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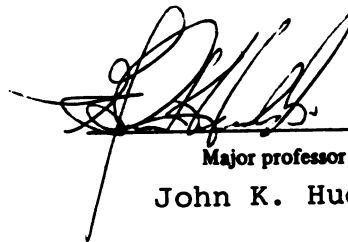
The Role of Selected Factors Upon
Patrol Officer Job Satisfaction
In Two Urban Police Departments

presented by

Eva Schlesinger Buzawa

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Criminal Justice


Major professor
John K. Hudzik

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THE ROLE OF SELECTED FACTORS UPON
PATROL OFFICER JOB SATISFACTION
IN TWO URBAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS

By

Eva Schlesinger Buzawa

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF SELECTED FACTORS UPON PATROL OFFICER JOB SATISFACTION IN TWO URBAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS

By

Eva Schlesinger Buzawa

The basic purpose of this thesis is to examine what factors affect job satisfaction among police officers in two major urban police departments. Potential independent variables that will be examined which may be predictive of job satisfaction, include the various background characteristics of the officer that research suggests may be relevant to the determination of work related attitudes, the type of supervisory style encountered by the officer on patrol, and the effect of the officer's other attitudes toward the work environment.

This research is largely based upon the premise that, as in other occupations, there will be substantial variance in the degree of job satisfaction officers will express. The task then is to determine what factors account for this variance. The following format for the research was adopted and followed. First, a questionnaire geared to the work experiences of police officers queried the level of officer job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was not only examined as an aggregate concept (by a derived scale), but was evaluated in terms of job satisfaction in the performance of particular tasks, e.g., work on family disturbances, crime prevention, etc.

Similarly, because of the possibility that the concept of job satisfaction and the factors leading thereto might vary among different individuals, several operational measures of job satisfaction were used with the officers asked to select the importance of each. Each officers' observations were then contrasted with those of his supervisor. The latter's attitudes were ascertained through a structured interview format and a previously validated management style diagnostic test. The purpose of these varying measurements was to contrast the importance of subjective impressions (officer and supervisory opinions) with objective factors (officer background and observed management style) to determine which factors were the best predictors of officer job satisfaction.

Research findings indicate that background characteristics and job related factors play a role in determining police officer job satisfaction in Detroit and Oakland. In light of previous research, several surprising findings emerged. Black officers were more satisfied than white officers, job satisfaction increased with amount of education and also increased with years in policing. Officers were more concerned with fulfillment received from the job than material benefits. Their greatest source of dissatisfaction appeared to concern promotional opportunities with both black and white officers believing that non-job related factors interfered with prescribed methods for advancement. Finally, while consistent patterns among the variables emerged between Detroit and Oakland, their overall impact varied substantially between the two cities. The role played by job related factors in Oakland was greater than background variables. In Detroit the opposite was true. Further, the

Eva Schlesinger Buzawa

variance explained by both background and job related factors in predicting job satisfaction was much lower in Detroit than Oakland.

This research suggests that while the role of demographic and job related factors are significant, their overall importance may be minimized by situational factors unique to the department under consideration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this doctoral dissertation was in large part due to the support and encouragement of those close to me. If my husband Carl had not generously edited innumerable drafts, escorted me to Mexico beaches when my spirits (and writing) were poor; been so tolerant in enduring my temperaments and hectic existence; had Tom Austin not spent so many frustrating nights with me at the computer center, made countless trips around East Lansing and Detroit when my schedule became complicated and so patiently tolerated my incessant visits to his office; and had Peter Manning not been so supportive and helpful throughout my entire doctoral program, conscientious and generous in the time he spent reviewing proposals and drafts, and kind in sitting through numerous lunches and drinks with me, the task would have caused far more difficulty, and would certainly not have been as productive nor as pleasurable.

I would also like to extend my deep appreciation to my committee members for the time and energy expended in my behalf; my chairman, John Hudzik; John McNamara; Terry Moe; and Tim Bynum.

I am also deeply indebted to both the Oakland and Detroit Police Departments for their cooperation in this research endeavor. Not only did they help make this project possible, but enjoyable as well.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE:

A STUDY OF POLICE OFFICER JOB SATISFACTION

The basic purpose of this thesis is to examine what factors affect job satisfaction among police officers in two major urban police departments. Potential independent variables that will be examined (which may be predictive of job satisfaction) include the various background characteristics of the officer that research suggests may be relevant to the determination of work related attitudes, the type of supervisory style encountered by the officer on patrol, and the effect of the officer's other attitudes toward the work environment.

The literature on job satisfaction is extremely diverse and generally quite sophisticated; many excellent studies in numerous occupational settings discuss the relationship between job satisfaction and a variety of independent variables. An extensive review of this literature is conducted later in this dissertation. However, despite the generally abundant literature on police attitudes and behavior (discussed in the literature section), there remains a paucity of studies that focus on factors that correlate with the level of police officer job satisfaction.

This study of job satisfaction among police officers is being undertaken because of the author's belief that it is important to conduct a specialized study of job satisfaction in police organizations.

As discussed more fully in Chapter II, police officers and their work organization have specific characteristics that make an application of the principles that have been found to correlate with job satisfaction in other organizations tenuous.

Also, this paper is largely based upon the premise that, as in other occupations, there will be substantial variance in the degree of job satisfaction officers will express. The task then is to determine what factors account for this variance. The following format for the research was adopted and followed. First, a questionnaire geared to the work experiences of police officers queried the level of officer job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was not only examined as an aggregate concept (by a derived scale), but was evaluated in terms of job satisfaction in the performance of particular tasks, e.g., work on family disturbances, crime prevention, etc.

Similarly, because of the possibility that the concept of job satisfaction and the factors leading thereto might vary among different individuals, several operational measures of job satisfaction were used with the officers being asked to select the importance of each. Each officers' observations were then contrasted with those of his supervisor. The latter's attitudes were ascertained through a structured interview format and a previously validated management style diagnostic test. The purpose of these varying measurements was to contrast the importance of subjective impressions (officer and supervisory opinions) with objective factors (officer background and observed management style) to determine which factors were the best predictors of officer job satisfaction.

The format for presentation of this dissertation shall be as follows: 1) the Statement of the Problem will discuss the concept of job satisfaction, why it is a concept worth studying, and why it should be considered in the police context; 2) the Literature section will provide a review of research which relates the level of job satisfaction to other salient variables; 3) the Working Hypotheses are then developed; 4) the Operational Framework of the study will be developed, including the nature of research instruments, the selection of suitable sample populations, and the acknowledgement of limitations of the study; 5) an Analysis of the Data will be provided; and 6) a Summary of the Results will be presented, including a discussion of directions for future research.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF JOB SATISFACTION

1. What is Job Satisfaction?

An inquiry into "job satisfaction" appropriately begins with a definition of the concept. Before attempting to advance a working definition of job satisfaction, some limitations must be expressed. First, it must be recognized that an examination of job satisfaction does not mean that objective reality is being studied. One author has stated this succinctly:

In our studies of quality of working life, individuals can and do report satisfaction with work situations that we know from information not accessible to the respondents are abbreviating their lives, threatening their family relationships, and unnecessarily narrowing their future life options.¹

In making this reservation, it should be recognized that Roustang is not suggesting that the subjective area of job satisfaction is irrelevant to an inquiry of the worker's job environment. He is merely acknowledging that "objective" data concerning employment conditions has already been well-documented and is not being studied in research on job

¹ Guy Roustang, "Why Study Working Conditions via Job Satisfaction? A Plea for Direct Analysis," International Labour Organization (1977), p. 285 citing Stanley E. Seashore, "Defining and Measuring the Quality of Working Life." Paper submitted to the International Conference on the Quality of Working Life, Harriman, New York (1972), pp. 3-4.

satisfaction. The study of subjective job satisfaction may aid research in determining the motivation for individual and collective behavior of employees. The study of objective reality, however, may be very useful in studying problems affecting worker's health, personal development and their social life.¹ Consideration of subjective reality and the measurement of job satisfaction should therefore be regarded as a complement to and not an alternative for ongoing research of objective working conditions.

The second limitation is that the study of job satisfaction is not necessarily the same as "morale". Morale may be defined as a group phenomenon similar to "esprit de corps" or group enthusiasm in the pursuit of a common goal. Some early studies uncritically assumed that job satisfaction was identical to worker morale.

Recently, however, there has been a growing inclination to define morale primarily in terms of attitudes and behavior associated with the activity of the individual as a member of a group. Morale has come to imply a group concept, a feeling of togetherness, as distinguished from individual job satisfaction.²

It may be easily seen that morale, while often very closely associated with job satisfaction, is a group centered phenomenon and is somewhat more limited than overall job satisfaction. Furthermore, a worker may

¹See Roustang article, *ibid.*, for an extensive discussion of the necessity for studying both facets of the working environment.

²Ramon Conde Salinas, "An Exploratory Study of Job Satisfaction Attitudes Among Non-Academic University Personnel," Masters Thesis. New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1964, p. 6.

have low morale in that he has very little feeling of group togetherness while having very high job satisfaction. However, some of the earlier literature, especially of the human relations school, appeared to uncritically accept the identity of group morale and job satisfaction. This has led to a lack of clarity in the literature and may be partially responsible for the inability to replicate some studies in later years. This study examines job satisfaction, not morale.

Finally, the search for a working definition must begin with the understanding that job satisfaction is clearly a situational concept dependent upon the individual employees' frame of reference. It is evident that the individual is not isolated and his degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction is very much dependent upon his characteristics, work group and working environment. Furthermore, what is important to achieving job satisfaction is very dependent upon individual goals and preferences. Any realistic definition of job satisfaction must take this into account. Therefore, the following attempts to define job satisfaction must be regarded as very generalized and may not always be appropriate for each employee.

Studies providing definitions of job satisfaction may be broken down into three approaches: 1) those which measure the disparity between individual experiences and the job's fulfillment of those expectations; 2) explanations focusing upon whether the job fits in with some of the pertinent objectives of the worker; and 3) explanations which view job satisfaction as a composite of a number of factors, i.e., security, social, self-esteem and self-actualization needs. Much of the

literature in the past has adopted the "expectation-fulfillment" definition of job satisfaction without formal justification. This is simply stated as the observation that job satisfaction is the result of the relationship between what one expects and what one obtains from a job, thereby constituting a kind of overall balance sheet on the employment experience.¹ The critique of this is that if job satisfaction is measured only on the basis of the relationship between expectations and worker benefits, the term becomes much more a measurement of the respondent's power of imagination rather than the satisfaction gained from the work. Furthermore, test instruments focusing on this type of job satisfaction could very easily influence respondents' scores since it is difficult to quantify degrees of desired increases. Similarly, the test instruments may suggest dissatisfaction in areas where a worker basically is content, but would not be adverse to receiving increases, such as compensation. Lawler stated the same concept slightly differently viewing job satisfaction as a function of the perceived discrepancies between job expectations and actual outcomes.² The degree of congruence between expectations and reality combined with the perception of adequacies in salient job areas determined the level of satisfaction for each job component or job facet. Overall satisfaction was the result

¹Roustang, op. cit., p. 278.

²Edward E. Lawler III, "Attitude Surveys and Job Performance," Personnel Administration Vol. 30 (Sept., 1967), pp. 22-24.

of summarizing the individual's configuration of "facet satisfactions" and the relative importance of each such job facet.

The second definition specifies the job and its ability to enable the worker to achieve his personal goals. This is somewhat different from the first working definition in that the goals transcend the organizational environment. The first definition emphasizes expectations derived from employment. The second puts more emphasis upon more long-range goals, the attainment of which may not be job specific. Salinas describes job satisfaction as the:

evaluation of one's job and the employing company as contributing suitably to the attainment of one's personal objectives.¹

This approach has its strength in that it emphasizes the attainment of goals that are individually important to a particular worker, not the expectations of events that may not have importance to the employee. For example, for some employees this may primarily be dependent upon the training received on the job and ability to receive meaningful advancement. For others, it may be a great desire to accomplish a specific work goal. For still others, satisfaction may have nothing to do with the job itself. The test instruments using this definition must therefore include a wide range of potential goals for employment and retain the capability of having the worker self-select the degree of importance of a particular factor.

¹Salinas, op. cit., p. 7.

Another advantage of focusing on this factor is raised by Herzberg and others in their two factor theory of job satisfaction. Their theory emphasized that there are a group of job related factors centering around the workers' ability to obtain self-realization from his job. The attainment of such conditions may lead to positive satisfaction. The second group of factors Herzberg isolates include physical working conditions, wages, personnel policies, and interpersonal relations. Under certain conditions, inability to obtain satisfaction may lead to dissatisfaction. However, these factors are not the source of satisfaction. The problem with this definition is that in the earlier cases, focus was exclusively upon what may be termed to be one facet of job satisfaction. In addition, this may be overly weighted toward professional and other high income job categories where "need theorists" have hypothesized a concentration of workers who are in a state of attainment which would predispose emphasis toward fulfillment of personal goals.¹

¹ Herzberg's two factor theory has been extensively discussed in the literature. Some researchers have found supporting data for his theory. See, for example, R. Bloom and J. Barry, "Determinants of Work Attitudes Among Negroes," Journal of Applied Psychology 51 (1967), pp. 287-292; G. R. Allen, "Sources of Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction," Banking 60 (December, 1967), pp. 64+; Frederick Herzberg, "The Motivation to Work Among Finish Supervisors," Personnel Psychology 18 (1965), pp. 393-400. Other researchers have been unable to find a concrete distinction between those factors that satisfy and those factors that only have impact upon expressed dissatisfaction. For this position, see Dilip K. Lahiri and Suresh Srivastva, "Determinants of Satisfaction in Middle Management Personnel," Journal of Applied Psychology 51 (June, 1967), pp. 254-265; Peter Weissenberg, "Psychological Differentiation and Job Satisfaction," Ph.D. Dissertation, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell, 1967; Bernard Hilton, "An Empirical Investigation of the Herzberg Methodology and Two Factor Theory," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 3 (August, 1968), pp. 286-309. This author is not in a position to comment on the continuing viability of Herzberg's overall theory of factors leading to job

The third working definition of job satisfaction emphasizes the attitudes of the worker toward his present organizational position.

Michael Beer summarized this by noting that job satisfaction is:

... the attitude of workers toward the organization, their job role, their fellow workers and other psychological objects in the work environment.¹

Ivancevich and Donnelly likewise defined job satisfaction as "the favorable viewpoint of the worker toward the work role he presently occupies."² While this definition has some merit in placing greater emphasis upon the worker's attitude toward his present employment than the goal fulfillment emphasized in the preceding definition, it also has deficiencies. Instruments using this definition as the sole basis for measuring job satisfaction presumably would not inquire regarding the worker's expectation of advancement within, or opportunities outside, the immediate organization. Similarly, an instrument emphasizing this single factor might not be probing enough to reveal all aspects of worker job attitudes. Specifically, under this definition, a worker could be satisfied if he had a favorable attitude toward his current employment even though it did not fulfill his personal and job engendered objectives.

satisfaction. What is merely being suggested is that a working definition of job satisfaction which may greatly affect subsequent hypotheses and test instruments should not by its terms exclude insights derived from any theory.

¹Michael Beer, "Organizational Size and Job Satisfaction," Academy of Management Journal 7 (March, 1964), pp. 34-44.

²J. M. Ivancevich and J. H. Donnelly, "Job Satisfaction Research: A Management Guide for Practitioners," Personnel Journal 47 (March, 1968), pp. 172-177.

The fourth approach is merely to list factors which authors of a particular study consider to be very important to attaining job satisfaction. No theoretical model is generally provided in such research. Instead, research concentrates upon the identified factors. Smith, Kendall and Hulin typify the style when they examined five facets of job satisfaction, including satisfaction with the worker's pay, co-workers, promotions, supervision, and the work itself.¹ The advantage of this approach is that it focuses upon concerns of virtually all workers and can provide a rather encompassing list of areas to be examined. The limitation of this method is that it does not really render a working definition of job satisfaction. Instead, it should be recognized as an aggregate of separate concepts without a central idea or theory binding them together. Also, in proposing such a list as a working definition, later research is dependent upon the inclusivity of the definition and its ability to be generalized to all employees in all job settings. Therefore, while the factors which are noted in this concept should certainly be examined by all subsequent research, a working definition must be sought elsewhere.

The approach adopted for purposes of this research ideally utilizes insights of the four preceding definitions. For this study, job satisfaction will be defined as the attitude of an employee toward his organization and his job role therein and the degree to which the employee believes the job fulfills personal objectives. The workers attitude

¹P. C. Smith, L. M. Kendall and C. L. Hulin, The Measurement of Satisfaction in Work and Retirement (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).

toward the organization and job role would normally be expected to include feelings about compensation, working conditions, co-workers, supervisors and the impact and direction of management policies and directives. Fulfillment of worker's personal objectives is, as noted earlier, a highly personal concept.

2. The Importance of Job Satisfaction

Before examining further the factors that may lead to job satisfaction, it should be established that the concept is of sufficient importance to justify its study and to justify efforts to increase the level of worker satisfaction. Therefore, I will briefly summarize the facets of job satisfaction which had been stated by others to be of importance. In analyzing the effect of job satisfaction, there are three different perspectives which must be evaluated: 1) the employer (pertaining primarily to the individual employee's level of performance and the effects upon overall organizational performance); 2) the employee; and 3) society in general.

It should initially be noted that no research was found that studied police departments and used the level of job satisfaction as an independent variable affecting other important employee attitudes, behavior and performance. Therefore, literature in other areas has been used to illustrate the importance of job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction has long been studied to find if it is related to a worker's performance. Two perspectives have been examined: 1) if there is an effect on the individual's level of performance; and 2) if it has an effect on the overall performance of the organization as

affected by the employees' collective actions, employee absence, employee turnover and other related factors.

Classical theories of management advanced by Taylor¹, Fayol², etc. basically related increases in productivity of individual workers and their work organizations to changes in deployment patterns, specificity of structure and control and similar management techniques designed to increase control of subordinates by top level management. Beginning in the post-war years, some authors stated there was a direct correlation between job satisfaction of an employee and his output. In his seminal study, Personality and Organization, Argyris stated that productivity could be increased by organizational designs that facilitated "self-actualization".³ Likert in 1961 hypothesized that changes in work organizations leading to increased upward communications from lower level field operatives to their supervisors would cause increases in the operative's job satisfaction and also result in improved levels of productivity of the workers so affected.⁴ Similar justifications were advanced by both researchers and managers alike for "enriching jobs".

¹ Frederick Taylor, Principles of Scientific Management (New York: Harper and Row, 1911).

² Henri Fayol, General and Industrial Management (London: Pitman, 1930).

³ Chris Argyris, Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1962).

⁴ Rensis Likert, New Patterns of Management (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961).

The theoretical reason for making jobs more stimulating was to enable the job holders to experience satisfaction when they performed well. It was also hypothesized that stimulating job satisfaction would be positively related to performance.

Increasingly, however, concepts of job satisfaction and individual productivity have not been found to be linked under all circumstances. One study in 1957 evaluated 26 earlier studies that had attempted to estimate the association between job satisfaction and performance and concluded that there was a small, frequent but not consistent positive association between the two concepts.¹ In 1964, a review of 20 previous studies demonstrated that the association between job satisfaction and performance was not statistically significant.² Some studies have even been conducted finding that among "higher level" jobs, job satisfaction was inversely correlated with individual levels of productivity.³

¹Frederick Herzburg, Bernard Mausner, Richard Peterson and Dora Capwell, "Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion" (Pittsburgh: Psychological Services of Pittsburgh, 1957).

