. Be-

cause nuns now have greater autonomy and power to make decisions, they no longer wanted to have the 'protection' that the habit afforded them. People's beliefs and expectations about nuns resulted in the habit protecting them from men making passes, and helped to restrict them from excessive buying and an 'improper' social life. With the habit off, the decisions were forced back upon the nun, to handle as she chose.

The issue of psychiatric nurses switching into street clothes is similar to that of nuns. Psychiatric nurses saw the white uniform as symbolizing an authoritative mothering figure who fostered dependency, rule orientation and offered help with medical problems. The psychiatric nurses interviewed did not view themselves in that light but as people who were trying to foster independence and who were skilled in helping patients with their emotional problems. The psychiatric nurses felt that the uniform misguided and confused the patients when the nurses 'stepped out of their role'. More broadly speaking, the issue of uniforms "may well be the tip of the iceberg" (Klein et al., 1972, p.22) with psychiatric nurses in that it represents a great deal of uncertainty and dissatisfaction with traditional nursing roles.

Psychiatric nurses' desire to switch into street clothes may be symbolic of other issues. The psychiatrists, a

higher status profession were beginning to wear just their street clothes, with no lab coat. The psychiatric nurses may therefore wish to emulate the status of the psychiatrist by wearing street clothes too (Marcuse, 1967). Also, in one hospital, the psychiatric nurses were switched into street clothes as part of a drive to get the patients out of pajamas into street clothes (Mumford, 1972). Third, from what I have observed and read, it seems possible that some psychiatric units are switching their nurses into street clothes because it has become popular. For the staff to wear street clothes symbolizes progress even though their units might not be progressive at all.

Just as common assumptions made in everyday life can be understood by their being broken (Garfinkel, 1964), affect toward the uniform and the role the uniform plays can become clear upon the switch from uniforms to street clothes. When psychiatric nurses and aides in a psychiatric unit switched into street clothes, the magnitude of the disturbance created for both staff and patients was attributed to the "removal of a device which had been unobtrusively functioning to stabilize group dynamics" (Marcuse, 1967, p.368). The uniform had become important in the identification of qualified staff, and the legitimization of authority. Both staff and patients felt very threatened without uniforms.

The question of whether psychiatric nurses should be in uniform or street clothes has the distinction of being the only one of the entire area of uniforms which has a body of research. However, the research is divided as to whether or not it is better for psychiatric nurses to be in uniform or street clothes. Larson and Ellsworth (1962) found no shifts in patients' or ward personnel's perceptions of the psychiatric nurse, when she changed from uniform to street clothes. Klein et al. (1972) designed a three stage study, putting the psychiatric nurses in uniform, then street clothes, and back to uniform. The conclusion was that the changes themselves were disruptive and that the patient preferred whatever the staff members wore upon admittance to the hospital. There was no evidence that wearing street clothes facilitated closer personal therapeutic contacts with the patients.

In two separate studies evaluating the effect of psychiatric nurses in street clothes, the number of interactions between psychiatric patients and nurses were tabulated (Brown and Goldstein, 1968; Goldberg et al., 1961). In both, there was no change in the number of times psychiatric patients contacted nurses from when they were in uniform to when they were in street clothes. In addition, in the Brown and Goldstein study (1968) there was no change in

ratings of psychiatric nurses by patients or staff members as a result of the switch into street clothes in terms of (1) time spent with patients (2) how well liked they were by patients (3) how helpful they were in therapy (4) how much they were confided in and (5) whom they felt they knew the best.

Stein and Jackson (1969) investigated this issue at Mendota State Hospital (Wisconsin) where the psychiatric unit uses a therapeutic community model. There was no change in comfort the patients felt with the nursing staff as a result of the nurses being in street clothes, or with how the nursing staff felt toward each other, no change in perception of nursing staff between themselves and other professional groups or in job satisfaction. There were two plausible explanations for the results other than that there was no effect: (a) the hospital administration was very resistant to the change from uniform to street clothes and (b) initial values of comfort and satisfaction were already very high (Stein and Jackson, 1969).

However, one of the most carefully conducted and controlled experiments found in this area was done by Hawkins, Claghorn and Zentay (1966). One half of the psychiatric nurses wore uniforms, and the other half wore street clothes, so as to provide the patient with a choice of whom to con-

tact. In addition, the nurses in uniform were switched into street clothes, and those in street clothes were switched into uniform, so as to control for the individual personality of the nurse. Hawkins et al. (1966) found a significantly higher frequency of responding to psychiatric nurses in street clothes than when in uniform. This result is opposite to what was found by Brown and Goldstein (1968) and Goldberg et al. (1961) as mentioned above. There was also a greater sense of interacting on a more personal basis, in a more relaxed and amicable ward atmosphere (Hawkins et al., 1966; Jakubovskis, 1968). Leff et al. (1970) reported differences in favor of uniforms, in a study conducted at a VA hospital. Psychiatric patients described psychiatric nurses in street clothes as significantly less dominant and less loving than when in uniform.

This highlights one of the problems with the research done in this area: the importance of the attitude of the perceiver toward the role, and therefore the uniform. If the perceiver of the uniform feels favorably towards people in that occupation, then the switch into street clothes might be seen less positively. If the perceiver of the uniform feels unfavorably towards people in that occupation, then the switch into street clothes has a higher probability of being seen positively. Perhaps the widely divergent results

reflect this factor as well as (a) different organizations which support or undermine the change and (b) the neglect of studying the attitudes and behavior of the psychiatric nurses, both in and out of uniform. In addition, more subtle effects might be missed altogether because this body of research relies heavily on questionnaires, to the neglect of behavioral measures.

The police are the third occupation in which uniforms have emerged as a problem, the source of which appears to be the expanding and changing role of the officer. In Menlo Park, Calif., the officers are now dressed in green blazers and black slacks ( a uniform too), so as to symbolize to the public the change from "blue collar workers to skilled highly trained professionals" (New York Times, July 16, 1972, p.44). The switch in type of uniform was meant as part of an overall reform of the police department, where patrolmen now do detective work, follow up their own cases more often, and are encouraged to continue their education.

In New York City, a group of policemen, the Family Crisis Intervention Unit, received special training in order to intervene more effectively in family disputes (Bard, 1970). In their new role, where their uniform still symbolized the old police methods of handling family disputes, a few officers interviewed reported attempts to alter their uniform

so as to help symbolize the change. Sometimes they would take off their cap, unbutton their blouse, or not carry their nightstick with them. However, the uniform as a symbol of authority was seen as initially needed in order to be invited into the household.

The theme throughout is that the uniform worn by nuns, psychiatric nurses and policemen no longer symbolized what they wanted it to, in light of changing and expanding roles. And perhaps it strikes at the heart of the issue: the uniform is a symbol which has come to have specialized meanings because of years of experience and various kinds of information associated with it. A change in the uniform, or out of the uniform is meant to symbolize some change in the role behavior. If the switch in clothing is not accompanied by behavioral change of the wearer, then it won't be long before the new clothing comes to symbolize the same thing that the old clothing did. Nurses in pediatrics, whether in colored or white uniforms still give injections and impose restraint (Howe, 1969). Children will quickly learn that, just as they learned to fear white.

#### Status Inconsistency

Occupation is one of the central components that determine a person's position in the American social system. Uniforms visibly announce what the occupation is. It is

interesting to note that the terms 'white collar' and 'blue collar' refer to whole classes of occupations by the clothing that they traditionally wore. What are the consequences for an individual of putting on a uniform and thereby having his location in the status system visible to all whom he encounters? How does the announcement of occupation by the uniform then interact with other visible status attributes of the individual, like race? Does the uniform thus provide a 'distracting function' (Marcuse, 1967) by diverting attention from other salient characteristics by which people's actions and abilities are judged? Or is the individual exposed in a particularly intense way to the experience of status inconsistency, by donning his uniform?

Status inconsistency is a sociological construct that describes the degree of consistency in vertical hierarchies of the social system that the individual occupies (Lenski, 1954). However, it is the fact that these differences in status are inconsistent with the normative expectations of the environment in which the individual moves which results in a status inconsistent position (Malewski, 1966). Meyer and Hammond (1971) refer to these as 'congruence rules'. "When normative congruence rules specify the proper relationship between status attributes, distributions of status attributes to statuses which violate these rules are experi-

enced as inconsistent" (Meyer and Hammond, 1971, p.94).

For example, an Olympic winner with a primary school education is not in a status inconsistent position because it isn't inconsistent with people's expectations of athletes (Malewski, 1966). However, a bank president with a primary school education might be in a status inconsistent position because of people's differential expectations for a bank president and an uneducated person.

There are relative degrees of status consistency (Lenski, 1954). An individual can be in a status inconsistent position to a greater or lesser extent but it would not be possible for him to be totally consistent on all status dimensions or totally inconsistent. It is difficult to define at what point the difference in status dimensions evoke different normative expectations which is the heart of status inconsistency as a construct (Hartman, 1974).

Status inconsistency is considered by a number of theorists to be stressful for the person who occupies that position for one basic reason. Laumann and Segal (1971) and Jackson (1962) reason that status inconsistency is disruptive to social relations because of conflicting expectations with regard to the individual's different statuses. This could result in frustration in social relationships because the individual is unable to satisfy all of the expectations with-

out earning negative sanctions, because they are contradictory. This can be severe if the individual's aspirations are raised by his high status and blocked by his low status (Jackson, 1962; Lenski, 1967). In addition, there could be a sense of uncertainty with regard to what he can rightfully expect of others and they of him. This may add unpleasantness to the social relationship and reduce the stability of one's self-image (Jackson, 1962).

Because of conflicting normative expectations for different statuses, those in status inconsistent positions have hypothesized to have (a) psycho-physiological symptoms (Jackson, 1962; Jackson and Curtis, 1972) and (b) be more liberal in their political attitudes (Lenski, 1954; 1967). In support of the first hypothesis, those in status inconsistent positions reported a greater number of psycho-physiological symptoms than those in status consistent positions (Jackson, 1962). Lenski (1954; 1967) hypothesized that status inconsistency produces stress which in turn produces political discontent. Testing this hypothesis, Lenski (1954) found in a sample from Detroit that the status inconsistent group voted Democrat more heavily than the status consistent group in the 1948 and 1952 Presidential election and the 1950 Michigan gubernatorial election. In addition, the status inconsistent group took a more liberal

stand on government sponsored health insurance, price controls and general extension of government powers. Extending the test of this concept to include Canada, England, and Australia, Lenski (1967) confirmed his predictions of a more liberal vote in status inconsistent positions for all but England.

Status inconsistency has also been examined in terms of specific role occupants of these positions, like Black policemen (Alex, 1969) and Black physicians (Hughes, 1944). A qualitative analysis of the stress that an individual in a status inconsistent position undergoes is described by Alex (1969) about the Black policeman in New York City. The conflicting expectations of the white and Black public of a Black and of a policeman are detailed. The Black community views the Black officer as "Mr. Charley's boy," thus indicating that as a Black he is expected not to turn on his own people by enforcing the law. The white community views the authority involved in being a policeman as incompatible with being Black. In a theoretical expansion of the status inconsistent position of minority group members in the traditional professions, Hughes (1944) describes the various ways of reducing the conflict: (1) keeping the professional relationship formal and specific (2) working in a type of social segregation where the minority member professional

interacts mainly with people who are of the same minority group, as a woman lawyer serving mainly women clients and (3) isolating oneself as in a library or laboratory.

The theoretical construct of status inconsistency has been criticized. One of the most damaging criticisms is that when the main effects of individual statuses are taken into account, the interaction effect of the two statuses (which is status inconsistency) has no explanatory power (Laumann and Segal, 1971). This contention is supported in studies done by (a) Laumann and Segal (1971) in Detroit where the two statuses chosen were education and ethnic-religious groups and (b) Jackson and Curtis (1972) in six American communities with six forms of status inconsistency.

A second serious problem is that the particular statuses chosen and the patterning of the various inconsistencies are crucial to determining whether one really is status inconsistent (Jackson, 1962). Not every pair of discrepant statuses will actually involve conflicting expectations of others. As mentioned earlier, an Olympic winner with a primary school education isn't considered to be status inconsistent because these two concurrent statuses are in line with people's expectations (Malewski, 1966). Jackson (1962) investigated two different patterns of inconsistency in his study relating status inconsistency to psycho-physiological symptoms:

racial-ethnic status as superior and then as inferior to educational and occupational status. He found that when racial-ethnic status was superior to educational and occupational status (R/E and R/O), there was a sharp increase in symptom reports, compared to the remainder of the sample. However, for the opposite situation, where the educational and occupational status were superior to racial-ethnic status (E/R and O/R), no relation to symptoms were found. In addition, Jackson (1962) examined these two patterns of status inconsistency as they related to an individual's political liberalism, so as to compare his findings with Lenski's results (1954). Jackson (1962) found that when occupation and educational status were superior to racial-ethnic status, there were significant differences in political liberalism, while the opposite patterns (R/O and R/E) produced no differences. This is the reverse of his findings relating status inconsistency patterns to psychophysiological symptoms. A possible explanation which Jackson (1962) offers is that people whose achieved status is higher than their ascribed status will blame the system for problems encountered, resulting in political liberalism. But people whose achieved status is lower than their ascribed status will be more likely to blame themselves for their problems, resulting in symptomization. Thus, the different patterns

of inconsistency produce different kinds of stress which may be expressed in various ways. This may explain some of the contradictory findings in the literature.

Third, all statuses may not be equally important and therefore their equal weighting may result in a status inconsistency which is meaningless (Hartman, 1974). Studies done on status inconsistency generally grant the statuses under investigation equal importance (Lenski, 1954, 1967; Jackson, 1962; Laumann and Segal, 1971).

A fourth problem is that there may be factors that mediate between status inconsistency and the predicted outcome. Laumann and Segal (1971) found that an essential precondition for status inconsistency was the individual's high concern for status. In a selected sub-sample of the Detroit sample, Laumann and Segal (1971) obtained significant differences in political and social attitudes in support of status inconsistency theory, for high status concern respondents only. Prior to controlling for this factor, they had found no differences.

The reference groups of the individual may be an important mediating factor between status inconsistency and its effects (Meyer and Hammond, 1971). If a female physician had as her reference groups people who supported her in her profession, then probably the stress produced by her status

inconsistent position would be much reduced.

All in all, these cautions and criticisms exemplify the complexities of status inconsistency, and will have to be taken into consideration.

## Design

The major focus of this study is the examination of the perceptions and attitudes toward the uniform as worn by individuals in status consistent and inconsistent positions. The terms status consistent and inconsistent will be used for the purposes of clarity, even though it is recognized that status consistency is a matter of degree.

The design of the study is presented in Figure 1. As can be seen, occupation (achieved) and race (ascribed) are the two status dimensions that have been chosen principally for three reasons. First, both statuses are visible by virtue of the uniform making the occupation visible and therefore so is the status consistency. Second, both occupation and race are important social class variables. Third, one of the major questions of interest was under what conditions the uniform would protect a Black person from discrimination.

### I. Status Inconsistency

Figure 1 presents the hypothesized consistent and inconsistent positions of the four occupations that will be studied: police officers, security guards, registered nurses, and nurse's aides. Occupations were chosen which had extensive contact with those outside of their own occupation. This was done to enhance the possibility of the complexity of their perceptions of the uniform's effects.

Figure 1

Design of Study;

Hypothesized Status Consistency between Occupation and Race

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS</u>	
		Medium-High (Policeman, RN)	Low (Guards, Aides)
<u>RACE</u>	Black	Status Inconsistent O/R	Status Consistent
	White	Status Consistent	Status Inconsistent R/O

The police were chosen in particular because of their omnipresence in the public's eye, the complexity and sensitive nature of their job, and the strong public reactions, both for and against the police in New York City.

The inclusion of four occupation, two of which are involved in policing, and two involved in nursing, was designed to test the generalizability of results across occupation and sex. However, it must be realized that sex is confounded with occupation, a problem which could not be bypassed. The two occupational status levels within policing and nursing were chosen so as to get the reversal in status consistency between Blacks and whites in the different occupations. The hypothesis is:

1. Black patrolmen and Black nurses will be status inconsistent O/R; white aides and white security guards will be status inconsistent R/O; and white patrolmen, white nurses, Black aides and Black security guards will be status consistent.

## II. Effects of Status Inconsistency

The proposed effects resulting from status inconsistency as hypothesized below, are dependent upon the determination of status positions as either status consistent or inconsistent O/R or R/O. Thus, Hypothesis I will be tested first, prior to testing the effects of status inconsistency.

### 1. Felt Stress

According to status inconsistency theory, the indivi-

dual occupying a status inconsistent position will experience stress due to differing normative expectations of others (Jackson, 1962; Lenski, 1967; Laumann and Segal, 1971). Stress is defined as an individual's psychological discomfort, resulting in a drain upon his emotional resources. The hypothesis is:

2. Individuals in status inconsistent positions will be under greater stress than individuals in status consistent positions.

## 2. Psychological Protection

Will occupation, as symbolized by the uniform serve as a more powerful status than race while on the job and thus be perceived as providing its Black wearer protection against discrimination? However, the Black uniform wearer is predicted to perceive his uniform as providing him the most 'psychological protection' when he is in a status inconsistent position where occupational status is higher than racial status (O/R), for two reasons. First, the uniform may be perceived by its Black wearer as protecting him from discrimination, an issue which does not arise for white uniform wearers. Second, a Black uniform wearer, whose occupation is significantly higher than his racial status (status inconsistent O/R), is predicted to feel a greater loss of self esteem than Blacks in low occupational status positions, if people react to his racial status rather than

his higher occupational status.

For those whose racial status is higher than the occupational status (R/O), then the uniform is predicted as not being viewed as protection from racial discrimination. In fact, the low status occupation as symbolized by the uniform, may be perceived by its wearer in this status inconsistency pattern as a source of embarrassment. Far from protecting the individual from racial discrimination, the uniform in this instance may be perceived as exposing the individual to discrimination stemming from people's prejudices with regard to low status occupations. Since whites have been found to hold Blacks in lower esteem than whites (Campbell, 1971), a plausible conclusion is that whites are of a higher racial status than Blacks, in this country. Status inconsistent R/O individuals in this study are white, and thus the race, and not the uniform may be perceived as protection from discrimination against one's occupation.

To generalize then, the hypothesis is that for both status inconsistent patterns (O/R and R/O) the higher status variable will be seen by the wearer of the uniform as predominating over the lower status variable in interactions with the white public. White persons interacting with status inconsistent individuals will be perceived as gravitating to the 'stronger port in a storm', that is the higher

status. Although Malewski (1966) theorizes that people are more likely to react to the lower status, no evidence is supplied to support his hypothesis.

However, if the resentment and hostility of the Black public towards policemen, and especially towards Black policemen as described by Alex (1969) is correct, then Black officers may view the uniform as exposing them to abuse from the Black public. However, Black nurses have not been portrayed as traitors to their own people, and therefore should view their own uniform as providing them with psychological protection from the Black public. 'Public' will be used loosely here to indicate the client of the occupations' services. For policemen and security guards, the client is the public; for nurses and aides, the client is the patient. The hypotheses are:

- 3a. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white public than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.
- 3b. The Black police officer will perceive his uniform as providing him with less psychological protection from the Black public than the white officer.
- 3c. The Black nurse will perceive her uniform as providing her with more psychological protection from the Black public than (a) Black policemen (b) those in status inconsistent R/O positions and (c) those in status consistent positions.

3d. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from their fellow white colleagues than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

3e. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from their fellow Black colleagues than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

Because the uniform is expected to protect the Black uniform wearer in status inconsistent O/R positions from discrimination from whites, then it is logical to hypothesize that they will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white public and white colleagues, than from the Black public and Black colleagues. The hypotheses are:

3f. Black individuals in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white public than the Black public.

3g. Black individuals in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from their white colleagues than their Black colleagues.

Since white uniform wearers are not hypothesized as in need of protection from discrimination than there should be in a similar level of perceived psychological protection provided by their uniform for both the Black and white public, and Black and white colleagues. The hypotheses are:

3h. White individuals in both status consistent and inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with the same degree of psychological protection from the white public as from the Black public.

3i. White individuals in both status consistent and inconsistent positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with the same degree of psychological protection from their fellow Black colleagues as from their white colleagues.

Consequently, Black individuals in status inconsistent O/R positions should perceive their uniform as providing them with greater degree of psychological protection from the white public and white colleagues, than from the Black public and Black colleagues, more than those in status inconsistent R/O positions and status consistent positions.

### 3. Physical Protection

Physical protection is an issue that emerges only for policemen. On occasion, tragedies have occurred when a Black policeman in street clothes, in pursuit of a criminal have been perceived by a fellow officer as the criminal, and shot down. The uniform might be seen by the Black officer as providing him with a very real physical protection from being maltreated and/or shot by fellow officers because of being mistaken for a criminal. The hypothesis is:

4. The Black police officer will perceive his uniform as providing him with more physical protection from his colleagues than the white officer.

#### 4. Felt Confidence

Because of the hypothesized psychological protection that the uniform is perceived as providing the status inconsistent O/R individual, a possible consequence is that these individuals will derive more confidence from their uniform than any other group. Confidence will be defined as a sense of reliance upon one's own abilities. The hypothesis is

5. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more confidence in performing their job than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

#### 5. Felt Authority

If the uniform is perceived by those in status inconsistent O/R positions as increasing the respect and confidence others have in them, they may then derive a greater sense of authority from the uniform, because they perceive themselves as being more effective when in uniform. Authority will be defined as legitimized power to make and enforce decisions (Bierstedt, 1954).

Those in status inconsistent O/R positions were hypothesized to perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white public than those in status inconsistent R/O positions and status consistent positions (Hypothesis 3a). Therefore, it follows that those in status inconsistent O/R positions will feel the uniform

provides them with a greater sense of authority with the white public than with any other group. However, with regard to Black policemen and Black nurses, the two hypothesized status inconsistent O/R groups, there may be different perceptions of the uniform's authority with reference to the Black public. The Black police officer is hypothesized as perceiving his uniform as providing him with less psychological protection from the Black public, than the white officer (Hypothesis 3b). Therefore, it is hypothesized that the Black officer will feel his uniform provides him with less authority with the Black public than the white officer.

On the other hand, the Black nurse is hypothesized to perceive her uniform as providing her with more psychological protection from the Black public than all other groups in the sample (Hypothesis 3e). Therefore, it follows that the Black nurse will feel her uniform provides her with more authority with the Black public, than for all other groups.

The hypotheses are:

- 6a. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will feel their uniform provides them with more authority when working with the white public than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and those in (b) status consistent positions.
- 6b. The Black police officer will feel his uniform provides him with less authority with the Black public than the white officer.
- 6c. The Black nurse will feel her uniform provides

her with more authority with the Black public, than does (a) the Black police officer (b) those in status consistent positions and (c) those in status inconsistent R/O positions.

Black uniform wearers in status inconsistent O/R positions were hypothesized to perceive the uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white public than the Black public (Hypothesis 3f). Therefore, it follows that they will feel the uniform provides them with a greater sense of authority with the white public than the Black public. However, white uniform wearers were hypothesized as perceiving the uniform as providing them with a similar level of psychological protection from the white public as the Black public (Hypothesis 3h). Therefore, it is logical to conclude that white uniform wearers will perceive their uniform as providing them with the same degree of authority with the white public as with the Black public. The hypotheses are:

6d. Black uniform wearers in status inconsistent O/R positions will feel their uniform provides them with more authority with the white public than with the Black public.

6e. All white uniform wearers will perceive their uniform as providing them with the same degree of authority with the white public as with the Black public.

## 6. Affect

How much one likes or dislikes or is ambivalent towards

one's uniform is a third possible consequence of psychological protection as perceived by its wearer. The uniform may be perceived by status inconsistent O/R individuals (Black policemen and Black nurses) as providing them with psychological protection, resulting in positive affect toward the uniform. However, the uniform also exposes these individuals as status inconsistent, a position which is hypothesized to be stressful, and thus may result in their feeling negatively towards the uniform. Therefore, individuals in status inconsistent O/R positions may feel ambivalent about their uniform, more than any other group. Ambivalence is defined as a simultaneous liking and disliking of a person or object. Black policemen in particular might feel the most ambivalent about their uniform because the uniform possibly exposes them to the Black public's resentment toward policemen in general and especially Black policemen (Alex, 1969).

However, those in status inconsistent R/O positions (white aides and white guards) are not expected to perceive their uniform as providing them with any psychological protection. In fact, as described previously, the uniform not only might expose their low status, but also their status inconsistency. Thus status inconsistent R/O individuals may have little positive affect and a lot of negative effect

toward their uniform.

In terms of positive affect, individuals in status inconsistent O/R positions are likely to feel more positive affect toward their uniform than those in status consistent and inconsistent R/O positions. Black policemen and Black nurses are hypothesized as perceiving their uniform as providing them with psychological protection, as well as symbolizing higher status occupations. While the uniform may symbolize higher status occupations for white nurses and white police officers, the uniform is not predicted as being perceived as providing psychological protection to these two groups. The uniform for those in lower status occupations is predicted as being perceived by its wearer as providing little to no psychological protection, as well as symbolizing occupations of a lower status. Therefore, those in status inconsistent O/R positions should have the highest positive affect towards their uniform relative to the remainder of the sample.