²Victor Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York: Wiley, 1964). See also, Arthur Brayfield and Walter Crockett, "Employee Attitudes and Employee Performance," Psychological Bulletin (1955), pp. 396-424.

³See especially John W. Slocum, Jr. and Michael J. Misshauk, "Job Satisfaction and Productivity," Personnel Administration 33 (March-April, 1970), pp. 52-58 where they found that engineers' level of job satisfaction was inversely correlated with productivity; and L. S. Baird, "Relationship of Performance to Satisfaction in Stimulating and Non-Stimulating Jobs," Journal of Applied Psychology 61, 6 (1976), p. 721 who found that job satisfaction was correlated with individual performance only in non-stimulating jobs.

Because of the failure of repeated research attempts to arrive at a consistent linkage between job satisfaction and performance of an individual worker, subsequent research conducted in the late 1960's and early 1970's assumed there was no relationship and that the human relationists were wrong in their earlier research. After a review of the literature, Cherrington, Reitz and Scott concluded that there was no inherent relationship between job satisfaction and job performance and that their review merely demonstrated how literature could produce just about any imaginable relationship.¹

However, it has been proposed that the human relations school may not be entirely erroneous in its efforts to correlate the factors; instead there had been a failure to develop a sufficiently sophisticated theory giving consideration to those variables responsible for previous inconsistencies.² In short, job satisfaction may effect performance only under certain conditions.

Porter and Lawler stated this position succinctly:

The earlier assumptions about the effects of high levels of job satisfaction were greatly oversimplified, if not clearly incorrect. Any view that because a worker is satisfied, he must be a highly productive performer is obviously naive. The first lesson to be learned is not that job satisfaction

¹David Cherrington, Joseph Reitz and William E. Scott, Jr. "Effects of Contingent and Noncontingent Reward on the Relationship Between Satisfaction and Task Performance," Journal of Applied Psychology 55 (December, 1971), pp. 531-536.

²D. P. Schwab and L. L. Cummings, "Employee Performance and Satisfaction with Work Roles: A Review and Interpretation of Theory," Industrial Relations 9 (1970), pp. 408-430.

is an inconsequential variable, but rather that its relationship to performance is more complex than previously recognized.¹

Two "moderator variables", organizational rewards and self-esteem, have been proposed and analyzed in subsequent literature. In 1968, Porter and Lawler proposed a model in which suitable intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for task completion provided the intermediate links between job satisfaction and job performance. These researchers found that the degree to which the worker believed he was rewarded adequately by the company affected both performance and job satisfaction.²

The perceived suitability of contingent rewards to actual performance were subsequently incorporated into multiple regression equations in an attempt to increase the prediction of job performance ratings from job satisfaction information. Results indicated that this factor's inclusion substantially increased the relationship between job satisfaction and job performance.³ Similar research has reproduced this conclusion.⁴

¹L. W. Porter and E. E. Lawler, Managerial Attitudes and Performance (1968).

²Ibid.

³R. Jacobs and T. Solomon, "Strategies for Enhancing the Prediction of Job Performance from Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology 62 (August, 1977), p. 417.

⁴Cherrington, Reitz and Scott, op. cit., and L. S. Baird, "Relationship of Performance of Satisfaction in Stimulating and Non-Stimulating Jobs," Journal of Applied Psychology 61, No. 6(1976), p. 726, studied this factor in terms of the suitability of organizational feedback; S. H. Peres, "Factors which Influence Job Satisfaction in General Electric, Crotonville, N. Y.," Personnel and Industrial Relations Services, General Electric (1967), p. 12 found that among engineers, 78% of those who believed that salary increases were not based on performance were highly dissatisfied.

It is important to realize that the relationship proposed by Porter and Lawler does not necessarily demonstrate that job satisfaction leads to increased individual performance. In fact, these researchers hypothesized that it was the initial high performance leading to desired intrinsic and extrinsic rewards which subsequently created job satisfaction. While there is very little empirical evidence as to this directional relationship, their 1967 study found that job satisfaction was actually more closely related to performance than to effort on the job.¹ This finding was consistent with the idea that high performance preceded job satisfaction. Effort would have been more highly correlated than performance if the causal order had been reversed since "effort on the job" may not always be synonymous with job performance.

Similar research by Locke (1967) indicated a positive linear relationship between the number of successes on a particular job and ratings by the employee of his being satisfied with the task assigned to him.² This provides further evidence that performance of the worker affected subsequent job satisfaction as well as the converse causal relationship.

A second moderator variable, self-esteem, has been documented in the literature linking job satisfaction and job performance. In 1968, Korman hypothesized and found that "task liking" (or job satisfaction)

¹E. E. Lawler and L. W. Porter, "Antecedent Attitudes of Effective Managerial Performance," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 2 (May, 1967), pp. 122-142.

²Edwin A. Locke, "Further Data on the Relationship of Task Success to Liking and Satisfaction," Psychological Reports 20 (February, 1967), p. 246 reached this conclusion through the review of seven studies.

and "task success" (job performance) were positively related for high self-esteem subjects but were unrelated for those subjects reporting low self-esteem. Reporting on the results of three experiments, he concluded that the relationship between job satisfaction and performance did vary as a function of the degree of self-esteem. Siegel and Bowen conducted experiments which reinforced this conclusion.¹ In a study by Jacobs and Solomon used both "suitability of reward contingency" (meaning the extent to which the worker believes that rewards are distributed equitably) and self-esteem as factors. This study revealed that while a simple attempt to link job satisfaction and job performance resulted in inconsistent findings, a more complex predictive strategy incorporating these moderator variables greatly increased the covariation between job performance and job satisfaction. Both moderator variables used were found to increase the satisfaction-performance relationship.²

A second approach to the measurement of the effect of job satisfaction upon performance is to examine the effect of job satisfaction upon organizational productivity, e.g., organizational output. This concept should be recognized as being separable from individual productivity. Effects of job dissatisfaction upon organizational output may arise in two different manners: a) the absence of skilled workers via

¹J. P. Siegel and D. Bowen, "Satisfaction and Performance: Causal Relationships and Moderating Effects," Journal of Vocational Behavior 1 (1971), pp. 263-269.

²R. Jacobs and T. Solomon, "Strategies for Enhancing the Prediction of Job Performance from Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology 62 (August, 1977), p. 410.

frequent absenteeism and high rates of employee turnover; and b) concerted job actions. A number of authors have conducted studies which support the contention that the number of absences in an organization is causally related to the degree of job satisfaction among its workers.¹ Herzberg et al., in a 1957 study, found that in twelve of thirteen studies of absenteeism prior to 1957, dissatisfaction and absenteeism were related. A later review conducted in 1959 largely confirmed this conclusion.²

Apart from empirical evidence suggesting the relationship, one skeptical author stated that the connection has been repeatedly hypothesized for five major reasons:

1. The notion has intuitive appeal. It makes sense to assert that workers happy with their jobs will attend work more regularly and permanently. (Argyle, 1972)
2. It is a short, easy, but illogical step to identify THE FACT OF with the MOTIVATION FOR withdrawal from the work place as Hill and Trist (1955) did in their influential expositions of the "withdrawal theory" which they used to explain trends in

¹M. Argyle, The Social Psychology of Work (Middlesex, England: Penquin, 1972); H. Behrend, "Voluntary Absence from Work," International Labor Review 79 (1959), pp. 109-140; N. R. F. Maier, Psychology in Industry (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955); J. G. March and H. A. Simon, Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1958); M. Patchen, "Absence and Employee Feelings about Fair Treatment," Personnel Psychology 13 (1960), pp. 349-360; and L. M. Porter and R. M. Steers, "Organizational Work and Personal Factors in Employee Turnover and Absenteeism," Psychological Bulletin 80 (1973), pp. 151-176.

²Frederick Herzburg, Bernard Mausner, Richard Peterson and Dora Capwell, "Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion" (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Psychological Services of Pittsburgh, 1957); I. Katz and M. Cohen, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1965).

absences, turnover, and accidents associated with employee length of service.

3. The proposition is a vindication of job satisfaction research in the face of repeated failure of this research to demonstrate a reliable relationship between job attitudes and productivity (Brayfield and Crockett, 1955).

4. Acceptance of the theory provides an economic rationale for employers to actively seek to improve the quality of their employees' work experience (Wall and Stephenson, 1970).

5. There are a number of studies purporting to show reliable relationships between employee attitudes and absence from work.¹

While the previous studies found a relationship between overall levels of job satisfaction and absenteeism, other researchers have been unable to replicate these studies. Waters and Roach found that overall satisfaction with the job was not significantly relevant to the frequencies of absence.² Similar results were reported by Korman,³ Tiffin and McCormick,⁴ and Vroom.⁵ A group of authors who reviewed 29 studies found little empirical basis for the popular belief that job dissatisfaction is a major cause of absence from work. They believed

¹Nigel Nickolson, Colin A. Brown and J. K. Chadwick-Jones, "Absence from Work and Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology 61, No. 6(1976), p. 728.

²L. K. Waters and Darrell Roach, "Relationship Between Job Attitudes and Two Forms of Withdrawal from the Work Situation," Journal of Applied Psychology 66 (February, 1971), pp. 92-94.

³A. K. Korman, Industrial and Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

⁴J. Tiffin and E. K. McCormick, Industrial Psychology (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966).

⁵V. H. Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

examination of these 29 studies revealed numerous inconsistencies in the methods and measures used. As a result they concluded that most studies were lacking sophistication in methodology. The authors then conducted a study by gathering data from blue collar production workers in varying organizations and technologies. Results indicated that job dissatisfaction and absence from work were usually only tenuously related. However, the authors did note that occasional inverse relationships were found. They concluded that these incidents justified future research. Specifically, they felt that it was potentially rewarding to study "absence cultures" within individual organizations, occupational groups, and operational subunits since linkages between the two concepts most likely occurred through group norms, organizational sanctions and supervisory practices.¹

Another hypothesis linking job satisfaction and absenteeism was proposed in a further study by Nicholson, Wall and Leischern conducted in 1977. This study found that when individual workers were used as the unit of analysis, job satisfaction (particularly satisfaction with a particular task being performed) was correlated both with absence from work and propensity to leave. The highest relationship was found when job satisfaction as a concept was broken down into one of its subparts, e.g., existing perceived involvement in the decision making processes. Correlations between desired (as opposed to existing) influence on the job did not bear a consistent relation to either absence or propensity

¹Nigel Nicholson, Colin A. Brown and J. K. Chadwick-Jones, "Absence from Work and Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology 61, No. 6 (1976), p. 735.

to leave. The authors concluded that the failure of some research to replicate such a relationship stemmed from inadequate or inappropriate measurement of the variables involved. No analysis is made as to why Nicholson's 1976 study reached markedly different conclusions from his 1977 research.¹

Closely related in impact to the organization's absenteeism is its turnover rate. Naturally, voluntary turnover is determined by many factors and the individual's attitude toward his job is but one. There have, however, been studies which find a relationship between overall job satisfaction and the rate at which employees decide to voluntarily leave their employment. A 1957 review of 24 previous studies reported that in 21 of these studies, dissatisfied workers had a larger number of avoidable severences than did satisfied workers.² Vroom's 1964 review of seven subsequent studies reinforced the earlier finding and a 1972 study found similar patterns.³ Lawler found that employees who perceive themselves as not being satisfied were far more

¹Nigel Nicholson, T. Wall and J. Lischero, "Predictability to Leave from Employees Job Satisfaction and Attitudes Toward Influence in Decision Making," Human Relations 30, No. 6 (1977), pp. 499-514.

²Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, Richard Peterson, and Dora Capwell, "Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion" (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Psychological Services of Pittsburgh, 1957).

³Thomas Mangione, Turnover: A Model and a Review of the Literature (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, 1972); U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 24.

likely to quit.¹ In a study of Air Force pilots, Atchison and Lefferts similarly found connections between job satisfaction and voluntary turnover.² Patchen found that job satisfaction was in effect a predictor of subsequent turnover.³ Mobley noted a significant and consistent relationship between job satisfaction and turnover. However, it was not believed strong in view of the many reasons for voluntary employee turnover and the many disincentives preventing a dissatisfied worker from leaving his job.⁴

Other authors have attempted to refine the observed connection between job satisfaction and employee turnover. They have found that correlations between the two become somewhat higher when job satisfaction is analyzed by its individual components. Nicholson separated job satisfaction into several concepts including involvement in job level decisions, satisfaction with the intrinsic work, and desires for

¹Edward E. Lawler III, "Attitude Survey and Job Performance," Personnel Administration 30 (September-October, 1967), pp. 3-5, 22-24.

²T. J. Atchison and E. A. Lefferts, "The Prediction of Turnover Using Herzberg's Job Satisfaction Technique, Personnel Psychology 25 (Spring, 1972), pp. 53-64.

³M. Patchen, "Absence and Employee Feelings About Fair Treatment," Personnel Psychology 13 (1960), 349-360.

⁴W. H. Mobley, "Intermediate Linkages in Relationship Between Job Satisfaction and Employee Turnover," Journal of Applied Psychology 62, No. 2 (1977), p. 237.

increased influence in overall organizational decision making.

Nicholson found that employees dissatisfaction with ability to make decisions at his current job level was the most closely related concept to voluntary turnover whereas the degree of the workers' emotional involvement in the job more critically determines his attendance and susceptibility to causal absence.¹

The final area in which job satisfaction has been said to influence organizational productivity is the area of labor unrest. The specific application of this research has been noted in police literature. Ayers examined in detail the causation of a police strike in Albuquerque. He noted the issue that ostensibly created the strike was inadequate wages while upon closer examination, many other factors were evident. A number of police officers maintained that the cause of the strike was "internal departmental tension". Ayers defined this phrase as the widely shared consensus of the men on the force that they had no input in management and that neither the administration nor the community appreciated their work or expressed concern for their well-being. Ayers also found that the increasing levels of education found in most departments affected employee dissatisfaction and subsequently led to the impetus for a concerted job action.

Educational incentive pay having been introduced, many officers now had completed high levels of education, including college. The educated officer began challenging orders

¹ See also J. M. Ivancevich, "Predicting Job Performance by Use of Ability Tests and Studying Job Satisfaction as a Moderating Variable," Journal of Vocational Behavior 9, No. 1 (1976), pp. 87-97. He found that more of the impact of job satisfaction could be obtained by breaking down the overall term into its components to separately determine their impact upon the selected performance characteristics.

and authority, wanting to know the reasons behind various instructions and rules and regulations. He also viewed police management as being too autocratic in its implementation of policy regarding transfers, promotion, and discipline. Being expected blindly to obey orders issued by autocratic supervisors caused tremendous employee dissatisfaction according to a number of officers.¹

While primary research attention has been focused on the effect of job satisfaction upon worker and organizational productivity, there are indications that its study is merited because of its effects upon the lives of the individual employees and upon society as a whole.

Many theories have linked stress and dissatisfaction with a worker's employment environment to his physical health and mental well being.² Other studies have suggested that the degree of employee job satisfaction has a "spillover" effect on satisfaction with life in general,³ or that job satisfaction may compensate for various failings at home (as well as the converse). Research on such linkages is still largely rudimentary, however, and causal directions may only be hypothesized.⁴ Finally, it has been noted that the overall effect of employee

¹Richard M. Ayers, "Case Studies of Police Strikes in Two Cities," Journal of Police Science and Administration (March, 1977), p. 20.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 19-20.

³See articles summarized in Literature Section, *infra*, page

⁴U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., studies cited at page 21.

job satisfaction must be considered from a societal viewpoint.

The designation of yet a third perspective, a societal one, is not meant to imply that those things valued by employees or employers are irrelevant to community or society. Many of the possible effects of quality of employment have direct social implications in their impact upon physical and mental health, leisure time use, labor turnover and corporate profits.¹

The study of job satisfaction in the police organization is justified on several grounds.

1. Police constitute a major occupational group encompassing millions of workers in a job of major importance to society. Excessive rates of employee turnover, absenteeism and growing labor unrest would appear to demonstrate the need for studies that can pinpoint sources of job discontent. A determination of the work conditions that may affect job satisfaction among police officers and the ascertaining of the factors that correlate with job satisfaction and dissatisfaction would seem to be prerequisites for any actions to promote satisfaction among officers.

2. As has been noted in the definition of job satisfaction, the concept of job satisfaction is situational, i.e., it cannot be readily understood apart from the worker, his work place, and his role within the organization. It is submitted that it is especially important to study the concept of job satisfaction in the policing profession since salient job characteristics make the police role different from other occupations.

¹ Ibid., p. 27.

It has long been noted that the police occupation has several features distinguishing it from most other occupations. Distinctive traits of the police occupation include the following:

- a) The officers are subject to extremely high levels of stress.¹
- b) The average officer feels alienated from the citizenry.²
- c) Officers are characterized by high levels of cynicism toward their job and the populous.³
- d) The police role is relatively unstructured with conflicting role requirements. This is characterized by officers having to enforce a variety of statutes with differing degrees of public support and acceptance.⁴

¹A discussion of the sources of officer stress and their magnitude is far beyond the scope of this study. Various authors that have noted that the occupation remains one of the most stressful professions include Jesse Rubin, "Police Identity and the Police Role," Issues in Police Patrol by Thomas Sweeney and William Ellingsworth (Eds.); W. H. Kroes, B. L. Margolis and J. J. Hurrell, "Job Stress in Policemen," National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, Journal of Police Science and Administration 2, No. 2 (1973), pp. 145-155; John Van Maanen, "Working the Street: A Developmental View of Police Behavior," in Herbert Jacob (Ed.) The Potential for Reform of Criminal Justice (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1974), pp. 83-130; Kroes, op. cit., pp. 152-155; and Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Lincoln, Neb.: The University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 123.

²Larry L. Tifft, "The 'Cop Personality' Reconsidered," Journal of Police Science and Administration 2, No. 3 (1971), pp. 266-278; Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1967); William A. Westley, Violence and The Police: A Sociological Study of Law Custom and Morality (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970); and Jerome Stolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

³Niederhoffer, ibid.

⁴James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

e) There is a general lack of training given in essential areas of the occupation such as crisis intervention, assistance requests and work with emotionally disturbed individuals.¹

f) The unusually high observed degree of uniformity of officer background, value structures and personality traits make a semi-closed subculture likely. Officers stress obedience and self-control while de-emphasizing individual spontaneity, tolerance and lenience.² Some studies demonstrate that police officers and their background similarities have comparable value and personality traits. They are conservative, authoritarian, and dogmatic.³

g) police departments use a para-military organizational model emphasizing standard operating procedures to be followed by officers on patrol.⁴ In fact, most officers use initiative to respond in

¹Charles B. Saunders, Jr. Upgrading the American Police: Education and Training for Better Law Enforcement. The Brookings Institute, Washington, D. C., 1970, pp. 124-125.

²Tifft, op. cit., p. 276; Milton Rokeach, Martin G. Miller and John A. Snyder. "The Value Gap Between the Police and the Policed," Journal of Social Issues 27 (1971), pp. 155-171.

³Tifft, op. cit., p. 267; David Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police (New York: The Free Press, 1969); Niederhoffer, op. cit., John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training," in David J. Bordua (Ed.) The Police (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967).

⁴Patrick V. Murphy and David S. Brown, The Changing Nature of Police Organizations (Washington, D.C.: Leadership Resources, Inc., 1973), p. 11. However it must be understood that there is a great deal of intra organizational diversity based upon the leadership styles of the administration. See John K. Hudzik and Jack R. Greene, "Organizational Identity and Goal Consensus in a Sheriff's Department: An Exploratory Inquiry," Journal of Police Science and Administration 5, No. 1 (1978), pp. 79-88.

ambiguous situations without direct supervision. The officer in such situations must use his discretion largely without organizational guidance. The para-military model may characterize several occupations, e.g., fire, ambulance, military, etc.

CHAPTER III

SELECTED REVIEW OF JOB SATISFACTION LITERATURE

Introduction

Having discussed the purpose of this research and a statement of the problem to be studied, it is now appropriate to examine factors affecting job satisfaction as identified in police and general literature on organizations. The police literature examined pertains to the formation of police officer attitudes. The latter is used to suggest potential areas used or methodology not yet conducted in the police literature.

For clarity, factors affecting job satisfaction may be divided into three major types. First, those dealing with individual characteristics that are dependent upon a particular employee. A second area concerns those factors which may be correlated with job satisfaction but rely upon features of the work environment or employment organization. Third, are the work attitudes of the employee. The major variables affecting job satisfaction to be examined in the police and organization literature are:

A. Individual variables

1. Race
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Family and Community
5. Education
6. Class Origins

B. Leadership and Style of Supervision

C. Individual Attitudes

1. Worker perceptions of adequacy of rewards
2. Self-esteem and perceived occupational esteem
3. Alienation from the work place
4. Perceptions of the quality of life.

This list is limited in two regards. Since this section will only attempt to review the literature, it is likely that some factors which may be very important have never been independently identified in a study which has been examined. Second, it is recognized that many of the variables that will be arbitrarily cast as being "individual" or "organizational" are interrelated. Specifically, some individual variables like race and sex have little organizational components while others may have been affected by the organization. It is solely because such factors tend to differentiate attitudes among co-workers that these are more logically discussed with other individual variables.

In organizing this section of the dissertation, there will be an examination of the impact of each of the specified variables emphasizing observed differences in levels of job satisfaction, discussing possible differences in the concept of job satisfaction for the different groups and briefly noting the factors that may contribute to differences in the level and type of job satisfaction. This format is followed since for some factors the level of job satisfaction may be effected by the variable whereas in others, the overall level of job satisfaction (on an aggregate basis) remains the same yet the factors affecting the level of job satisfaction change.

No effort will be made in this section to link these variables with operational choices in the research being conducted as part of this dissertation. The section, "Operationalization" (Chapter IV) states the rationale for including each variable selected. Similarly, the impact of existing literature upon predicted findings will be examined in the "Hypotheses" section (Chapter IV).

A. Individual Variables

Race

Studies have examined differences in the attitudes between white and black employees. While it is true that neither group can be considered to have homogeneous work attitudes, a number of research studies have found that marked attitudinal differences do exist.

It has been found in a number of studies that blacks have a lower level of job satisfaction than whites. The United States Department of Labor published a Manpower Research Monograph entitled, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? This publication attempted to obtain as much data as possible from national studies of job satisfaction. They did so by comparing the results of seven national surveys of workers conducted from 1958 to 1973 by three organizations: The National Opinion Research Center, the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan and the Survey Research Center of the University of California. In each case, the surveys asked basically the same single job satisfaction

question, "All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?"¹ Job satisfaction among blacks and other minority groups was consistently lower than whites in every national study undertaken between 1958 and 1973. They did find considerable fluctuation of the results reported in the various studies. It was believed that this was probably due to sampling error and that the basic consistency of the data indicated that there was a strong linear relationship.

Table 1. Percentage of "Satisfied" Workers, 1958-1973 By Race

Race	1958	1962	1964	1964	1969	1971	1973
White		84	92	92	86	91	90
Black		76	86	88	77	89	85

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 54.

However, causation may not be determined from the foregoing studies. The national surveys are, of course, always open to the critique that satisfaction between white and black men is largely accountable by

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 6. The overall percentage of satisfied workers was found to be quite consistent varying from 81% in 1958 to 92% in a 1964 study. Because of the relatively small and inconsistent change in level of overall job satisfaction, the authors of the monograph concluded that there was no consistent change in overall job satisfaction over the last decade. They declined, however, to determine if this was a result of a consistent pattern or offsetting demographic trends.

differences in the occupational distribution of the samples. In fact, the authors of the United States Department of Labor study observed that occupational group was the single most important factor in determining the level of job satisfaction and differences in job categories might easily lead to false conclusions of racial differences in levels of job satisfaction.¹

Results of industrial surveys of a single profession do confirm that there are differences based on race of the job holder. In 1972, one study of certified public accountants reported that as a group, blacks consistently found more deficiencies in their jobs than whites in the same position.² This research was confirmed by a 1973 study of female white collar hospital workers wherein it was found that blacks were consistently less satisfied in most aspects of their jobs than whites.³ Results of these individual occupational studies were confirmed in several broad-based opinion polls showing that blacks as a group were generally less satisfied with their employment.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 10.

² J. W. Slocum and R. H. Strawser, "Racial Differences in Job Attitudes," Journal of Applied Psychology 56 (1972), pp. 28-32.

³ C. A. O'Reilly and K. H. Roberts, "Job Satisfaction Among Whites and Nonwhites: A Cross-Cultural Approach," Journal of Applied Psychology 57 (1973), pp. 295-299.

⁴ C. N. Weaver, "Negro-White Differences in Job Satisfaction," Business Horizons 17 (1974), pp. 67-70. It should be noted that Weaver in a later work (1977) took cognizance of the limitations of such opinion polls and found that when other variables were controlled, regression analysis showed a greatly weakened difference. Thus, while whites were more satisfied with their occupations by a statistically significant amount, it is unclear to what degree this was related to the frequency of the types of positions held by the two groups as opposed to intrinsic differences in group attitudes toward their employment.

Some authors have, however, questioned the conclusion that there are any differences between blacks and whites in their level of job satisfaction. Two 1974 studies found that there were only minor differences between blacks and whites with blacks appearing marginally more satisfied with their employment than whites.¹

Finally, a group of authors have stated that differences in level of job satisfaction do exist, but are situational in nature. They believe that extending analysis of levels of job satisfaction to different occupations could be misleading. Milutinovich found that in certain white collar occupations, black females were by far the most dissatisfied employees. However, in other jobs, no material attitudinal differences were found.²

In a 1977 study, Jones stated that while he expected blacks to be more dissatisfied based on previous research, he found that for certain occupational categories in the navy, blacks reported higher scores on the more extrinsic measures of satisfaction such as pay, rules and regulations, and opportunities for advancement.³ This presents the

¹R. A. Katzell, R. B. Ewen and A. K. Korman, "Job Attitudes of Black and White Workers: Male Blue Collar Workers in Six Companies," Journal of Vocational Behavior 4 (1974), pp. 365-376.

²Jugoslav S. Milutinovich, "Black White Differences in Job Satisfaction, Group Cohesiveness and Leadership Style," Human Relations 30 (November 12, 1977), p. 1083.

³A. P. Jones, L. R. James, J. R. Bruni, S. B. Sells, "Black White Differences in Work Environment Perceptions and Job Satisfaction and Its Correlates," Personnel Psychology 30, No. 1 (1977), pp. 5-16.

possibility that the differences in the conclusions of the studies cited above may be due more to the work group environment of the employees being studied than any intrinsic direction of the level of job satisfaction based on the variable of race.

In this light, it is noteworthy that Gavin and Ewen studied working class employees and Jones' study of the Navy dealt with attitudes of enlisted men. However, of the earlier studies finding lower black levels of job satisfaction, most dealt with white collar occupations: Slocum and Strawser studied certified public accountants; O'Reilly and Roberts studied white collar hospital workers; and Milutinovich had limited his study to white collar occupations. This observation may reveal some need for future studies that differentiate by race and occupational grouping. In addition to observed differences in the level of job satisfaction, there is some support for the proposition that blacks as an identifiable group, tend on an aggregate level, to obtain job satisfaction from different factors than those of whites. Bloom and Barry found that "hygiene" factors (as used in Herzberg's terminology) were far more important in determining job satisfaction among blacks than for whites.¹ Similarly, Slocum and Strawser found that black certified public accountants attached more importance to fulfillment of lower order needs.²

¹R. Bloom and J. Barry, "Determinants of Work Attitudes Among Negroes," Journal of Applied Psychology 51 (1967), pp. 288-292.

²Slocum and Strawser, op. cit.

Jones in his comprehensive study of job attitudes among blacks and whites noted that there were different need strengths between the races. Blacks tended to need more security, esteem, ego and job feedback than whites while required less from a job than others. Jones advanced several hypotheses for this. He theorized that racial differences in job satisfaction were due to systematic differences in individual motivational structure. It has been postulated that culturally disadvantaged individuals viewed extrinsic outcomes such as co-worker relations, security and high salary as being the most important motivators whereas workers from more advantaged background tended to value more intrinsic rewards such as feelings of accomplishment and use of abilities. The alternative is the fact that blacks brought different expectations to their work and that the differences in satisfaction that he observed (white collar blacks having higher levels of job satisfaction) could well have been affected by the reduced availability of employment opportunities compared to whites.

According to the literature, job dissatisfaction among blacks tends to be concentrated on the performance of their supervisor and relationships with co-workers. Several authors have found this to be the primary source for complaints among these employees.¹ A number of authors have noted what they believe to be significant reasons for why black attitudes toward their jobs are different than those of white co-workers.

¹Milutinovich, op. cit., p. 1083.

1. It is possible that even if the white supervisors who comprise the vast majority of supervisory staff are not consciously discriminatory; they may not be attuned to the specific needs and goals of black employees. Unresponsiveness to such needs may, in effect, lead to differential treatment.¹ An alternate explanation is that white supervisors may be psychologically or socially more distant from black employees than from white subordinates giving such employees less encouragement and/or support.² This may be responsible for some findings which indicate that black employee performance is lower while under white supervisors.³

2. Blacks as a group tend to express a lower satisfaction with their co-workers than white employees. This has been found in several studies wherein blacks were found to have favored each other as future

¹ Ibid., p. 1084

² B. M. Bass and J. N. Turner, "Ethnic Group Differences in Relationships Among Criteria of Job Performance," Journal of Applied Psychology 57 (1975), pp. 101-109.

³ I. Katz and M. Cohen, "The Effects of Training Negroes Upon Cooperative Problem Solving in Biracial Teams," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 64 (1962), pp. 319-325; I. Katz and C. Greenbaum, "Effects of Anxiety, Threat and Racial Environment on Task Performance of Negro College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 66 (1963), pp. 557-562; H. M. Lefcourt and G. W. Ludwig, "The Effect of Reference Group Upon Negroes Task Performance in a Biracial Competitive Game," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 1 (1965), pp. 668-671; I. Katz, S. O. Roberts and J. Robinson, "Effects of Task Difficulty, Race of Administrator and Instructions on Digit Symbol Performance of Negroes," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 2 (1965), pp. 53-59; and I. Katz, "Some Determinants of Racial Differences in Intellectual Achievement," International Journal of Psychology 2 (1967), pp. 1-21.

working companions where whites showed no such preferences. Explanations for this are varied. Obviously, minority status within an organization may be innately frustrating and kinship may be sought among black workers. It is also possible that white workers, like white supervisors, are unresponsive to the needs and goals of black workers and are more psychologically and socially distant from blacks. Finally, the actuality or fear of encountering racial prejudice from whites may partially explain such attitudes.

3. Another explanation for differences among attitudes toward employment is that there may be divergent work conditions for whites and blacks even when both occupy the same job category. Differential assignments to particular job tasks, prejudice or social isolation from other work group members or predominance of whites in leadership positions all make comparisons of actual work environment between the races very difficult.

Sex

The second variable to be examined is the sex of the employee. Male-female differences in job satisfaction do exist, but the relationship is complex. The United States Department of Labor found no consistent pattern in the percentage of satisfied workers based on sex of the employee (see Table 2, on the following page).

While it was noted that sex differences in job satisfaction were slight, they were statistically significant within each year's study. The authors were unable to advance any explanation since the differences changed from year to year, often in different directions and followed no

Table 2. Percentage of "Satisfied" Workers 1958-1974, by Sex

Sex	1958	1962	1964	1964	1969	1971	1973
Men	81	84	90	92	88	90	91
Women		81	93		81	92	89

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 54.

obvious pattern. They did, however, observe that there was an appreciable sex difference in job satisfaction if there were preschool children in the worker's household. Women with one or more children under six years of age were found to be significantly less satisfied than other workers. A possible explanation is that women with preschoolers may have poorer paying and otherwise less desirable jobs than those without preschoolers. Second, the dual roles of worker and child rearer may create problems relating to time, schedules, child care services, personal energy, and husband's attitude (see Table 3, on the following page).

Similar inconsistent results have been reported in studies of single occupations.¹ Beer noted that female workers exhibited low job satisfaction in divisions of a company which had a very high proportion

¹Andrisani and Shapiro, op. cit.; Weaver, op. cit.; and Norval D. Glenn, Patricia A. Taylor and Charles N. Weaver, "Age and Job Satisfaction Among Males and Females: A Multivariate, Multisurvey Study," Journal of Applied Psychology 62 (April, 1977), pp. 189-193.

Table 3. Mean Job Satisfaction by Sex and Presence or Absence of Preschoolage Children in Household

Subsample	Mean Job Satisfaction
Men with no children under six years old in household (n = 949)	+3%
Men with one or more children under six years old in household (n = 386)	-8%
Women with no children under six years old in household (n = 641)	-2%
Women with one or more children under six years old in household (n = 177)	-18%

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 11.

of male workers. This, however, was hypothesized to be a function of minority status.¹ In Rachman and Kemp's study, it was found that females were generally more satisfied than males, possibly because societal norms made their role more acceptable.² Hulin and Smith found a tendency for female workers to be less satisfied than their male counterparts.³ Ivancevich and Donnelly found some lower levels of job

¹Michael Beer, "Organizational Size and Job Satisfaction," Academy of Management Journal 7 (1964), p. 40.

²D. J. Rachman and L. J. Kemp, "Are Buyers Happy in Their Jobs?" Journal of Retailing 40 (Summer, 1964), pp. 2-3.

³C. L. Hulin and P. C. Smith, "Sex Differences in Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology 48 (1964), pp. 88-92.

satisfaction among women, but interpreted this to be relative to the differential treatment of females and males with the same credentials.¹

The conclusion of these studies appears to be that differences in pay, job level, promotional opportunities and societal norms tend to influence levels of job satisfaction far more than sex of the respondent. In support of this, one author's summary of existing research noted that male/female distinctions seem to be confined to specific situations that could not be generalized from one occupation to another or even from one work organization to the next.²

It would appear, however, that while there are no basic differences in the level of job satisfaction between males and females, significant differences in the factors which lead males and females to be satisfied or dissatisfied with employment conditions do exist. It is generally agreed in the literature that women tend to achieve job satisfaction from factors different from their male colleagues. Women who were interviewed in one study with regard to "satisfying" aspects of their employment, were most likely to mention liking their work intrinsically and having a fair supervisor. Men, on the other hand, seemed to be more concerned with proving their individual worth on the job and

¹J. M. Ivancevich and J. H. Donnelly, "Job Satisfaction Research: A Management Guide for Practitioners," Personnel Journal 47 (March, 1968), p. 714.

²Bonnie Carroll, Job Satisfaction: A Review of the Literature (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1973), p. 10.

obtaining job security.¹ These studies have been replicated in other settings including one survey of an engineering firm in which women rated the quality of supervision as being their most important factor whereas men rated personal involvement of primary importance.²

Several factors have appeared to more greatly influence female job satisfaction as compared to their male counterparts. Underutilization of skills has been cited as a primary reason for low levels of satisfaction observed in some studies of women workers.³ This is particularly true of black women who have been consistently less satisfied with their jobs than any other major group. One author has noted that black female employee job satisfaction scores have decreased in the last decade probably due to underutilization of their rapidly growing skills.⁴

An additional factor affecting comparative levels of job satisfaction of female workers are conflicting demands between responsibilities at home and at work. Often, spouses, immediate family, and relatives have a highly unfavorable attitude toward the propriety of women working.

¹ Joseph E. Champagne and Donald C. King, "Job Satisfaction Factors among Underprivileged Workers," Personnel and Guidance Journal 45 (January, 1967), pp. 429-434; John D. Handyside and Mary Speak, "Job Satisfaction: Myths and Realities," British Journal of Industrial Relations 2 (March, 1964), pp. 57-65.

² Ivancevich and Donnelly, op. cit., p. 715.

³ Andrisani and Shapiro, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴ Ibid.

Research suggests that this does influence job satisfaction:

The data do provide considerable evidence that conflicting responsibilities at home and at work result in reduced job satisfaction among working women. In 1972, as well as in 1967, the data suggest that women who perceive their husbands to be unfavorably disposed to their working outside the home are from 7.75 to 8.5 percentage points less likely to be highly satisfied with their jobs than women whose husbands have more favorable attitudes. The importance of this relationship becomes more pronounced when it is realized that at each survey data ... less than half of the working women perceived their husbands to have a favorable attitude toward their working. What is perhaps even more noteworthy is that an unfavorable attitude of a woman's husband appears to be of greater consequence in terms of job dissatisfaction than the presence of a preschool child in the home or the need for childcare arrangements.

Further evidence that elements of the husband-wife relationship influence the job satisfaction of working women is also observed in noting that married women were 6.5 percentage points less likely to be highly satisfied with their jobs than those unmarried in 1967.¹

While the preceding factors would suggest that women should be less satisfied with employment, a number of authors have noted that these reasons are countered by the fact that satisfaction is in reality a relative concept dependent upon expectations of the employees as compared to actual outcomes.² The observation that women do not have lower levels of job satisfaction may therefore be due to different initial expectations which counteract any disparate treatment received.

Age

A third variable which effects job satisfaction is the age of the employee. The 1974 study by the United States Department of Labor

¹ Ibid., p. 17.

² Ibid.

revealed marked variance on the basis of age of the worker, see Table 4 below.

Table 4. Percentage of "Satisfied" Workers 1958-1973 by Age

Age	1958	1962	1964	1964	1969	1971	1973
Under 21 years		59	82	88	75	80	77
21 to 29 years	74	74	89	87	76	85	84
30 to 39 years	79	82	90	93	88	90	92
40 to 49 years	85	84	92	92	87	93	94
50 years and older	90	88	95	94	91	95	96

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 54.