Thus, we expect positive and negative affect to be independent dimensions of affect, so that ambivalence towards the uniform can be measured. The hypotheses are:

- 7a. Positive affect towards the uniform will be independent from negative affect towards the uniform.
- 7b. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will have more positive affect towards their uniform

than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

7c. Those in status inconsistent R/O positions will feel more negative affect towards their uniform than those in (a) status inconsistent O/R positions and (b) status consistent positions.

7d. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will be more ambivalent towards their uniform than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

7. Possible Mediating Variables: Status Concern and Felt Stress

In Laumann and Segal's study (1971), high status concern was found to be a necessary precondition for the effects of status inconsistency to emerge. If the proposed effects of status inconsistency are negative, then level of status concern will be controlled for and the results re-analyzed so as to test if status concern is a necessary precondition for the proposed effects of status inconsistency to emerge.

A high feeling of stress by the status inconsistent individual may be a necessary precondition for the effects of status inconsistency to emerge as well as status concern. If the individual does not feel status inconsistent, perhaps due to supportive reference groups, then his perceptions may not be differentially affected from that of a status consistent individual. If the hypothesized effects of status inconsistency are negative, then level of felt

stress will be controlled for, and the results reanalyzed along those lines.

Figure 2 presents the flow diagram of the hypothesized relationships between the variable.

### III. Anonymity

Because anonymity is an aspect of the uniform that has been noted as a possible effect of wearing uniforms (Joseph and Alex, 1972), it will be investigated. However, anonymity bears no relationship on a theoretical basis with status inconsistency. Anonymity will be defined as the loss of individuality.

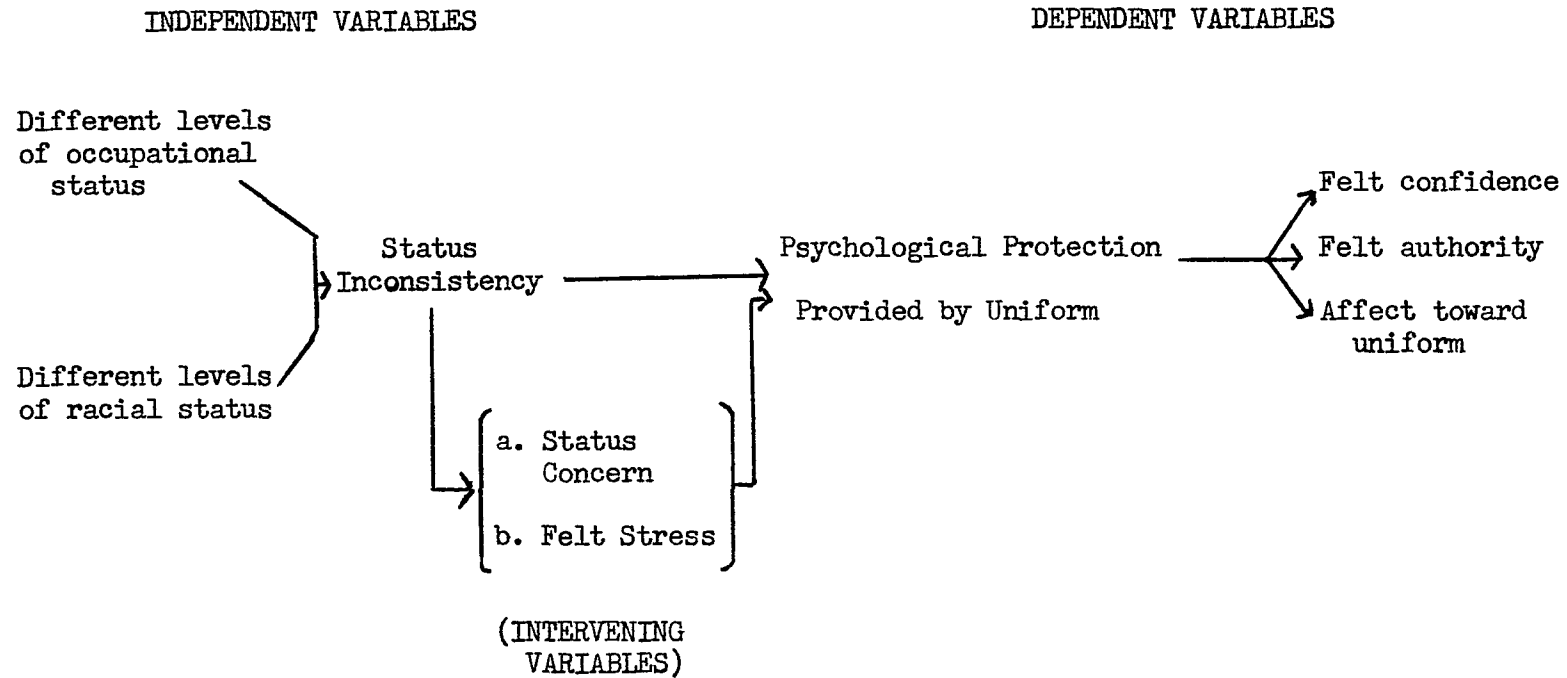
The feeling of anonymity on one's job should be less strong for nurses and aides than for policemen because nurses generally work in one setting where both colleagues and patients have a better chance of getting to know them than policemen have in getting to know the public. If the individual feels very anonymous on his job, then it is possible that he will feel very strongly about certain symbols of identification he wears (e.g. shield number, name pin).

The hypotheses are:

- 8a. Policemen will feel more anonymous on their job than nurses and aides.
- 8b. There will be a positive correlation between how anonymous an individual feels on the job and how strongly he feels about certain symbols of identification he wears.

Figure 2

Diagram of Independent, Intervening and Dependent Variables



8c. Insofar as police feel more anonymous on their jobs than nurses and aides, policemen should have a significantly higher positive correlation between their sense of anonymity and how strongly they feel towards symbols of identification, than nurses and aides.

## Method

### Questionnaire Study of Racial and Occupational Prestige for the Determination of Status Inconsistency

In previous studies, status inconsistency has been either assumed (Lenski, 1967) or determined to exist when an individual's placement on designated status dimensions have been found to be discrepant (Lenski, 1954; Jackson, 1962). The procedure developed by Lenski (1954) to determine status inconsistency is dependent upon the individual's placement in the sample's frequency distribution of status characteristics. The occupational and racial groups in the present study had been predetermined and limited to four occupations and two races. Therefore, Lenski's procedure (1954) was not appropriate for the assessment of status inconsistency in this study.

For the purposes of the present study, a questionnaire was designed to determine if certain occupational and racial positions were status consistent or inconsistent (see Appendix A). The common dimension used for both occupation and racial status was prestige. The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1966) did a major study of prestige of occupations in the United States in 1947 and then replicated it in 1963. In the present study, the question concerning occupational prestige was taken

from NORC's study (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1966) and modified.

The original question used by NORC (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1966) was stated as follows: "For each job mentioned below, please pick out the statement that best gives your own personal opinion of the general standing that such a job has." On a pilot of this question, we found that respondents did not understand the phrase 'general standing'. In addition, we wanted respondents to reflect society's view of the prestige of various occupations, and not their own idiosyncratic opinion. Therefore, the question was modified so as to ask respondents to rate the prestige of jobs in terms of what they saw as most people's view in New York City, and not their own personal opinion. Since the respondents in this study were all from New York City, and not a national sample as in NORC's study (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1966), it was important to specify the region as New York City.

The question concerning occupational prestige was then used with regard to racial-ethnic prestige. Two additional questions were added to determine whether prestige meant the same thing to the respondents in their ratings of occupations and racial-ethnic groups.

## The Sample for the Determination of Status Inconsistency

The questionnaire was administered in the fall of 1973 to 126 individuals from four different settings, so as to vary age, sex, and educational background. Thirty-six percent of the sample were obtained from two evening classes in psychology at a community college in Queens. The questionnaire was also administered to three adult evening classes at a Queens high school, which comprised 37% of the sample. Members of an executive committee of a PTA of a New York City public school made up eight percent of the sample. However, the questionnaires were not filled out at the time of its distribution, but later on and then were mailed back to my home. The fourth source of respondents were parents whose children attended a private high school in New York City. The questionnaires were distributed in envelopes by one of the faculty members and were then mailed back to my home. This comprised 19% of the sample.

Of the 126 respondents, 63% were female and 37% male; 67% were non-college graduates and 33% were college graduates. The average age of the respondents was 32 years old (s.d. =11 years), with the ages ranging from 18 to 69 years old. Forty-six percent of the respondents were 30 years old and over and 54% were under 30 years old. Eighty-six percent of the sample was white and 14% were non-white.

Of the 18 non-whites, 15 were Black (12%), 2 were Puerto Rican (1%) and one was Chinese (1%). Thus there was no sizable subsample of Black respondents.

### Interview Study of Uniformed Occupations

#### The Interview Schedules

Patrolmen, security guards, nurses and nurse's aides were interviewed to obtain their perceptions of and feelings toward their uniform (see Appendix B for the interview schedules). In addition, questions were asked concerning various aspects of their respective jobs: job satisfaction, felt stress resulting from the respondents' hypothesized status inconsistency, and anonymity. Since it was impossible to use the identical interview for each occupation, the interviews varied. Approximately 72% of the questions in each interview were identical. Approximately 94% of the questions in the interview schedule for nurses and aides were identical for these two occupations.

All questions concerning psychological protection, felt authority, felt stress, status concern, anonymity and job satisfaction were identical for all occupations. The principal variations occurred with further exploration of situations and issues in the different occupations. Positive and negative affect involved several comparable but not

identical questions. Felt confidence, an index to be comprised of two items, involved one comparable but not identical question. The implication for the ensuing analysis is that the differences between occupations may be due to differing items rather than differences in perceptions. This will be taken into consideration in the data analysis.

#### Inter-Judge Reliability

Because the interview involved many open-ended questions, it was important to check the reliability of the coding of these answers. A second judge along with the investigator coded the interviews, with each doing half of each occupations' respondents. One third of the interviews were coded twice (ten from each occupation). The average percent agreement was 95%, ranging from 94% to 96.5%.

#### The Sample for the Interview Study of Uniformed Occupations

##### A. Criteria

Thirty persons per occupation were interviewed, 15 American born Black and 15 white, from October, 1973 to April, 1974, thus totalling to 120 interviews. Puerto Ricans and non-American born Blacks were not interviewed because of possible culturally different views. In addition, they might be regarded as distinct minority groups and thus produce differential responses from whites and American born

Blacks.

All respondents were required to have been in uniform for at least six months. Thus the wearer would have some experience in his job as well as some feelings and perceptions about his uniform over some period of time. There were additional criteria, specific to each occupational group.

Policemen had to presently be on uniform patrol or have been in uniform within the last six months. This was required so as to insure that perceptions of and feelings toward their uniform were remembered. Security guards had to be in uniforms that were similar to policemen's uniforms. This requirement established some standardization of the uniform across guards. Since authority was hypothesized to be an important aspect of perceptions of their uniforms, only unarmed security guards were interviewed. The interview of nurses and aides were restricted to questions concerning male patients, for two reasons. First, it was thought that since policemen are primarily involved with males in the public, the interviews would be more comparable. Second, it was important to specify clearly the type of patient without doubling the size of the interview. Therefore, the nurses and aides had to have experience working with male patients to be able to answer the questions. As a result,

nurses from obstetrics and gynecology were not interviewed. In addition, nurses from pediatrics and psychiatry were not interviewed because both specialties have modified their uniform or switched into street clothes. Last, operating room nurses were not interviewed because (a) the contact with patients is mainly when they are anaesthetised and (b) they wear operating gowns which are different from the nurse's uniform.

With a few unavoidable exceptions, all members within each occupation were of the same rank, to control for status within the occupation, which was believed to affect the individual's feelings and perceptions about his uniform. However, this was not always possible. Three of the 15 Black nurses were assistant head nurses; four of the 30 policemen (two Black and two white) had been recently promoted to field training specialist; and two of the 30 security guards (one Black and one white) were sergeants.

b. Source of the Sample

All the registered nurses and all but two of the nurse's aides were employees of a voluntary hospital in Manhattan. All nurses and aides at this hospital were recruited from various units of the hospital. Two white aides were interviewed at a voluntary hospital in Brooklyn because there were no more white aides at the hospital in Manhattan who

were willing to participate. All aides wore uniforms which were visibly distinct from nurses. Aides from the hospital in Manhattan wore mint green uniforms supplied by the hospital, while the aides in the hospital in Brooklyn wore yellow uniforms that they had chosen and bought themselves.

Fourteen of the 30 security guards interviewed were employees of the same hospital in Manhattan where the nurses and aides had been recruited, while sixteen guards were employees of a security guard agency and placed at various campuses of the City University of New York. Policemen were drawn from a variety of precincts and settings. Eleven of the 30 policemen were recruited from one precinct in the Bronx, and six policemen were from one precinct in Brooklyn. The remaining policemen were from other precincts in the Bronx, Manhattan and Brooklyn. Four officers who were interviewed were on special assignment at the recruitment center of the Police Department.

As can be seen, the sources of the sample for nurses and aides did not allow for variation in type of hospital (voluntary vs. municipal) or for prestige level of the hospital (higher vs. lower). The hospital from which most nurses and aides were recruited was a highly prestigious hospital in New York City. Security guards had a greater diversity in settings, but were still limited to two sources:

the hospital in Manhattan and a security guard company. With regard to policemen, over one-third came from a precinct in the Bronx. Despite the restricted sources of the of the sample attempts were made to diversify the sample whenever possible. For example, not all policemen came from one precinct; not all nurses and aides came from one unit of the hospital in Manhattan; not all guards came from one organization.

c. Method of Recruitment

Permission was granted from the Police Department, the hospital in Manhattan, and the security guard agency to interview their employees concerning how they felt about their uniforms. Virtually all recruiting was done by the investigator, using the same method. I would introduce myself as a student doing a study on uniforms, and that I would like to interview them. The respondent was informed that (a) participation was voluntary (b) the interview would take 1 to 1½ hours, and (c) the study was being done to fulfill a requirement for school work and was not being done for their employer's use. If the person then volunteered to be interviewed, an appointment was set. For policemen, the investigator made this request for volunteers while the officers were in a group (during roll call), as well as individually. Some officers and nurse's aides were also recruited

through the help of contacts and were therefore not personally recruited by myself.

Although no precise count was made of the total number of people who were approached, my impression was that registered nurses, security guards and Black nurse's aides were the most cooperative and the easiest to recruit. White nurse's aides were more difficult to recruit; they refused to participate more frequently than the above groups and some of those who agreed to participate later reneged. However, the most difficult group to recruit, by far, were policemen. The refusal rate seemed very high. When requests for participation were made during roll call, involving 20-40 officers, one or two would volunteer. Better success was obtained when officers were recruited by a fellow officer. Someone in the police department would be contacted, who in turn would contact someone else, who would then recruit officers who would be likely to want to participate. In addition, roughly a third of the officers were recruited from one precinct largely due to some of the officers who identified with me as a student, and in turn convinced their fellow officers to volunteer. Thus, it was the use of fellow officers whom the policemen knew and trusted that resulted in their cooperation.

The major reason why policemen were reluctant to volun-

teer was that they were very suspicious of the investigator and the purpose of the study. They thought the study was being done for the Police Department and that the results would somehow be used against them. Perhaps this was partly due to the training of officers to be suspicious as well as a general feeling of being abused by outsiders. Neither of these factors would encourage a policeman to trust a stranger who wanted to interview them. Similar difficulties in finding policemen to participate in a study was noted by Niederhoffer (1967). Niederhoffer (1967) attributed their reluctance to their trained suspicion of others, the stress of secrecy on the job, and their surrendering of their right to free speech upon becoming a policeman.

The sample of respondents was self-selected. Only those who were willing to participate were interviewed. This factor in itself might have biased the results. People who were less altruistic, less interested in ideas, more suspicious of strangers, and more pressed for time might view their uniforms differently from this sample of respondents. This was mainly an issue with policemen where there was a high refusal rate.

d. Characteristics of Respondents

All policemen and security guards were male and all registered nurses and aides were female. Half of each

occupational group was white and half were American born Black. Table 1 presents the mean and median age and length of experience on the job for each occupational group by race. Aides and guards were on the average the older respondents in the sample, with nurses being the youngest. Aides also had the highest mean length of experience on the job, with guards having the lowest mean. However, means of length of experience were skewed due to some extreme scores. The median was therefore a more accurate indicator of length of experience, and shows that nurses are the youngest group and have the least experience on the job.

Respondents' length of experience on the job and age varied among the occupations and therefore may have affected their responses. First, it may have hindered those with less experience from being able to answer the questions. Second, age as a status variable possibly interacts with the uniform and race of the respondent, influencing their perceptions of the effects of the uniform.

Educational background of the respondent was not asked because it tended to embarrass him. Also, it was thought that educational level would be roughly constant within occupation. However, security guards appeared to have a great diversity in education. Some guards mentioned that they were going to college; one had a masters degree, and

Table 1

Means, Medians and Ranges for Age and Length of Experience on the Job for each Occupation by Race

	AGE					LENGTH OF EXPERIENCE				
	$\bar{X}$	s.d	Median	Range	N	$\bar{X}$	s.d	Median	Range	N
RNs	27.5	6.5	25	20-45	28	4.5	5.0	2	under 1-22	30
White	25.9	6.5	24	20-44	14	5.5	6.2	3	under 1-22	15
Black	29.1	6.4	27	22-45	14	3.5	3.4	2	under 1-11	15
POLICE	29.9	3.7	29	26-46	30	6.1	2.8	5	4-19	30
White	28.5	1.8	29	26-31	15	5.7	1.5	5	4-10	15
Black	31.3	4.5	31	26-46	15	6.5	3.6	6	4-19	15
AIDES	41.9	14.1	41	19-64	29	10.4	7.4	8	under 1-30	30
White	45.0	16.2	44	19-64	15	12.3	8.9	10	under 1-30	30
Black	38.6	11.2	35	27-62	14	8.5	5.1	7	under 1-21	15
GUARDS	38.6	14.2	35	22-64	30	4.0	4.3	3	under 1-20	29
White	39.7	14.3	39	22-64	15	3.7	5.1	1	under 1-20	14
Black	37.5	14.5	32	22-64	15	4.3	3.6	3	under 1-14	15
TOTAL SAMPLE	34.5	12.1	30	20-64	117	6.3	5.7	5	under 1-30	119

one was holding down a higher status job in addition to being a guard. These varied backgrounds might have affected their view of their job as well as their uniform. However, since educational background was not obtained for all guards, it was not possible to examine these effects.

### Interview Procedure

The interviews generally took from 1 to 1½ hours to complete, but some interviews lasted as long as two hours. The majority of interviews were conducted in person (78%), but 22% of the interviews were conducted over the phone. Although in-person interviews were preferred, if the respondents were willing to participate but could do so only if over the phone (because of time pressures), then this was arranged. The occupation most affected was nurse's aides where half of the aides (N=16) were interviewed over the phone. Also affected were registered nurses where one fourth (N=8) were interviewed over the phone.

It was the opinion of the investigator that the telephone interviews conducted were as good and in some cases better than in-person interviews. The psychological distance provided by the telephone seemed to make some respondents feel freer to express their opinions, thereby improving the interviews. Although establishing rapport with the respondent was done more easily in person, it was not difficult

to establish rapport over the phone. In a study conducted to establish the effects of telephone vs. in-person interviews, Colombotos (1969) found that there were no differences in the proportions of physicians who gave socially acceptable responses. By allowing interviews to be done over the phone, many interviews were conducted which could not have been done otherwise with those particular respondents. To limit the sample to only in-person interviews, would have biased the sample along the dimension of availability of time.

The in-person interviews were conducted wherever it was convenient for the respondent. Most of the nurse's aides and nurses were interviewed in a seminar room in the hospital. Most policemen were interviewed in the precinct house. Most guards were interviewed either on the campus where they worked in an empty classroom, or in the seminar room of the hospital. A few interviews were conducted in less conventional places: the interviewer's home and office, in cafeterias, coffee shops, and locker rooms. The interviewing was done wherever it was possible with the majority being conducted so as to insure the privacy of the interview.

#### Interviewers

There were a total of four white female middle class interviewers, in their twenties and early thirties, at

various times throughout the study. Two interviewed policemen, three interviewed nurses and aides, and two interviewed guards. However, two-thirds of the interviews were conducted by the investigator. The percentage of interviews conducted by myself for each occupation was as follows: police - 67%; nurses - 60%; aides - 67%; and guards - 83%. The lack of funds to pay for interviewers prevented a more equitable balance.

Interviewer effect could be tested only for Black police officers' and white nurses' responses. Only one out of 9 t tests on the major indices proved to be significant for ( $p < .05$ ) for the white nurses and none were significant for the Black police. This provided some evidence that differences in interviewers did not produce different responses from the respondents. Because the other interviewers were ignorant of the hypotheses being tested, these results also provided evidence against experimenter bias (Rosenthal, 1963) affecting the validity of the study.

With the characteristics of the interviewers controlled for sex, age, race and social class, there could have been a biasing of respondents' answers, depending upon the social distance between interviewer and respondent. Dohrenwend et al. (1968) have postulated a curvilinear relationship between social distance and response bias. Based upon

their findings (Dohrenwend et al., 1968) as well as the findings of others (Williams, 1964, 1968; Weiss, 1969), the response bias is predicted to be maximized when there is too little or too great social distance between interviewer and respondent, and minimized when there is medium social distance. In addition, Williams (1964, 1968) found that when the threat potential of a question is high as well as social distance being high, the most response bias is produced.

In the current study, the social distance between respondent and interviewer was probably low for nurses, intermediate for policemen, and high for security guards and aides. Also, many of the questions were phrased in terms of race (e.g. white vs. Black public and colleagues), thus posing some threat potential. Therefore, the possibility exists of systematic bias of nurses', aides', and guards' answers in favor of more socially desirable responses, which will be dealt with in the interpretation of results.

## Results

### Questionnaire on Prestige

The two questions designed to measure occupational and racial-ethnic prestige were modeled upon the question used by NORC in their national study of occupational prestige (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1966). The questions were:

1. For each occupation mentioned below, please pick out the statement that best gives your impression of the prestige of these jobs in New York City, in general. (I am not interested in your own personal opinion, but what you see as most people's view.)
2. For each of the following ethnic and racial groups, please pick out the statement which best gives what you think the prestige is of these ethnic and racial groups in New York City, in general. (I am not interested in your own personal opinion, but what you think most people's view is.)

Each rating was made on a scale ranging from excellent, good, average, somewhat below average, to poor.

Are the results of this questionnaire representative of the relative prestige positions of various occupations and racial-ethnic groups? Because the questionnaire was patterned in its form to that of NORC, it was possible to assess whether the sample in the present study was representative. Table 2 presents the comparison of the prestige ratings and rankings for five occupations used in both the NORC study and my questionnaire. The prestige ratings

Table 2

Comparison of NORC Prestige Ratings and Rankings with this Sample's, for Five Occupations

Occupation	NORC (1963)		Total Sample		EDUCATION				SEX				AGE			
	R'tg	Conv. Rk	R'tg	Rk	College		Non-College		Male		Female		Under 30		Over 30	
					R'tg	Rk	R'tg	Rk	R'tg	Rk	R'tg	Rk	R'tg	Rk	R'tg	Rk
Physician	93	.33	97	1	96	2	98	1	97	1	97	1	97	1	97	1
College Professor	90	1.33	93	3	91	4	93	3	90	3	94	3	92.5	3	93	3
Policeman	72	7.73	67	8	64	9	69	8	63.5	9	69	8	68	8	65	9
Manager of a small store	67	8.53	65	9	65	8	65	10	65.5	8	64	9	65	9	65	8
Railroad Conductor	66	9.50	56	12	50	13	58.5	13	56	12	55	13	56	14	55	11

R'tg = Rating  
 Rk = Rank  
 Conv. Rk = Converted Rank

reported here are computed by using NORC's method of scoring<sup>1</sup>. Using this method, scores can range from 20 to 100, with 20 being the lowest and 100 the highest rating of prestige. In NORC's study, ninety occupations were ranked, based on these scores, with one being the highest rank, and 90 the lowest. In the questionnaire used in the present study, there were 15 occupations, and therefore, the ranks ranged from one as the highest to 15, the lowest. For purposes of comparison, the NORC rank was converted to a range of 1 to 15.

The results from the two sets of data were quite consistent: physician and college professor were rated and ranked very high; policemen and manager of a small store were rated and ranked in the middle of the range. The greatest variation occurred with railroad conductor. Although both data sets ranked him the lowest in prestige, there was an 11 - 16 point difference in the prestige rating. A possible explanation is that the prestige of railroad conductors has declined since 1963 when the NORC study was done (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1965). Since the

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Excellent =5; Good =4; Average =3; Somewhat below average =2; Poor =1; Don't know = missing data. NORC score=

$$\left( \frac{\# \text{of } 5 \times 100}{N_T} \right) + \left( \frac{\# \text{of } 4 \times 80}{N_T} \right) + \left( \frac{\# \text{of } 3 \times 60}{N_T} \right) + \left( \frac{\# \text{of } 2 \times 40}{N_T} \right) + \left( \frac{\# \text{of } 1 \times 20}{N_T} \right)$$

two sets of data were in general agreement with regard to the other occupations, it seems plausible to conclude that the nature of the occupation of railroad conductor has changed, rather than that the data from the present study are not reliable. In fact, the comparability of results of the two data sets lends strong evidence for the present sample being representative of the general public.

#### Meaning of Prestige

In order to compare the ratings of occupational and racial-ethnic prestige, it was necessary to verify that respondents used the same meaning of prestige for the two sets of ratings. If people's understanding of 'prestige' was different when rating occupation than when rating racial-ethnic groups, it would not have been valid to compare the two scores. For this reason, two questions were asked:

1. When you think of the word Prestige, in terms of jobs, which of the following characteristics do you have in mind? (Check as many as are applicable.)

Respect received from others	General life style
Income	Capability
Education	Responsibility handled
Authority	Dependability
Influence in the community	Other (please specify)

2. When you think of the word Prestige for ethnic and racial groups, which of the following characteristics do you have in mind? (Check as many as are applicable.)

Respect received from others	General life style
How high their income	How capable they are
How educated they are	in their jobs and at
What their occupation is	home
How much influence they have	How much responsibility
in the community	they shoulder
How dependable they are	Other (please specify):

Table 3 presents the degree to which the various dimensions of the word 'prestige' were the same when judges rated both occupation and racial-ethnic groups. The average percentage of matching was 71% for the eight characteristics, thus indicating that the clear majority of the judges were using the same meaning of the word 'prestige' for both occupation and racial-ethnic ratings. The strongest meaning attached to 'prestige' was 'Respect received from others'. Sixty-five percent of the sample checked this for both occupation and racial-ethnic prestige. Education was the second most common meaning attached to prestige with 48% of the sample checking it for both occupation and racial-ethnic prestige.

It is interesting to note that approximately a third of the sample considered 'income' and 'responsibility handled' important characteristics in their understanding of occupational prestige, but not for racial-ethnic prestige. Perhaps income and responsibility were viewed as characteristics of occupations rather than racial-ethnic groups, and therefore the meaning of prestige changed because of this

Table 3

Meanings of Prestige used when Rating Occupations and Racial-Ethnic Groups

Meanings of Prestige	Total Matched % (N=126)	Matched-Both Present %	Matched-Both Absent %	Total Not Matched %	Present for Occup Only %	Present for Race Only %
Respect received from others	76	65	11	24	17	6
Income	63	30	32.5	37	32	5.5
Education	74.5	48	26	25	13	13
Influence in the community	71	36.5	34	29	14	15
General life style	67	33	33	33	12	21
Capability	76	34	42	24	17	7
Responsibility handled	63	29	33	37	32	5.5
Dependability	75	25	49	26	7	19
Authority	NA	NA	NA	NA	22	NA
Occupation	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	21
Average percent	70.8	37.6	32.6	29.4	NA	NA

NA = Not Applicable

context. A surprising finding was that 'occupation' as a characteristic was mentioned by only 21% of the sample as a meaning of prestige for racial-ethnic groups. A possible explanation was that a racial-ethnic group was not thought of as occupying one single type of occupation, but rather as occupying an occupational level. Therefore, the wording of the characteristic might have deflated the actual importance of this aspect of prestige.

The results concerning these two questions demonstrated that judges used the same meaning of prestige when rating occupations and racial-ethnic groups and that this centered around (a) respect received from others and (b) education.

#### Status Inconsistency

The questionnaire on the prestige of various occupations and racial-ethnic groups was designed to determine status inconsistency. Each of four occupations, policemen, guards, nurses, and aides, and two races, Black and white were scored on a scale ranging from one to five. The score for white was the mean of the ratings for Anglo-Saxon Protestant, Irish, Italian, and Jewish, since there was no single white category in the questionnaire. The scores for occupational prestige were then standardized, based upon the means and standard deviation of scores for all occupations rated. The scores for racial-ethnic prestige were standard-

ized, based upon the mean and standard deviation of scores for all racial-ethnic groups rated<sup>1</sup>. The standardization of occupational and racial-ethnic prestige ratings was done in order to place the two distributions into a common frame of reference (Hartman, 1974). The difference between the standardized mean for an occupation and race was then interpreted in terms of the relative status consistency.

The hypothesis was that Black nurses and Black policemen would be status inconsistent O/R, white nurse's aides and white security guards would be status inconsistent R/O, and white nurses, white policemen, Black aides and Black guards would be status consistent (Hypothesis 1). Table 4 presents the standardized means for the four occupations and two races being studied, and the differences between the standardized means of occupation and race, for each occupation. The difference between standardized means was obtained by subtracting the racial-ethnic mean from the occupational mean, so that direction of the differences would be indicated. A positive difference indicated that occupation was viewed as being more prestigious than race, and a

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See Table A in Appendix C for means of raw scores for occupational and racial-ethnic prestige ratings.

Table 4

Standardized Means and Differences between Means of Prestige Ratings  
of Occupational and Racial-Ethnic Groups

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		<u>RN</u>	<u>POLICEMAN</u>	<u>AIDE</u>	<u>GUARD</u>	
		$\bar{X}$ (N=125) +.469	$\bar{X}$ (N=124) -.194	$\bar{X}$ (N=122) -.689	$\bar{X}$ (N=122) -.899	
<u>RACE</u>	<u>BLACK</u>	$\bar{X}$ (N=114) -.859	+1.328***	+0.665***	+0.170	-.050
	<u>WHITE</u>	$\bar{X}$ (N=119) +.419	+0.050	-.613***	-1.108***	-1.318***

\*\*\* p < .001

N.B. The differences between standardized means were obtained by subtracting the racial-ethnic standardized mean from the occupation standardized mean.

negative difference indicated that race was viewed as more prestigious than the occupation. The probability levels demonstrate which differences are significantly greater than zero. Table 5 presents the designation of groups as status consistent or inconsistent based upon the results of the questionnaire as shown in Table 4.

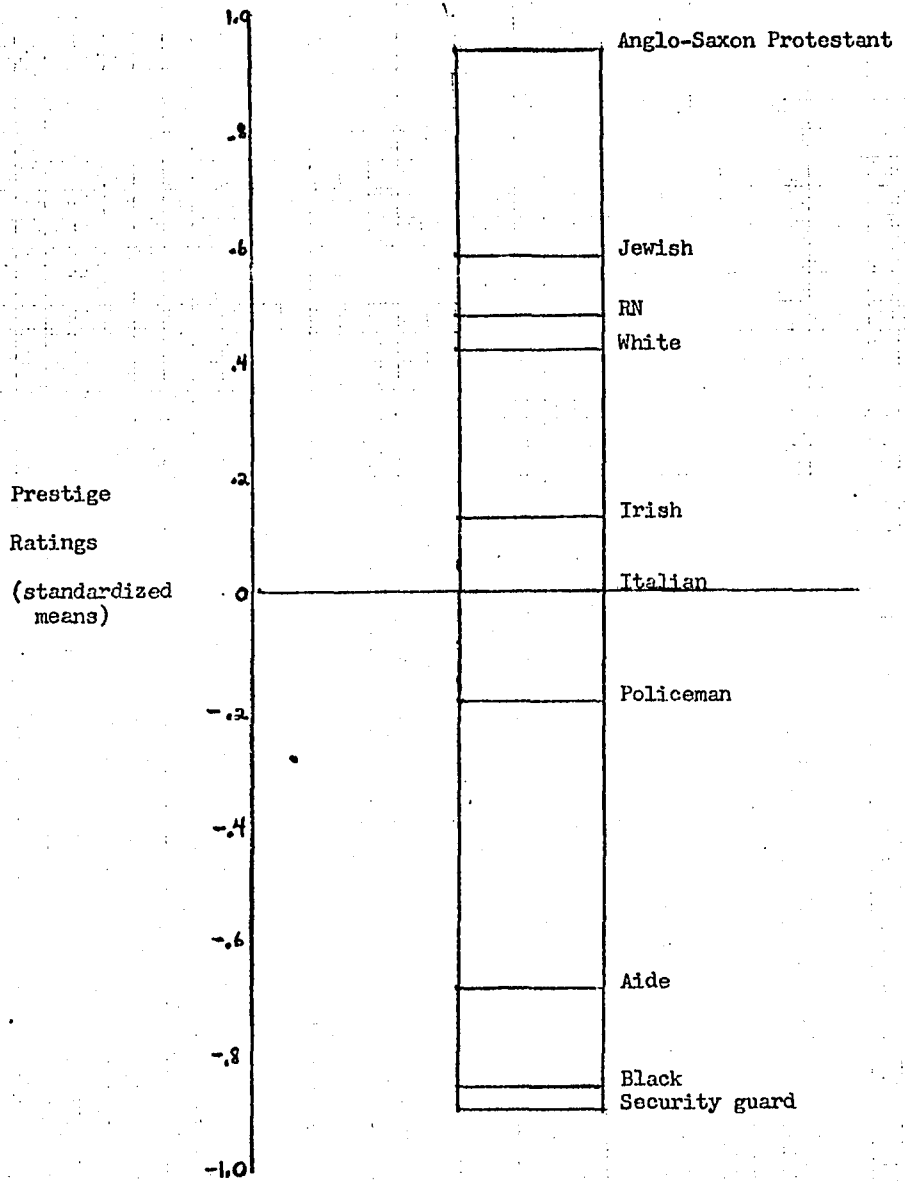
As can be seen from Table 4, white nurse's aides and white guards were found to be status inconsistent R/O, as predicted. Black registered nurses and Black police officers were found to be status inconsistent O/R, as hypothesized, with the mean difference for a Black nurse being twice that found for a Black officer. Black security guards, Black aides, and white nurses were found to be status consistent as predicted. White police officers, hypothesized to be status consistent were found to be inconsistent R/O. Thus the results indicate the white officers occupied a status inconsistent position similar to white aides and white guards. Figure 3 graphically presents the problem. While Blacks, security guards and aides were perceived in low prestige positions, whites and nurses were perceived in relatively high prestige positions, and police officers were rated in the middle. Thus, being a policeman was computed to be status inconsistent for both Black and white officers, but with opposite patterns.

Table 5

Designation of Status Consistent and Inconsistent Positions

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>			
		RN	POLICEMAN	AIDE	GUARD
<u>RACE</u>	<u>BLACK</u>	Status Inconsis- tent O/R	Status Inconsis- tent O/R	Status Consistent	Status Consistent
	<u>WHITE</u>	Status Consistent	Status Inconsis- tent R/O	Status Inconsis- tent R/O	Status Inconsis- tent R/O

Figure 3  
 Standardized Prestige Ratings of Occupations and  
 Racial-Ethnic Groups



Subsets of Judges: Sex, Age, Education - If the ratings of prestige vary with the characteristics of the judges, then reference groups might affect status inconsistency. If one's reference group does not have differing expectations for one's occupational and racial status, then the stresses of status inconsistency are not predicted to appear (Meyer and Hammond, 1971). A lack of consistency in the results of the subsets of the sample would thus be evidence for the importance of taking reference groups into account. Table 6 presents the prestige ratings of occupational and racial-ethnic groups by education, sex, and age of the judges.

Upon examination of the questionnaire data in terms of the judges' characteristics, the same pattern that had been revealed in the entire sample with regard to white policemen emerged within each age, sex and education grouping of the judges. Whites were perceived as having significantly higher prestige than policemen, who in turn were viewed as having significantly more prestige than Blacks. In addition, when the mean rating by all judges of each of the four white ethnic groups, Italian, Irish, Anglo-Saxon Protestant and Jewish, was considered separately in relation to policemen and Blacks, the identical pattern of results occurred. White policemen, whether Italian, Irish, Anglo-Saxon Protestant or Jewish were status inconsistent R/O.

Table 6  
Judges' Prestige Ratings of Occupational and Racial-Ethnic Groups: Standardized Means and Differences Between Means, by Judges' Education, Sex and Age

Education of Judges					Sex of Judges					Age of Judges				
NON-COLLEGE					MALE					UNDER 30				
	RN	POLICE	AIDE	GUARD		RN	POLICE	AIDE	GUARD		RN	POLICE	AIDE	GUARD
	+ .600	-.140	-.545	-.810		+ .363	-.368	-.657	-1.092		+ .478	-.178	-.522	-.862
BLACK -.745 (N=74)	+1.345 <sup>***</sup>	+ .605 <sup>***</sup>	+ .200	-.065	BLACK -1.040 (N=42)	+1.403 <sup>***</sup>	+ .672 <sup>***</sup>	-.383 <sup>*</sup>	-.052	BLACK -.750 (N=63)	+1.228 <sup>***</sup>	+ .572 <sup>**</sup>	+ .228	-.112
WHITE +.382 (N=79)	+ .218 <sup>**</sup>	-.522 <sup>***</sup>	-.927 <sup>***</sup>	-1.192 <sup>***</sup>	WHITE +.438 (N=42)	-.075	-.806 <sup>***</sup>	-1.095 <sup>***</sup>	-1.530 <sup>***</sup>	WHITE +.349 (N=63)	+ .129	-.527 <sup>***</sup>	-.871 <sup>***</sup>	-1.211 <sup>***</sup>
	(N=82)	(N=81)	(N=79)	(N=80)		(N=45)	(N=46)	(N=46)	(N=45)		(N=65)	(N=64)	(N=64)	(N=65)
COLLEGE					FEMALE					OVER 30				
	+ .190	-.349	-.975	-1.097		+ .522	-.115	-.713	-.794		+ .431	-.301	-.868	-.978
BLACK -1.033 (N=38)	+1.223 <sup>***</sup>	+ .684 <sup>***</sup>	+ .058	-.064	BLACK -.724 (N=70)	+1.246 <sup>***</sup>	+ .609 <sup>***</sup>	+ .011	-.050	BLACK -.951 (N=47)	+1.382 <sup>***</sup>	+ .650 <sup>***</sup>	+ .083	-.027
WHITE +.476 (N=38)	-.286 <sup>**</sup>	-.825 <sup>***</sup>	-1.451 <sup>***</sup>	-1.573 <sup>***</sup>	WHITE +.398 (N=75)	+ .124	-.513 <sup>***</sup>	-1.111 <sup>***</sup>	-1.192 <sup>***</sup>	WHITE +.468 (N=51)	-.037	-.769 <sup>***</sup>	-1.336 <sup>***</sup>	-1.446 <sup>***</sup>
	(N=41)	(N=41)	(N=41)	(N=40)		(N=78)	(N=76)	(N=74)	(N=75)		(N=54)	(N=54)	(N=52)	(N=52)

\* p < .05  
\*\* p < .01  
\*\*\* p < .001

N.B. The differences between standardized means were obtained by subtracting the racial-ethnic standardized mean from the occupational standardized mean.

Although the ordering of white, policeman, and Black was the same, the statistical significance of the differences varied with the subsets of the judges. For the total sample, as well as non-college judges and judges over 30 years old, Irish, Jewish and Anglo-Saxon Protestants were rated as having significantly higher prestige than policemen. Italians were not rated as significantly higher than policemen by the above subgroups. However, male judges, college graduated judges and those judges under 30 years old, rated all four white ethnic groups as having significantly higher prestige than policemen. Female judges rated only Anglo-Saxon Protestant and Jewish as having significantly higher prestige than policemen.

Thus, for all subsets of the sample except females, three of the four white ethnic groups were viewed as having significantly higher prestige than policemen. The Irish, one of the three white ethnic groups, is considered to be a dominant ethnic group in the Police Department (Niederhoffer, 1967). Therefore, contrary to prediction, the results rather consistently show white policemen as status inconsistent R/O.

Throughout all subsets of the sample, Black policemen and Black nurses were perceived as status inconsistent O/R. White aides and white security guards were regarded as status inconsistent R/O by each subset of the sample. Each

breakdown of the sample resulted in Black security guards being status consistent. Black aides were viewed as status consistent by each subset of the judges, except for males. Male judges viewed Black aides as status inconsistent O/R although both the occupation and the race were rated very low in prestige.

White nurses were rated as status consistent in both age and sex breakdowns of the sample. However, the prestige of nurses was viewed very differently according to the educational level of the judges. Non-college judges' ratings resulted in white nurses being status inconsistent O/R, while college graduated judges' ratings resulted in white nurses being status inconsistent R/O. The difference between the two groups of judges was due to non-college judges rating the prestige of nurses significantly higher than college judges did ( $p < .001$ ). In fact, non-college judges' ratings of the prestige of nurses was the highest of any other subset of the sample, and college judges' prestige ratings for nurses were the lowest. This caused the reversal in the status inconsistency pattern between college and non-college judges. This finding was the strongest evidence in the data to support the importance of reference groups in status inconsistency theory. If reference groups are mediating factors in the emergence of status inconsistency effects (Meyer and Hammond, 1971), then the predicted effects

will differ depending upon whether the reference groups of the nurse is college or non-college educated. However, in large measure, the various subsets of the sample provided the same pattern of results as shown in the total sample (see Table 4).

White Policemen as Status Inconsistent R/O - There are four possible explanations for the finding that white policemen were status inconsistent R/O; (a) the sample was not large enough to adequately reflect the actual prestige levels in New York City for this occupation and race; (b) this method of computing status inconsistency was not valid in general; (c) this method for computing status inconsistency was not valid for occupations of medium status; (d) the finding was accurate.

The first explanation given was not likely because the external validity of these findings for five occupations with NORC's results (Hodge, Siegel and Rossi, 1965) had been demonstrated. In addition, the subsets of the present sample, representing both sexes and a wide range in age and educational level, supported the finding. The one restriction was that there was not an adequate subsample of Black judges so as to examine racial differences.

This method of computing status inconsistency was validated in part, by the confirmation of the predicted status

consistent and inconsistent positions for Black nurses, Black policemen, Black aides, Black guards, white nurses, white aides and white guards. If one accepts these findings, it lends weight for the acceptance for the finding of white policemen as status inconsistent R/O.

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, these findings will be accepted as presented in Tables 4 and 5. In testing hypotheses, white policemen will be considered status inconsistent R/O.

#### Interview on the Uniform

#### Index Construction: Internal Consistency and Discriminant Validity

A number of indices were constructed from the items in the interview. In order to determine if the items were internally consistent, alpha coefficients were computed (Nunnally, 1967). Table 7 presents the alpha coefficients for the total sample, each race, policing (policemen and guards) and nursing (RNs and aides) occupations. An alpha level of .5 to .6 was considered sufficient for research measures to demonstrate internal consistency (Nunnally, 1967). Correlations among indices were examined to test the indices for discriminant validity. Table 8 presents the intercorrelations of major indices for the total sample and Table 9 presents the intercorrelations of the major indices for each occupation.

Table 7

## Alpha Coefficients of Indices

	Total Sample (N=120)	Black Respondents (N=60)	White Respondents (N=60)	Policing (Police + Guards) (N=60)	Nursing (RNs + Aides) (N=60)
Psych. Prot. Black Public (2 items)	.690	.788	.568	.702	.646
Psych. Prot. White Public (2 items)	.502	.484	.514	.469	.506
Psych. Prot. Public (4 items)	.867	.885	.792	.839	.911
Felt Authority (2 items)	.819	.664	.957	.716	.939
Enhanced Public Support (6 items)	.876	.889	.849	.796	.938
Psych. Prot. Black Coll. (2 items)	.689	.385	.885	.721	.580
Psych. Prot. White Coll. (2 items)	.620	.146	.916	.494	.838
Psych. Prot. Colleagues (4 items)	.788	.543	.920	.777	.792
Felt Confidence (2 items)	.416	.491	.258	.536	.259
Job Satis. (13 items)	.814	.798	.828	.814	.792
Status Concern (2 items)	.586	.494	.674	.688	.457
Anonymity (3 items)	.440	.520	.300	.491	.205
Felt Stress (7 items)	.044	.195	.015	.447	.360
Positive Affect (4 items)	.434	.395	.454	.323	.456
Negative Affect (6 items)	.539	.438	.621	.546	.418
Felt Trust (7 items) (RNs and Aides)	NA	NA	NA	NA	.627
Felt Authority - Expanded for Police(5 items)	NA	NA	NA	.645 (Police)	NA
Felt Authority- Expanded for Guards(6 items)	NA	NA	NA	.807 (Guards)	NA
Physical Prot. (2 items) (Police only)	NA	NA	NA	.174 (Police)	NA

NA = Not Applicable

Table 8  
Correlations of Major Indices and Items for Total Sample

	Psych. Prot.Wh. Public	Psych. Prot. Public	Psych. Prot.Bl. Coll.	Psych. Prot.Wh. Coll.	Psych. Prot. Coll.	Felt Auth.	Enhanced Pub.Supp.	Self Conf.	Job. Satis.	Status Concern	Anonym- ity	Felt Social Mobility	Pos. Affect	Neg. Affect	Ambiv- alence
Psych. Prot. Bl. Public	.857**	.965**	.256**	.168	.244**	.571**	.920**	.268**	.237**	.124	-.096	.261**	.122	-.024	-.036
Psych. Prot. Wh. Public	-	.961**	.296**	.179	.249**	.598**	.924**	.162	.174	.086	-.016	.241**	.139	.019	.023
Psych. Prot. Public	-	-	.315**	.209*	.273**	.572**	.929**	.234*	.218*	.041	-.026	.191*	.163	-.007	-.009
Psych. Prot. Bl. Coll.	-	-	-	.716**	.910**	.123	.242**	.022	.063	.079	.072	.087	.008	.105	.160
Psych. Prot. Wh. Coll.	-	-	-	-	.935**	.085	.154	.066	-.022	.051	.088	.131	-.075	.208*	.291**
Psych. Prot. Colleague	-	-	-	-	-	.114	.206*	.096	.025	.064	.064	.145	-.009	.170	.249**
Felt Authority	-	-	-	-	-	-	.820**	.186*	.131	.020	-.093	.173	.147	-.094	-.021
Enhanced Public Support	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.257**	.199*	.053	-.067	.204*	.178	-.058	-.033
Self Confidence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.071	.039	.173	-.016	.075	.173	.262**
Job Satisfaction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.213*	-.286**	.183	.341**	-.383**	-.234**
Status Concern	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.018	.146	.013	-.056	-.098
Anonymity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.186*	-.044	.346**	.350**
Felt Social Mobility	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.382**	.034	.173
Positive Affect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.233**	.165
Negative Affect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.787**

\* p < .05

	Psych. Prot. Wh. Public	Psych. Prot. Public	Psych. Prot. Bl. Coll.	Psych. Prot. Wh. Coll.	Psych. Prot. Coll.	Felt Authority	Felt Auth. Expanded	Felt Trust
Psychological Protection from Black Public	a. .657 **	.935 **	.310	.181	.278	.342	.451*	NA
	b. .832 **	.959 **	.307	.307	.307	.551 **	.656**	NA
	c. .868 **	.957 **	.189	.202	.245	.711 **	NA	.524**
	d. 1.000 **	1.000 **	.300	.273	.327	.650 **	NA	.533**
Psychological Protection from White Public	-	a. .904 **	.492 **	.167	.287	.501 **	.461**	NA
	-	b. .956 **	.252	.252	.252	.558 **	.758**	NA
	-	c. .962 **	.212	.228	.282	.661 **	NA	.427*
	-	d. 1.000 **	.300	.273	.327	.650 **	NA	.533**
Psychological Protection from Public	-	-	a. .426*	.181	.312	.412*	.530**	NA
	-	-	b. .348 +	.321	.335	.467**	.745**	NA
	-	-	c. .213	.225	.176	.701**	NA	.503**
	-	-	d. .293	.266	.319	.698**	NA	.533**
Psychological Protection from Black Colleague	-	-	-	a. .677**	.909**	.477**	.431*	NA
	-	-	-	b. 1.000**	.995**	-.072	.236	NA
	-	-	-	c. 1.000**	.911**	.115	NA	.196
	-	-	-	d. .467**	.863**	.157	NA	.066
Psychological Protection from White Colleague	-	-	-	a. .921**	.449*	.455*	NA	NA
	-	-	-	b. 1.000**	-.072	.204	NA	.212
	-	-	-	c. 1.000**	.120	NA	NA	.248
	-	-	-	d. .851**	.141	NA	NA	
Psychological Protection from Colleagues	-	-	-	-	a. .417 *	.481**	NA	NA
	-	-	-	-	b. -.072	.221	NA	.212
	-	-	-	-	c. .153	NA	NA	.175
	-	-	-	-	d. .171	NA	NA	
Felt Authority	-	-	-	-	-	a. .706**	NA	NA
						b. .587**	NA	.436*
						c. NA	NA	.511**
						d. NA	NA	
Felt Authority Expanded - (Police and Guards only)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
Felt Trust (RNs and Aides only)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Enhanced Public Support	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Self Confidence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Job Satisfac- tion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Status Concern	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anonymity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Felt Social Mobility	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Positive Affect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Negative Affect		a = POLICE	+ .05 < p < .10				NA = Not Applicable	
		b = GUARD	* p < .05					
		c = RN	** p < .01					
		d = AIDE						



A. Felt Stress

Felt Stress was predicted to be an indicator of status inconsistency as experienced by the respondents themselves.

The index on Felt Stress was to consist of seven items.

The items were:

1. Do you feel that being (Black, white) has made your job more difficult with Black people (patients) or easier, or that it doesn't matter?
2. How about with the white public? Do you feel that being (Black, white) makes your job more difficult with the white public (patients), or easier, or that it doesn't matter?
3. (For Black respondents)  
Do you ever feel that being Black makes your relationship closer with your fellow Black (officers, etc.) or is there a strain among the Black (officers, etc.) or doesn't it matter?