Another survey of the literature concluded that among studies conducted before 1960, 17 of 23 studies correlating age and job satisfaction revealed a U-shaped job satisfaction curve. This meant that as an aggregate, employees initiated work life with a relatively high level of satisfaction, became increasingly dissatisfied through the next few years and after a low point, with different time periods in varying occupational settings, became increasingly more satisfied.¹

The finding of such a relationship has been questioned in more recent studies. Hulin and Smith explicitly rejected this U-shaped model as a result of their finding that age has a positive direct correlation

¹Carroll, op. cit., p. 10 and Ivancevich and Donnelly, op. cit.

with job satisfaction. This result has been duplicated in other surveys.¹

Several reasons have been proposed for why observed levels of job satisfaction might be higher in older workers than younger employees. One theory is that older workers have less formal education than young adults and the level of education may well be related negatively with job satisfaction. This would make the connection between age and job satisfaction spurious; the real difference would then be between the cohorts. This theory, however, has been examined in one research program which found that differences in education accounted for only a minor portion of job satisfaction attitudes, if any.²

The second theory is that older workers have increased levels of job satisfaction which are related to increases in extrinsic rewards of the work. These include differences in pay, job duties, authority and autonomy and prestige within the organization. The United States Department of Labor monograph concluded that such differences accounted for the bulk of differences in level of job satisfaction. However, at

¹Charles L. Hulin and P. A. Smith, "A Linear Model of Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology 49 (June, 1965), p. 214; William A. Form and James A. Geschender, "Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction: The Case of Manual Workers," American Sociological Review 27 (April, 1962), p. 235; D. J. Rachman and L. J. Kemp, op. cit., p. 2-3; Ramond Salinas and O. P. Conde, "An Exploratory Study of Job Satisfaction Attitudes among Non-Academic University Personnel," Masters Thesis presented to New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1964, p. 50.

²Norval D. Glenn, Patricia A. Taylor and Charles N. Weaver, "Age and Job Satisfaction Among Males and Females: A Multivariate, Multi-survey Study," Journal of Applied Psychology 62 (April, 1977), p. 191.

least one study concluded that job factors account for only a relatively small portion of the variance in job satisfaction.¹

The third explanation is that increasing job satisfaction with employment is a function of the process of adult socialization. This approach emphasizes the increasing worker acceptance of the job and the decreasing likelihood of retaining unrealistic occupational goals.² Supporting this model is the fact that some studies of managerial employees found that job satisfaction increases with age until the pre-retirement period of around sixty where satisfaction levels stabilize and then, shortly before retirement, decreases. This was hypothesized to be partly due to a decline in physical health, but mainly due to blockages from looking forward to further growth in their responsibilities.³

As might be expected, studies relating job satisfaction to age and/or seniority of police employees are not very numerous. Some of the more recognized research dealing with police attitude formation has shown, however, that major attitudinal changes occur during the officer's first years on the force.⁴

¹ Ibid.; U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit.

² Form and Geschwender, op. cit., p. 236.

³ Shouktry D. Saleh and Jay L. Otis, "Age and Level of Job Satisfaction," Personnel Psychology 17 (Winter, 1964), pp. 425-430.

⁴ Articles discussing police socialization, and changes in role concepts of police officers include James W. Sterling, Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers (Gaithersburg, Md.: JACP, 1972); John Van Maanen, "Observations on the Making of Policemen," Human Organization 32 (Winter, 1973), pp. 507-518.

James W. Sterling in his study, Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers, notes that there are some logical relationships between job satisfaction and role which include correlations between the former and years on the force. He believes that during the early period of occupational socialization, job satisfaction appears to be very greatly related to two factors: 1) the degree to which an employee sees his abilities consistent with occupational role requirements; and 2) the extent of acceptance by co-workers and entry into the informal groups. From this, it was hypothesized that job satisfaction would show initial increases, but when the problems and complexities of the occupational role became more fully known, it would begin to decrease. Sterling administered a test to 113 subjects in an attempt to assess relative job satisfaction. The group was measured at three different time intervals: 1) the start of training; 2) the end of training; and 3) after eighteen months on the force.

Pertinent data is presented as follows:¹

How satisfied are you with your job as a police officer when you compare it with other jobs you had before you entered law enforcement?

Response Category	Start of Training	End of Training	After 18 Months
Very well satisfied	77.0%	87.6%	74.3%
Fairly well satisfied	11.5	10.6	20.4
Undecided	11.5	1.8	3.5
Fairly dissatisfied	0	0	1.8
Very dissatisfied	0	0	0

¹ Sterling, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

If you had it to do over again and knew what you now know, would you still become a police officer?

Response Category	Start of Training	End of Training	After 18 Months
Very well satisfied	77.0%	91.2%	80.5%
Fairly well satisfied	18.6	8.8	15.9
Undecided	3.5	0	2.7
Fairly dissatisfied	0.9	0	0
Very dissatisfied	0	0	0

Sterling's data does show some increasing levels of satisfaction during the training period followed by a decrease. It would, of course, be more informative if the sample size was markedly larger and data was longitudinally continued to determine if the decline found after eighteen months was merely a statistical artifact or the reflection of a trend that would persist throughout later years.

In addition to the level of job satisfaction being affected by the age of the employee, there is at least one study of police officers that suggest age has a secondary impact of changing the factors which are salient to the individual in determining level of job satisfaction. In this study, responses to four groups of questions were measured as independent variables affecting level of job satisfaction. The four groups included:

- a) The perception that the officer's role makes a valuable contribution to the community;
- b) The extent to which the officer believes he should enforce rather than question rules of criminal procedure and decisions regarding proper justice and punishment;
- c) The extent to which the officer's superior is seen as doing a good job; and

d) The extent to which the officer believes that he himself controls his own job performance.

The predicted overall relationship between levels of job satisfaction and the factors analyzed turned out to be statistically significant; however, the explained amount of variance was somewhat less than expected. The author then subdivided the sample population to see if different age groups tended to weigh the factors differently. The groups included officers less than 27 years of age, those between 27 and 32, those between 33 and 39, and those 40 and over.¹

By using these subgroups, the factors explained far more of the job satisfaction variation in certain age groups. For example, officers between 33 and 39 years of age had a dramatic increase in levels of satisfaction. Segregating age produced an increase, but of less magnitude than for other age groups.

In those officers between the ages of 27 and 32, two factors appear to be of far more importance in determining job satisfaction: the extent to which police are perceived as making a valuable contribution to the community and the extent to which the superior officer is seen as doing a good job. For those officers in the 33 to 39 age group, the way in which they see themselves relating to their immediate environment is an important determinant of job satisfaction. More specifically,

... as an officer feels that it is he who controls his own job performance and that his superior is also doing a good job, he tends to report higher job satisfaction. In addition, as he believes that the police role involves enforcing

¹Gerald R. Griffin, Roger Dunbar and Michael E. McGill, "Factors Associated with Job Satisfaction Among Police Personnel," Journal of Police Science Administration 6, No. 1 (1978), p. 84.

rather than questioning justice, he tends to report job satisfaction. On the other hand, the extent to which these officers believe the police make a valuable contribution to the community is a relatively unimportant determinant of job satisfaction.¹

For officers over 40 years of age, two factors are positively correlated with job satisfaction: 1) the extent to which an officer believes he should enforce rather than question rules of procedure and policy decisions and 2) the extent of the officer's perception of his job being valuable to the community. These results appear to suggest an age dimension in the determination of the factors affecting level of job satisfaction. The author summarized his findings as follows:

These findings suggest that those theories of motivation which hypothesize an individual need for self-actualization and achievement through task accomplishment may be most relevant for officers 33-39. It is only in this age group that job satisfaction appears to be consistently and positively associated with feelings of control and task accomplishment in the immediate environment.²

Family and Community

Literature is in general agreement with the proposition that the employee's family and community life greatly influence the level of job satisfaction.³ This may be due to the well-documented observation that job satisfaction and stress on the job effect the overall quality of life.

¹Ibid., p. 83.

²Ibid., p. 84.

³F. T. Paine, D. R. Deutsch, and R. A. Smith, "Relationship Between Family Backgrounds and Work Values," Journal of Applied Psychology 51 (1967), pp. 322-323.

Personal growth and occupational growth are highly correlated. Conditions that surround the employee on his job affect his living conditions away from the plant; those conditions in the community and family affect the working conditions at the institution. Factors emerging from the work itself such as worker-manager relations or worker co-worker associations serve to develop personal growth for the individual as well as influence his occupational development. Factors emerging from the community and family and home also affect these two aspects of growth and can be as important as the work environment. Therefore, the worker's satisfaction with community, family and home, and job satisfaction characteristics when considered as a unity, could have a significant and predictable effect on his satisfaction with the job in general and his satisfaction with life as well.¹

The same authors concluded that community variables, particularly acceptance of the family into society and the general attractiveness of the community may also significantly affect job satisfaction of an employee. Since it is naturally very difficult to determine attractiveness of a community, no study examined makes predictive statements as to what community factors are likely to change levels of job satisfaction. Perhaps due to greater ease of observation, most of the focus on non-employment factors has therefore tended to be placed upon an examination of the effect of marital status upon individual levels of job satisfaction.

Most of the general organizational literature has found that married workers are more satisfied with their jobs than single workers. Furthermore, workers with two or more children were significantly more satisfied than those workers with one or no children.² This trend has

¹P. O. Peretti, "Effects of Community, Family and Home Variables on Job Satisfaction," Australian Journal of Sociology 11, No. 4 (1976), p. 227.

²Rachman and Kemp, op. cit.; Form and Geschwender, op. cit.

been said to indicate a tendency for individuals to become settled in their personal lives and therefore more content with their work.¹

However, there is considerable evidence indicating that job-family compatibility is not as closely associated in the field of policing as in most other occupations. It has long been noted that large numbers of police recruits quit because of their wives' objections to working hours, changing shifts or other job characteristics.²

One study conducted by Preiss and Ehrlich which measured among other factors the impact of family life upon Michigan state troopers dramatically illustrates the situational nature of this influence on job satisfaction. They generally found that the presence of a family often corresponded with lower levels of officer job satisfaction. This conclusion was arrived at by use of a derived index purporting to measure job-family compatibility. The researchers found that this compatibility reached a peak at the end of formal headquarters training (two to six months). This pattern, however, changed markedly with field experience. By twelve months, the job was found not to affect satisfaction with the family as well as the converse. Within two years, there was a loss of any consensus and pronounced conflict between

¹Carroll, op. cit., p. 9.

²One state police commission in the early 1960's even went so far as to force applicants to bring written permission slips from their wives. New York Times, July 19, 1962 as cited in a study by Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 33.

job and family demands. Their conclusion was that the impact of the job experience was directly related to job demands and role imagery.¹ In the case of state troopers, the job was perceived to require shift changes, obedience to an often inflexible organization and subordination of family life.

Preiss and Ehrlich developed an explanatory model emphasizing attitude formation of police officers coupled with reactive behavior on the part of their wives. They noted that most Michigan State Police officers believed it is necessary to tailor their family lives to meet job requirements rather than the reverse. While most officers evidently were willing to adjust family to career, wives were less likely to accept this. As a result, family and job were not well integrated.²

Wives in turn often exhibited their frustrations and compensated for deteriorating family structures by applying steady pressures for promotion and higher economic rewards. Naturally, in a hierarchical structure with only limited advancement opportunities, this led to increases in job frustration and stress. Similarly, Preiss and Ehrlich noted from their interviews with police supervisors that wives appeared to provide the major source for problems when transfers were made between posts or when shift changes were demanded.³

While Preiss and Ehrlich's work has not been duplicated by other studies, it is very suggestive of the possibility that this factor

¹Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 55.

²Ibid., p. 35.

³Ibid., p.

distinguishes police from other occupations. In summary, this study will consider if predictions of levels of police officer job satisfaction based on marital status would be opposite those of the general population.

Education

A number of national studies have surveyed the impact of education on the percentage of workers reporting satisfaction with their occupation. A review of existing surveys was conducted by the United States Department of Labor in their 1974 monograph, Trends in Job Satisfaction. Tables showing the results of these studies demonstrate that there is no consistent linear relationship between levels of education and levels of job satisfaction. Instead, the effect of education varies greatly by study (see Table 5 below).

Table 5. Percentage of Satisfied Workers 1958-1973, by Education

Education	1958	1962	1964	1964	1969	1971	1973
Grade School	88	83	94	94	88	91	93
High School	77	81	90	90	86	92	89
Some College	81	86	89	89	81	88	88
College Degree	81	90		94	85	85	91
Graduate Work	81	84		93	91	97	96

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 54.

The reasons for such differences may only be hypothesized at this stage. The only conclusion reached by the authors was that the national surveys failed to identify any linear relationship. They suggested, however, that the data might reveal several possible relationships:

... (1) that job satisfaction is likely to be lowest among workers with "intermediate" levels of education; and (2) that this "intermediate" level may have shifted upward over the last decade--from having a high school education to having "some college" education, but no degree.¹

It has been proposed that the key intermediate variables between education and level of job satisfaction are the rates of pay and the variety and complexity of tasks required on the job. One fairly complete study noted as might be expected that for jobs with low pay, low variety of work and limited skill demands, lower educated workers were more satisfied than those with higher education. In jobs giving medium pay and average task complexity, those with high school education tended to be more satisfied than grade school or college trained workers. Finally, in jobs having high pay but demanding performance in a variety of complex tasks, a direct relationship between job satisfaction and level of education occurred. The researchers' conclusion was that more organizational "inducements" such as pay, variety and complexity of task were required to obtain job satisfaction for more educated employees.²

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 11.

²John W. Seybolt, "Work Satisfaction as a Function of the Person-Environment Interaction," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 17 (1976), p. 67.

Theories explaining linkages between job satisfaction and education have emphasized the role of increasing employee expectations.¹

As one researcher notes:

While level of education may just be as or more indicative of social status, cultural background and personal needs as it is of ability or intelligence, it is clear from previous research that it leads to higher individual expectations. If the job and work organization do not meet the expectations of the highly educated individual, the results of the present study imply that the individuals will be less satisfied than the individual with lower education in a similar job. However, the individual with lower education and therefore lower expectations will be satisfied when his lower expectations are met and will be less satisfied than the more highly educated individual in a job which offers more inducements than he expects.²

Because of this relationship, the researcher predicted and found that more organizational inducements (including pay, job variety, task complexity, etc.) are required to satisfy well-educated workers.

In addition to changes in the level of job satisfaction, it has also been hypothesized that level of education may determine the source of job satisfaction for particular employees. While the authors of the Labor Department study found that there was little overall difference in levels of job satisfaction, they did find differences in the factors that led to job satisfaction among highly educated and less educated workers. Better educated workers were found to be more concerned with

¹It has been found that the higher the education, the higher the worker expectations. See N. C. Morse, Satisfaction in the White Collar Job (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1953); H. M. Vollmer and J. A. Kinney, "Age, Education and Job Satisfaction," Personnel 32 (1955), pp. 38-43.

²Seybolt, op. cit., p. 67.

having challenging and interesting jobs. They also were less concerned about relations with co-workers, pay, hours, physical working conditions, fringe benefits and job security.¹

One author suggested the theory that as educational level of the employee increases, the source for his job satisfaction tends to move from being external, i.e., relationship with colleagues, superiors and level of pay, to one that is based upon internal sources of satisfaction, i.e., a belief that he is in control of his work environment and that he is performing job tasks effectively.²

Education has become an issue in policing due to the impact of federal policies appearing to demand increased education among recruits and the willingness to fund preservice and inservice training and education programs.³ It has been estimated that by the mid-1980's, most

¹U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 18.

²Griffin, Dunbar and McGill, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

³In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Task Force on the Police wrote: "The quality of police service will not significantly improve until higher educational requirements are established for its personnel," p. 126. The Commission also recommended that "the ultimate aim of all police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees," p. 279. The following year, Congress created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration which administers the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) providing financial aid to students pursuing criminal justice degrees. In 1969, LEEP provided \$6.5 million in academic assistance to 20,000 students. By 1973, that figure reached \$40 million for 95,000 persons. Figures supplied in Norman L. Weiner, "The Effect of Education on Police Attitudes," Journal of Criminal Justice 2 (1974), pp. 317-328.

major law enforcement agencies will raise their level of education to between two and four years of college.¹

There is considerable debate in the police literature over the effects of education upon police officer attitudes and behavior.²

As level of education increases, one trend has been definitely established: officers are more likely to leave police service.³

¹Griffin, Dunbar, and McGill, op. cit., p. 82.

²See B. Cohen and J. M. Chaiken, Police Background Characteristics and Performance (Lexington, Ma.: D. C. Heath, 1973); D. P. Geary, "College Educated Cops--Three Years Later," The Police Chief 37 (August, 1970), pp. 59-62; Janet Henkin, "Cops in College: Observations on Teaching Criminology to Police," Paper presented at Second Inter-American Congress of Criminology, 1972; Bernard Locke and A. B. Smith, "Police Who Go to College," Ambivalent Force: Perspectives on the Police, Arthur Niederhoffer and A. S. Blumberg (Eds.) (Ginn and Co., 1970), pp. 144-147; Charles B. Saunders, Upgrading the American Police (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970); and A. B. Smith, B. Locke and Abe Fenster, "Authoritarianism in Policemen who are College Graduates and Non-College Police," Journal of Criminology, L.C. & P.S. 61 (1970), pp. 313-315. The full range of changes in policemen's attitudes, behaviors, and expectations are far beyond the scope of this study. It is sufficient to note that there appears to be a significant body of literature that suggests that attitudinal changes do occur in the attitudes of policemen exposed to college education. The degree and type of such changes and the effects upon officer performance has, however, been severely questioned. See especially, A. C. Germann, "Changing the Police--The Impossible Dream," Journal of Criminology, L.C. & P.S. 62 (1971), pp. 446-452; A. F. Dalley, "University vs. Non-University Graduated Policemen: A Study of Police Attitudes," Journal of Police Science and Administration 3 (1975), pp. 458-468; and Norman L. Weiner, "The Effect of Education on Police Attitudes," Journal of Criminal Justice 2 (1974), pp. 317-328.

³Nelson A. Watson, Retention Survey (unpublished report to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1968).

Watson and Sterling stated that while the great majority of officers studied had not thought about leaving the department, there was a difference in the rates associated with the level of education. The higher the education, the larger the percentage that had thought about leaving police work.¹

The inference that this tendency is related to differences in job satisfaction is obvious and has been developed in the literature. The hypothesis is usually that because of frustrations in being unable to rapidly advance in the paramilitary police organization and being faced with an extremely regimented hierarchy, highly educated police officers tend to become more frustrated with their work and leave police services.² Several authors have stated that the relatively steep hierarchical structure tended to interact with increasing levels of education to produce an increase in job dissatisfaction.³

Preiss and Ehrlich in their study of the Michigan State Police noted that in the competition for promotion, some of the most talented individuals were often the most dissatisfied and impatient with their rate of progress in the department. An extreme form of dealing with such dissatisfaction was resignation. The authors found that a large number of those resigning went into other police protective service jobs

¹Watson and Sterling, op. cit., p. 74.

²In support of the frustration hypothesis, Niederhoffer, op. cit., observed that officers with college education have greater observed levels of cynicism than high school educated police officers.

³Griffin, Dunbar and McGill, op. cit., p. 82.

with more opportunity for advancement and that the resignees appeared to have disproportionately higher educational backgrounds.¹

Because of the changed needs of more educated police officers, one author concluded after an examination of the personnel records of 5,000 police officers that had resigned, that police departments do not meet these officers' needs. She theorized that as more college educated officers enter police departments (and various affirmative action programs further restrict promotional opportunities for the majority of police officers), opportunities for promotion will actually decrease. The problems of dissatisfaction of the more educated officers were therefore considered to become even more acute in the future.²

However, in one survey interview measuring job satisfaction, responses of police officers showed no significant difference in levels of satisfaction based on education of the officer. The author's conclusion was that since job satisfaction remained the same across all educational levels, more attractive alternative job opportunities caused the higher turnover rate among the more highly educated.³ This tends to refute the inference that level of education corresponds with increased job satisfaction.