(For White respondents)

How about your fellow Black (officers, etc.)? Do you ever feel that being white makes your relationship closer with your fellow Black (officers, etc.) or is there a strain between you and the Black (officers, etc.) or doesn't it matter that you're white?

4. (For Black respondents)  
How about with your fellow white (officers, etc.)? Do you ever feel that being Black makes you relationship closer with your fellow white (officers, etc.), or is there a strain between you and the white (officers, etc.) or doesn't it matter that you're Black?

(For White respondents)

Do you ever feel that being white makes your relationship closer with your fellow white (officers, etc.) or is there a strain among the white (officers, etc.) or doesn't it matter?

5. a. Are there some members of your family who like your being a (occupation)?

- b. Which members of your family are they?
  - c. Do any members of your family dislike your being a (occupation)?
  - d. Which members of your family are they?
6. Did becoming a (occupation) cut you off from any of your friends?
7. a. How many of your close friends are (in the Police Department, security guards, etc.)?
- b. How many close friends do you have in general?

Questions 1 - 4 were scored on a range from 1 (closer relationship) to 3 (strained relationship), with a score of two given for doesn't matter. Question 5 was scored in terms of the proportion of family members who disliked their occupation to the total number of family members who were mentioned as liking or disliking their occupation. A score of 1 was given to a proportion of 0 - .33 (low disapproval); 2 to a proportion of .34 - .67, and 3 to a proportion of .68 - 1.00 (high disapproval). Question 7 was similarly scored in terms of the proportion of friends who were in the same occupation. A score of 3 was given to a proportion of 0 - .33 (low proportion of friends); 2 to a proportion of .34 - .67 and score of 1 to a proportion of .68 - 1.00 (high proportion of friends). Question 6 was coded from 1 (none to few friends cut off) to 3 (a lot of friends cut off). Each individual's score reflected the mean of his scores on the seven items, ranging from one (low stress) to three (high

stress).

The alpha coefficients for Felt Stress presented in Table 7 are all below .4. This coefficient is almost zero for the total sample, and even negative for policing occupations, indicating a low degree of internal consistency. The items were then grouped into two clusters: Strain with the public and one's colleagues (4 items) and the approval by family and friends of the respondent's occupation (3 items). The alpha coefficients were below .15 for both Black and white respondents for each of the clusters.

The cluster involving strain with the public and one's colleagues was then further broken down into two indices: strain with the white public and white colleagues (2 items) and strain with the Black public and Black colleagues (2 items). Only the latter index: strain with the Black public and Black colleagues revealed good internal consistency, but only for Black respondents (alpha = .663 for Black respondents; .372 for white respondents). By itself, Felt Stress with Black public and Black colleagues was clearly a measure of racial strain and no longer reflected stress resulting from status inconsistency.

The failure of the original index on Felt Stress to have internal consistency indicated that the interviews did not have a valid measure of this concept. In part, this may

have been due to the social undesirability of differentiating between the Black and white public or colleagues. But, there were additional problems in the questions themselves, especially those designed to measure the support received from family and friends for one's occupation. The question regarding family approval had different ramifications for policemen. Many officers mentioned that the family members worried about their safety while on duty, even though they approved of the occupation. What may have been a family members' ambivalence was not reflected in the score.

The question asking about the number of friends that an individual was cut off from by becoming a nurse or policeman (for example) was designed to get at friends' disapproval of the occupation. However, what it more clearly measured was the time pressures of the job. A policeman could no longer easily maintain past friends because of different shifts which were usually not nine to five. Many nurses responded to this question by saying that the time needed to study to become a nurse curbed the time she had available to spend with friends.

Policemen and security guards were asked a question concerning how bad they felt when they (1) arrested a member of their own race (policeman version) or (2) asked a disorderly member of their own race to leave the building

(security guard version). For both policeman and guards, almost no one ever said they felt bad, which might in part have been a product of social desirability.

Because no reliable index of Felt Stress was found, Hypothesis 2 could not be tested, nor could Felt Stress be examined as a mediating variable for status inconsistency effects.

#### B. Psychological Protection

Items measuring psychological protection were used to construct four indices: psychological protection from the Black public, white public, Black colleagues and white colleagues. The items were:

##### Psychological Protection from the Black Public

1. Do you think that the Black public is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, or are they less respectful, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
2. How about Black people? Do you think that Black people have more confidence in you as a (occupation) when you are in uniform than they would have if you were in street clothes, or would they have less confidence or doesn't it matter what you wear?

##### Psychological Protection from the White Public

3. How about the white public? Do you think the white public is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, or are they less respectful, or doesn't it matter?
4. Do you think that white people have more confidence in you as a (occupation) when you are in uniform than they would have if you were in street clothes, or would they have less confidence, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Psychological Protection from Black Colleagues

5. With your fellow (officers, etc.) who are Black, do you think that when you are in uniform they are more respectful to you or less respectful than when you are in street clothes or doesn't it matter?
6. With your fellow (officers, etc.) who are Black, do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a (occupation) when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less confidence, or that it doesn't matter?

Psychological Protection from White Colleagues

7. And for your fellow (officers, etc.) who are white, do you think that when you are in uniform they are more respectful to you than when you are in street clothes, or less respectful or doesn't it matter?
8. What about your fellow (officers, etc.) who are white? Do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a (occupation) when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less confidence, or that it doesn't matter?

All questions regarding psychological protection were thus phrased in terms of a choice among three alternatives; better to be in uniform, worse to be in uniform, or that it would make no difference as to what they wore. For the construction of the indices from these questions, the items were coded as follows: Better to be in uniform =1; worse to be in uniform =-1; no difference =0. Any answer indicating two of the above choices (e.g. uniform under one situation but no difference in another situation) was coded as missing data for purposes of the indices. Thus, the individual's mean score for each index could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform).

As can be seen from Table 7, all indices held up well with respect to internal consistency, with the exception of Psychological Protection from Black Colleagues and White Colleagues, as viewed by Black respondents. The finding that white respondents had much higher alpha coefficients than Black respondents for Psychological Protection from Black and white Colleagues was important. It may indicate that a Black person feels that a colleague's being respectful towards him is very different from a colleague having confidence in his ability. The former is more of a superficial courtesy; the latter is more of an internalized attitude. It is the difference between discrimination (behavior) and prejudice (attitude).

However, the intercorrelations among the indices of psychological protection revealed that some of the indices were redundant. The correlation between Psychological Protection from the Black Public and Psychological Protection from the White Public was over .8 for the total sample (see Table 8) as well as for three of the four occupations (see Table 9). In addition, the correlation between Psychological Protection from White Colleagues and Psychological Protection from Black Colleagues was over .7 for the total sample and actually 1.00 for Guards and RNs.

These findings strongly indicated that the respondents

were reluctant to make racial distinctions. Respondents probably considered it socially undesirable to admit that the uniform had differential effects upon the two races, whether they be the public, patients, or colleagues. Respondents' answers to these questions appeared to be defensive rather than a product of considered thought. Response bias therefore seemed to be a more plausible explanation of the results rather than that they perceived the uniform as having an identical effect upon both Blacks and whites.

Policemen were the most willing to make racial distinctions, possibly because racial issues are more of a problem in policemen's patrol duties. The policemen were also probably of medium social distance between the interviewers and themselves, enhancing the likelihood that their response bias would be the weakest (Dohrenwend et al., 1968). With the racial aspect of the questions virtually set aside by the respondents, the questions then dealt with respondents' perception of the effects of their uniform upon others, which had little threat potential. Therefore, the biasing of responses to the questions was hoped to be minimized.

Because these indices did not demonstrate discriminant validity, Psychological Protection from the White Public and Psychological Protection from the Black Public were combined into a single index: Psychological Protection from the

Public. Similarly, Psychological Protection from Black Colleagues and Psychological Protection from White Colleagues were combined into a single index: Psychological Protection from Colleagues. The alpha coefficients for each of these indices generally ranged between .7 and .9 (see Table 7), thus indicating good internal consistency. However, it should be noted that the alpha coefficient for Psychological Protection from Colleagues for Black respondents is still appreciably lower than that for white respondents (.543 and .920 respectively).

The correlations between Psychological Protection from the Public and Psychological Protection from Colleagues was low for the total sample ( $r = .273$ ,  $p < .01$ ) as well as for each of the four occupations (see Table 9) thus indicating that the respondents discriminated between their perceptions of the uniform's effects upon the public and their fellow workers.

Upon examination of the intercorrelations of Psychological Protection from the Public and Psychological Protection from Colleagues with the remaining indices (see Tables 8 and 9), two findings emerge. First, there was a highly significant correlation between Psychological Protection from the Public with Felt Authority ( $r = .572$ ,  $p < .01$ ), to a degree suggesting redundancy of the indices. This will be discussed later in this section upon presentation of the

indices on authority. Secondly, Psychological Protection from Colleagues did not appear redundant with any other index in the study.

Because the indices of psychological protection did not measure differences in the respondents' perceptions of the uniforms' effects upon Black vs. white people, there were several major implications for the hypotheses. It was no longer possible to test Hypotheses 3a -3i. Therefore, Hypotheses 3d and e were consolidated into a single hypothesis since the prediction was the same whether the Psychological Protection was from Black or white colleagues:

- 3j. Those in status inconsistent O/R positions will perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from their colleagues than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

### C. Physical Protection

The perception of physical protection provided by the uniform was an issue concerning only police officers. The two questions asked to measure this aspect of the uniform were:

1. How much of a risk would you run in being taken for a criminal by your fellow officers if you were on the job in street clothes?
2. Have you ever been mistreated by policemen when you've been in street clothes because they have suspected you of a crime?

The score for each item ranged from one (never mis-

treated, no risk) to three (often mistreated, high risk). Thus, a score of three in the index indicated that the uniform provided physical protection to officers from their colleagues.

The alpha coefficient for Physical Protection was .174 indicating poor internal consistency. In addition, the item concerning mistreatment was interpreted by policemen to mean both verbal and physical abuse, whereas only physical abuse was of concern. Therefore, this item was eliminated from analysis. The item concerning 'risk' was known to be an important issue for policemen and analyzed separately. Therefore, the hypothesis concerning physical protection (Hypothesis 4) will be applied to the risk taken of being shot by one's fellow officers when on the job in street clothes.

#### D. Felt Authority

Two questions were asked of all respondents to measure felt authority derived from the uniform. The following items were drawn from the interview for policemen. Except for the change in occupation, the items were identical across occupations:

1. Suppose you are a policeman in street clothes, on patrol as you are now in uniform. Do you think that Black people would be more willing to follow your orders in street clothes, more so than if you were in uniform, less willing, or that it doesn't matter?

2. How about for white people in the very same situation. You are a policeman on patrol, same as now, except that you're in street clothes. Do you think that white people would be more willing to follow your orders in street clothes, moreso than if you were in uniform, less willing, or that it doesn't matter.

Both questions were scored in the same manner as the questions concerning psychological protection. Better to be in uniform was coded one, and worse to be in uniform or no difference was coded zero. Any answer indicating two of the above choices was coded as missing data.

It was intended to use each item individually as an indicator of felt authority with the white public and felt authority with the Black public. However, the correlation between the two items was .741 for the total sample, and the items were significantly correlated for each of the four occupations. The correlations were as follows:

Police = .524; Guards = .688; RN = .905; Aides = 1.00 ( $p < .01$ ).

Once again, respondents were reluctant to distinguish between the races.

Therefore, the two items were combined into an index of Felt Authority. The alpha coefficient was .819 for the total sample and ranged between .66 and .96 for the various subsets of the sample, thus indicating good internal consistency (see Table 7). Felt Authority was significantly correlated with Psychological Protection from the Public for

the total sample ( $r = .572, p < .01$ ), and especially for nurses and aides ( $r = .701$  and  $.698$  respectively,  $p < .01$ ). Because Psychological Protection from the Public and Felt Authority did not demonstrate discriminant validity, they were combined into a single index: Enhanced Public Support. The index shows strong internal consistency, with all alpha coefficients over  $.79$  (see Table 7). Also, Enhanced Public Support demonstrates discriminant validity in relation to other indices and items (see Tables 8 and 9).

The consequence of the creation of Enhanced Public Support is that the hypotheses concerning felt authority could no longer be tested (Hypotheses 6a to e), and had to be revised.

Although Black officers were predicted to perceive their uniform was providing them with less psychological protection from the Black public, than would white officers (Hypothesis 3d), it was also predicted that Black officers would see their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white public than the Black public (Hypothesis 3f). It was therefore concluded that the psychological protection provided by the uniform from the white public would predominate in Black officers' perceptions of the uniform: fundamental protection against discrimination. Black nurses were originally predicted to

perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from the white and Black public than those in status inconsistent R/O positions and status consistent positions (Hypotheses 3a and c).

Since the Felt Authority hypotheses were derived from the Psychological Protection hypotheses, the same argument holds true for the former as well as the latter hypotheses. Therefore, the revised hypothesis regarding Enhanced Public Support is as follows:

9. Status inconsistent O/R individuals will perceive their uniform enhancing public support for them, more than those in (a) status inconsistent R/O positions and (b) status consistent positions.

E. Felt Authority - Expanded for Police and Guards

Because the uniform was considered to be an important symbol of authority to policemen and security guards, many items concerning perceived effects of authority were asked. Separate indices were created for police officers and guards because different items were asked of the two groups. Felt Authority - Expanded for Police consisted of five items:

1. Suppose you found yourself as a policeman in street clothes and a hostile crowd was beginning to form. Would it be more difficult to control the crowd in street clothes than if you were in uniform, less difficult, or would it make no difference?
2. Suppose you are a policeman in street clothes, doing your regular duties, out on a family dispute call. Do you think that it would be better to be in uniform on such a call, in street clothes, or that it would make no difference?

3. Suppose you are a policeman on your job in street clothes. When dealing with youths, do you think it's a help to be in street clothes, or that it would be better to be in uniform, or that it doesn't matter?
4. Do you think that the Black public lets you into their homes more easily when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less easily, or that it makes no difference?
5. How about the white public? Do you think the white public lets you into their homes more easily when in your uniform than if you were in street clothes, less easily, or that it makes no difference?

For the construction of the index, the items were coded as follows: Better to be in uniform =1; worse to be in uniform or better to be in street clothes =0; no difference =0. Any answer indicating two of the above choices was coded as missing data. Thus, the individual's mean score for the index could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform). The alpha coefficient was .645 indicating good internal consistency.

Felt Authority - Expanded for Guards, consisted of six items:

1. Suppose you are a security guard in street clothes, doing your regular duties as you do now in uniform, and a fight broke out between two people. Do you think that it would be better to be in uniform in such a situation, or in street clothes, or that it would make no difference what you wore?
2. Suppose you are a security guard in street clothes doing your regular duties, and you stopped to question a Black man in the building who looked suspicious. Do you think that a Black person would more likely to answer your questions if you were in uniform, or would he be more likely to answer your questions if

you were in street clothes, or that what you wear would make no difference?

3. How about a white person in the same situation? Suppose that you are a security guard in street clothes doing your regular duties, and you stopped to question a white man in the building who looked suspicious. Do you think that a white person would be more likely to answer your questions if you were in uniform, or would he be more likely to answer your question if you were in street clothes, or that it wouldn't matter what you wore?
4. Suppose you are a security guard on your job in street clothes. When dealing with youths, do you think that it's a help to be in street clothes, or that it would be better to be in uniform, or that it doesn't matter what you wear?
5. If you were making a security check in the building, do you think that a Black person would let you into his (office, room) more easily when you are in uniform, or would he let you into his (office, room) more easily if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear makes no difference?
6. How about a white person in the same situation? During a security check of the building, do you think that a white person would let you into his (office, room) more easily when you are in uniform, or that he would let you into his (office, room) more easily if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear makes no difference?

For the construction of the index, the items were coded as follows: Better to be in uniform = 1; better to be in street clothes = 0; no difference = 0. Any answer indicating two of the above choices was coded as missing data. Thus, the individual's mean score for the index could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform). The alpha coefficient was .807, confirming a high degree of

internal consistency.

Both new indices were highly correlated with the original Felt Authority index. The correlation of Felt Authority with (a) Felt Authority - Expanded for Police was .706 ( $p < .001$ ) and with (b) Felt Authority -Expanded for Guards was .587 ( $p < .01$ ). These correlations added weight to the interpretation of the index as a measure of felt authority of the uniform.

In addition, Felt Authority - Expanded for Police and Guards were significantly correlated with Psychological Protection from the Public, as well as Enhanced Public Support (which includes Psychological Protection from the Public). The implication was that Felt Authority and Psychological Protection from the Public were synonymous in policemen 's and guards' perceptions.

It was hypothesized that Black policemen were to perceive their uniform as enhancing public support for them, more than white policemen (Hypothesis 9). Therefore:

10. Black policemen will derive a greater sense of felt authority from their uniform, more than white policemen.

Similarly, because there was no difference predicted in Black and white guards' perception of the uniform enhancing public support for them, no difference was predicted in their perception of felt authority derived from the uniform

(Hypothesis 11).

F. Felt Trust

Due to their internal consistency, Felt Authority - Expanded for Police and Guards emerged as major indices for these two occupations. Similarly, Felt Trust emerged as a major index for nurses and aides. Felt Trust was defined as a basis for reliance, faith or hope on some person (Webster, 1973). There were seven questions in the nurse and aide interview designed to measure respondents' perception of the uniform as a symbol of trust:

1. Suppose you found yourself on the job as a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, in the hospital. A male patient has just become very upset because the doctor has told him that his illness is very serious. The doctor leaves and you come into the room. Do you think it would be better for you to be in uniform in such a situation, or in street clothes, or would it make no difference what you wear?
2. Suppose you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, doing your regular duties. Do you think that a male patient who is Black is more likely to give you information about his condition that you need if you were in uniform, or if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear makes no difference?
3. How about for a white patient in the same situation? Do you think that a male patient who is white is more likely to give you information about his condition that you need if you were in uniform or would it be better to be in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
4. Suppose you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, doing your regular duties. Would it be better to be in uniform when talking with the family of a patient, or would it be better to be in street

clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

5. Suppose you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) on your job wearing street clothes. When treating children, do you think it would be a help to be in street clothes, or do you think that it would be better to be in uniform, or don't you think it matters what you wear?
6. Do you think that a Black male patient is more willing to let you dress and undress him when you're in uniform or would he be more willing if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
7. How about a white male patient? Do you think that a white male patient is more willing to let you dress and undress him when you're in uniform, or would he be more willing if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

For the construction of the index, the items were coded as follows: Better to be in uniform = 1; better to be in street clothes = 0; doesn't matter = 0. Any answer indicating two of the above choices was coded as missing data. Thus, the individual's mean score for the index could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform). The alpha coefficient for Felt Trust was .627, indicating good internal consistency.

Although trust, authority and psychological protection from the public were conceptually different, they were not mutually exclusive. For nurses and aides, Felt Trust correlated significantly with both Felt Authority ( $r = .436$  and  $.514$  respectively) and Psychological Protection from the Public ( $r = .503$  and  $.533$  respectively). The implication

was clear: to gain a patient's trust was significantly related to the authority of the occupational positions, which in turn related to the psychological protection from the public provided by the uniform, in nurse's and aides' perceptions. However, Felt Trust was not so highly correlated with Felt Authority and Psychological Protection from the Public so as to indicate redundancy of measures.

It had been hypothesized that those in status inconsistent O/R positions would perceive their uniform as providing them with greater psychological protection and consequently greater felt authority. It therefore seemed logical that status inconsistent O/R individuals would also perceive the uniform as symbolizing trust to the public, more than other groups because of the perceived greater effectiveness of the uniform. Thus, the following hypothesis was generated:

12. Black nurses (status inconsistent O/R) would perceive their uniform as providing them with a greater sense of felt trust from the public, than those in (a) status consistent (Black aides and white nurses) and (b) status inconsistent R/O positions (white aides).

#### G. Felt Confidence

Felt Confidence was to be an index consisting of two items: own sense of confidence when in uniform and ease of approaching strangers when in uniform. The items were:

1. Does your uniform ever make you feel more confident in doing your job, less confident, or doesn't it make

any difference?

3. (For police and guards)

During the normal course of your day, you meet and talk to some people whom you don't know. Suppose you were doing your job as a (policeman, security guard) in street clothes. Would you find it easier to talk to strangers in street clothes, or would you find it easier to talk to strangers if you were in uniform, or would it make no difference what you wore?

(For nurses and aides)

Suppose you were doing your job as a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes. Would you find it easier to talk to new patients on their first day in the hospital if you were in street clothes, or would it be easier to talk to new patients if you were in uniform, or would it make no difference what you wore?

For the construction of the index, the items were coded as follows: Better to be in uniform = 1; worse to be in uniform or better to be in street clothes = 0; no difference = 0. Any answer indicating two of the above choices was coded as missing data. Thus, the individual's mean score for the index could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform).

Felt Confidence had only a moderate degree of internal consistency. The alpha coefficient was .416 for the total sample and ranged between .26 and .49 for the various subsets of the respondents (see Table 7). There were probably two explanations for this. First, the question involving ease of approaching strangers was different for the nursing and policing occupations. As indicated in the method section,

not all questions could be identical due to the differing occupations. Therefore, it appears that the questions on ease of approaching strangers were not comparable for the policing and nursing occupations, which was supported by the difference in their alpha coefficients (alpha = .536 and .259 respectively).

Second, within the nursing occupations, the two items measuring felt confidence had low internal consistency (alpha = .259), indicating that the items tapped different dimensions. For these reasons, the index was not maintained. Since self confidence was a question that was identically stated for all occupations, it was decided to analyze this item.

The correlations of Self-Confidence with the other major items and indices of the interview (see Tables 8 and 9) demonstrated discriminant validity for Self-Confidence. Therefore, the hypothesis regarding felt confidence will be tested in terms of self confidence only.

#### H. Affect: Positive, Negative, Ambivalence

##### 1. Positive Affect

Positive Affect towards the uniform was an index, designed to consist of five items:

1. Are there any (other) types of situations where you think the uniform is useful on your job?
2. Do you ever feel proud of your uniform?

3. (For security guards)  
Do you think that it would be a good policy to have guards in uniforms that were totally different and distinct from policemen's uniforms?

(For nurses and aides)  
Do you think that it is a good policy to have registered nurses and nurse's aides in different types of uniforms?

4. Do you like the way your uniform looks on you?
5. I am now going to read two statements to you that some (occupation) have mentioned as advantages to wearing their uniform. For each statement tell me whether you think of it as an advantage to you.

It saves your own clothes from wear and tear.  
You don't have to worry about what to wear on the job.

Each question was given a score ranging from zero (no positive affect) to four (high positive affect), so that each question had equal weight in the index. For example, questions 1 and 4 could have up to four responses coded. Each component was therefore given a score of one, so that the total score for that question would be four. For questions that involved 'Yes' or 'No' answers (Q.3), a score of four was given for 'Yes' and zero for 'No'. Since Q.3 was not asked for Police, an officer's specifically mentioning a desire to have a distinct uniform was coded as a response.

Question 5 was scored so that each advantage of the uniform that the respondent agreed to received two points. Thus, the total score for the question would be four if both advantages were chosen. The individual's mean score

for the index could then range from zero (no positive affect) to four (high positive affect).

Because of its low item-whole correlation, the first item was eliminated from the index. The alpha coefficients for Positive Affect for the remaining four items reflect only a moderate degree of internal consistency. The alpha coefficient was .434 for the total sample and ranged between .32 and .46 for the various subsets of respondents (see Table 7).

## 2. Negative Affect

Negative Affect toward the uniform consisted of six items:

1. Are there any (other) situations on your job where you think the uniform gets in the way of performing your job?

2. Do you ever feel ashamed of your uniform?

3. (For police)

Do you think that the public sometimes gets confused between policemen and people in similar uniforms like guards and transit policemen?

(If Yes) Does that bother you?

(For guards)

Do you think that the public sometimes gets confused between security guards and people in similar uniforms like New York City Policemen?

How do you feel about that?

(For nurses)

Do the patients in the hospital sometimes get confused between a registered nurse and an LPN?

(If Yes) Does that bother you?

(For aides)

Do the patients in the hospital sometimes get confused between nurse's aides and the housekeeping staff?

(If Yes) Does that bother you?

4. (For police and guards)

During your meal hour, does it bother you to eat while in uniform in a coffee shop or restaurant?

(For nurses and aides)

Suppose you went out for lunch one day while you were still in uniform. Would it bother you to eat while in uniform in a coffee shop or restaurant?

5. Is there anything that you don't like about the way the uniform looks?

6. The next two statements are disadvantages that some (occupation) have mentioned to wearing their uniform. For each statement tell me whether you think of it as a disadvantage for you.

(For police)

It's difficult to keep it so clean and pressed all the time.

It's expensive to replace when it gets torn.

(For guards)

The (Company, hospital) doesn't furnish us with enough uniforms.

The (Company, hospital) doesn't clean the uniforms frequently enough.

(For nurses)

It's difficult to keep it so clean all the time.

It's expensive to replace when it gets worn out or stained.

(For aides)

The hospital doesn't replace the uniforms frequently enough when they get worn.

The laundry doesn't iron the uniforms properly.

Each question was given a score ranging from zero (no negative affect) to four (high negative affect), so that

each question had equal weight in the index. Questions 1 and 5 could have up to four responses coded and therefore each answer was given a score of one. The total score for each question could then equal, but not exceed four. Questions 2, 3 and 4 were coded as follows: 0 = never; 2 = sometimes; 4 = often or a lot. Question 6 was scored so that each disadvantage the respondent agreed to received two points. Thus, the total score for that question could equal four. The individual's mean score for the index of Negative Affect could then range from zero (no negative affect) to four (high negative affect).

The alpha coefficients reflect reasonably good internal consistency for Negative Affect. The alpha coefficient was .539 for the total sample and ranged between .42 and .62 for the various subsets of respondents (see Table 7). The low correlations between Positive and Negative Affect for the total sample ( $r = -.233$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and for three of the four occupations ( $r$ : Police =  $-.018$ ; Guards =  $-.241$ ; RN =  $-.062$ ; Aides =  $-.469$ ) demonstrate that Positive and Negative Affect are independent measures, thus confirming Hypothesis 7a.

Ambivalence was derived from the indices of Positive and Negative Affect using a procedure developed by

Kaplan (1972)<sup>1</sup>. However, the high correlations between Ambivalence and Negative Affect for the total sample ( $r = .787$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and for each of the four occupations ( $r$ : Police = .755; Guards = .621; RN = .927; Aides = .672) reveal that the indices did not demonstrate discriminant validity. Ambivalence correlated significantly with both Positive and Negative Affect only for police officers, indicating that only policemen were ambivalent about their uniform.

Because Ambivalence was so highly correlated with Negative Affect, and was an index derived from Positive and Negative Affect, the more conservative procedure was to eliminate Ambivalence from the analysis. Therefore, it will not be possible to test Hypothesis 7d.

#### I. Status Concern

Status Concern was a concept taken from Lauman and Segal (1971) in order to test if degree of status concern was a mediating variable between status inconsistency and its proposed effects. The items used were those used by Laumann and Segal (1971):

1. It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people.

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<sup>1</sup>

Total Affect=Positive Affect+Negative Affect; Polarization=the absolute difference between Positive Affect and Negative Affect; Ambivalence=Total Affect - Polarization.

2. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals of life.

Respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with these two statements on a five point scale. The index was the sum of their responses to these questions, ranging from one (low status concern) to ten (high status concern). The alpha coefficient for Status Concern was .586 for the total sample and ranged between .46 and .69 for the various subsets of respondents (see Table 7). In addition, Status Concern demonstrated discriminant validity in relation to other indices and items, as seen in the correlation matrices (see Tables 8 and 9).

#### J. Anonymity

Feelings of anonymity while on the job was measured by three items:

1. How many of the people you come across when you're on duty usually recognize you?
2. How many of the people that you see when you're on duty refer to you by name?
3. How about your colleagues with whom you normally work? How many of them usually recognize you?

The response categories for each item ranges from none, few, some, a lot and most. The items were coded so as to demonstrate increasing felt anonymity: none and few =3; some =2; a lot =1; most =0. The individual's mean score for the index Anonymity could thus range from zero (well known)

to three (anonymous).

The Anonymity index had only a modest degree of internal consistency. The alpha coefficient was .440 for the total sample and ranged between .20 and .52 for the various subsets of respondents. However, some internal consistency was demonstrated and therefore the index was maintained.

One explanation for the moderate internal consistency was that one of the questions was ambiguous. The first question stated above must have been misinterpreted by policemen in that three-fourths said that a lot or most of the public recognized them, which did not seem plausible. Either they understood the question to mean recognized them as police officers, not as individuals, or they have a distorted impression of the number of people who recognize them as individuals. It was more likely that the question was ambiguous.

The correlations between Anonymity and the other major indices and items (see Tables 8 and 9) demonstrate the discriminant validity of Anonymity in relation to these other measures.

#### K. Job Satisfaction

Satisfaction with one's job was seen to be a possibly important factor in relation to how much an individual liked his uniform. Thirteen questions concerning job satisfaction

were combined into an index. The items were:

1. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your job in order to see the relationship between how you feel about your job and how you feel about your uniform. I would like to find out how satisfied you are in your own job. For example, how satisfied are you with your pay? Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

a. your pay   b. your immediate supervisor   c. how interesting your work is   d. being treated like an individual by your employer   e. your co-workers   f. the hours you work   g. the amount of authority you have   h. job security   i. how highly the public regards your job   j. the amount of freedom you have   k. being able to help people   l. the chance to get ahead   m. the chance to use you abilities.

The scores for each item could range from one (very dissatisfied) to five (very satisfied). Each respondent's mean score for the index Job Satisfaction could therefore range from one (very dissatisfied) to five (very satisfied). The index showed a high degree of internal consistency. The alpha coefficient was .814 for the total sample and over .79 for the various subsets of respondents (see Table 7). Job Satisfaction demonstrated discriminant validity in relation to the other indices and items of the study, as revealed by the intercorrelations (see Tables 8 and 9).

#### Hypothesis Testing and Post Hoc Findings

##### Psychological Protection from Colleagues

###### a. Hypothesis Testing

It was predicted that those in status inconsistent O/R

positions would perceive their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from their colleagues than those in status consistent and inconsistent R/O positions (Hypothesis 3j). Table 10 presents the results of the analysis of variance of Psychological Protection from Colleagues. The means of the scores could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform). As can be seen from the table, the combined means of Black RN and Black policeman, .19, were not significantly higher than the combined means of the other groups, .11. Consequently, the hypothesis was not confirmed.

b. Post Hoc Findings

Occupation was a significant main effect ( $p = .05$ ), principally due to Black policemen. Black policemen perceived their uniform as providing them with more psychological protection from colleagues, than Black guards, Black and white aides and white RNs ( $p < .05$ ).

Although Psychological Protection from Black and White Colleagues had been combined into a single index because the indices were so highly correlated, Black policemen were in fact the only group who discriminated between Psychological Protection from Black vs. White Colleagues. The higher mean of Psychological Protection from Colleagues for Black policemen was primarily due to the contribution of Psycho-

Table 10

Analysis of Variance of Psychological Protection from Colleagues

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		RN	POLICE	AIDE	GUARD	TOTAL
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	.06 (N=15)	.32 (N=15)	.08 (N=15)	.09 (N=15)	.14 (N=60)
	WHITE	.05 (N=15)	.15 (N=15)	.11 (N=14)	.20 (N=15)	.13 (N=59)
	TOTAL	.05 (N=30)	.23 (N=30)	.09 (N=29)	.14 (N=30)	.13 (N=119)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	.04	n.s.
Occupation	2.67	p = .05
Interaction	1.49	n.s.

logical Protection from White Colleagues to the index. A t test between Black and white policemen revealed that Black officers felt that the uniform provided significantly more Psychological Protection from their white Colleagues, than did white officers ( $t = 2.04, p < .05$ ). However, there was no significant difference between Black and white officers in their perception of the Psychological Protection from Black Colleagues provided by the uniform ( $t = .17, n.s.$ ).

#### Enhanced Public Support

##### a. Hypothesis Testing

It was predicted that status inconsistent O/R individuals would perceive their uniform as enhancing public support for them, more than those in status consistent and inconsistent R/O positions (Hypothesis 9). Table 11 presents the results of an analysis of variance of Enhanced Public Support. The means of the scores could range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform). The combined means of Black RN and Black policeman, .575, were not greater than the combined means of the other groups, .66. Consequently, the hypothesis was not confirmed.

##### b. Post Hoc Findings

The difference between Black and white respondents approached significance ( $p = .076$ ), in the opposite direction of what was expected. White respondents tended to perceive

Table 11

Analysis of Variance of Enhanced Public Support

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		RN	POLICE	AIDE	GUARD	TOTAL
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	.57 (N=15)	.58 (N=15)	.67 (N=15)	.50 (N=15)	.58 (N=60)
	WHITE	.70 (N=15)	.58 (N=15)	.80 (N=15)	.72 (N=15)	.70 (N=60)
	TOTAL	.64 (N=30)	.58 (N=30)	.73 (N=30)	.61 (N=30)	.64 (N=120)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	3.20	p = .076
Occupation	.97	n.s.
Interaction	.42	n.s.

their uniform as enhancing public support for them more than Black respondents. If anything, Black respondents were expected to derive more psychological benefits from their uniform than were white respondents, due to racial discrimination against Blacks.

An important finding emerged in comparing respondents' perceptions of the uniform's effects with regard to the public vs. their colleagues (see Tables 10 and 11). Respondents perceived their uniform as enhancing public support for them to a much greater degree than they saw the uniform protecting them psychologically from their colleagues. T tests of correlated means revealed significantly higher means for Enhanced Public Support than for Psychological Protection from Colleagues ( $p < .05$ ) for each of the subgroups of the sample.

#### Felt Authority - Expanded for Police and Guards

##### a. Hypothesis Testing

It was hypothesized that Black policemen derived a greater sense of authority from their uniform than white policemen (Hypothesis 10). Table 12 presents the results of a t test performed on the means for Felt Authority - Expanded for Police. As can be seen,

Table 12

T Test of Felt Authority - Expanded for Police

	<u>White Officer</u>	<u>Black Officer</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
$\bar{X}$	.600	.698	1.02	n.s.
s.d.	.09	.05		
N	15	15		

there was no significant difference between Black and white officers' view of felt authority derived from the uniform.

No difference between Black and white guards' perception of felt authority derived from their uniform was predicted (Hypothesis 11). Table 13 presents the results of a t test performed on Felt Authority - Expanded for Guards. The t test revealed no significant difference between the means.

Table 13

T Test of Felt Authority - Expanded for Guards

	<u>White Guards</u>	<u>Black Guards</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
$\bar{X}$	.744	.622	1.01	n.s.
s.d.	.08	.14		
N	15	15		

b. Post Hoc Findings

Tables 12 and 13 further showed that both police officers and security guards derived a substantial amount of felt authority from their uniforms. All means were signifi-

cantly different from zero ( $p < .001$ ).

### Felt Trust

#### a. Hypothesis Testing

It was predicted that Black nurses (status inconsistent O/R) would perceive their uniform as providing them with a greater sense of felt trust from the public than those in status consistent and inconsistent R/O positions (Hypothesis 12). Table 14 presents the results of an analysis of variance of Felt Trust. The mean for Black RNs, .62, was not greater than the combined means for the other groups, .66. Thus, the hypothesis was not confirmed.

#### b. Post Hoc Findings

However, it was apparent that both nurses and aides perceived their uniform as a symbol of trust to the public. All means were significantly different from zero ( $p < .001$ )

### Physical Protection

#### a. Hypothesis Testing

It was predicted that the Black police officer would perceive his uniform as providing him with more physical protection from being shot by his colleagues than the white officer (Hypothesis 4). Table 15 presents a t test conducted between Black and white officers on this item. The t test revealed that Black officers felt significantly greater risk was taken of being shot by fellow officers when in street clothes, than did white policemen.

Table 14

Analysis of Variance of Felt Trust for Nurses and Aides

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>		
		RN	AIDE	TOTAL
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	.62 (N=15)	.70 (N=15)	.66 (N=30)
	WHITE	.63 (N=15)	.71 (N=15)	.67 (N=30)
	TOTAL	.62 (N=30)	.71 (N=30)	.66 (N=60)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	.02	n.s.
Occupation	1.70	n.s.
Interaction	0	n.s.

Table 15

T test of Risk Taken of being Shot by Fellow Officers when in Street Clothes

	<u>White Officer</u>	<u>Black Officer</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
$\bar{X}$	1.47	2.00	4.00	.001
s.d.	.52	0		
N	15	15		

Self-Confidence

a. Hypothesis Testing

It was predicted that those in status inconsistent O/R positions would perceive their uniform as providing them with more self-confidence in performing their job than those in status consistent and inconsistent R/O positions (Hypothesis 5). Table 16 presents the results of an analysis of variance of self-confidence. The scores would range from zero (absence of uniform) to one (presence of uniform). The combined means for Black RN and Black policeman, .34, were not greater than the combined means for the other groups, .51. Therefore, the hypothesis was not confirmed,

b. Post Hoc Findings

Occupation was a significant main effect ( $p < .05$ ). The means of both policing occupations, .59, were tested against those of the nursing occupations, .33, and were found to be significantly different ( $p < .05$ ). Police officers and guards felt more self-confident in their uniforms than nurses and

Table 16

## Analysis of Variance of Self-Confidence

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		<u>RN</u>	<u>POLICE</u>	<u>AIDE</u>	<u>GUARD</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	.21 (N=14)	.47 (N=15)	.36 (N=14)	.53 (N=15)	.40 (N=58)
	WHITE	.29 (N=14)	.79 (N=14)	.47 (N=15)	.60 (N=15)	.53 (N=58)
	TOTAL	.25 (N=28)	.62 (N=29)	.41 (N=29)	.57 (N=30)	.47 (N=116)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	2.45	n.s.
Occupation	3.48	.01 < p < .05
Interaction	.44	n.s.

aides. White policemen especially derived the most self-confidence from wearing their uniform, and were found to have significantly higher scores than Black and white RNs, and Black aides ( $p < .05$ ).

### Positive Affect

#### a. Hypothesis Testing

Those in status inconsistent O/R positions were predicted to have more positive affect towards their uniform than those in status consistent and inconsistent R/O positions (Hypothesis 7b). Table 17 presents the results of an analysis of variance of Positive Affect. The scores could range from zero (no positive affect) to four (high positive affect). The combined means for Black RN and Black policeman, 2.38, were not significantly greater than the combined means of the other groups, 2.38. Consequently, the hypothesis was not confirmed.

#### b. Post Hoc Findings

Occupation was a significant main effect ( $p < .001$ ), and therefore a Scheffé post hoc comparison was made. Guards were found to have significantly less positive affect towards their uniform than the combined means of the three other occupations (1.83 vs. 2.36 respectively,  $p < .01$ ).

White respondents were found to have significantly more positive affect towards their uniform than Black

Table 17

Analysis of Variance of Positive Affect

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				<u>TOTAL</u>
		<u>RN</u>	<u>POLICE</u>	<u>AIDE</u>	<u>GUARD</u>	
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	2.48 (N=15)	2.28 (N=15)	2.26 (N=15)	1.82 (N=15)	2.21 (N=60)
	WHITE	2.98 (N=15)	2.36 (N=15)	2.99 (N=15)	1.85 (N=15)	2.55 (N=60)
	TOTAL	2.73 (N=30)	2.32 (N=30)	2.62 (N=30)	1.83 (N=30)	2.38 (N=120)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	4.56	.01 < p < .05
Occupation	6.49	p < .001
Interaction	1.16	n.s.

respondents ( $p < .05$ ). However, this effect was mainly due to white aides' high level of positive affect relative to Black aides ( $p < .05$ ). White aides' high level of positive affect was contrary to prediction and raised the question of whether this sample of white aides was representative of white aides in general.

### Distinct uniforms

#### a. Hypothesis Testing

One of the components of Positive Affect that was conceptualized to be of major significance was the desire to maintain a 'distinct' uniform, that was recognizably different from other occupations. All respondents were asked this question, but it assumed special importance for policemen and aides. Policemen were very concerned about the various security guard organizations and other policing forces (e.g. transit police) who wore uniforms that were virtually identical to policemen's uniforms. On the other hand, nurse's aides at the hospital in Manhattan had just been unionized and one of the issues raised by the union was switching aides from mint green to white uniforms.

Applying the same hypothesis to 'Distinct' uniforms as was used for the index of Positive Affect (of which 'Distinct' is a part) it was predicted that those in status inconsistent O/R positions would want to maintain distinct uniforms significantly more than those in status consistent and in-

consistent R/O positions (Hypothesis 7b). Table 18 presents the results of an analysis of variance of 'Distinct'. Responses were coded 4 if they stated they wanted distinct uniforms and zero if they did not want distinct uniforms. The combined means of Black RN and Black policeman, 2.21, were not greater than the combined means of the other groups, 2.72. Therefore, the hypothesis was not confirmed.

b. Post Hoc Findings

Paralleling the findings for Positive Affect, occupation was a significant main effect ( $p < .001$ ). A Scheffé post hoc comparison revealed that guards wanted to wear distinct uniforms significantly less than the combined means of nurses, policemen and aides (1.14 vs. 3.06 respectively,  $p < .001$ ). The low mean score for guards reflected the degree to which they wanted to maintain uniforms that were similar to policemen. In the interviews, eleven of the guards mentioned that being in uniforms that were similar to police officers, increased guards' authority in the public's mind.

What was unexpected was the high degree to which white aides wanted to maintain uniforms that were distinct from nurses, especially since this had been an issue with their union. Ten of the 15 white aides who were interviewed stated that different uniforms were necessary in order to lessen the confusion in the hospital.

Table 18

Analysis of Variance of Wanting 'Distinct' Uniforms

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		<u>RN</u>	<u>POLICE</u>	<u>AIDE</u>	<u>GUARD</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	2.13 (N=15)	2.29 (N=7)	2.93 (N=15)	1.33 (N=15)	2.15 (N=52)
	WHITE	3.47 (N=15)	4.00 (N=6)	3.69 (N=13)	.92 (N=13)	2.89 (N=47)
TOTAL		2.80 (N=30)	3.08 (N=13)	3.29 (N=28)	1.14 (N=28)	2.51 (N=99)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	5.39	.01 < p < .05
Occupation	7.50	p < .001
Interaction	1.61	n.s.

A significant racial difference was found as well, with white respondents wanting to maintain distinct uniforms more than Black respondents ( $p < .05$ ). In particular, white nurses wanted to maintain uniforms that were distinct from aides significantly more than did Black nurses ( $p < .05$ ). There would probably have been a significant difference between Black and white policemen as well, except that there had been no direct question concerning distinct uniforms for policemen. Therefore, only the policemen who voluntarily and specifically mentioned wanting to maintain distinct or similar uniforms to those of guards were recorded as responses. Thus, only 13 of the 30 policemen had responses to this question.

### Negative Affect

#### a. Hypothesis Testing

It was predicted that those in status inconsistent R/O positions would feel more negative about their uniform than those in status consistent and inconsistent O/R positions (Hypothesis 7c). Table 19 presents the results of an analysis of variance of Negative Affect. The scores could range from zero (no negative affect) to four (high negative affect). A Scheffé planned comparison revealed that the combined means of white policemen, white aides and white guards, 1.29, were significantly higher than the combined means of

Table 19

## Analysis of Variance of Negative Affect

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		RN	POLICE	AIDE	GUARD	TOTAL
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	1.00 (N=15)	1.53 (N=15)	1.28 (N=15)	.99 (N=15)	1.20 (N=60)
	WHITE	.47 (N=15)	2.00 (N=15)	.82 (N=15)	1.06 (N=15)	1.09 (N=60)
	TOTAL	.73 (N=30)	1.77 (N=30)	1.05 (N=30)	1.03 (N=30)	1.14 (N=120)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	1.06	n.s.
Occupation	16.76	$p < .001$
Interaction	4.78	$.001 < p < .01$

the other groups, 1.05 ( $p < .05$ ). However, the confirmation of the hypothesis was mainly due to the high negative affect of white policemen.

b. Post Hoc Findings

White officers' negative affect was significantly higher than the negative affect of all other groups ( $p < .05$ ). If one were to rank the means, white officers, Black officers and Black aides had the three highest means of negative affect and yet, of these three, only white policemen were predicted as having the highest degree of negative affect.

The high negative affect of police officers towards their uniform, relative to other occupations, was the reason for occupation being a significant main effect. A post hoc comparison was made between negative affect for police and the other three occupations, and was found to be significantly different (1.77 vs. .94 respectively,  $p < .01$ ).

One of the major findings that emerged from an examination of positive and negative affect was that there was significantly more positive than negative affect displayed towards the uniform, by both Black and white respondents ( $p < .001$ ). In terms of occupation, positive affect was significantly greater than negative affect for Black and white nurses, aides, policemen and guards ( $p < .01$ ). It was

only with Black and white police officers that there was a greater balance between positive and negative affect, as well as a significant amount of each. It was the amount and balance between positive and negative affect that made the police the only occupational group who felt ambivalent towards their uniform.

#### Status Concern as a Mediating Variable

It had been stated previously that if the major hypotheses were not supported, the reason might be that high status concern was a necessary precondition for the effects of status inconsistency to emerge (Laumann and Segal, 1971). The mean for Status Concern was 7.25 on a one to ten point scale, so that 7 was used as the cutting point, resulting in a fairly even split of the sample (N = 54 and 58 for low and high Status Concern respectively).

The data were re-analyzed using only high Status Concern respondents with regard to (a) Enhanced Public Support (Hypotheses 9) (b) Self Confidence (Hypothesis 5) (c) Positive and Negative Affect (Hypotheses 7b and c) and (d) Psychological Protection from Colleagues (Hypothesis 3j). The result was that the hypotheses remained non-confirmed.

#### Anonymity

##### a. Hypothesis Testing (hypothesis 8a)

It was hypothesized that policemen would feel more

anonymous on their job than nurses and aides (Hypothesis 8a). Table 20 presents the results of an analysis of variance of Anonymity. The means of the scores could range from zero (well known) to three (most anonymous). A Scheffé planned comparison was made between the mean for policemen, 1.08, and the combined means of nurses and aides, .34. Policemen were found to feel more anonymous on their jobs than nurses and aides ( $p < .01$ ).

b. Post Hoc Findings

Race was a significant main effect ( $p < .05$ ) with white respondents feeling more anonymous than Black respondents on the job. This was primarily due to white policemen feeling more anonymous than Black policemen ( $p < .01$ ).

c. Hypothesis Testing (Hypothesis 8b, c)

The next question investigated was whether feelings on the job related to attachment towards symbols of identification. Two questions were asked regarding symbols of identification:

Importance

1. (For police and guards)

How important is your shield to you?

(For nurses and aides)

How important is your namepin to you?

Shift

2. (For police and guards)

If the (police department, your employer) were to change all (occupation) shield numbers because they were beginning a new system, would that bother you

Table 20

## Analysis of Variance of Anonymity

		<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
		<u>RN</u>	<u>POLICE</u>	<u>AIDE</u>	<u>GUARD</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>RACE</u>	BLACK	.27 (N=15)	.78 (N=15)	.31 (N=15)	.71 (N=15)	.52 (N=60)
	WHITE	.38 (N=15)	1.38 (N=15)	.40 (N=15)	.78 (N=15)	.73 (N=60)
	TOTAL	.32 (N=30)	1.08 (N=30)	.36 (N=30)	.74 (N=30)	.62 (N=120)

Summary of Analysis of Variance

	<u>F</u>	<u>Prob.</u>
Race	4.97	.01 < p < .05
Occupation	13.54	p < .001
Interaction	1.74	n.s.

a great deal, bother you somewhat or not bother you at all?

(For nurses and aides)

If the hospital was to require that all (occupation) wear badges with numbers instead of name pins, because they were beginning a new system, would that bother you a great deal, bother you somewhat, or not bother you at all?

However, the question "How important is your shield to you?" asked of policemen and guards, was ambiguous. Their shield was their credential for being a policeman or guard, as well as being their own individual number. Therefore, this question had two important facets, with the latter one being the one of interest. Because of this ambiguity, the question was eliminated from the subsequent analysis for policemen and guards.

It was predicted that there would be a positive correlation between an individual's feeling of anonymity on the job and his feeling of attachment toward certain symbols of identification he wears (Hypothesis 8b). Table 21 presents the correlations of Anonymity with Importance and Shift. The correlations are presented only in terms of occupations because the items varied, depending upon the occupation. As can be seen, there was no significant correlation of Anonymity with either Importance or Shift, for any of the occupational groupings.

It was predicted that there would be a significantly

higher positive correlation between one's sense of anonymity and strength of feelings for identification symbols for policemen than for nurses and aides (Hypothesis 8c). A z test was computed to test the differences between correlations of Anonymity with Shift, for policemen vs. nurses and aides. There was no significant differences between the correlation.

Table 21

Correlations of Anonymity with 'Importance' and 'Shift'

	Policing (Police + Guards)	Police	Guards	Nursing (RNs + Aides)	RNs	Aides
'Shift'	-.088	-.019	0	.054	-.018	.129
'Importance'	-	-	-	.135	-.061	.326

Summary of Major Findings

A. Analyses of Variance

1. Black officers felt the uniform provided them with significantly more psychological protection from their white colleagues, than did white officers ( $p < .05$ ).
2. White respondents tended to perceive their uniform as enhancing public support for them more than Black respondents did ( $.05 < p < .10$ ).
3. All subgroups of the sample perceived their uniform

- as enhancing public support for them to a much greater degree than they saw their uniform providing them with psychological protection from their colleagues ( $p < .05$ ).
4. Both police officers and security guards derived a substantial amount of felt authority from their uniforms ( $p < .001$ )
  5. Both nurses and aides felt their uniforms symbolized trust ( $p < .001$ ).
  6. Black police officers felt significantly greater risk was taken of being shot by fellow officers when on the job in street clothes, than did white police officers ( $p < .001$ ).
  7. Police officers and guards felt more self-confident in their uniforms than nurses and aides ( $p < .05$ ).
  - 8a. Guards had significantly less positive affect towards their uniform than the three other occupations ( $p < .01$ ).
    1. Guards wanted to wear distinct uniforms less than the three other occupations ( $p < .001$ ).
  - b. White respondents had significantly more positive affect towards their uniform than Black respondents ( $p < .05$ ).
    1. White respondents wanted to wear distinct uniforms more than Black respondents ( $p < .05$ ).