¹Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 87.

²Ruth Levy, "Summary of Report on Retrospective Study of 5,000 Peace Officer Personnel Records," Police Yearbook (Washington, D.C.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1966).

³Griffin, Dunbar and McGill, op. cit., p. 81.

Class Origins

It has long been known that the level of job satisfaction and factors influencing satisfaction of a worker are closely related to his occupation.¹ Studies have consistently shown that among the various occupational categories, professional-technical workers, managers, officials and proprietors register the highest levels of job satisfaction. In 1974, the Department of Labor's Research Monograph reached the conclusion that the workers occupation was the single most important factor in determining the level of job satisfaction for a particular group. They cited data from the 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey to prove this fact.

Table 6. Mean Job Satisfaction in 1973 by Occupational Characteristics

Occupational Group	Overall Satisfaction
Professional, technical (n = 323)	+25
Managers, officials, and proprietors (n = 319)	+19
Sales (n = 112)	+11
Craftsmen and foremen (n = 270)	+ 8
Service workers, except private household (n = 238)	-11
Clerical (n = 364)	-14
Operatives (n = 379)	-35
Nonfarm laborers (n = 72)	-42
Mean = -2	
Standard Deviation = 84	

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 56.

¹Most research that has examined class origins and the effects on attitudes observe major differences in personality traits and behavior. See especially Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man

While the high standard deviation indicates that this particular tabular data should be approached with caution, this does definitely indicate a trend.

In addition to differences in level of job satisfaction, it has been observed that two groups have different salient factors in obtaining job satisfaction. The most conspicuous difference between the working and middle class groups is in the general job factors that are rated as being most important. For white collar workers, it is the challenge of the career while for blue collar workers it centers upon material benefits, relations with co-workers and comfort on the job. In Table 7, on the following page, it may be seen that in terms of absolute percentages, blue collar workers assigned higher importance than white collar workers to all aspects of a job, save challenge.¹ Naturally, it is difficult conceptually to relate job satisfaction of an individual with those of his parents. Therefore, the foregoing is only tentative evidence of attitudes toward occupations that may be transmitted to the children. Moreover, it has been hypothesized that individuals from a working class background may initially have lower job aspirations than those employees from more affluent families.² The level of initial aspiration may, of course, effect resulting job satisfaction. In addition, the hypothesis might be advanced that a working

¹U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., citing "1969-70 Survey of Working Conditions", p. 16.

²Herbert H. Human, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," The Study of Society, Peter I. Rose (Ed.) (New York: Random House, Inc., 1967), pp. 371-393.

Table 7. Selected Data from 1969-1970 Survey of Working Conditions Showing Percentage of Workers Rating Job Facets as "Very Important" to Them

Job Facets Studied	All Workers (n=1500)	White Collar Workers (n=730)	Blue Collar Workers (n=685)
<u>Financial Rewards</u>			
The pay is good	64.2	57.4	72.5
The job security is good	62.5	54.2	71.5
Fringe benefits are good	50.6	39.7	62.4
<u>Challenge</u>			
The work is interesting	73.0	78.5	68.2
Has an opportunity to develop special abilities	63.3	69.4	57.2
<u>Relations with Co-workers</u>			
Co-workers are friendly and helpful	63.4	60.9	70.0
Given a lot of chances to make friends	44.0	39.3	48.6
<u>Comfort</u>			
Has enough time to get job done	54.4	47.7	60.3
Hours are good	50.8	41.0	61.6
Physical surroundings are pleasant	40.2	32.3	47.8
Not asked to do excessive amounts of work	23.0	15.7	29.5

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 18.

class background may equip a person to cope with impersonal hierarchical organizations likely to be encountered on the job. Both of these factors may tend to offset the somewhat greater tendency of a worker with working-class origins to have parents that are disaffected.

The author is not aware of studies specifically linking job satisfaction with the class origin of the worker. Due to well-known problems of defining class origin, insuring questionnaire reliability, and other difficulties of generating data, such studies may be seen to be very difficult to execute.

Several studies have examined socioeconomic origins of police officers. These studies have reached disparate conclusions as to the percentage originating from the "working class", "blue collar" or "lower classes". One early study stated that the majority of police officers was recruited from working class families where fathers did manual work.¹

Similar findings were reported in two major studies of New York City police officers. John H. McNamara stated that,

... it is clear that the recruits are not drawn from families in the "higher skill" segments of the population ... the recruits further tend not to be from the more educated segments of the population.²

¹William A. Westley, Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), p. 76.

²John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training," The Police, David J. Bordau (Ed.) (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 193-194.

Niederhoffer, in his study of men entering the New York City Police Department for a fifteen year period, found that 60.5% of the officers' fathers held jobs below the middle class.

Other research studying different police departments has reached somewhat different conclusions. Using a somewhat arbitrary white collar/blue collar division of father's occupation, Preiss and Ehrlich found that 46% of the Michigan State Police came from white collar backgrounds versus 54% of blue collar origins. Furthermore, they found this figure to be extremely stable across generations. A comparison of the father's occupation of current recruits with that of older officers and those recently retired resulting in at least a twenty year recruitment difference found no significant difference in class origins.¹

Similarly, Watson and Sterling in a national study found that the majority of police recruit respondents (51%) stated that their fathers held jobs at the "middle class" level or better.²

Sterling, in his national study of police officers, also reported that the majority of police officers had fathers employed at the

¹Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 12. In fact, there was a slight tendency toward increased blue collar recruitment and away from entrepreneurial origins. However, this was merely felt to reflect general societal trends and not change in recruitment base.

²Nelson A. Watson and James W. Sterling, Police and Their Opinions (Washington, D.C.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1969). Middle class included occupations in the categories of craftsmen and foremen, clerical and sales, proprietors and managers, professionals and non-professionals. The remaining categories (farmers, protective services, operatives, non-domestic service workers, and laborers) were defined as working class or lower middle class.

middle class level or above. However, he stated that even in this middle class category, approximately one-half of the fathers had not completed high school. They held jobs primarily as craftsmen and foremen. No particular conclusion was reached as to the effect this had on police officer behavior or attitude formation. Sterling also found that prior jobs of the police recruits generally included jobs below the level of craftsmen and foremen; recruitment from military service, and recruitment from clerical occupations.¹

Sterling's findings indicate the possibility of major differences in definitions among the studies. He classified foremen and craftsmen as being "middle class", albeit lower middle class. Other researchers might very well classify these occupations in terms of "blue collar" or "working class". In addition, Sterling noted that the immediate past jobs of the police recruits were primarily working class occupations. If another study utilized the immediate prior job to determine "class origins" results would be far different than if parental occupation is the measuring device.

Since the results reached by these studies tend to indicate persistent differences in reported class origins of police recruits, two possible explanations are presented. First, there are obvious differences depending on the department being studied and the time of the study. This might well account for part of the variance found, particularly when large urban police departments are compared with

¹ Sterling, op. cit., pp. 36-40.

statewide police forces. However, this is unlikely to account for all the differences.

Another explanation of the observed variance is that the terms "middle class", "white collar", "blue collar", "working class", and "lower class" are not consistently used in the research. Income levels and occupation may often be difficult to categorize and respondents may not fully comprehend or reliably report class origins. Definitional problems make studies on class origins of some police officers difficult to apply to other departments.

B. Leadership Style and Job Satisfaction

There is abundant literature suggesting that supervisory style affects the level of job satisfaction of workers. After extensive survey analysis, one researcher stated that it was nearly certain that style of supervision greatly affected job satisfaction independent from the effect of other variables.¹ Another study using factor analysis suggested that supervisory treatment of employees appeared to contribute more to the employee's level of job satisfaction than either working conditions or the reward system of the agency.² Reviewing the general

¹Charles N. Weaver, "Relationships Among Pay, Race, Sex, Occupational Prestige, Supervision, Work Autonomy and Job Satisfaction in a National Sample," Personnel Psychology 30 (1977), pp. 437-443.

²Wilbur J. Aiken, Stanley J. Smith and Donald J. Lollar, "Leadership Behavior and Job Satisfaction in State Rehabilitation Agencies," Personnel Psychology 25 (Spring, 1972), pp. 65-73. See also Raymond L. Hilgert, "Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction in a Plant Setting," Personnel Administration 34 (July-August, 1971), pp. 21-27 where good supervision was listed most important, and good wages was ranked least important.

supervision literature, Tifft noted that most studies suggested that lower level supervisors, such as sergeants in the police context, had a significant impact upon the morale and attitudes of operative employees.¹

One author studying the Oakland Police Department reached the conclusion that the most critical person in the process of obtaining the police officer's commitment to policing was the sergeant. He found that by and large, no one except the sergeant was responsible for evaluating the officer's conduct and emotional reactions to his job.

From the patrolman's point of view, the critical persons in the process of moral replenishment were their sergeants. On a daily basis, patrolmen's actions and understandings were invisible to the rest of the department. Among their superior officers, only their sergeants had the opportunity to appreciate² the moral and intellectual development of individual patrolmen.

Muir believed this was true since the sergeant was given the responsibility for explaining proper forms of conflict resolution, compliance with departmental policy and obtaining personal satisfaction from the job. Muir believed that ideally, the sergeant would allow officers to grow from their work experiences.

A patrol sergeant was also obliged to deal with his men's understandings of themselves, their department, their city, and human suffering. He had to learn how to help men divulge their pre-suppositions about human nature, about society, and about the appropriate place of coercion in that society thereby permitting

¹Larry L. Tifft, "Control Systems, Social Bases of Power and Power Exercise in Police Organizations," Journal of Police Science and Administration 3, No. 1 (1975), pp. 66-76.

²J. William Ker Muir, Police: Streetcorner Politicians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 264.

them to examine their presuppositions in light of the happenings around them. He had to learn how to let his men gain confidence in their understandings by permitting them to make experimental applications of their assumptions and then encouraging them to analyze the discrepancies between prediction and outcome. He had to appreciate the importance of concepts for an individual's learning, recognizing that experience was a great teacher, and that the groupings into which individual experiences were catalogued were important. He had to learn how to permit personal experiences to be reconstructed in a variety of perspectives, through discussion so that a policeman could see what could have happened but did not. In this sense, a sergeant was a teacher of sociology.¹

Muir also found that the police sergeant was required in effect to educate his subordinates in departmental communications (Standard Operating Procedures, technology, and argot). Finally, the sergeant had the responsibility to teach his subordinates criminal and civil law necessary for their functioning on patrol.

Such relationships have not always been found in every job context. One study noted the impact of leadership style upon overall attitudes of subordinates and discovered that strong correlations were present in some work environments while absent in others. The conclusion was that if the employees performed routine task demands, only a small relationship existed. In initially finding that there was little relationship between supervisory style and employee behavior, it was stated that such a relationship existed, but only between the management style of the employee's direct supervisor. Further, this depended considerably upon the work environment and job tasks. For example, in the sample in which the work was characterized by greater variability and task demands, relationships between supervisory style and positive employee attitudes

¹Ibid., p. 265.

and behavior were significantly stronger. This particular study discussed police departments and reached the conclusion that the police role embraced both sustained routine task demands and on other occasions, greatly varied tasks.¹

The situational approach of examining leadership appears to be the most appropriate for this research. This view states that leadership behavior may only be understood by examining the context where such behavior occurs. Thus, the structure, organizational goals, and job roles of the total organization should be examined.² An early study concluded that the impact of leadership style was to a great extent situational and behavior in one situation might not hold true in another.³ In support of this, Schriesheim noted that explanations of levels of satisfaction expressed by an individual or group presupposes knowing the work environment where these variables act and interact. In reviewing leadership literature, he believed that the studies strongly emphasized the need to examine large numbers of possible moderators effecting the relationship between leadership behavior and subordinate satisfaction and performance.⁴ Therefore, research must be limited to specific groups

¹Ramon J. Aldag and Arthur P. Brief, "Relationships Between Leader Behavior Variability Indices and Subordinate Responses," Personnel Psychology 30 (1977), p. 419.

²Jim L. Munro, Administrative Behavior and Police Organization (Cincinnati, Ohio: The W. H. Anderson Company, 1974).

³E. A. Fleishman, "The Description of Supervisory Behavior," Journal of Applied Psychology 37 (1953), pp. 1-6.

⁴C. A. Schriesheim and C. J. Murphy, "Relationships Between Leader Behavior and Subordinate Satisfaction and Performance: Test of Some Situational Moderators," Journal of Applied Psychology 61, No. 5 (1976), p. 634.

of employees. Generalizations between occupational settings must be made at a high degree of abstraction and be tentative in nature.¹

Most studies do not adopt a situational approach when examining the impact of various factors upon the level of job satisfaction. Instead, frequently after the limitation of the data has been cursorily acknowledged, conclusions are reached which span different occupations. Therefore, while these studies are instructive in pointing out possible tendencies, they must not be regarded as being determinative of relationships to be found in police departments. For that reason, literature examining police departments will be discussed under each topic.

For purposes of organization, literature on the effects of leadership style upon level of job satisfaction may be divided into six factors, each of which has been the subject of much comment:

- a) The democratic or authoritarian style of the supervisor;
- b) The task versus human relations orientation of the supervisor;
- c) The supervisor's power to give and his actual use of reward and punishment;
- d) The technical competence of the supervisor;
- e) Unusual characteristics of the work environment; and
- f) Characteristics of the subordinate.

a) The democratic or authoritarian style of the supervisor has been examined by several authors. Much of existing research holds that a democratic supervisory style, e.g., one which actively sought to involve subordinates in decision-making, was positively related to job

¹ Guy Roustang, "Why Study Working Conditions via Job Satisfaction? A Plea for Direct Analysis," International Labour Organization (1977), p. 283.

satisfaction.¹ This appears to have been based primarily on older studies wherein it was found that while a democratic leadership style was somewhat more effective, this was dependent upon subordinates.² Vroom's conclusion was that democratic leadership was significantly more effective with subordinates who were themselves low in authoritarianism and high in the need for independence as defined by standardized measures. Vroom's study, however, has not been replicated in subsequent research.³

While the police literature has not examined the total variety of relations between supervisory style and job satisfaction, it does provide some insight. First, it has long been noted in police literature that most supervisors do not behave in a democratic participatory model. Instead, behavior throughout the police department from the highest ranks downward, may be characterized as primarily authoritarian, using a paramilitary model.⁴ As noted earlier in most situations, democratic

¹Syresh Srivastva, Paul F. Salipante, Jr., Thomas G. Cummings, William W. Notz, John D. Bigelow, and James W. Waters, Job Satisfaction and Productivity: An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Productivity, Industrial Organization and Job Satisfaction: Policy Development and Implementation (Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western University, 1975), p. xvi. See also, Paul F. Weinmont, "What Supervisors and Subordinates Expect of Each Other," Personnel Journal 50 (March, 1971), pp. 204-208.

²V. H. Vroom, "Some Personality Determinants of the Effects of Participation," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 59 (1959), pp. 322-327.

³H. Tosi, "A Reexamination of Personality as a Determinant of the Effect of Participation," Personnel Psychology 23, No. 1 (1970), pp. 91-99; Weed, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield (New York: Doubleday, 1967); William A. Westley, Violence and the Police (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970). Carlson et al., however, did find that there were differences in management style between police departments. His study showed that command personnel in traditional police departments were

leadership style is correlated with higher levels of job satisfaction. However, this is situational being partially dependent upon subordinate personality traits and attitudes. Specifically, where subordinates are authoritarian, this relationship is not present. Most police literature suggests that police officers themselves are somewhat cynical and authoritarian. However, there are some studies that suggest these attitudes are created by their experiences.¹ Therefore, it is unclear whether the authoritarian style of a supervisor in a police setting should be expected to negatively correlate with subordinate job satisfaction as would be expected with most other occupations. There is a positive correlation.

significantly more authoritarian than in innovative departments. See H. Carlson, R. E. Thayer and A. C. Germann, "Social Attitudes and Personality Differences Among Members of Two Kinds of Police Departments (Innovative vs. Traditional) and Students," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 62 (1971), pp. 564-567; Joel Lefkowitz, "Psychological Attributes of Policemen: A Review of Research and Opinion," Journal of Social Issues 3, No. 1 (1975), p. 12.

¹Specifically, Niederhoffer, op. cit., believed that: 1) newly appointed cadets are less cynical than the average patrolman; 2) college trained patrolmen, who may have higher expectations of future job advancement or "acceptable tasks" are more cynical than less educated patrolmen; 3) command officials with the same years on the force, background, etc., are less cynical in their outlook than patrolmen; and 4) the degree of cynicism increases in proportion to length of service, but eventually levels off between the fifth and tenth year of service. Westley, op. cit., p. xvii, noted that when police were placed under extraordinary strains they compensated by becoming more brutal. Jerome Skolnick, "A Sketch of the Policeman's Working Personality," The Ambivalent Force, Niederhoffer and Abrahamson (Eds.), p. 45 notes that officers attempt to exert their authority in response to stress or fear of danger.

b) The second factor examined in the literature is that of the orientation of the supervisor on a "task" versus "human relations" dimension. At the risk of oversimplifying a complex composite of attitudes, task orientation is where the supervisor's focal concerns relate to the completion of the job-task requirements via detailed supervision. A human relations oriented supervisor basically believes that primary emphasis should be placed upon keeping workers motivated. The expectation of the latter supervisor is that these motivated workers would then perform at a high level. Other authors have identified this concept in terms of the degree of consideration the supervisor displays toward his subordinate. It is recognized that the two concepts, while closely related, are not identical. Specifically, a supervisor may be extremely task oriented, but may be higher in "consideration" than a "human relations" supervisor. Thus, in using this dichotomy, one must be aware that definitional differences exist and exclusive reliance upon the data may not be justified. With these caveats in mind, existing research indicates that as a general proposition, those supervisors oriented towards the human relations approach have subordinates that display somewhat higher levels of job satisfaction than those supervisors with a task orientation.¹

¹V. H. Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 112; R. S. Barrett, "Explorations in Job Satisfaction and Performance Rating," Personnel Administration 27 (September-December, 1964), pp. 14-17; and Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 112.

One comprehensive study of the relationship between subordinate perceptions of immediate superior's behavior and their own level of job satisfaction revealed the importance of this factor. Data revealed that of sixteen variables, the degree of perceived leader consideration toward subordinates was significantly related to job satisfaction in eleven of the sixteen measures.¹

It has also been pointed out that a task and human relations orientation are not necessarily contradictory. While according to some literature most supervisors exhibit only one primary orientation, occasionally a leader scores high on both human relations and task orientation. In other words, the supervisor may care a great deal about his subordinate's personal well-being (consideration) and may be cognizant of the necessity of motivating his subordinates, while at the same time be very high in orientation toward successfully completing assigned tasks. Several studies have shown that these factors are not necessarily inversely correlated or mutually exclusive.²

One study found that the leader high in both human relations and task orientation is most popular among his subordinates. Second in preference is the leader high in human relations and low in task orientation while the leader high in task orientation and low in human

¹R. J. House, A. C. Filey and D. N. Gujarti, "Leadership Style, Hierarchical Influence and the Satisfaction of Subordinate Role Expectations: A Test of Likert's Influence Propositions," Journal of Applied Psychology 55 (1971), pp. 422-432.