- 9a. Police officers displayed significantly more negative affect towards their uniform than did the three other occupations ( $p < .01$ ).
- b. White police officers' negative affect towards their uniform was significantly higher than all other groups ( $p < .05$ ).
- 10a. All respondents expressed more positive than negative affect towards their uniform ( $p < .01$ ).
- b. Only with police was there a greater balance between positive and negative affect, as well as a significant amount of each. Thus only police demonstrated ambivalence towards their uniform.
- 11a. Policemen felt more anonymous on their job than did nurses and aides ( $p < .01$ ).
- b. White respondents felt more anonymous on the job than Black respondents ( $p < .05$ ).

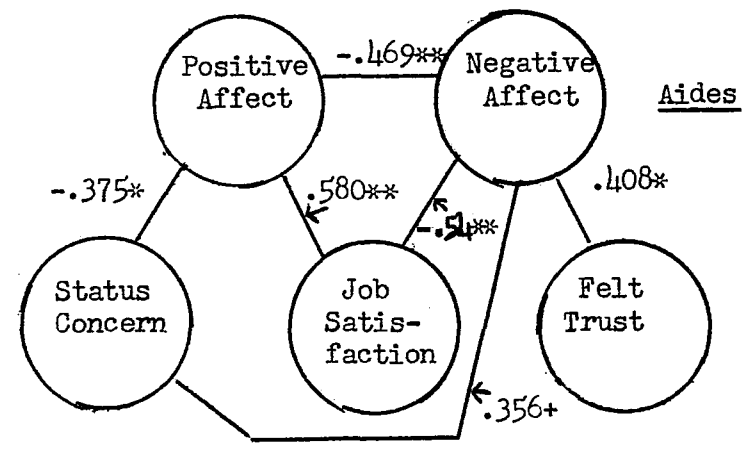
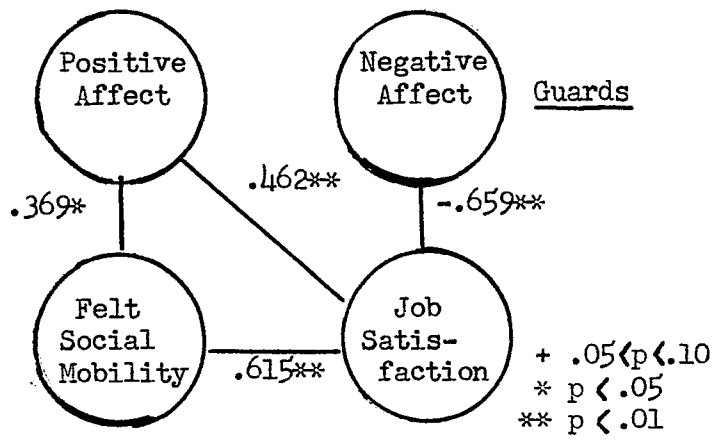
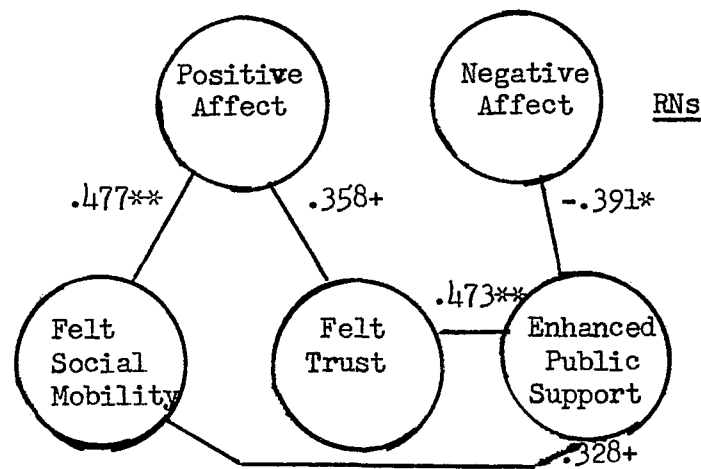
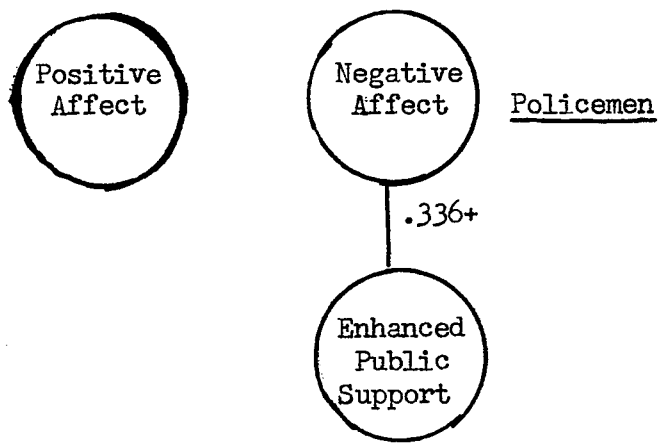
B. Correlates of Positive and Negative Affect

The correlation matrices of the major indices and items of the study (see Tables 8 and 9) presented evidence not only of discriminant validity, but also information as to how the various concepts related to respondents' feelings towards their uniform. Figure 4 graphically presents the significant correlations with Positive and Negative Affect for each occupation. Several important findings emerged.

Figure 4

Significant Correlations with Positive and Negative Affect towards the Uniform for Each Occupation

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a. Felt Social Mobility - It was of interest to examine the relationship between the respondents' view of their felt social mobility vis-a-vis their father's occupation and their feelings toward their uniform. All respondents were asked: "Do you think your occupation has more prestige than your father's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your father's?" The item was scored as follows: less prestige =1; no difference =2; more prestige (felt upward mobility) =3.

In terms of the total sample, the more an individual perceived his occupation as having higher prestige than his father's, the more he liked his uniform ( $r = .382, p < .01$ ). However, upon examination of the correlations between Felt Social Mobility and Positive Affect for each occupation (see Table 9), it appears that the significant correlation for the total sample was mainly due to nurses ( $r = .477, p < .01$ ) and white guards ( $r = .497, p < .05$ ).

b. Job Satisfaction - Job Satisfaction was determined to be an important correlate of affect towards one's uniform. Job Satisfaction correlated significantly with both Positive Affect ( $r = .341, p < .01$ ) and Negative Affect ( $r = -.383, p < .01$ ) for the total sample. However, the significant correlations were primarily due to the lower status occu-

pations: security guards and nurse's aides (see Table 9).

c. Anonymity - Anonymity was found to correlate positively with Negative Affect for the total sample ( $r = .346$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The more the respondent felt anonymous on the job, the more negative affect he displayed towards his uniform. Although this relationship was not found to be significant within each occupation, it would appear that policemen and guards' responses resulted in the significant correlation for the total sample (see Table 9)

d. Felt Trust and Felt Authority - Felt Trust was found to correlate significantly with affect towards the uniform for nurses and aides, but in opposite directions. Felt Trust correlated positively with Positive Affect for nurses ( $r = .358$ ,  $.05 < p < .10$ ), but also correlated positively with Negative Affect for aides ( $r = .408$ ,  $p < .05$ ). This was primarily due to Black aides. The more that Black aides viewed their uniform as a symbol of trust, the more they disliked their uniform ( $r = .727$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Similarly, the more Black aides felt their uniform symbolized authority, the more negative they felt towards their uniform ( $r = .597$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

e. Enhanced Public Support - All respondents felt the uniform enhanced public support for them (see Table 11), and thus was extremely functional on the job. However, while for white respondents perceptions of enhanced public support

was not related to how much they liked or disliked their uniforms, for Black nurses, Black aides and Black officers, it was. The more Black aides and Black officers felt the uniform enhanced public support for them the more negative affect they felt towards their uniform ( $r = .470$  and  $.514$  respectively). Conversely, the more Black nurses felt their uniform enhanced public support for them, the less negative affect they felt towards their uniform ( $r = .548$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

## Discussion

Only one hypothesis concerning status inconsistency was confirmed: Black officers were found to feel greater physical protection from their uniform than white officers (Hypothesis 4). The results regarding negative affect towards the uniform (Hypothesis 7c) confirmed the hypothesis, but depended upon the extreme scores of a specific group, and therefore did not actually confirm the theory being tested. Nor were the hypotheses confirmed when tested with status concern as a mediating factor (Laumann and Segal, 1971).

If status inconsistency has been accurately measured by the questionnaire, and the groups appropriately assigned to status consistent or inconsistent positions, then it would seem that either (a) status inconsistency was not the important issue in understanding respondents' feelings and perceptions about their uniform or (b) there were factors that mediated between status inconsistency and the uniform which were important and not accounted for in the present study or (c) the instrument was not sensitive enough to pick up the differences between status inconsistent and consistent respondents. These three issues will be addressed throughout the discussion.

## Status Inconsistency

### Occupation and Race as Main Effects

One of the criticisms that had been presented of status inconsistency theory was that after the main effects of the different statuses were taken into account, the interaction of the statuses had no explanatory power (Laumann and Segal, 1971). As the results were being analyzed, it became clear that occupational and racial differences resulted in significance. Of five analyses of variance, in which the independent variables were always occupation and race, and the dependent variables were Enhanced Public Support, Psychological Protection from Colleagues, Self Confidence, Positive Affect and Negative Affect, occupation was a main effect for the last four, and race was a main effect for two analyses: Enhanced Public Support and Positive Affect. Since occupation and racial membership were of major importance, it is within that context that the perceptions of the uniform will be examined.

#### Race

##### a. Enhanced Public Support

White respondents, with the exception of white police officers, were found to have a tendency to perceive their uniform as enhancing public support for them, to a greater degree than Black respondents. This finding was contradictory

to status inconsistency theory. The implication was that race was perceived as overriding the effectiveness of the uniform, with the possible exception of police officers.

Some of the incidents respondents related suggested this as well. Several of the Black guards and policemen told of situations in which people would turn to the white guard or officer for information when he was standing right there. A Black nurse told of instances where she was asked by white patients if she were the aide or even the orderly, even though she was in a white uniform, with a namepin identifying her as an RN. A Black guard related a story of how personnel in the cafeteria would not turn their cash over to him because they did not believe he was a guard, despite the fact that he was in uniform. One Black officer's response to the question of the uniform enabling him to enter homes of the white public more easily was "The uniform helps only when with a white partner. If you're with a Black officer, they will probably talk to you behind the chain."

Although the uniform's effects were perceived as being overwhelmed by race, Black respondents still felt that the uniform placed them in a better position than they would be without it. Black respondents felt that the uniform enhanced public support for them. A comment that some Black officers made upon stating that it was easier to get into the homes

of the white public when in uniform was: "A Black coming to the door! You got to be kidding. If in uniform, you're a cop; if not, you're a mugger."

Thus, Black respondents felt that the uniform serves an important function in their relations with the public by distinguishing them from the ordinary Black individual. However, the uniform was perceived by its Black wearer as failing to equate all individuals within each role. When a Black uniform wearer was placed next to a white colleague, Black respondents felt that prejudice against Blacks became apparent.

The finding that the respondents' race was perceived as overriding the effect of the uniform vis-a-vis the public, is an indictment against the society. Prejudice against Blacks in this country was perceived as so great that occupational achievements, no matter how impressive, assumed minor importance.

In order to further examine and verify this finding, further research should focus upon the circumstances under which the uniform becomes salient and of importance to its wearer. The comments from Black respondents cited above suggest that the situational context of working alone rather than working with a Black or a white colleague were necessary to understand the perceived impact of the

uniform.

b. Relation of Enhanced Public Support to Negative Affect

There was a racial dichotomy in the degree to which respondents' perception of the uniform as enhancing public support for them corresponded with their negative affect towards the uniform. Black nurses, Black aides and Black police officers all saw their uniform's enhancement of public support for them as significantly relating to their negative affect towards their uniform. There was no such relationship between perception of enhanced public support and negative affect towards their uniform for white respondents.

Again, this finding indicated that Blacks and whites perceived things very differently. Black respondents seemed to deeply feel the consequences of their uniform functioning to enhance public support for them. For Black nurses, the feeling was positive, in that the more they saw the uniform as enhancing public support for them the less negative affect they had towards their uniform. However, for Black officers and Black aides, there appeared to be a resentment of the uniform serving to enhance public support for them. The more Black officers and Black aides felt the uniform enhanced public support for them, the more negative affect they expressed towards their uniform. Thus, the Black

nurse, who may derive more satisfaction from her higher status occupation, may feel more secure about herself while the Black policeman and Black aide, of lower occupational status relative to the nurse, may feel less secure about themselves. The more insecure, the more resentment there was of the use of external props to achieve desired public response to them, and the more negative affect there was directed towards the prop itself.

c. Wearing Distinct Uniforms

Black respondents were found to want to wear distinct uniforms significantly less than white respondents. For Black aides, the tendency to want to wear uniforms that were distinct from nurses less than white aides was easily understandable. One of the issues of the recently unionized hospital workers was switching nurse's aides into white uniforms out of their mint green uniforms. The vast majority of nurse's aides in the hospital in Manhattan were Black.

Black nurses seemed less threatened than white nurses by a loss of status differentiation if aides were to wear white uniforms. The major reason stated by those who felt distinct uniforms were not necessary was that nurses and aides were both in the nursing profession and therefore should be in similar uniforms.

Similarly, Black officers were less bothered than white

officers by the confusion between policemen and people in similar uniforms. It seems that Black individuals, although realizing that their uniform symbolized status, were also less concerned with status differentiation than their white counterparts. Secondly, this finding suggested that Black individuals of higher status occupations felt more sympathetic towards guards and aides, who were mostly Black.

Thus, in terms of enhanced public support, its relation to negative affect, and wearing distinct uniforms, race was the principal variable determining perceptions and feelings, not status inconsistency.

#### Occupation

##### Police

Black and white policemen evidenced the greatest negative affect towards their uniform, more than any other occupation. To understand policemen's negative affect towards their uniform requires an understanding of their occupation.

Police officers' negative affect towards their uniform was probably a direct reflection of their dissatisfaction with their job. Although Job Satisfaction did not correlate with either Positive or Negative Affect in this study, the speculation is that the items used to measure job satisfaction were not sensitive to the particular problems of New York City policemen.

The major aspect of the policemen's job that would create strong negative feelings, expressed through the uniform, was that they viewed much of their work as meaningless. Policemen see the courts as releasing those whom they have just arrested, faster than the officer himself gets out of the court building (Wilson, 1968; Watson and Sterling, 1969; Niederhoffer, 1967). The policeman views the relatively recent Supreme Court decisions protecting the rights of the accused as a further shackling of his ability to be effective. In misdemeanors, the policeman needs the sworn complaint of a citizen in whose presence the crime was committed, in order to effect an arrest. Yet, in the majority of cases, the victims don't cooperate with the police because of the fear of getting involved (Wilson, 1968; Niederhoffer, 1967). In burglaries, most of the criminals are never caught. All the policeman does is take the report (Wilson, 1968).

Policemen view the enforcement of the prostitution and gambling laws as a hopeless battle and yet they are required to enforce the laws anyway (Rubinstein, 1973; Wilson, 1968). In order to obtain information or effect arrests, officers were reported to fake warrants, perjure themselves in court to support their actions, make illegal searches of suspects, and use confiscated drugs in order to buy information from others (Rubinstein, 1973). All these activities were viewed

as necessary and justified by the officers in order to do their job. The consequence was a loss of respect for the laws they were empowered to uphold (Rubinstein, 1973; Niederhoffer, 1967).

The police officer is endowed with heavy responsibility and yet he perceived the public as being unappreciative of the difficult job he tries to do. At best the public is seen as uncooperative; at worst, it is openly hostile (Niederhoffer, 1967; Wilson, 1968). The officer feels that people suspect him of being corrupt whether he is or not, which does not encourage him to remain honest (Niederhoffer, 1967). The media as well are seen by the officer as only increasing the public's low view of him (Niederhoffer, 1967). Again, the officer perceives his own actions as having no relation to others' regard for him.

The police officer does not see himself in control of his own fate, within the confines of his own department. Promotions and special assignments are seen as unrelated to his job performance (Niederhoffer, 1967) and as usually requiring a 'hook' (i.e. a connection).

The lack of control the officer perceives himself as having is closely associated with the hypothesized meaninglessness of what he does. With more under the officer's control, the more meaningful he would perceive his job, and

the less negative he would be. Niederhoffer (1967) ascribes cynicism, the resultant attitude of the officer, as a mode of adaptation to the officer's frustration. By and large, all these aspects of the job which are reported as crucial to how policemen view their job (Wilson, 1968; Niederhoffer, 1967; Watson and Sterling, 1969) were not explored in the interview. It seems plausible to hypothesize that if they had been measured, they would have correlated significantly with affect toward their uniform. If the uniform can in fact be thought of as a direct reflection of policemen's feelings toward their job, then it becomes clear as to why both Black and white policemen were the most negative about their uniform.

#### Guards

While police officers expressed the most negative affect towards their uniform, guards expressed the least positive affect towards their uniform, in relation to the other occupational groups. The low positive affect guards had towards their uniform reflected guards' lack of involvement in their job. A typical answer a guard would give to being asked if they liked the way the uniform looked on them was: It doesn't make any difference what uniform I wear." Upon being asked if they were proud of their uniform, a frequent response would be: "It's just a uniform" or "No emotions

one way or the other."

Part of the measurement of positive affect towards the uniform was the desire to maintain uniforms that were distinct. Security guards, both Black and white, wanted to maintain distinct uniforms significantly less than the three other occupations studied. Guards, already in uniforms similar to policemen, wished to maintain the similarly. To be associated with policemen was seen by guards as a boost to their status in the eyes of the public. When one class aspires to the position above it, they tend to imitate them. "...what (is) more natural and more symbolic than to start the process of imitation by copying their clothes, the very insignia of the admired and envied qualities." (Flugel, 1950, p. 138). Flugel, in talking about fashion states that those in higher status positions can either (a) pass laws forbidding others to wear what they wear or (b) adapt a new form of dress. This applies directly to uniforms, and the former option is actually the one chosen by policemen.

An analysis of the effects of the abolition of psychiatric nurses' and aides' uniforms on a ward for disturbed children (Marcuse, 1967) also illustrates this point. Marcuse states that the vote by psychiatric nurses and aides to wear street clothes could have partially been an attempt to dress like resident psychiatrists who had already been

wearing street clothes (Marcuse, 1967).

Security guards' affect towards their uniform reflected their degree of job satisfaction. The more Black and white security guards were satisfied with their job, the more they liked their uniform. The more Black and white guards were dissatisfied with their job, the more negative affect they had towards their uniform. The relative status consistent and inconsistent positions of Black and white guards were not relevant. Occupation was the important factor.

#### Police and Guards

Both policing occupations derived significantly more self confidence from their uniform while on the job than nursing occupations. There were several factors inherent in policing occupations that probably resulted in a greater reliance upon the uniform for feeling confident in oneself. Foremost, is the difficulty of enforcing the law and preserving public order, which is met with resistance by the wrongdoers. The primary task of the nursing occupations is viewed positively by all: the treatment of the sick. Secondly, those in policing occupations are usually in situations where they are not as well know by the public as those in nursing occupations. Thus, police officers and guards rely upon their uniform to provide the intital announcement of their role and purpose in interactions,

rather than the public's knowledge of their role and ability.

### RNs

Felt social mobility was a principal correlate of positive affect towards the uniform, for both Black and white nurses, again pointing to the importance of the occupation, rather than status inconsistency. Two important aspects of the nursing profession elucidate this relationship of felt social mobility with positive affect towards the uniform. First, there has been a trend over the years for the entire occupation to elevate the skill and social standing of graduate nurses (Glaser, 1966; Mauksch, 1972). Nursing, like many technical occupations has been upgraded. Younger nurses are being recruited from higher social class backgrounds as the prestige of the occupation increased (Glaser, 1966). Previously, nursing had been mainly performed by unskilled lower class women. Secondly, the nursing profession has become a vehicle of upward mobility by virtue of its relatively open recruitment (Strauss, 1966). Almost any woman can enter some kind of nursing school. It is therefore not surprising that the upward social mobility provided by becoming a nurse is expressed through positive affect toward the uniform, the symbol of the profession.

## Race within Occupation

### Black and white Policemen

Black policemen felt the uniform provided them with more psychological protection from their white colleagues than did any other group. Black policemen also felt the uniform provided them with more physical protection from their fellow officers than did white officers. White officers displayed more negative affect towards their uniform than did Black officers.

Although these three findings were in accordance with status inconsistency predictions, it was not plausible to conclude that status inconsistency operated for police officers and no other occupational group. It was more likely that these results again depicted differences in the races' perceived realities. In terms of police, Black officers derived more psychological and physical benefits from their uniform in relation to their white colleagues than did white officers. The police department itself may be perceived by Black officers as a principal perpetrator of prejudice and discrimination against its own minority members. Thus, for Black officers, the uniform assumed increased functional importance, helping to establish their equal status within the department.

Why white officers felt significantly more negative to-

wards their uniform than Black officers remains unresolved. It is possible that this difference was a chance finding based upon a small and perhaps unrepresentative sample of white patrolmen.

#### Black and white Nurses and Aides

In comparing both nurses' and aides' affect toward their uniform, the pattern that emerged was that both white nurses and white aides displayed a similar high degree of positive affect towards their uniform, and a similar low degree of negative affect. Also, Black nurses and Black aides expressed similar degrees of positive affect, as well as negative affect. Thus, within the hospital setting, race appeared to be the major determinant of affect towards the uniform. Status inconsistency was irrelevant.

#### Black and white Aides

The uniform for Black and white aides was a reflection of job satisfaction with a marked racial divergence in the degrees of job satisfaction. The white aides at the voluntary hospital in Manhattan felt tremendous loyalty to, and identification with the institution. In addition, their being white associated them with the white power structure of the hospital, comprised of nurses, doctors, and administrators. Although their uniform might expose white aides' status inconsistency, their high level of job satisfaction,

influenced by their racial membership, appeared to be the dominant factor in determining their feelings toward their uniform. Job satisfaction was significantly related to white aides' positive and negative affect towards their uniform, making understandable why white aides wanted to maintain distinct uniforms from nurses. White aides were proud of their job and therefore, remaining visibly distinct from nurses posed no status threat to them.

Black aides, on the other hand, were significantly less satisfied with their job than were white aides, as well as liking their uniform less and disliking it more than white aides. Both Black and white aides had perceived functional benefits that the uniform provided in terms of felt trust and enhanced public support. Yet, the more Black aides viewed the uniform as a symbol of trust, and enhancing public support for them, the more they disliked their uniform. For white aides, there was no significant relationship between felt trust and enhanced public support with affect towards their uniform. Thus, once again, there was a demonstrable resentment by Black respondents of the reliance upon the uniform to perform their job. This was similar to the resentment mentioned earlier of Black officers due to the uniform enhancing public support for them.

Thus, all these findings indicated that Black aides felt

alienated from the hospital and its white power structure, and these factors became the primary determinants of their feelings toward their uniform; not status inconsistency.

Mediating Factors: Status Concern, Felt Stress and Reference Groups

The argument that there were factors which were necessary preconditions for status inconsistency effects to emerge, thus explaining the negative results, remains as a possibility. Status concern, by itself, did not eventuate as the mediating factor in this study. Felt stress, also hypothesized as a possible mediating factor, was not reliably measured and therefore, remains as a possibly important precondition for the effects of status inconsistency to emerge. Similarly, reference groups, hypothesized as directly influencing the amount of stress felt by the status inconsistent individual (Meyer and Hammond, 1971) was possibly an important mediating variable.

Status Inconsistency: In Conclusion

The findings of this study point to the importance of occupation and race as main effects, with little room left for status inconsistency to explain results. Malewski's (1966) theoretical argument that people were more likely to react to the lower status of a status inconsistent individual was not supported in this study of the perceptions of the status inconsistent individual himself. In terms of

the perceived public support of the status inconsistent person, race, no matter what the occupational status, was the chief determinant of perceived effects.

The implication was that if status inconsistency exists, its effects are relatively minor compared to occupation and race, separately considered.

The core of status inconsistency theory rests upon the assumption that an individual simultaneously occupying different status levels creates conflicting normative expectations in others, which in turn, produces stress (Jackson, 1962; Lenski, 1967). Perhaps the resolution of whether status inconsistency exists lies in the proper determination of who is status inconsistent.

The first consideration is whether it is appropriate to give equal importance to race and occupation in the determination of status inconsistency, especially in light of the power of race as a status characteristic in this study.

"It is expected that status inconsistency found between two scales of unequal importance will have different effects than would inconsistency between two scales of equal importance." (Hartman, 1974, p. 707). Therefore, future research should first establish that the status dimensions chosen for status inconsistency are of equal importance.

Secondly, the focus of the literature has been on the

differing status levels of an individual and the consequences of status inconsistency, with the conflicting normative expectations of others left at a hypothetical, intermediate level. A shift in the focus of future research to a proper determination of what the conflicting normative expectations are, might place status inconsistency on a more solid foundation.

#### Symbolic Aspects of the Uniform

Respondents throughout the four occupations viewed their uniform as a symbol, with a variety of meanings, depending upon the learned associations with uniform. No matter what occupation, the uniform came to symbolize authority, because it represented their legitimized position to perform their job. Consequently, policemen and guards perceived their uniforms as functioning successfully in getting people to follow their orders, handling hostile crowds, fights or family disputes, gaining entrance into homes or offices and questioning suspicious persons. Several police officers' explanations as to why the uniform was better in a hostile crowd illustrate this point. "I think the crowd couldn't determine or couldn't relate to your authority without the uniform." "With your uniform you can get the situation controlled by your mere presence." As a consequence of symbolizing authority, the uniform was per-

ceived as increasing the public's confidence in and respect for the role occupant.

Nurses and aides viewed their uniforms as symbolizing trust and thus as very functional in a variety of situations on the job: calming upset patients, talking with families of patients and gaining information from patients. The uniform served a necessary function in dressing and undressing patients in nurses' and aides' perceptions, by symbolizing asexuality and impersonalizing their relationship with the patients. Eighty percent of the nurses and aides interviewed preferred to do this task in uniform for this reason, indicating that this function of the uniform was manifest.

Several nurses capsulized the issue of felt trust in their response to the question concerning wearing a uniform when a patient is upset. "Uniforms signify professional persons. If he knows you're in the profession he will more readily express feelings of fear and anxiety because he knows you've handled these situations before." "If you're in street clothes, the patient might not think you have the authority or knowledge to handle the problem. He might not have that much trust in you, even if you do have a namepin (identifying her as a registered nurse)."

The significant intercorrelations between Felt Trust and Enhanced Public Support (which included Felt Authority)

indicated a common underlying dimension of authority associated with the nursing occupations, as the above comments illustrate. Each function related to the other, in their continuous interplay throughout the many facets of their jobs.

The uniform is an obvious indicator and symbol of status. One of the most revealing items in the interview concerned the degree to which respondents wanted to maintain uniforms that were distinct from other occupations. Through their responses to this question, guards revealed their concern with their lack of authority, and thus their reliance on their uniform for 'borrowed' authority from the policeman. Because Black nurses and Black policemen were less concerned with wearing distinct uniforms than their white counterparts, this suggested a greater sympathy with those of lower occupational statuses, usually composed of Blacks.

To guards and aides, the uniform became a symbol of job satisfaction, by virtue of the associations made between the job, and the visible announcement of their job, their uniform. It was also speculated that the uniform was a reflection of policemen's negative affect towards their job.

The uniform became a symbol of felt social mobility for both nurses and white guards. While this seemed a reasonable finding for nurses, it was contrary to expectation for

guards, considering their low occupational status. White guards' perception of their uniform as a symbol of social mobility probably reflected the varied educational backgrounds. It seems possible that white guards who were going to college while being a guard saw their present occupation as the beginning of the 'step up the ladder'.

One of the major findings was that while respondents perceived their uniform as enhancing public support for them, they did not perceive it as providing any psychological protection from their colleagues, with the exception of Black officers. Respondents were known to their colleagues as individuals, and therefore colleagues' respect for and confidence in them rested on a knowledge of their abilities. An external cue like a uniform was viewed as effective only with those who did not know them and their ability, like the public. This distinction that respondents made was important because of its implications for the perceived effects of uniforms. It introduced two fundamental factors that were perceived as overriding the effect of uniforms:

(a) length of contact with the other person and (b) the behavior of the wearer. These two factors were mentioned throughout the interview by a number of respondents. Some respondents modified many of their answers by stating that it would be better to be in uniform at first, but that later

on, after the person got to know him, the uniform would not be necessary. Intricately associated with length of contact, was the behavior of the uniform wearer: the longer the contact, the better chance of assessing the individual's capabilities. However, even with brief contacts with other people, some respondents perceived their behavior as the major determinant of other's reactions. The uniform was viewed as irrelevant.

Thus, it would appear from these findings that the symbolic functioning of the uniform is perceived effective only when (a) the wearer's role is not known and (b) the wearer's ability is not known. Perhaps the perceived effects of the uniform are maximized by the greater dearth of other cues. The briefer the contact with others, the less opportunity of other forms of information about the person, the more functional the uniform will be perceived to be and the more symbolic the uniform will become.

#### In Conclusion

Thus, through learning the uniform can come to mean one's occupational status, authority, trust, social mobility and job satisfaction. As a result, the uniform is perceived as serving an important function in mediating interpersonal interactions with the public and providing psychological

benefits to the wearer.

In Goffman's (1959) analysis of interpersonal interactions, heavy emphasis is made of the importance of interactants to have a common definition of the situation.

"When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed. They will be interested in his general socio-economic status, his conception of self, his attitude toward them, his competence, his trustworthiness, etc. Although some of this information seems to be sought almost as an end in itself, there are usually quite practical reasons for acquiring it. Information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know in advance what he will expect of them and what they may expect of him. Informed in these ways, the others will know how best to act in order to call forth a desired response from him."

(Goffman, 1959, p. 1).

It is the presence of the uniform that services its wearer by strongly influencing this definition of the situation.

APPENDIX A

1. For each occupation mentioned below, please pick out the statement that best gives your impression of the prestige of these jobs in New York City, in general. (I am not interested in your own personal opinion, but what you see as most people's view.)

	Excellent	Good	Average	Somewhat below average	Poor	Don't know
Railroad conductor						
Policeman						
Nurse's aide						
Manager of small store in city						
Typist						
Doctor						
Construction worker						
Registered nurse						
Bank president						
College professor						
Police sergeant						
Actress in a Broadway 'hit'						
Sanitation man						
Elementary school teacher						
Security guard						

2. When you think of the word Prestige, in terms of jobs, which of the following characteristics do you have in mind? (Check as many as are applicable.)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Respect received from others | <input type="checkbox"/> General life style     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Income                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Capability             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Responsibility handled |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Authority                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Dependability          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Influence in the community   | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) |

3. For each of the following ethnic and racial groups, please pick out the statement which best gives what you think the prestige is of these ethnic and racial groups in New York City, in general. (I am not interested in your own personal opinion, but what you think most people's view is.)

	Excellent	Good	Average	Somewhat below average	Poor	Don't know
Italian						
Puerto Rican						
Anglo-Saxon Protestant						
Chinese						
Black						
Irish						
Jewish						
Japanese						

4. When you think of the word Prestige for ethnic and racial groups, which of the following characteristics do you have in mind? (Check as many as are applicable)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Respect received from others                    | <input type="checkbox"/> General style of life                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> How high their income is                        | <input type="checkbox"/> How capable they are in their jobs and at home |
| <input type="checkbox"/> How educated they are                           | <input type="checkbox"/> How much responsibility they shoulder          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> What their occupation is                        | <input type="checkbox"/> How dependable they are                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> How much influence they have in their community | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)                         |

Please answer the following questions with regard to yourself.

1. SEX

Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

2. RACE AND ETHNIC GROUP

- White
- Black
- Chinese
- Japanese
- Puerto Rican
- Jewish
- Italian
- Irish
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

3. HOW OLD ARE YOU?

\_\_\_\_\_ years old

4. WHAT IS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION THAT YOU HAVE HAD?

- Completed 1st - 5th grade
- Completed 6th - 8th grade
- Began high school but did not graduate
- Graduated from high school
- Had some college
- Graduated from 2-year college
- Graduated from 4-year college
- Had some graduate work (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Graduate degree (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

5. WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT OCCUPATION?

\_\_\_\_\_

STUDY ON UNIFORMS

Hello. This is \_\_\_\_\_ . I want to thank you for volunteering to participate in our study on uniforms. I would like to mention that this study is being done as a research project for graduate school and is NOT a project being conducted by the Police Department. I would also like to emphasize that what you say will remain strictly confidential and that there are no right or wrong answers. LET'S BEGIN.

APPENDIX B

I am going to be asking you a series of questions where I'll be asking you to suppose that you are a policeman, in street clothes, doing the very same job that you are doing now as a policeman in uniform.

1. Suppose you found yourself as a policeman in street clothes and a hostile crowd was beginning to form. Would it be more difficult to control the crowd in street clothes than if you were in uniform, less difficult, or would it make no difference?

More difficult     Less difficult     No difference

Why?

2. Suppose you are a policeman in street clothes, doing your regular duties, out on a family dispute call. Do you think that it would be better to be in uniform on such a call, in street clothes, or that it would make no difference?

Uniform     Street clothes     No difference

Why?

3. Suppose you are a policeman in street clothes, on patrol, as you are now in uniform. Do you think that Black people would be more willing to follow your orders in street clothes, more so than if you were in uniform, less willing, or that it doesn't matter?

More willing     Less willing     Doesn't matter

Are there any different groups or parts of the Black public where you think this would be different?

4. How about for white people in the very same situation. You are a policeman on patrol, same as now, except that you're in street clothes. Do you think that white people would be more willing to follow your orders in street clothes, more so than if you were in uniform, less willing, or that it doesn't matter?

More willing     Less willing     Doesn't matter

Are there any different groups or parts of the white public where you think this would be different?

5. During the normal course of your day on patrol, you meet and talk to a lot of people whom you don't know. Suppose you were doing your job as a policeman in street clothes. Would you find it easier to approach strangers in street clothes than if you were in uniform, more difficult, or would it make no difference?

Easier     More difficult     No difference

6. Suppose you are a policeman on your job in street clothes. When dealing with youths, do you think it's a help to be in street clothes, or that it would be better to be in uniform, or that it doesn't matter?

Help-SC     Uniform     Doesn't matter

Why is that?

7. Are there any (other) types of situations where you think the uniform is useful on your job?
8. Are there any (other) situations on your job where you think the uniform gets in the way of performing your job?
9. Do you think that the Black public is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, or are they less respectful, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
- More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter
- Are there any different groups or parts of the Black public where you think this would be different?
10. How about the white public? Do you think that the white public is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes or are they less respectful, or doesn't it matter?
- More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter
- Are there any different groups or parts of the white public where you think this would be different?
11. With your fellow officers who are Black, do you think that when you are in uniform they are more respectful to you or less respectful than when you are in street clothes or doesn't it matter?
- More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter
12. And for your fellow officers who are white, do you think that when you are in uniform, they are more respectful to you than when you are in street clothes, or less respectful, or doesn't it matter?
- More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter

15. Do you ever feel proud of your uniform?

Often     Sometimes     Never

Are there any situations when you feel particularly proud?

16. Do you ever feel ashamed of your uniform?

Often     Sometimes     Never

Are there any situations when you feel particularly ashamed?

17. Do you think that the Black public lets you into their homes more easily when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less easily, or that it makes no difference?

More easily     Less easily     No difference

Are there any different groups or parts of the Black public where you think this would be different?

18. How about the white public? Do you think the white public lets you into their homes more easily when in your uniform than if you were in street clothes, less easily, or that it makes no difference?

More easily     Less easily     No difference

Are there any different groups or parts of the white public where you think this would be different?

19. Do you think that the public sometimes gets confused between policemen and people in similar uniforms like guards and transit policemen?

A lot     Sometimes     No

(If Yes) Does that bother you?

A lot     Sometimes     Not at all

(If Yes) Why is that?

20. During your meal hour, does it bother you to eat while in uniform in a coffee shop or restaurant?

A lot     Sometimes     Not at all

(If Yes) Why is that?

21. Do you think that white people have more confidence in you as a policeman when you are in uniform than they would have if you were in street clothes, or would they have less confidence, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

Are there any different groups or parts of the white public where you think this would be different?

22. How about Black people? Do you think that Black people have more confidence in you as a policeman when you are in uniform than they would have if you were in street clothes, or would they have less confidence, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

Are there any different groups or parts of the Black public where you think this would be different?

23. What about your fellow officers who are white? Do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a policeman when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less confidence, or that it doesn't matter?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

24. With your fellow officers who are Black, do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a policeman when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less confidence, or that it makes no difference?

More confidence     Less confidence     No difference

25. Do you like the way the uniform looks on you?

26. Is there anything that you do (don't) like about the way the uniform looks?

27. If you had to continue wearing a uniform but could change the uniform in any way you wanted, how would you change it?

28. I am now going to read two statements to you that some officers have mentioned as advantages to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as an advantage for you?
- It saves your own clothes from wear and tear.
  - You don't have to worry about what to wear on the job.
29. The next two statements are disadvantages that some officers have mentioned to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as a disadvantage for you?
- It's difficult to keep it so clean and pressed all the time.
  - It's expensive to replace when it gets torn.
30. Does your uniform ever make you feel more confident in doing your job, less confident, or does it make no difference?
- More confident     Less confident     No difference
- Why is that?
31. Have you ever been mistreated by policemen when you've been in street clothes because they have suspected you of a crime?
- Often     Sometimes     Never
- 31a. How much of a risk would you run in being taken for a criminal by your fellow officers if you were on the job in street clothes?
- A big risk
  - Slightly risky
  - No risk at all
32. Do you think that you are more likely to be attacked because criminals know that you are a policeman when you're in uniform, or that you're less likely to be attacked, or that it doesn't matter?
- More likely     Less likely     Doesn't matter
33. Overall then, how much would you say you liked your uniform? Would you say you:
- Like it very much
  - Like it somewhat
  - Don't feel one way or the other about it
  - Both like and dislike the uniform for different reasons
  - Dislike it somewhat
  - Dislike it very much

33. I have heard that one of the attractions of being promoted to detective is to get out of uniform. Is that true?

Yes  No  Don't know

Why is that?

34. Do you think that being in uniform helps to prevent a policeman from becoming corrupt or that it makes it easier for him to become corrupt or that it doesn't matter whether he is in or out of uniform?

Prevent  Easier  Doesn't matter

Why?

35. In some towns like Holyoke, Mass. the policeman's uniform was changed from the military style to a more informal style of blue blazer and gray pants. Would you be for or against such a policy for policeman in New York City?

For  Against  Don't know

Why?

36. I have heard that one of the reasons for having policemen in uniform on patrol is that the presence of the uniform makes the public feel more secure. Do you think that the 'uniformed presence of the police' makes the public feel more secure or that it really makes no difference in how the public feels?

More secure  No difference

Why is that?

37. Suppose it were possible to do your job without wearing a uniform, and you could choose whether you wore a uniform or street clothes. What would you prefer to wear: your uniform or street clothes?

Uniform     Street clothes     Don't know

38. How important is your shield to you?

Very important  
 Somewhat important  
 Not important at all

39. What is it about your shield that makes it important?

40. If the Police department were to change all officers' shield numbers because they were beginning a new system, would that:

Bother you a great deal  
 Bother you somewhat  
 Not bother you at all?

41. The Police Department is presently thinking of requiring officers to wear name tags on their uniforms. Would you be for or against such a move or wouldn't you care?

Strongly for it  
 For it, but with reservations  
 Don't care  
 Against it  
 Strongly against it

Why?

42. Have you ever found that people who normally recognize you when you are in uniform, do NOT recognize you when you are in street clothes? How often does this happen?

Often     Sometimes     Never

43. Have you ever found the opposite to occur: That people who normally recognize you in street clothes, do NOT recognize you when you are in uniform? How often does this happen?

Often     Sometimes     Never

44. How many of the \_\_\_\_\_ people you come across on your tour of duty usually recognize you?

Most  A lot  Some  Few  None

45. How many of the public on your tour of duty refer to you by name?

Most  A lot  Some  Few  None

46. How about your colleagues with whom you normally work? \_\_\_\_\_ How many of them usually recognize you?

Most  A lot  Some  Few  None

47. Have you ever worn a uniform before the one you wear now?

Yes  No

(If Yes) What? Military service (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Similar job to one has now (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

48. Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? (The most recent). Had you:

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for different reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

(IF MORE THAN ONE)

Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? Had you:

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for different reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? Had you:

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for idfferent reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your job in order to see the relation between how you feel about your job and uniform. I would like to find out how satisfied you are in your own job. For example, how satisfied are you with your pay - Very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied

	Very Satisfied	Fairly Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
a. your pay				
b. your <sup>immediate</sup> supervisor				
c. how interesting the work is				
d. being treated like an individual by your department.				
e. your co-workers				
f. the hours you work				
g. the amount of authority you have				
h. job security				
i. how highly the public regards your job				
j. the amount of freedom you have				
k. being able to help people				
l. the chance to get ahead				
m. the chance to use your abilities				

B. All things considered, how satisfied are you with the job as a whole?

( ) Very satisfied

( ) Both very satisfied and very dissatisfied

( ) Fairly satisfied

( ) Fairly dissatisfied

( ) Very dissatisfied

FOR BLACK POLICE OFFICERS

Being a police officer in New York City is very difficult.

1. Do you feel that being Black has made your job more difficult with Black people, or easier, or that it doesn't matter?

( ) More difficult ( ) Easier ( ) Doesn't matter

Why?

2. How about with the white public? Do you feel that being Black makes your job more difficult with the white public, or easier, or that it doesn't matter?

( ) More difficult ( ) Easier ( ) Doesn't matter

Why?

3. Do you ever feel bad that you have to arrest a Black person because you're arresting one of your own people?

( ) Yes ( ) No

4. Do you ever feel that being Black makes your relationship closer with your fellow Black officers, or is there a strain among the Black officers, or doesn't it matter?

( ) Closer ( ) Strain ( ) Doesn't matter

5. How about your fellow white officers? Do you ever feel that being Black makes your relationship closer with your fellow white officers, or is there a strain between you and the white officers, or doesn't it matter that you're Black?

( ) Closer ( ) Strain ( ) Doesn't matter

6. Are there some members of your family who like your being a policeman?

( ) Yes ( ) No

Which members of your family are they?

Do any members of your family dislike your being a policeman?

( ) Yes ( ) No

Which members of your family are they?

FOR WHITE POLICEMEN

Being a police officer in New York City is very difficult.

1. Do you feel that being white has made your job more difficult with Black people, or easier, or that it doesn't matter?

( ) More difficult ( ) Easier ( ) Doesn't matter

Why?

2. How about with the white public? Do you feel that being white makes your job more difficult with the white public, or easier, or that it doesn't matter?

( ) More difficult ( ) Easier ( ) Doesn't matter

Why?

3. Do you ever feel bad that you have to arrest a member of your own ethnic group because you're arresting one of your own people?

( ) Yes ( ) No

4. Do you ever feel that being white makes your relationship closer with your fellow white officers, or is there a strain among the white officers, or doesn't it matter?

( ) Closer ( ) Strain ( ) Doesn't matter

5. How about your fellow Black officers? Do you ever feel that being white makes your relationship closer with your fellow Black officers, or is there a strain between you and the Black officers, or doesn't it matter that you're white?

( ) Closer ( ) Strain ( ) Doesn't matter

6. Are there some members of your family who like your being a policeman?

( ) Yes ( ) No

Which members of your family are they?

Do any members of your family dislike your being a policeman?

( ) Yes ( ) No

Which members of your family are they?

7. Did becoming a policeman cut you off from any of your friends?

A lot     Some     Few     None

Why is that?

8. How many of your close friends are in the Police Department, on the whole? \_\_\_\_\_

How many close friends do you have in general? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Now I'm going to read two statements to you and ask you how strongly you agree or disagree with them.

It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Don't feel one way or the other
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

10. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals of life.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Don't feel one way or the other
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

BACKGROUND

1. SEX Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

2. Of what racial or ethnic group do you consider yourself a member of?

- ( ) White
- ( ) Black
- ( ) Puerto Rican
- ( ) Chinese
- ( ) Japanese
- ( ) Jewish
- ( ) Italian
- ( ) Irish
- ( ) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

3. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years old

4. How long have you been a:

Patrolman \_\_\_\_\_

Police Sergeant \_\_\_\_\_

(FOR POLICE SERGEANTS ONLY) Then, altogether, you've been a policeman for \_\_\_\_\_ years?

Nurse's Aide \_\_\_\_\_

Registered nurse \_\_\_\_\_

(FOR R.N. ONLY) Were you a practical nurse or nurse's aide before you became an R.N.? \_\_\_\_\_

5. (FOR POLICE ONLY) What is your present assignment? \_\_\_\_\_ <sup>Pct</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ <sup>Type</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ <sub>pct.</sub>

Are you in the Neighborhood Police Teams? ( ) Yes ( ) No

6. What is your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Do you think that your occupation has more prestige than your father's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your father's?

( ) More prestige ( ) Less prestige ( ) No difference

8. What is your mother's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Do you think that your occupation has more prestige than your mother's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your mother's?

( ) More prestige ( ) Less prestige ( ) No difference

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

NURSES AND NURSE'S AIDES

STUDY ON UNIFORMS

Hello. This is \_\_\_\_\_ . I want to thank you for volunteering to participate in our study on uniforms. I would like to mention that this study is being done as a research project for my graduate school work and is NOT a project being conducted by this hospital or by the union. I would also like emphasize that what you say will remain strictly confidential and that there are no right or wrong answers. LET'S BEGIN.

In the series of questions that follow, I'll be asking you to suppose that you are a (nurse, nurse's aide), in street clothes, doing the very same job that you are doing now as a (nurse, nurse's aide) in uniform. Your name pin with your name and job title of (R.N., nurse's aide) would be the only thing that would identify you as a (nurse, nurse's aide). One more thing. All questions that involve patients refer to only male patients.

1. Suppose you found yourself on the job as a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, in the hospital. A <sup>male</sup> patient has just become very upset because the doctor has told him that his illness is very serious. The doctor leaves and you come into the room. Do you think that it would be better for you to be in uniform in such a situation, or in street clothes, or would it make no difference what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Why is that?

2. Suppose you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, doing your regular duties. Do you think that a <sup>male</sup> patient who is Black is more likely to give you information about his condition that you need if you were in uniform, or if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear makes no difference?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Why is that?

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black male patients?

3. How about for a white patient in the same situation? Do you think that a male patient who is white is more likely to give you information about his condition that you need if you were in uniform, or would it be better to be in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

Do you think this would be any different with particular kinds of white male patients?

4. Suppose you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, doing your regular duties. Would it be better to be in uniform when talking with the family of a patient, or would it be better to be in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

5. Suppose that you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes, doing your regular job, as you do now in uniform. Do you think that a Black male patient would be more willing to follow your orders if you were in street clothes or do you think that he would be less willing if you were in street clothes, or that it wouldn't matter what you wore?

More willing - SC     Less Willing- SC     Doesn't matter

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black male patients?

6. How about for white patients in the very same situation. Do you think that a white male patient would be more willing to follow your orders if you were in street clothes or do you think that he would be less willing if you were in street clothes, or that it wouldn't matter what you wore?

More Willing-SC     Less Willing-SC     Doesn't matter

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of white male patients?

7. Suppose you were doing your job as a (nurse, nurse's aide) in street clothes. Would you find it easier to talk to new patients on their first day in the hospital if you were in street clothes, or would it be easier to talk to new patients if you were in uniform, or would it make no difference what you wore?

Uniform       Street clothes       Wouldn't matter

8. Suppose you are a (nurse, nurse's aide) on your job wearing street clothes. When treating children, do you think it would be a help to be in street clothes, or do you think that it would be better to be in uniform, or don't you think it matters what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

9. Are there any (other) types of situations where you think the uniform is useful on your job?

10. Are there any (other) types of situations on your job where you think the uniform gets in the way of performing your job?

11. Do you think that the Black male patient is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, or is he less respectful, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter

Are there particular types of Black male patients where you think this would be any different?

12. How about the white male patient? Do you think that the white male patient is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, or is he less respectful, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter  
male

Are there particular types of white patients where you think this be any different?

13. With your fellow (nurses, nurse's aides) who are Black, do you think that when you are in uniform they are more respectful to you or less respectful than if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter

14. And for your fellow (nurses, nurse's aides) who are white. Do you think that when you are in uniform, they are more respectful to you than if you were in street clothes, or are they less respectful to you when you're in uniform, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More respectful     Less respectful     Doesn't matter

15. Do you ever feel proud of your uniform?

Often  Sometimes  Never

Are there any times when you feel particularly proud of your uniform?

16. Do you ever feel ashamed of your uniform?

Often  Sometimes  Never

Are there any times when you feel particularly ashamed of your uniform?

17. Do you think that a Black male patient is more willing to let you dress and undress him when you're in uniform, or would he be more willing if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform  Street clothes  Doesn't matter

Why is that?

Are there particular types of Black male patients where you think this would be any different?

18. How about the white male patient? Do you think that white male patient is more willing to let you dress and undress him when you're in uniform, or would he be more willing if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform  Street clothes  Doesn't matter

Why is that?

Are there particular types of white male patients where you think this would be any different?

19. Do the patients in the hospital sometimes get confused between a registered nurse and an LPN?  
(FOR R.N. ONLY)

A lot  Sometimes  Never

(If Yes) Does that bother you?

A lot  Sometimes  Never

(If Yes) Why is that?

19. Do the patients in the hospital sometimes get confused between nurse's aides and the housekeeping staff?  
(FOR AIDE ONLY)

A lot     Sometimes     Never

(If Yes) Does that bother you?

A lot     Sometimes     Never

(If Yes) Why is that?

20. Suppose you went out for lunch one day while you were still in uniform. Would it bother you to eat while in uniform in a coffee shop or restaurant?