²Weed, op. cit., p. 76.

relations is liked least. This was found to be consistent throughout task type. The research design was relatively sophisticated, measuring not only the impact of human relations and task orientation, but also the interplay with subordinate personality and certain task variables. It is unfortunate that the correlation was made with "liking" the supervisor as opposed to productivity or to employee job satisfaction. Despite this limitation, the research is suggestive of correlations with job satisfaction.¹

Another study conducted by Fleishman and Harris may have reached the same conclusion using different terminology. They reported that supervisory consideration moderated the impact of initiating structure by the supervisor and employee attitudes. Their conclusion was that leadership structure is perceived by subordinates as supportive and helpful only when the leader is highly considerate. However, such structuring behavior is seen as restrictive and threatening when the leader is low in consideration.²

This study has been replicated several times wherein conclusions were refined and it was found that such relationships existed most often with lower level employees but did not appear to effect that of their high level job counterparts.³ These studies were therefore viewed

¹Ibid., p. 77.

²E. A. Fleishman and E. F. Harris, "Patterns of Leadership Behavior Related to Employee Grievances and Turnover," Personnel Psychology 15 (1962), pp. 43-56.

³House, Filey and Kerr, op. cit.; House, Wigdor and Schultz, op. cit.

by one author as suggesting that consideration is only an important moderator on the effect of supervisory structure in low level occupations.¹ Contrary to the above repeated findings of House et al., Schriesheim found that consideration moderated subordinate reactions to leader initiating structure for both higher level and lower level occupations.² This study can be used to support the conclusion of Weed et al. if one is willing to view consideration as highly correlated with a human relations orientation and if initiating structure may be regarded as measuring task orientation.

Most police departments using a paramilitary command network stress supervision having a primary task orientation. As stated earlier, for most occupations a human relations orientation is predictive of somewhat higher levels of job satisfaction. In the job environment of police, this may not be true. Subordinate expectations of a task oriented supervisor, may upon confronting a human relations style of supervision, lead to job dissatisfaction or stress. Of course, a more detailed analysis of "task" or "human relations" orientation depends upon the individual style of supervision being examined. The police literature unfortunately appears not to contain any comprehensive empirical analyses of the effect of such supervisory orientation upon subordinate job satisfaction. Therefore, actual relationships must only be hypothesized.

¹Schriesheim, op. cit., p. 635.

²Ibid., p. 639.

c) The next factor to be examined is the method which a supervisor selects to reward and punish subordinates and the amount of authority which he has to administer such sanctions. Much of the literature reaches the somewhat obvious conclusion that a supervisor primarily using punitive "reward" behavior is causally related to employee dissatisfaction with both supervisor and the overall job. The converse also appears valid; leaders relying primarily on positive rewards, especially those contingent upon performance, increase subordinate job satisfaction.¹

One study has cast some doubt upon the universality of these findings. In a 1971 study of financial managers, Reitz found as expected that positive rewards such as merit pay increases, recognitions, or advancement in the organization were significantly related to higher levels of job satisfaction. It was also hypothesized that negative rewards such as reprimands, dismissals and withholding of pay increases would have a negative relationship with job satisfaction. However, Reitz's data showed that such negative rewards were in actuality related to higher job satisfaction.²

¹Robert T. Keller and Andrew D. Szilagyi, "A Longitudinal Study of Leader Reward Behavior, Subordinate Expectancies and Satisfaction," Personnel Psychology 31 (1978), p. 127.

²H. J. Reitz, "Managerial Attitudes and Perceived Contingencies Between Performance and Organizational Response," Proceedings of the 31st Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management (1971), as cited in Keller and Szilagyi, op. cit., p. 120.

A possible explanation of this somewhat unexpected data may be found in a 1971 study of employees in a large hospital. This research found that the use of positive leader awards, e.g., supervisors giving pay increases and recognition to superior subordinates was positively correlated with job satisfaction. However, the relationship between punitive leader rewards and job satisfaction was moderated by organizational level and role ambiguity. For high level employees characterized by high role ambiguity, the use of punitive rewards was related to high job satisfaction. Reitz interpreted this data as suggestive that high level employees perceive punitive leader reward behavior as instrumental in the clarification of ambiguous job goals reducing stress and increasing job satisfaction.¹

An alternate theory is that subordinates perceive a supervisor's use of either positive or negative sanctions as evidence of the supervisor's ability to be decisive. One study found that perceived leader decisiveness was very highly related to job satisfaction since job satisfaction positively correlated with thirteen of sixteen adopted measurements.²

As noted above, the general literature indicates a positive correlation between the supervisor's reward power and job satisfaction.

¹Ibid.

²R. J. House, A. C. Filey and D. N. Gujarti, "Leadership Style, Hierarchical Influence and the Satisfaction of Subordinate Role Expectations: A Test of Likert's Influence Proposition," Journal of Applied Psychology 55 (1971), pp. 422-432.

Under certain circumstances, the use of negative sanctions may result in increased job satisfaction. One study of police organizations by Larry Tifft shows that immediate police supervisors have exceptionally low power to delegate rewards.

Tifft studied the possession and exercise of power by police sergeants. His review of supervisory literature suggested that lower level supervisors were among the most important actors in the organization, with high potential for influencing subordinate behavior and morale.¹ In addition, he noted that most police administrators saw sergeants as the backbone of the organization.² Tifft divided the police department into five units: patrol, traffic, tactical force, detective and vice. He found that the distribution of power in the supervisory positions and the factors affecting the exercise of these powers depended to a great deal on which unit was being studied.³ Despite the position of power held by sergeants in most areas of the

¹However, see Sterling, op. cit., p. 163 who stated that although police supervisors would assumably be the most important role reciprocals to police recruits, police subjects saw them as the most important after field experience. Additionally, after field experience, the subjects also saw their supervisors as less cooperative, fair, trusting, good, strong, informed, active and important than they did at the start of training. Of all the police groups, the subjects' perceptions of their supervisors underwent the greatest number of changes in the unfavorable direction.

²Larry L. Tifft, "Control Systems, Social Bases of Power and Power Exercise in Police Organizations," Journal of Police Science and Administration 3, No. 1 (1975), p. 123.

³Ibid., p. 71.

force, Tifft believed that patrol supervisors had very few and weak bases of social power. Four reasons were cited. First, the nature of the work being supervised made close supervision impossible. Performance by officers frequently could not be closely regulated since such policing has no central work place.

Second, many necessary patrol decisions must be made immediately, precluding most supervisory assistance. While the sergeant may respond to major crime scenes, ensure the completion of correct reports by police officers, and randomly evaluate individual performance, the sergeant is not in a position to provide direct assistance to line officers. In fact, there may not even be a single recognized method of coping with particular patrol problems. The lack of clear policy for handling many incidents prevents a supervisor from communicating a "correct" way of resolving many problems confronted by their subordinates.¹

Third, Tifft characterized the relationship between sergeant and patrolmen by a great deal of impermanence. The sergeant had few opportunities to know his patrolmen because the former were distributed in shifts and the sergeants and patrolmen were rotated on the basis of different scheduling systems.²

Finally, Tifft noted that the patrol sergeant had little ability to grant either positive or negative sanctions. Organizational rewards

¹Ibid., p. 72.

²Ibid.

including assignments to desirable beats, shift and partner changes and promotional opportunities were either distributed by higher level supervisors or were so heavily routinized as to be difficult for the sergeants to influence. While the sergeant on patrol had some coercive control (the ability to recommend punishments) and some legitimate power by virtue of his position, he therefore had little reward power. Due to these organizational factors, Tifft concluded that the sergeant in the police patrol context may not have much effective control in influencing subordinate performance. Unfortunately, Tifft's study, while very comprehensive in the areas examined, did not seek to analyze impact of sergeants upon subordinate job satisfaction.

It should be noted, however, the findings of the lack of power of patrol sergeants has been disputed. Muir found that patrol sergeants had a very high degree of power in certain areas. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Intra-departmental transfers. In the department studied by Muir, every "rookie" was initially assigned relatively low status assignments, predominantly in the patrol sector. Evaluations from their sergeants determined when and where the officer could subsequently transfer. Muir viewed younger officers as being "dependent" on pleasing the sergeant to escape from low status positions to a more permanent assignment. Informally, the officers referred to the Sergeant's power over intra-departmental transfers as constituting the "slave market".¹

¹Muir, op. cit., p. 237.

2. Sergeants were found capable of influencing working conditions to the extent that officers would select particular assignments to be with a particular sergeant. The power of the sergeants in that department may have been closely related to the sergeant's capability of manpower allocation.¹

3. Sergeants in the department were given sole responsibility for making the annual evaluation of their squad. It was noted that these evaluations were critical to the officers maintaining their interdepartmental mobility. Since a negative evaluation would strongly jeopardize how the officer would be viewed by potential "buyers" (other sergeants looking for transfers into their squads).²

Fourth, it was noted by Muir that sergeants displayed markedly different ideas of what constitutes good policing. Some emphasized compliance with departmental rules and regulations; others were concerned with the development of a "sixth sense" emphasizing instinctual knowledge of potentially dangerous situations and still others were concerned with the quality of investigative efforts. It was believed that the sergeant's conception of the patrol role was of primary importance in determining long term attitudes and conduct of squad members.³

Finally, contrary to Tifft, Muir believed the sergeant had great powers to allocate punishment and rewards to his officers.

¹Ibid., p. 238.

²Ibid., p. 283.

³Ibid., p. 239.

But the patrol sergeant had at his disposal far more than threats with which to influence his men. He had a monopoly of rewards. He had resources which he effectively bartered in exchange for submission. He had the respectability and the proximity to give a pat on the back. He had the organizational know-how to help an officer frame a letter asking the administration for special consideration: the timing of his vacation, the taking of an extra day off, exoneration in any special inquiry, getting permission to take a second job on the outside to earn additional income. The sergeant had knowledge of especially dangerous circumstances in the district. He had a sophisticated knowledge of the penal law that cut through conundrums. He assisted in particularly risky or delicate street encounters which had begun gradually to slip out of control. He could show the officer a repertoire of personal techniques which made work with the public easier. He could "take the heat" from above; that is, he could serve as an advocate for any man whose conduct was being criticized by the public or the administration. He provided explanations of baffling events: the arrangement of the social classes, the predominance of certain political forces, the processes and purposes of the police department.¹

"In short, a sergeant could enrich his men in every conceivable way." It is interesting that while Tifft sees central administrators in a department as having primary power over patrol officers, Muir sees the situation as demonstrating relatively little effective control by the administration.

Finally, the sergeants exercised sovereignty within the department because they met so little resistance when they did so.... The administration, however, had virtually no control over which officers were promoted to sergeant, or, for that matter, over which sergeants were promoted to lieutenant. Such promotions were tightly controlled by civil service: there was a written examination on topics set publicly. Nor did the administration have freedom to punish sergeants in the Patrol Division ... Sergeants who wanted to be in the Patrol Division were in short supply. A sergeant, content to stay in Patrol, enjoyed the invulnerability of the dispossessed and the detached: having no hopes, he exposed no hostages. Furthermore, there was the democratic ethos of decentralized administration: the conventional wisdom in the most thoughtful police circles was that the more discretion and responsible judgment that could be delegated to a patrol sergeant, the

¹ Ibid., pp. 238-240.

more active and useful a man he was likely to be. Largely this belief grew from necessity. For all practical purposes it was impossible for a superior to supervise a patrol sergeant's activity. Formal evaluations of patrol sergeants were attempted, but the lieutenants and the captains doing them had nowhere near enough information to do more than the most perfunctory job. Trust was given to patrol sergeants because there was little alternative.¹

Obviously, there are profound differences in the power of patrol sergeants as studied by Tifft and those studied by Muir. At least some inference may be drawn that the organizational structure of their respective departments may influence the extent and use of power by sergeants.

d) The fourth characteristic of the supervisor which may affect subordinate job satisfaction is the perceived technical competence of the supervisor, e.g., whether the employee estimates that the supervisor possesses the necessary skills for effective job performance. One study made the expected observation that an employee's job satisfaction depends partially upon the extent of the employee respect of technical skills.² However, this research has been questioned by a study completed by House, Filey and Gujarti who found that the leader's technical competence was significantly related in only two of sixteen measurements of job satisfaction.³

¹ Ibid.

² Michael J. Misshauk, "Supervisory Skills and Employee Satisfaction," Personnel Administration 34 (July-August, 1971), pp. 29-33.

³ House, Filey and Gujarti, op. cit., pp. 422-432.

Tifft's study of the patrol division of a metropolitan police force suggests that patrol sergeants would not be perceived as being competent by subordinates. This is partially due to the supervisor's inability to provide direct assistance and their lack of power to act decisively. There is also some evidence suggesting that such perceptions may be justified. In most departments, police are promoted to the rank of sergeant largely on the basis of seniority, test scores and an evaluation of their patrol performance. Seniority obviously is not related to ability and test scores often may not adequately predict future performance. Moreover, functions of a patrol supervisor substantially differ from the officer's preceding work. Little training is given on these new functions and in fact, there is no necessary correlation between the quality of performance in the two distinct job categories. Therefore, while the change of a sergeant's role might be expected to correspond with appropriate behavior changes, this is not necessarily true. It is possible and perhaps to be expected that if there is no training for the supervisor's job, changes in behavior would not be likely to correspond with the requirements of the new position. By this, it is meant that certain unacceptable behavior traits in a supervisor will continue despite changing roles.

e) One application of situational principles suggests that the relationship between leadership style and subordinate job attitudes must partially depend upon the interaction of the leader's behavior with the characteristics of the employment setting and of the subordinates. The first category, that of the employment environment, includes a number of factors which may influence the actual relationship between

the leadership styles and subordinate job satisfaction. Renumeration, fringe benefits, physical environment, characteristics of the work group, external reputation, and use of available technology may all impact upon the relationship between leadership styles and job satisfaction.¹

While there are obviously many characteristics of a job setting which may affect the relationship between leadership style and job satisfaction, one of primary relevance when studying police organizations is job stress. The relationship is that in conditions of stress, most employees are more satisfied with an authoritarian leadership, perhaps because it is tension-reducing not to be responsible for decision making.²

Schriesheim also found that the effect of job stress upon the subordinates' reaction to leadership behavior was very significant. He concluded that "leadership structure", and authoritarian style of management, significantly reduced subordinate performance as measured from evaluations by unit heads and job satisfaction under low stress conditions while slightly increasing both under high stress.³

¹S. E. Weed, T. R. Mitchell, and W. Moffitt, "Leadership Style, Subordinate Personality and Task Type of Predictors of Performance and Satisfaction with Supervision," Journal of Applied Psychology 61, No. 1 (1976), p. 58.

²David C. Korlen, "Situational Determinants of Leadership Structure," Journal of Conflict Resolution (September, 1962), pp. 222-235.

³Schriesheim, op. cit., p. 639.

These results appear to be in agreement with earlier studies that suggested stressful work conditions require somewhat higher leadership structure than otherwise necessary for promotion of employee job satisfaction.¹ This is important for this study since most studies have concluded that the police role is among the most stressful of the major occupations.

f) Finally, in addition to characteristics of the supervisor and the work environment, it is also necessary to understand that relationships between supervisory style and job satisfaction may be greatly effected by the characteristics and innate attitudes of the employees themselves. Whyte noted that in the past,

We have tended to think of effective supervision as being a product of a relationship between a good leader and a group on the assumption that the group of subordinates was a constant. In fact, variations in the effectiveness of supervision may be as much due to inherent differentiations in the group itself as to the leadership or supervisor's practices exemplified by the supervisor.²

Studying employee characteristics may therefore be very important since it is the overall relationship that determines both the leadership style and the employee reaction. Research indicates that this interaction is dynamic in both dimensions. While it is beyond the scope of this study to examine personality characteristics of police, it is advisable to recognize the existence of some literature (although contested) regarding

¹Korlen, op. cit.

²Whyte, "Small Groups in Large Organizations," Social Psychology at the Crossroads, Rohrer and Sharif (Eds.) (1951), pp. 303-304, as cited in Tifft, op. cit.

the "police personality" and studies that have catalogued express police attitudes. While no studies examined related subordinate attitudes and personality characteristics such as authoritarianism or cynicism to preferred styles of leadership this may be a fruitful area for additional research.

C. Employee Attitudes

In addition to differences in job satisfaction based upon variations in individual characteristics and in style of supervision, there is also the strong possibility that differences in job satisfaction may be related to the individual work attitudes of the officers. Because of this, literature has been examined that discussed the impact of the following employee attitudes on job satisfaction. These include:

1) the perceived degree of community support for the occupation and the officer's esteem; 2) the degree to which the employee perceives that the job allows him to use individual talents; 3) the degree of alienation from the job; and 4) his satisfaction with life in general. It is beyond the scope of this literature review to provide a detailed review of the literature connecting various attitudes to job satisfaction.

One caveat is in order before examining these factors. These attitudes are admittedly closely related to overall feelings of job satisfaction. Both occupational prestige and job utilization of a worker's talents have long been regarded as important determinants of job satisfaction. While this is acknowledged, it is also true that these are merely parts of the overall concept and thus should not be

regarded as synonymous with job satisfaction. By measuring the effect of several related attitudes, it may be possible to better understand how the level of job satisfaction is determined.

Job satisfaction research has consistently shown that the status of a worker's occupation has a strong relationship with his satisfaction.¹ While such a relationship does exist, intervening factors may lead to unwarranted conclusions. Specifically, when occupational prestige increases, changes in the nature of the job, greater cohesion in the work group and a greater ego gratification from the increased challenge and variety of work are also likely. Vroom and other researchers have noted that occupational prestige does in fact influence a number of empirically related but conceptually different job attitudes such as higher pay, freedom on the job and the degree of tedious effort required.² Meltzer and Salter concluded that these intervening variables must be considered (or controlled) if the relationship between job satisfaction and perceived occupational prestige is to be adequately studied.³

¹Carroll, op. cit., p. 16; F. Herzberg, B. Mausner, R. O. Peterson and D. F. Capwell, Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion (Pittsburgh: Psychological Service of Pittsburgh, 1957); R. L. Kahn, "The Meaning of Work: Interpretations and Proposals for Measurement," A. Capwell and P. E. Converse (Eds.), The Human Meaning of Social Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972); and Vroom, op. cit.

²Vroom, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

³Leo Meltzer and James Salter, "Organizational Structure and the Performance and Job Satisfaction of Physiologists," American Sociological Review 27 (June, 1962), p. 360 as cited in Carroll, op. cit., p. 16.

For example, one study found a direct relationship between occupational prestige and job satisfaction, however, when regression analysis was used and the effect of other variables was controlled, the relationship was no longer significant.¹

From this literature, it may be concluded that the relationship between self-esteem and overall job satisfaction is still unclear. However, the meager research examined is suggestive of the proposition that observed relationships may largely be due to extraneous factors. Therefore, the best vehicle for studying the actual relationship should be one in which the occupational setting (and job role) are controlled. The result would then allow matching the variance among the employees of both occupational and self-esteem/job satisfaction to determine if any relationship remains.