A lot     Sometimes     Not at all

Why is that?

21. Do you think that a white male patient has more confidence in you as a (nurse, nurse's aide) when you are in uniform than he would have if you were in street clothes, or would he have less confidence in you, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

Are there particular types of white male patients where you think this would be any different?

22. How about a Black male patient? Do you think that a Black male patient has more confidence in you as a (nurse, nurse's aide) when you are in uniform than he would have if you were in street clothes, or would he have less confidence in you, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

Are there particular types of Black male patients where you think this would be any different?

23. What about your fellow (nurses, nurse's aides) who are white? Do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a (nurse, nurse's aide) when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less confidence in you when you're in uniform, or that it doesn't matter what you wear?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

24. With your fellow (nurses, nurse's aides) who are Black, do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a (nurse, nurse's aide) when you are in uniform than if you were in street clothes, less confidence in you when you're in uniform, or that it doesn't matter what you wear?

More confidence     Less confidence     Doesn't matter

25. Do you like the way your uniform looks on you?

26. Is there anything that you do (don't) like about the way the uniform looks?

27. If you had to continue wearing a uniform but could change the uniform in any way you wanted, how would you change it?

28. I am now going to read two statements to you that some (nurses, nurse's aides) have mentioned as advantages to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as an advantage for you?

It saves your own clothes from wear and tear.  
 You don't have to worry about what to wear on the job.

29. The next two statements are disadvantages that some nurses have mentioned (FOR R.N. ONLY) to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as a disadvantage for you?

It's difficult to keep it so clean all the time.  
 It's expensive to replace when it gets worn out or stained.

29. The next two statements are disadvantages that some nurse's aides have mentioned (FOR AIDES ONLY) to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as a disadvantage for you?

The hospital doesn't replace the uniforms frequently enough when they get worn.  
 The laundry doesn't iron the uniforms properly.

30. Does your uniform ever make you feel more confident in doing your job, less confident, or doesn't it make any difference?

More confident     Less confident     No difference

Why is that?

31. Do you think that when you're outside the hospital in uniform, doing some shopping for example, that people are friendlier to you when you're in uniform than when in street clothes, or that they're less friendly when you're in uniform. or that what you wear doesn't make any difference?

Friendlier     Less friendly     No difference

32. Do you feel safer when you're walking in rough neighborhoods when you're in uniform, or do you feel safer when in street clothes, or doesn't it make any difference?

Uniform     Street clothes     No difference

33. Overall then, how much would you say you liked your uniform? Would you say you:

Like it very much  
 Like it somewhat  
 Don't feel one way or the other about it  
 Both like and dislike the uniform for different reasons  
 Dislike it somewhat  
 Dislike it very much

34. Do you think that it is a good policy to have registered nurses and nurse's aides in different types of uniforms?

Yes     No     Don't know

Why is that?

35. Do you think that being in uniform helps to keep (nurses, nurse's aides) from slacking off while on the job, or that being in uniform makes it easier to slack off while on the job, or that the uniform makes no difference?

Prevents slack     Easier to slack     No difference

Why is that?

36. In some hospitals in the psychiatric units, the psychiatric nurses have switched from wearing uniforms to wearing street clothes. Would you be for or against such a policy for the nurses in medical-surgical areas of nursing?

For  Against  Don't know

Why is that?

37. Suppose it were possible to do your job without wearing a uniform, and you could choose whether you wore a uniform or street clothes. What would you prefer to wear: your uniform or street clothes?

Uniform  Street clothes  Don't know

38. Do you think that the patients feel more secure upon seeing (nurses, nurse's aides) in uniform, or that the presence of the uniform really makes no difference in making the patients feel secure?

More secure  No difference

Why is that?

39 (FOR R.N. ONLY) Does your name pin have only your name on it or does it have your name plus R.N.?

Name only  Name + R.N.

40. How often do you wear your name pin?

All the time  Sometimes  Never

41. How important is your name pin to you?

Very important  
 Somewhat important  
 Not important at all

41a. ( If Yes) What is it about your name pin that makes it important?

42. If the hospital were to require that all (nurses, nurse's aides) wear badges with numbers instead of their name pins, because they were beginning a new system, would that:

Bother you a great deal  
 Bother you somewhat  
 Not bother you at all

Why is that?

43. Do you wear your cap?  
(FOR R.N.  
ONLY)      ( ) All the time      ( ) Sometimes      ( ) Never

44. How important is your cap to you?

- ( ) Very important
- ( ) Somewhat important
- ( ) Not important at all

(If Yes) What is it about your cap that makes it important?

45. Some registered nurses no longer wear caps any more. How do you think the patients feel about R.N.'s not wearing their caps?

46. Have you ever found that people who normally recognize you when you are in uniform, do NOT recognize you when you are in street clothes? How often does this happen?

Often       Sometimes       Never

47. Have you ever found the opposite to occur: That people who normally recognize you in street clothes, do NOT recognize you when you are in uniform? How often does this happen?

Often       Sometimes       Never

48. How many of the patients you come across when you're on duty usually recognize you?

Most       A lot       Some       Few       None

49. How many of the patients you come across when you're on duty refer to you by name?

Most       A lot       Some       Few       None

50. How about your fellow (nurses, nurse's aides) with whom you normally work? How many of them usually recognize you?

Most       A lot       Some       Few       None

51. Have you ever worn a uniform before the one you wear now?

Yes       No

(If Yes) What? Military service (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Similar job to one has now (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

52. Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? (The most recent). Had you:

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for different reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

(IF MORE THAN ONE)

53. Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? Had you:

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for different reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

54 Now I would like to ask you some questions about your job in order to see the relation between how you feel about your job and your uniform. I would like to find out how satisfied you are in your own job. For example, how satisfied are you with your pay - Very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

	Very Satisfied	Fairly Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
a. your pay				
b. your immediate supervisor				
c. how interesting the work is				
d. being treated like an individual by your hospital				
e. your co-workers				
f. the hours you work				
g. the amount of authority you have				
h. job security				
i. how highly the public regards your job				
j. the amount of freedom you have				
k. being able to help people				
l. the chance to get ahead				
m. the chance to use your abilities				

55. All things considered, how satisfied are you with the job as a whole?

( ) Very satisfied

( ) Both very satisfied and very dissatisfied

( ) Fairly satisfied

( ) Fairly dissatisfied

( ) Very dissatisfied

FOR BLACK NURSES AND BLACK NURSE'S AIDES

Being a (nurse, nurse's aide) is a difficult job.

56. Do you feel that being Black has made your job more difficult when working with Black patients, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're Black?

( ) More difficult      ( ) Easier      ( ) Doesn't matter

Why is that?

57. How about with white patients? Do you feel that being Black makes your job more difficult when working with white patients, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're Black?

( ) More difficult      ( ) Easier      ( ) Doesn't matter

Why is that?

58. Do you ever feel that being Black makes your relationship closer with your fellow Black (nurses, nurse's aides), or is there a strain between you and your fellow Black (nurses, nurse's aides), or doesn't it matter that you're Black?

( ) Closer      ( ) Strain      ( ) Doesn't matter

59. How about your fellow white (nurses, nurse's aides)? Do you ever feel that being Black creates a strain between you and your fellow white (nurses, nurse's aides), or does it make your relationship closer with your fellow white (nurses, nurse's aides) or doesn't it matter that you're Black?

( ) Closer      ( ) Strain      ( ) Doesn't matter

60. Are there members of your family who like your being a (nurse, nurse's aide)?

( ) Yes      ( ) No

Which members of your family are they?

61. Do any members of your family dislike your being a (nurse, nurse's aide)?

( ) Yes      ( ) No

Which members of your family are they?

FOR WHITE NURSES AND WHITE NURSE'S AIDES

Being a (nurse, nurse's aide) is a difficult job.

56. Do you feel that being white has made your job more difficult when working with Black patients, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're white?

More difficult       Easier       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

57. How about with white patients? Do you feel that being white makes your job more difficult when working with white patients, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're white?

More difficult       Easier       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

58. Do you ever feel that being white makes your relationship closer with your fellow white (nurses, nurse's aides) or is there a strain between you and your fellow white (nurses, nurse's aides), or doesn't it matter that you're white?

Closer       Strain       Doesn't matter

59. How about your fellow Black (nurses, nurse's aides)? Do you ever feel that being white creates a strain between you and your fellow Black (nurses, nurse's aides), or does it make your relationship closer with your fellow Black (nurses, nurse's aides) or doesn't it matter that you're white?

Closer       Strain       Doesn't matter

60. Are there members of your family who like your being a (nurse, nurse's aide)?

Yes       No

Which members of your family are they?

61. Do any members of your family dislike your being a (nurse, nurse's aide)?

Yes       No

Which members of your family are they?

62. Did becoming a (nurse, nurse's aide) cut you off from any of your friends?

A lot     Some     Few     None

Why is that?

63. How many of your close friends are (nurses, nurse's aides)? \_\_\_\_\_

How many close friends do you have on the whole? \_\_\_\_\_

(Does this include your close friends who are (nurses, nurse's aides)?)

64. Now I'm going to read two statements to you and ask you how strongly you agree or disagree with them.

It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Don't feel one way or the other
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

65. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals of life.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Don't feel one way or the other
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

BACKGROUND

1. SEX . Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

2. Of what racial or ethnic group do you consider yourself a member of?

- ( ) White
- ( ) Black
- ( ) Puerto Rican
- ( ) Chinese
- ( ) Japanese
- ( ) Jewish
- ( ) Italian
- ( ) Irish
- ( ) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

3. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

4. How long have you been a:

Registered nurse \_\_\_\_\_

Nurse's aide \_\_\_\_\_

(R.N. ONLY) 5. Were you a practical nurse or nurse's aide before you became an R.N.? ( ) Yes ( )

( If Yes) How long were you an LPN? \_\_\_\_\_

How long were you a nurse's aide? \_\_\_\_\_

6. What ward are you presently working on? \_\_\_\_\_

(FOR R.N ONLY) 7. How many different styles of uniforms do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

9. What is your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Do you think that your occupation has more prestige than your father's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your father's?

( ) More prestige ( ) Less prestige ( ) No difference

11. What is your mother's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

12. Do you think that your occupation has more prestige than your mother's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your mother's?

( ) More prestige ( ) Less prestige ( ) No difference

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

PLEASE DO NOT TALK WITH YOUR FELLOW (NURSES, NURSE'S AIDES) ABOUT THE INTERVIEW AS I WISH TO HAVE THEIR ANSWERS BE AS SPONTANEOUS AS YOURS.

SECURITY GUARDS

STUDY ON UNIFORMS

Hello. This is \_\_\_\_\_ . I want to thank you for volunteering to participate in this study on uniforms. I would like to mention that this study is being done as a research project for my graduate school work and is NOT a project being conducted by (your employer, the college, the hospital, etc.). I would also like to emphasize that what you say will remain strictly confidential and that there are no right or wrong answers. It's simply how you feel about your uniform.

In the series of questions that follow, I'll be asking you to suppose that you are a security guard in street clothes, doing the very same job that you are doing now as a security guard in uniform. Your shield would be the only thing that would identify you as a security guard.

1. Suppose you are a security guard in street clothes, doing your regular duties as you do now in uniform and a fight broke out between two people. Do you think that it would be better to be in uniform in such a situation, or in street clothes, or that it would make no difference what you wore?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Why is that?

2. Suppose you are a security guard in street clothes doing your regular duties, and you stopped to question a Black man in the building who looked suspicious. Do you think that a Black person would be more likely to answer your questions if you were in uniform, or would he be more likely to answer your questions if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear would make no difference?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Why is that?

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black people?

3. How about a white person in the same situation? Suppose that you are a security guard in street clothes doing your regular duties, and you stopped to question a white man in the building who looked suspicious. Do you think that a white person would be more likely to answer your questions if you were in uniform, or would he be more likely to answer your questions if you were in street clothes, or that it wouldn't matter what you wore?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Why is that?

Do you think this would be any different with particular kinds of white people?

4. Suppose you are a security guard in street clothes, on duty, as you are now in uniform. Do you think that a Black person would be more willing to follow your orders if you were in street clothes, or would he be more willing to follow your orders if you were in uniform, or that it wouldn't matter what you wore?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black people?

5. How about for a white person in the same situation? You are a security guard on duty, except that you're in street clothes. Do you think that a white person would be more willing to follow your orders if you were in street clothes, or would he be more willing to follow your orders if you were in uniform, or that it wouldn't matter what you wore?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of white people?

6. During the normal course of your day, you meet and talk to some people whom you don't know. Suppose you were doing your job as a security guard in street clothes. Would you find it easier to talk to strangers in street clothes, or would you find it easier to talk to strangers if you were in uniform, or would it make no difference what you wore?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

7. Suppose you are a security guard on your job in street clothes. When dealing with youths, do you think that it's a help to be in street clothes, or that it would be better to be in uniform, or that it doesn't matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

8. Are there any (other) types of situations on your job where you think the uniform is useful?
9. Are there any (other) types of situation on your job where you think the uniform gets in the way of performing your job?
10. Do you think that a Black person is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform, or would he be more respectful if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
- ( ) Uniform      ( ) Street clothes      ( ) Doesn't matter
- Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black people?
11. How about for a white person? Do you think that a white person is more respectful towards you on your job when you are in uniform, or would he be more respectful if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
- ( ) Uniform      ( ) Street clothes      ( ) Doesn't matter
- Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of white people?
12. With your fellow security guards who are Black, do you think that when you are in uniform they are more respectful to you, or would they be more respectful to you if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?
- ( ) Uniform      ( ) Street clothes      ( ) Doesn't matter

13. And for your fellow security guards who are white, do you think that they are more respectful to you when you are in uniform, or are they more respectful to you when you are in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

14. Do you ever feel proud of your uniform?

Often       Sometimes       Never

Are there any times when you feel particularly proud of your uniform?

15. Do you ever feel ashamed of your uniform?

Often       Sometimes       Never

Are there any times when you feel particularly ashamed of your uniform?

16. If you were making a security check in the building, do you think that a Black person would let you into his (office, room) more easily when you are in uniform, or would he let you into his (office, room) more easily if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear makes no difference?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black people?

17. How about a white person in the same situation? During a security check of the building, do you think that a white person would let you into his (office, room) more easily when you are in uniform, or that he would let you into his (office, room) more easily if you were in street clothes, or that what you wear makes no difference?

Uniform       Street clothes       No difference

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of white people?

18. Do you think that the public sometimes gets confused between security guards and people in similar uniforms like New York City policemen?

A lot       Sometimes       No

How do you feel about that? Does it:

- Bother you a lot  
 Bother you sometimes  
 Don't feel one way or the other about it  
 Both like it and are bothered by it  
 Like it sometimes  
 Like it a lot

Why is that?

19. Do you think that it would be a good policy to have security guards in uniforms that were totally different and distinct from policemen's uniforms?

Yes       No       Don't know

Why is that?

20. During your meal hour, does it bother you to eat while in uniform in a coffee shop or restaurant?

A lot       Sometimes       Not at all

Why is that?

21. Do you think a white person has more confidence in you as a security guard when you are in uniform or would he have more confidence in you if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Do you think this would be any different with particular kinds of white people?

22. How about a Black person? Do you think that a Black person has more confidence in you as a security guard when you are in uniform, or would he have more confidence in you if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

Do you think that this would be any different with particular kinds of Black people?

23. What about your fellow security guards who are white? Do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a security guard when you are in uniform, or would they have more confidence in you if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

24. And with your fellow security guards who are Black. Do you think that they seem to have more confidence in you as a security guard when you are in uniform, or would they have more confidence in you if you were in street clothes, or doesn't it matter what you wear?

Uniform       Street clothes       Doesn't matter

25. Do you like the way the uniform looks on you? (What do you like about it?)

26. Is there anything that you do (don't) like about the way the uniform looks?

27. If you had to continue wearing a uniform but could change the uniform in any way you wanted, how would you change it?

28. I am now going to read two statements to you that some security guards have mentioned as advantages to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as an advantage for you?

- It saves your own clothes from wear and tear.
- You don't have to worry about what to wear on the job.

29. The next two statements are disadvantages that some security guards have mentioned to wearing their uniform. For each statement, tell me whether you think of it as a disadvantage for you?

- The Company doesn't furnish us with enough uniforms.
- The Company doesn't clean the uniforms frequently enough.

30. Does your uniform ever make you feel more confident in doing your job, less confident, or does what you wear make no difference?

- More confident
- Less confident
- No difference

Why is that?

31. Have you ever been mistreated by policemen when you've been in street clothes because they've suspected you of a crime?

- Often
- Sometimes
- Never

32. How much of a risk would you run in being taken for a criminal by policemen if you were pursuing a criminal while in street clothes? Would it be:

- A big risk
- Slightly risky
- No risk at all

**[IF YES]** 33. Do you think that Black security guards would run a greater risk than white security guards?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

34. Do you think that you are more likely to be attacked because criminals know that you are a security guard when you're in uniform, or that you're less likely to be attacked because you're in uniform, or that it doesn't matter what you wear?

- More likely
- Less likely
- No difference

35. Overall then, how much would you say you liked your uniform? Would you say you:

- Like it very much
- Like it somewhat
- Don't feel one way or the other about it
- Both like and dislike the uniform for different reasons
- Dislike it somewhat
- Dislike it very much

36. Do you think that being in uniform helps to prevent security guards from slacking off while on the job, or that being in uniform makes it easier to slack off while on the job, or that the uniform makes no difference?

- Prevents slack
- Easier to slack
- No difference

Why is that?

37. I have heard that one of the reasons for having security guards in uniform when on duty is that the presence of the uniform makes people feel more secure. Do you think that the 'uniformed presence of security guards' makes people feel more secure, or that it really makes no difference in how people feel?

- More secure
- No difference

Why is that?

38. Suppose it were possible to do your job without wearing a uniform, and you could choose whether you wore a uniform or street clothes. What would you prefer to wear: your uniform or street clothes?

- Uniform
- Street clothes
- Sometimes uniform and sometimes street clothes

39. How important is your shield to you? Is it:

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not important at all

40. (IF YES): What is it about your shield that makes it important?

41. IF your employer were to change all security guards shield numbers because they were beginning a new system, would that:
- Bother you a great deal
  - Bother you somewhat
  - Not bother you at all
42. Suppose you were required to wear a name tag on your uniform. Would you be for against such a move or wouldn't you care?
- Strongly for it
  - For it, but with reservations
  - Wouldn't care
  - Against it
  - Strongly against it

Why is that?

43. Have you ever found that people who normally recognize you when you are in uniform, do NOT recognize you when you are in street clothes? How often does this happen?
- Often     Sometimes     Never
44. Have you ever found the opposite to occur: That people who normally recognize you in street clothes, do NOT recognize you when you are in uniform? How often does this happen?
- Often     Sometimes     Never
45. How many of the people you come across when you're on duty usually recognize you?
- Most     A lot     Some     Few     None
46. How many of the people that you see when you're on duty refer to you by name?
- Most     A lot     Some     Few     None
47. How about your colleagues with whom you normally work? How many of them usually recognize you?
- Most     A lot     Some     Few     None

48. Have you ever worn a uniform before the one you wear now?

Yes  No

(IF YES) What? Military service (specify service and rank) \_\_\_\_\_

Policeman \_\_\_\_\_

Similar job to one has now (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

49. Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? (The most recent). Had yo

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for different reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

(IF MORE THAN ONE)

Overall, how did you like the \_\_\_\_\_ uniform? Had you?

- Liked it very much
- Liked it somewhat
- Didn't feel one way or the other about it
- Both liked and disliked the uniform for different reasons
- Disliked it somewhat
- Disliked it very much

50. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your job in order to see the relationship between how you feel about your job and how you feel about your uniform. I would like to find out how satisfied you are in your own job. For example, how satisfied are you with your pay - Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

	Very Satisfied	Fairly Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
a. your pay				
b. your immediate supervisor				
c. how interesting the work is				
d. being treated like an individual by your employer				
e. your co-workers				
f. the hours you work				
g. the amount of authority you have				
h. job security				
i. how highly the public regards your job				
j. the amount of freedom you have				
k. being able to help people				
l. the chance to get ahead				
m. the chance to use your abilities				

51. All things considered, how satisfied are you with the job as a whole?

Very satisfied

Both very satisfied and very dissatisfied

Fairly satisfied

Fairly dissatisfied

Very dissatisfied

FOR BLACK SECURITY GUARDS

52. Do you feel that being Black has made your job more difficult with Black people, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're Black?

( ) More difficult      ( ) Easier      ( ) Doesn't matter

Why is that?

53. How about with the white public? Do you feel that being Black makes your job more difficult with the white public, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're Black?

( ) More difficult      ( ) Easier      ( ) Doesn't matter

Why is that?

54. Do you ever feel bad that you have to ask a disorderly Black person to leave the building because he's one of your own people?

( ) Often      ( ) Sometimes      ( ) Never

Why is that?

55. Do you ever feel that being Black makes your relationship closer with your fellow Black security guards, or is there a strain between you and your fellow Black security guards, or doesn't it matter that you're Black?

( ) Closer      ( ) Strain      ( ) Doesn't matter

56. How about your fellow white security guards? Do you ever feel that being Black makes your relationship closer with your fellow white security guards, or is there a strain between you and your fellow white security guards, or doesn't it matter that you're Black?

( ) Closer      ( ) Strain      ( ) Doesn't matter

FOR WHITE SECURITY GUARDS

52. Do you feel that being white has made your job more difficult with Black people, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're white?

More difficult       Easier       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

53. How about with the white public? Do you feel that being white makes your job more difficult with the white public, or easier, or that it doesn't matter that you're white?

More difficult       Easier       Doesn't matter

Why is that?

54. Do you ever feel bad that you have to ask a disorderly member of your own ethnic group to leave the building because he is one of your own people?

Often       Sometimes       Never

Why is that?

55. Do you ever feel that being white makes your relationship closer with your fellow white security guards, or is there a strain between you and your fellow white security guards, or doesn't it matter that you're white?

Closer       Strain       Doesn't matter

56. How about your fellow Black security guards? Do you ever feel that being white creates a strain between you and your fellow Black security guards, or does being white make your relationship closer with your fellow Black security guards, or doesn't it matter that you're white?

Closer       Strain       Doesn't matter

57. Are there some members of your family who like your being a security guard?

Yes       No

Which members of your family are they? (specify)

58. Do any members of your family dislike your being a security guard?

Yes       No

Which members of your family are they?

59. Did becoming a security guard cut you off from any of your friends?

A lot     Some     Few     None

Why is that?

60. How many of your close friends are security guards? \_\_\_\_\_

How many close friends do you have on the whole? \_\_\_\_\_  
(Does this include the close friends you have who are security guards?)

61. Now I'm going to read two statements to you and ask you how strongly you agree or disagree with them.

It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Don't feel one way or the other
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

62. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals of life.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Don't feel one way or the other
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

BACKGROUND

1. SEX      Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. Of what racial or ethnic group do you consider yourself a member of?
  - ( ) White
  - ( ) Black
  - ( ) Puerto Rican
  - ( ) Chinese
  - ( ) Japanese
  - ( ) Jewish
  - ( ) Italian
  - ( ) Irish
  - ( ) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. How long have you been a security guard? \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Do you wear a gun?      ( ) Yes      ( ) No
  
6. Were you a New York City Policeman before you became a security guard?
  - ( ) Yes      ( ) No

(IF YES) How long were you a policeman? \_\_\_\_\_
  
7. What is the name of your employer? \_\_\_\_\_
  
8. What building(s) do you presently guard? \_\_\_\_\_
  
9. What is your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
  
10. Do you think that your occupation has more prestige than your father's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your father's?
  - ( ) More prestige      ( ) Less prestige      ( ) No difference
  
11. What is your mother's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
  
12. Do you think that your occupation has more prestige than your mother's occupation, less prestige, or that there is no difference in prestige between your occupation and your mother's?
  - ( ) More prestige      ( ) Less prestige      ( ) No difference

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

PLEASE DO NOT TALK WITH YOUR CO-WORKERS ABOUT THE INTERVIEW. I'D LIKE THEIR ANSWERS TO BE AS SPONTANEOUS AS YOURS.

Appendix C  
Table A

Prestige Ratings of Occupations and Racial-Ethnic Groups: Means of Raw Data

Occupations	$\bar{X}$	s.d.	N	Racial-Ethnic Groups	$\bar{X}$	s.d.	N
Railroad conductor	2.80	.85	120	Italian	3.04	.77	118
Policeman	3.37	.91	124	Puerto Rican	1.75	.89	118
Nurse's aide	2.81	.92	122	Anglo-Saxon Protestant	4.14	.79	109
Manager of small store in city	3.25	.88	120	Chinese	3.25	.95	111
Typist	2.76	.84	125	Black	2.04	.98	114
Doctor	4.85	.38	126	Irish	3.19	.79	114
Construction worker	3.15	1.06	120	Jewish	3.72	.91	116
Registered nurse	4.12	.69	125	Japanese	3.29	.96	110
Bank president	4.77	.51	119	Total	3.04	1.16	
College professor	4.63	.58	121				
Police sergeant	3.80	.79	120				
Actress in a Broadway 'hit'	4.45	.84	121				
Sanitation man	2.72	1.07	122				
Elementary school teacher	3.74	.76	124				
Security guard	2.57	.87	122				
Total	3.59	1.13					

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