Within the police setting several studies have examined police perceptions of community respect (occupational prestige) and police self-esteem. Most authors conclude that the average police officer does not believe he has an acceptable public image.²

One of the most extensive studies of police perceptions was conducted for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders by

¹Charles N. Weaver, "Relationships Among Pay, Race, Sex, Occupational Prestige, Supervision, Work Autonomy and Job Satisfaction in a National Sample," Personnel Psychology 30 (1977), p. 442.

²See Niederhoffer, op. cit.; John Van Maanen, "Police Socialization," Administrative Science Quarterly (1975), p. 26; David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

P. Rossi et al. Interviews were held with 437 policemen located in fifteen American cities. Fifty-four percent were dissatisfied with the respect received from the citizens of their precincts. Thirty percent indicated they felt the average citizen regarded the police with contempt. Adolescents and young adults were noted as having the most negative attitudes.¹ The importance of whether the officer obtains public recognition is unclear. It has been suggested that such recognition has become the primary goal of police officers and even exceeds the importance of more tangible benefits such as advancement within the police organization. Preiss and Ehrlich in their study of the Michigan State Police stated that organizational advancement was becoming relatively less significant compared to public recognition and in fact might be relegated to obtaining such recognition.² Because low occupational prestige is regarded as being negatively correlated with job satisfaction, this should tend to negatively effect police officer job satisfaction.

There appears to be some debate over the degree of police self-esteem. One theory appears to tacitly rely upon the theory that self-attitudes are derived primarily from perceptions of community beliefs. It is assumed that police self-esteem is not high, partially because of officer acceptance of public stereotypes and the low occupational status

¹Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968).

²Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 91.

of policing prevalent in the community.¹ Other researchers have found that most officers perceive their job as being of the utmost importance and are therefore extremely proud of their occupation and job role.²

One study using a semantic differential scale was administered to 492 state and city police to discover how the police perceive themselves and their roles. Their findings were that the respondents evaluated themselves and their occupation very highly. The authors concluded that the data implied a very positive self image and favorable disposition toward the police.³

While the research remains somewhat inconclusive, it would appear to support the overall proposition that most officers have contradictory perceptions of their occupation. On the one hand, they perceive policing as having relatively low status in the community. On the other hand, most studies show that there is also a strong belief that the occupation is indeed very valuable. The impact of "dissonance" between prestige in the community and internally derived self-esteem might be examined in future research to determine if this effects police behavior or personality. Possible impact includes a "garrison mentality", the tight knit

¹American Civil Liberties Union, "Police Power and Citizens' Rights," p. 16.

²Alan F. Arcuri, "Police Pride-Self Esteem: Indication of Future Occupational Changes," Journal of Police Science and Administration (December, 1976), p. 441.

³D. H. Chang and C. H. Zastrow, "Police Evaluative Perceptions of Themselves, the General Public and Selected Occupational Groups," Journal of Criminal Justice (April, 1976), pp. 17-32.

police subculture and hostility toward minorities, certain occupations and the public at large. In this study, the concern rests with the measurement of the officer's perceptions of community prestige and self-esteem. This could then be correlated with overall job satisfaction.

A second attitudinal factor appearing to be related to job satisfaction is the degree to which an employee perceives that the job provides physical or mental challenge and/or outlets for creative ability. Maslow's pioneering work examined "need hierarchies" and hypothesized that as lower order needs such as security, etc., became fulfilled, higher order needs (self-actualization, etc.) would ascend in importance.¹

There has, of course, been volumes published that deal with the question of whether such need hierarchies exist,² and if existing, remain constant in all organizational settings³ and among individuals

¹A. H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," Psychological Review 50 (July, 1943), pp. 370-396.

²See especially, Erich Prien, Gerald Barrett and Byron Svetlik, "The Prediction of Job Performance," Personnel Administration 30 (March-April, 1967), pp. 40-43; Richard Centers and Daphne E. Bugental, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Job Motivations Among Different Segments of the Working Population," Journal of Applied Psychology 50 (June, 1966), pp. 193-197; and Dilip K. Lahiri and Sureh Srivastva, "Determinants of Satisfaction in Middle Management Personnel," Journal of Applied Psychology 51 June, 1967), pp. 254-265.

³A number of studies have shown that self-realization needs appear to contribute to job satisfaction regardless of occupational settings. See Arthur N. Turner and Amelia L. Miclette, "Sources of Satisfaction in Repetitive Work," Occupational Psychology 36 (October, 1962), p. 220, in Carroll, op. cit., p. 14 assembly workers; S. H. Peres, op. cit., p. 26 engineers; H. Geist, "Work Satisfaction and Scores on a Picture Inventory," Journal of Applied Psychology 47 (December, 1963), pp. 369-373; Prien, Barrett and Svetlik, op. cit., p. 42.

with varying personality needs.¹ Therefore, although Maslow's need hierarchy has been questioned, there is little doubt that for many employees, perceptions of the job's degree of autonomy and psychological challenge constitute an important determinant of the worker's level of job satisfaction.

The literature studying police has noted the importance of the officer having a job role enabling him to fulfill such needs. It has been suggested that while in the past job security has been highest in the police "need hierarchy", as conditions in the police organization have improved, the primary unfulfilled needs have advanced to that psychic area related to fulfillment of self-actualization and ego needs.²

Not all authors agree that police officer's security needs have been met. Van Maanen states that police officers represent an interesting occupational exception to Maslow's need hierarchy theory. He notes that Maslow's "security needs" represented an amalgam of both physiological and psychological needs. Van Maanen concedes that officer's physiological needs such as pay and job security are very well satisfied. However, psychological security cannot be achieved since danger and unpredictability of daily events are characteristics intrinsic to the occupation. From this, Van Maanen questions the applicability of

¹Morechai Eran, "Relationship Between Self-Perceived Personality Traits and Job Attitudes in Middle Management," Journal of Applied Psychology 50 (October, 1966), pp. 424-430 and S. Box and S. Cotgrove, "Scientific Identity and Role Strain," British Journal of Sociology 17 (March, 1966), pp. 20-28.

²M. Reiser, "Some Organizational Stresses on Policemen," Journal of Police Science Administration 2 (June, 1974), p.

Maslow's theory to the specific situational job characteristics of police on patrol.¹ While this is an interesting observation, there is the possibility that individuals gravitating toward police work may be self-selected to include a higher proportion than in the working public of those individuals viewing danger as a positive aspect of a job. If this is the case, then "unfulfillment" of physical security needs would not be a "blockage" preventing the ascendancy of higher level needs, but would merely provide the vehicle for satisfaction of these needs.

Supporting the conclusion that "higher level" need fulfillment is important to police officers, mere job security and "liveable" wages have been said to no longer be sufficient to keep younger officers satisfied. The conclusion has been advanced that since the survival and security needs were met, police officers were most satisfied when they perceived themselves to be included in the decision-making process.²

Van Maanen did find evidence to support this theory. When studying factors attracting police recruits to the profession, he found that security and salary of police were overrated as job placement motivators. Instead, the major factor in job choice appeared to be the expectation of "meaningful" work.³ While the concept of meaningful work to a police

¹ Van Maanen, op. cit., p. 26.

² Reiser, op. cit., p. 157.

³ John Van Maanen, "Observations on the Making of Policemen," Human Organizations 32 (Winter, 1973), p. 509.

recruit might be different than for those applicants who are highly trained and prepared to enter a different career, it is likely to include some similar factors such as control over the working environment and a degree to be closely related to the level of overall satisfaction with the job. A number of studies have found that although levels of alienation and job dissatisfaction were not identical, the two did appear to be closely related.¹ Such linkages had several components. Identification of the worker within the organizations products or goals has been found to be related to job satisfaction.² Similarly, dissatisfaction has been found to be closely related to the lack of integration and the lack of identification with the management of the organization.³

3. A third relationship has been found between the degree of work group cohesiveness and the degree to which members of the work group are satisfied with their job. Members of groups found to be highly cohesive are more satisfied with their employment than those from "low cohesion" groups. One study found this was particularly true with low skilled

¹Locke, op. cit.

²Turner and Miclette, op. cit. assembly workers; A. J. Butler and Raymond Cochrane, "An Examination of Some Elements of the Personality of Police Officers and Their Implications," Journal of Police Science and Administration 5, No. 4 (1978), pp. 441-450 manufacturing; Salinas, op. cit., non-academic employees at a university.

³Leo W. Gruenfeld and Felician F. Foltman, "Relationship Among Supervisors' Integration, Satisfaction and Acceptance of a Technological Change," Journal of Applied Psychology 51 (February, 1967), pp. 74-77.

employees although there was still a degree of relationship in highly skilled groups.¹

A number of studies have examined aspects of alienation among police officers. One study expressly found that alienation among police was quite high.² Denyer stated that the contemporary American police officer was the classic prototype of the alienated laborer. His basis is that most officers recognize that they have little control over the means for production and distribution of law enforcement activities. The means of production including decisions with regard to criminally deviant behavior, organizational structure and deployment, personnel advancement, etc. are in the hands of authorities in political systems who tend to be largely unresponsive to police officers. Because of this, Denyer finds alienation high.³ He believes the result of such alienation to be the failure of the occupational role to meet personal needs. Denyer does not, however, specifically relate police alienation to job satisfaction. However, as stated earlier, police officers as a group tend to have rather high group solidarity and work group cohesion. At the individual level, differences in the degree of cohesion may, of course, be found. Similarly, there is a rather high commitment to certain of the goals of policing and a recognition that the "product" produced by the police department is essential to society.

¹Adams and Slocum, op. cit., pp. 37-43.

²Jiram, op. cit., p. 151.

³Tom Denyer, "The Policeman as Alienated Laborer," Journal of Police Science and Administration 3, No. 3 (September, 1975), pp. 251-252.

The police setting would therefore appear to present an interesting case where the degree of officer alienation would be predicted to vary considerably due to differential impact of the counteracting forces listed above. It is in this environment where the impact of alienation may best be studied since it is likely that similarly situated officers will display different attitudes.

4 A fourth attitude that may affect worker job satisfaction is whether the worker is satisfied with his life apart from his occupation. It has been suggested that there is a close relationship between job satisfaction and satisfaction with life in general. The rationale appears to be that a person unhappy with life may expand this to job dissatisfaction.¹ Another study reached similar conclusions suggesting that an employee's general morale or job satisfaction is determined to a large extent by environmental factors and personal characteristics.²

This conclusion has, however, been contested. One study by Handyside and Speak questioned whether general life satisfaction was related to job satisfaction. Their study indicated that the two were separate and independent.³ A second study, also by Handyside found that

¹G. H. Graham, "Job Satisfaction," Personnel Journal 45 (October, 1966), pp. 544-547.

²B. Svetlik, E. Prien and G. Barrett, "Relationship Between Job Difficulty, Employees Attitude Toward His Job and Supervisory Ratings of the Employee Effectiveness," Journal of Applied Psychology 48 (October, 1964), p. 322.

³John D. Handyside and Mary Speak, "Job Satisfaction: Myths and Realities," British Journal of Industrial Relations 2 (March, 1964), pp. 57-65.

job satisfaction was not closely related to overall satisfaction with life.¹ Finally, a study by Thorpe and Campbell indicated that job satisfaction and satisfaction with non-job activities did not appear to influence each other. The authors did, however, suggest that a more complex interaction may be occurring. Specifically, they hypothesized that certain non-job activities might give a degree of substitute satisfaction value which would make up for a particular omission in the worker's actual vocation. The non-job environment would thus, to some degree, have the potential for cushioning failings of the work environment.²

Summary

In summary, a review of both general organizational literature and the literature studying police officer attitudes and behavior suggests the following conclusions.

1) The general organization literature contains many excellent studies that examine factors which may influence job satisfaction. However, most of the studies examined do not present the full range of alternative explanations for the levels of job satisfaction. Instead, they tend to focus on one factor: the individual worker attributes;

¹John D. Handyside, "Satisfactions and Aspirations," Occupational Psychology 35 (October, 1961), p. 227.

²Robert P. Thorpe and David P. Campbell, "Expressed Interests and Worker Satisfaction," Personnel and Guidance Journal 44 (November, 1965), pp. 238-243.

supervision; and other organizational parameters; and/or certain other salient attitudes of the worker. Studies which correlate all of these factors and attempt to analyze what are the most important in a particular environment are rare.

2) Attempts to make conclusions that cross occupations and work environments may be misleading. Relationships between job satisfaction and the various "causative" factors tend to be extremely complex and not-linear. Furthermore, the effect of moderating variables unique to certain occupations and work environments make studies geared to that milieu essential.

3) There are many excellent studies that have examined various aspects of police attitudes and behavior. Several studies have, in fact, examined factors which impact upon officer morale and job satisfaction. However, no study has been found which devotes itself to an overall examination to the more important factors which may effect job satisfaction. This study will seek to combine the insights derived from the organization literature with the wealth of background information found in studies of the police to arrive at a study showing factors leading to officer job satisfaction in several police departments.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Hypotheses

Having described the problem being studied and the literature on job satisfaction and attitude development among police officers, it is the intention of this chapter to present the hypotheses and describe the methodology of the research conducted for this study. The chapter starts with a description of the hypotheses, the determination by which sites were selected and individuals picked, the development of the research instrument and the statistical techniques employed. Finally, the various operational decisions and methods of analysis pursued will be covered.

A number of hypotheses will be tested in this project.

Hypothesis I: The level of job satisfaction will be related to certain background characteristics of the officer.

Subhypotheses of Hypothesis I:

1. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's race;
2. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's sex;
3. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's marital status;

4. Level of job satisfaction is associated with whether an officer's spouse is employed;
5. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's level of education;
6. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's age; and
7. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's years on the force.

Officer background is being studied since literature suggests that variations on attitudinal development exist due to certain developmental experiences or innate characteristics of the officer. It is difficult at this point to determine precisely what factors will significantly determine the level of job satisfaction. Relevant background characteristics often interact with the work environment of the department making firm predictions difficult at this time. The following analysis is therefore extremely tentative in nature.

The first subhypothesis is that job satisfaction is associated with whether an officer is black or white. The direction of this association is difficult to predict since it is subjected to two factors which counterbalance each other. First, black officers are in the minority and thus would probably not be as accepted in the department's social structure. Alternately, affirmative action programs have resulted in policies that are favorable to minority job advancement. One department being studied, Detroit, is currently in the midst of a bitter political and legal struggle between the predominantly white police officers' association and the police department policy regarding the affirmative action advancement program. However, black officers

have often bitterly complained to the author about social and other forms of discrimination in the department which still exist.

The officer's sex is being studied since the literature is suggestive that level of job satisfaction may be closely related to minority status in differential treatment among workers. It has been shown that while aggregate levels of job satisfaction remain the same between the sexes in different occupations, one sex may have higher levels of job satisfaction than another in a particular occupation (see Literature Section). It is difficult at this time to determine whether females on a police force will have higher job satisfaction than equivalent males. On the one hand they are clearly a minority in the department and hence may be subject to traditional minority discontent. On the other hand, efforts made to recruit more women and promotional possibilities may be better than for males on the department. The counteracting affect of these opposing tendencies is unclear.

The third subhypothesis states that job satisfaction is associated with an officer's marital status. Literature on job satisfaction has suggested that married people tend to have greater levels of job satisfaction, apparently because they are capable of displacing frustrations and obtaining support from their spouse. However, the police organization may be unique in that officers very often do not wish to discuss occurrences on the job due to increased spousal anxiety. Therefore, no reasonable basis for a prediction exists at this time.

A fourth subhypothesis is that job satisfaction is associated with spousal employment. The rationale for inclusion of this variable is

that if a spouse is working, several outcomes may occur. The spouse may be more used to stress on the job and may be more able to empathize with the police officer. Alternately, a spouse may instead have more difficulty coping with a patrol officer's rotating shifts when the working person is also tied to a fixed schedule. This, coupled with the stresses of her own employment, may adversely effect married life. It is possible that this might in turn effect the officer's job satisfaction. It may, of course, be possible to control for the type of spousal employment, however, this would require a greater sample than in the present study.

The fifth subhypothesis is that job satisfaction is related to the education of an officer. More educated officers are likely to find that the job is less stimulating than their education would make them qualified to perform. As such, education might be regarded as a "dissatisfier". There is however, no direct evidence showing this to be true across all occupations. Instead, the relation between level of education and job satisfaction depends to a great extent upon utilization of talents in the particular job setting (see Chapter III, "Education"). Existing literature (as more fully described in Chapter III, "Education"), indicates that college educated officers do indeed have a higher turnover rate. This higher turnover rate may be related to job satisfaction or, alternately, to greater opportunities outside of the department.

As indicated in the literature, a higher turnover rate may not indicate greater dissatisfaction but merely greater availability of alternative job opportunities for more educated officers.

The sixth hypothesis is that level of job satisfaction will be positively correlated with the age of the individual officer. As discussed more fully in the Literature Section (Chapter IV, "Age"), it has consistently been found that workers become more satisfied as they become older, at least after a certain training period of short duration. The reasons for this finding are discussed in the literature section. The only problem with presenting this directional hypothesis in this type of research is that confirmation of the hypothesis may only be tentative. To do an adequate analysis of jobsatisfaction as it relates to age, a longitudinal study tracing the careers of all officers originally tested would be necessary. By only studying the officers in the department, there is the possibility that the sample at older age levels will be self-selected, e.g., dissatisfied officers may have left the department leaving only those workers that were initially more satisfied with the department's operations. To eliminate this rival hypothesis, subsequent testing of the same officers would need to be undertaken.

The final subhypothesis is that years on the police force will be positively correlated with job satisfaction. An exhaustive examination of the literature as reviewed in Chapter III shows that typically most individuals have steadily higher levels of job satisfaction throughout their career. Exceptions are minimal and relate to the "break-in" in the last several years on the force when such patterns may be reversed. Naturally, the same qualification explicated with the previous hypothesis may exist with years on the force. Dissatisfied officers may have left at a disproportionate rate, thus skewing the sample.

All of these subhypotheses will be tested through questions asked in the questionnaire designed for this study. Analysis will be taken via correlations with the derived indices of job satisfaction which will also be asked of all tested officers.

Hypothesis II. The level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's perception of his working conditions.

This hypothesis is broken into seven subhypotheses that will be tested.

1. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the adequacy of benefits;
2. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the social value and prestige of the occupation;
3. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's perception of job stress;
4. Level of job satisfaction will decrease with an officer's perception of adverse impact upon family relations;
5. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the job's ability to advance personal fulfillment goals;
6. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of ability to advance in the job; and
7. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the quality of supervision.

The first subhypothesis, that job satisfaction will increase with the adequacy of the benefit package has been amply discussed in existing literature. The major question appears to be how significant money and other compensation is upon the level of job satisfaction after a certain minimum level is reached. Thus, while it is hypothesized that perceptions on adequacy of benefits will have a positive predictive value in

determining job satisfaction, it is unclear how strong this factor will be or if statistical significance will be found.

The second subhypothesis is that job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the social value and prestige of the occupation. Officers have chronically complained of failure to receive citizen support. Often they come in contact with those groups most dissatisfied with the role of the police. As such, community hostility may make a police officer feel that the job is unappreciated and/or unneeded. It is believed that such perceptions would be predictive of dissatisfaction with an officer's employment.

The third subhypothesis is that perceptions of job stress are associated with the level of job satisfaction. Job stress has been linked to officer cynicism and police brutality in some of the police literature. As such it is logical to study this variable to determine if it has an impact on job satisfaction.

The fourth subhypothesis is that level of job satisfaction will decrease with an officer's perception of adverse impact upon family relations. An individual's employment and family life are among the most important elements of his life. As is discussed more fully in Chapter III ("Family Life") an officer who is "dissatisfied" with family life is more likely to have negative attitudes towards employment. In this subhypothesis we are testing the theory that dissatisfaction with family life may correlate with dissatisfaction at work. While it would not be known which would be the causative factor, it will be determined if the two factors correlate with each other.

The fifth subhypothesis is that the officer's level of job satisfaction will increase with perceptions concerning the impact of the job upon the ability to attain a certain degree of job autonomy and to utilize the officer's particular skills and capabilities. This shall be defined as the ability of the officer to attain "self-fulfillment" goals. This subhypothesis is based upon extensive literature in the job satisfaction field. Maslow and other authors that have a conceptual model incorporating a need hierarchy (see Chapter III) have maintained that after minimum levels of financial incentives, job security and personal safety are reached, a major factor in the determination of job satisfaction becomes whether the job allows the individual to "express interests" and utilize individual potential. As such it is predicted that such perceptions will have a positive association with levels of job satisfaction.

The sixth subhypothesis is that the officer's level of job satisfaction will be positively related to the degree with which the officer perceives that the job allows a chance for advancement. The theory for advancing this subhypothesis is similar to the preceding one. The attainment of adequate levels of other job factors may lead to increased saliency of the goal of advancement within the work organization.

The final subhypothesis is that job satisfaction will be correlated with an officer's perceptions of a supervisor's quality and type of management style. This is to be distinguished only with the subordinate's perceptions. This hypothesis has been advanced since some literature has suggested that perceptions of supervisory behavior are

major factors affecting employee job satisfaction. Such literature, especially in the so-called "human relations" school has consistently emphasized the role of the supervisor in the formation of the employee attitudes toward the job and his role in the work organization.

In testing these subhypotheses a questionnaire format will be used. Direct questions designed to elicit the attitudes of the officer will be asked.

Hypothesis III. The level of job satisfaction is associated with the sergeant's style of supervision as determined by management attitudes expressed by the sergeant.

In contrast to the second hypothesis which measured perceptions of the subordinate officer about his environment, this hypothesis seeks to determine the impact of standardized factors in the area of supervision specifically. It is believed that a standardized basis is needed to compare supervisors' conduct since different officer's perceptions of the same supervisory individual or management style may vary enormously. Type of supervision has been chosen as a standardized factor since much of the literature states that type of supervision is important to level of job satisfaction and enough research has been conducted in the field of supervisory styles to be able to catalogue different styles on the basis of standardized scales.

Hypothesis IV. The level of job satisfaction will be more positively correlated with those factors that are self-selected as being important to an officer's individual goals rather than those viewed by the officer as being less important.

This proposition is based on the theory that not every officer will view every facet of the job environment as being equally important. For some, the amount of monetary compensation would be the most important factor. For others, the amount of pay may exceed the money necessary to carry out an officer's customary life style. As such perceptions concerning the adequacy of pay may not be that significant to that particular officer. This research will attempt to test whether it is worthwhile to ask an officer to self-select those items of most importance to him. It is possible that despite an officer's statements of relative importance, in actuality scores on any particular issue will not be any more influential in determining level of job satisfaction than any other. This would indicate that the fourth hypothesis is not correct and that in the future, such questions should be omitted.

Site Selection

In determining who would be studied in the course of the research, several decisions had to be made. First, the selection of the departments whose officers would form the pool from which the sample might be drawn and second, a selection of a sample from the chosen departments. The initial decision was to pick several large cities, specifically Detroit, Michigan, and later Oakland, California. The decision to use large departments was made for several reasons. First, such departments are not as likely to be dominated by the personality of one particular supervisor. Instead, supervisory styles might be expected to differ within a department. Second, large departments face unique problems

and are of some significance. In other words, even if studies made of such departments have no or limited external validity, they may be worthwhile in that they deal with departments having large budgets and allocations.

Detroit was chosen primarily as it is the author's home city, is of significance in being a major midwestern city, and because an understanding of the department is important to the author's teaching duties.¹

While analysis will be made of differences in the response of officers from each of the two departments, no empirically based attempt will be made to explain such differences. A valid attempt to do so would require an exhaustive analysis of all possible organizational variables including size of the department, politics within the city and the department, racial percentage of the city and the department, crime rates and types of crimes, organizational structure of the departments, strikes of municipal employees and/or union activities, "morale" in the department, etc. This would be far beyond the scope of this research.

¹There are certain similarities between Detroit and Oakland. Both cities have a fairly high percentage of blacks (Detroit, 43.6%; Oakland, 34.5). They each have sizeable percentages of individuals below the federally determined poverty level (Detroit, 11.3% of the total population and 18.7% of the black population; Oakland, 12.2% of the total population and 21.8% of the black population). Crime rates for the cities are comparatively high.

Departmental Characteristics

The Oakland and Detroit police departments are large urban police departments. Detroit's force, serving a population of over 1,200,000 totaled 6,313 sworn officers and civilians. The Oakland Police Department policing 330,000 people totaled 1,031 sworn officers and civilians. (See Table 8 below.)

Table 8. Total Police Department Personnel

Total Employment	Total Full-time	Sworn Officers				Civilians			
		Male		Female		Male		Female	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Detroit	6,313	5,001	79	702	11	234	37	376	6
Oakland	1,031	639	62	17	2	157	15	208	20

Source: Facts as reported by the FBI Uniform Crime Reports, October 31, 1977. Release date of report, October 18, 1978.

The above table demonstrates differential patterns for use of civilians and women. The Oakland Police Department has made far more use of civilian employees than the Detroit Police Department. Over 36% of its total full-time work force are civilians while the equivalent figure for Detroit is only 10.3%. However, the Detroit Police Department has far more female sworn officers than in Oakland, equaling 12.3% of the total sworn officers compared to only 2.6% of Oakland's sworn officers. Both police departments have also made efforts to increase minority representation in the police force. The Detroit Police Department

has been acting under a court order to alleviate problems of prior discrimination. The judge in this case found that the Detroit Police Department had been practicing discrimination in hiring and promoting policies. As a result, the Detroit Police Department, with the strong encouragement of the city administration has attempted to generate new applications from minority applicants. The Department also voluntarily began a program in which one out of every two new promotions to the rank of sergeant is given to minority officers. Similar efforts have been made in Detroit to hire female officers without, however, the necessity of a court impetus.

Table 9. Detroit Police Department, August, 1978

Rank	White		Black		Others		Totals
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Chief of Police			1				1
Executive Deputy Chief	1						1
Deputy Chief	4		2				6
Commander	13*		9		1		23
Inspector	35	2	22	2	1		62
Lieutenant	150	8	41	5			204
Sergeant	779	23	138	8	3		951
Police Officer	2,414	219	1,239	491	44	11	4,418
Totals	3,396	252	1,452	506	49	11	5,666
	(60%)	(4.4%)	(25.6%)	(9%)	(.9%)	(.2%)	(100%)

* Includes one Deputy Director of Police Personnel.

Table 10. Changing Ethnicity of the Detroit Police Department*

Year	Positions of Sworn Officers	Number of Minorities	Percentage Minorities in Sworn Complement
1974	5,422	1,016	18.7
1975	5,447	1,222	22.4
1976	5,050	1,182	23.4
1977	5,799	1,966	33.9
1978	5,666	2,018	35.6
(as of Nov. 1)			

*Donald Gray, Affirmative Action Officer, Detroit Police Department, November, 1978.

In 1974 the department's affirmative action program was challenged in federal district court on the basis that it constituted "reverse discrimination" (Detroit Police Officers Association v. Coleman A. Young, Mayor, City of Detroit, Civil Action 74-71838). Federal District Court Judge Frederick Kaess on February 27, 1978 ruled that unlawful reverse discrimination in fact results from this policy. He found that the Detroit Police Department's affirmative action program promoting black sergeants did deny "Equal Protection" to white officers. While he conceded that the goal of equal opportunity was "laudable", he stated that it would not be permissible if it was achieved by use of a racial quota running counter to the constitutional mandate of the fourteenth amendment. This decision was immediately appealed by the City of Detroit to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals where as of this writing the matter

will be decided on appeal. Both sides have indicated that they will appeal an adverse decision to the United States Supreme Court.

Interviews with police command officials, sergeants and officers have indicated that there is a great deal of tension and bitterness over the issue of affirmative action. Based upon extensive contacts with both black and white officers, the author has come to believe that such policies may be a dominant source of social cleavage among the police force with black officers supporting the city's position and not voluntarily socializing with white officers. Further, these perceptions appear to mirror the racial split in the greater Detroit community. The police department and its role in Detroit have been highly politicized. The first election of then state representative Coleman Young as mayor in 1973 was contested by John Nichols, then the Chief of Police in Detroit. The election was largely focused upon the issue of the use of STRESS, the police department's controversial decoy unit, ability to control crime and youth violence, and charges of racial discrimination within the Detroit Police Department. The election was extremely close (51%-49%) with the vast majority of electors voting on racial lines.

The Oakland Police Department has also been actively pursuing an affirmative action program without quite as much vocal dissension as in Detroit. The Oakland City Council officially adopted affirmative action politics in 1969. In that year a case had been presented before the United States District Court, Penn v. Stumpf, Civil Action C-69-239-OJC, where it was alleged that the membership of the Oakland Police Department had minority representation disparate with the city's population.

A consent decree was agreed upon in which the Oakland Police Department stipulated to three separate conditions.

1. For every minority person who leaves the police department, another minority would be hired.
2. For all new hired other than those covered under number one, the percentage of minority persons hired shall at least equal the current percentage of minorities in the population of the city of Oakland. Furthermore, these minorities would be made up of adequate representations of each ethnic group, e.g., blacks, hispanics and orientals.
3. No quotas would be used.¹

The following tables (Tables 10 and 11) show that the Oakland Police Department has been somewhat successful in obtaining increasing numbers of minorities, at least in its lower ranks. As might be expected of a department that is still rapidly increasing in its minority representation, most of its minorities are concentrated in the lower ranking positions. The extremely rapid increase in minority representation may be seen in Table 11, on the following page.

¹Training Bulletin, City of Oakland Police Services, Affirmative Action Bulletin, Index Number: VIII-A.3. Publication Date 2/33/76.

Table 11. Oakland Police Department, 1978

	White	Black	Spanish	Others	Total
Chief	1				1
Deputy Chiefs	3				3
Captains	7				7
Lieutenants	21	1		1	23
Sergeants	117	8	1	2	128
Policewomen	2				2
Police Officer, female	3	10	3	2	18
Police Officer, male	296	100	40	29	465
Total	450	119	44	34	647

Table 12. Changing Ethnicity of the Oakland Police Department
1969-1978

Year	Positions of Sworn Officers	Percentage in Sworn Complement	
		White	Minority
1969	682	92.8	7.2
1972	707	87.7	12.3
1975	699	75.25	24.75
1978	647	59.6	30.4

Source: Training Bulletin, City of Oakland Police Services and Oakland Police Department Personnel Office, August, 1978.

Research Instrument

Having discussed the samples and the hypotheses to be tested, there will not be an in-depth examination of the research instruments to be used. The initial decision was to use a multi-instrument approach to generate empirical data. The four instruments used are: 1) a questionnaire developed for this study; 2) a standardized Management Style Diagnostic Test; 3) in-depth interviews of selected personnel; and 4) field observations.

The first and primary instrument is a questionnaire developed by the author for the purpose of surveying job satisfaction among patrol officers. The advantage of such a questionnaire centers upon the ability to ask the same questions of all participants. This generates responses that may be quickly coded and converted to empirical data. Hence, it is the most practical instrument for developing overall perspectives on attitudinal structure of many different individuals.

The questionnaire format must, however, be realized to have some major limitations. These include the following:

1. Information received from a questionnaire is, of course, limited by the questions asked of the participants. If, for some reason, the questions do not address the salient factors, results may be incomplete at best, and very possibly misleading.

2. Responses to questionnaires also may not be accurate for a variety of reasons. Researchers are familiar with the phenomenon of questionnaire fatigue. Participants such as officers in a police department are often forced to undertake large amounts of paperwork and quite

often participate (unwillingly) on various research projects. As a result, they may not take the effort to answer the questions carefully or may deliberately distort responses.

3. Participants may fear that answers to written questionnaires will somehow not remain confidential and result in adverse impact upon their careers. There is, therefore, pressure to not fully express negative attitudes resulting in inaccurate responses.

4. The fact that the officer questionnaire is designed for this particular project does, of course, have the advantage of it being constructed to achieve the specific objectives of this research. However, a research instrument such as a questionnaire developed for a unique project often results in questions that may not be artfully phrased and may be misleading or cause misunderstanding among participants thus lowering the level of internal validity.

5. A further danger of this type of questionnaire is that it might produce data that is of very limited external validity having little relevance outside of the present context.

This study uses a questionnaire as the primary method of obtaining data from patrol officers. This decision was reached since the instrument, as acknowledged above, does not result in excessive agency time demands for administration to a large group of respondents. In light of the necessity for large numbers of responses to obtain a valid sample (and to have sufficient data to consider each of the background variables) it was, of course, necessary to have a number of officers studied. Finally, the data sought is primarily empirical in nature to enable the researcher to develop correlations between background factors and/or

attitudes toward aspects of the job level of job satisfaction. Non-quantitative data would not have allowed the same correlational analyses as other data.

For the final form of the questionnaire presented to the officers studied see Appendix B. An initial section is concerned with the background of the officer and requested his age, race, marital status, religion, years of policing, spousal employment, preservice and in-service education and sex. After such background information, the following substantive areas were covered.¹ In each of the substantive areas, the officer was asked to rate the importance of a high level of satisfaction in the job characteristics being studied. This was undertaken to allow the research instrument to have sufficient flexibility to enable respondents to express whether particular areas were of primary or of little importance. Thus, as discussed earlier, it is unclear if such self-selection of the importance of particular job components is important in the determination of overall job satisfaction. The decision was, however, made to include such questions in the research instrument.

The six substantive areas to be separately discussed include perceived adequacy of benefits, social value and prestige of the job, quality of supervision, amount of excessive job stress, effect upon family relations, and self-fulfillment. All of these concepts have, at various times, been considered to be associated with the overall concept of job satisfaction (see Chapter III).

¹In Appendix C, the substantive areas are grouped together. When actually administered, these questions (apart from initial background material) were rearranged randomly.

The adequacy of benefits was measured as follows. A question was asked with regard to satisfaction with present salaried benefits; a second required the officer to compare his deserved salary with the salaries received by other civil service employees.

The second substantive area, social value and prestige, required three questions designed to obtain measurements of three separate beliefs: recognition of the value of police services by the community, prestige within city government, and individual status of the police officer.

The third substantive area, quality of supervision, required somewhat more questions. These included questions to determine satisfaction with 1) the immediate supervisor, 2) the lieutenant, 3) quality of leadership in the department as a whole, 4) recognition of individual efforts, 5) the ability to participate in supervisory decisions, and 6) the amount of observation on the part of supervisors.

The fourth substantive area, job stress, included several different concepts. "Pressure", referring to the difficulty in performing the various tasks, was considered to be a component. A second factor was the degree of danger characteristic of the job. Since the impact of perceived danger might be viewed differently, this was asked as a relative concept, forcing the officer to compare the amount of danger with those of other public safety professionals. The third concept measured as a part of "job stress" was the perceived amount of desired variety provided by the tasks performed. It has been recognized that boredom on patrol and the inability to obtain sufficient stimuli may be one of

the most stressful features of policing.¹ Finally, a fourth concept of job stress included an officer's perceptions that the job might prevent the individual from expressing his feelings or emotions.

The fifth substantive area, family relations, dealt with the concept that there is a certain degree of interaction between satisfaction with family life and job satisfaction. This category appeared to require five questions concerning overall satisfaction with family life, the affect of the police job upon family life, excessive worry on the part of spouses and/or other close relatives about the officer's safety, the degree to which the officer's work was of greater importance than the officer's family and the extent to which the job caused the officer to neglect family.

The sixth concept, self-fulfillment, by definition varies among different individuals studied.² It was decided to focus upon questions designed to determine the perceived degree of freedom, the feeling of accomplishment from work performed, and the extent to which an officer felt that a job allowed him to use his judgment and particular capabilities.

The seventh area, ability for advancement in a job organization, is concerned with the interest of the officer in obtaining equitable

¹Rubin, op. cit.

²Promotional possibilities were isolated from general "self-actualization" as a result of comments received from officers tested in San Diego as a part of the pretest. These officers suggested that in fact, the potential for promotion was of primary importance in their own determination of job satisfaction. (See question VII (d) of the questionnaire in Appendix C.)

consideration for promotions. This required at least two questions, one dealing with the possibility of the officer being transferred in the department; and secondly, the officer's perception of whether those promoted were selected from among those who did the best work. Upon reflection, it would have been more appropriate to add a third question ascertaining whether the officer felt satisfied with his possibilities for being promoted within a department as opposed to or in addition to being "transferred".

In order to obtain the patrol officers' impressions of their immediate supervisor's style of supervision, four questions were asked. These asked the patrol officer to analyze how the supervisor would perform when faced with four different duties: backing up patrol officers in domestic disturbance calls, responding to traffic supervision and accident investigations, assisting with crimes in progress, and monitoring the patrol officer's preventive patrol. These four questions were suggested by the author's dissertation advisors as a means for obtaining some information regarding an officer's perceptions of the style of supervision of his immediate supervisor without asking an unwieldy number of questions. Naturally a supervisor's response is partially dependent upon which officer is handling the call. This may therefore limit conclusions reached from the data. The facts of interest from this data would be the degree to which subordinates agree on the management style of their immediate supervisor.

Questionnaire Pretest

In January, 1978, the author having already received approval of the dissertation concept, conducted a pre-test of the questionnaire among approximately one hundred officers in the San Diego Police Department. This process revealed that the questionnaire, as was first devised, contained some questions that did not appear to be appropriate. In addition, questions were later added concerning the importance of the job satisfaction factors to an individual. Previously, attempts were only made to ascertain the adequacy of the factors.

Pretest respondents were also asked three separate questions in addition to the questionnaire:

- a) "Were there any questions that you did not understand?
If so what numbers? _____"
- b) "In light of the purpose of the study, did you find any questions offensive?
If so, what numbers? _____"
- c) "Are there any questions that were not asked that you think would be helpful in analyzing satisfaction of police officers?
If so, please write these down."

Several officers in the pretest stated that they considered promotional opportunities were the most important factor in their job. Because of these officers' comments, several questions were added forming a basis of a seventh substantive area, opportunities for advancement, thereby justifying its limited inclusion apart from the category of "Self-Fulfillment".

The next research instrument used was the Management Style Diagnostic Test developed by Organizational Tests, Inc. (displayed in Appendix D). The authors purport this to be an objective, standardized test by which management styles of supervisory personnel in many different occupations may be typologized. The authors claim that this instrument has been validated by tests administered to 15,000 managers in a variety of occupational settings. The test's developers made the determination that every manager, to be successful, must possess three traits: 1) "task orientation", being the extent to which a manager directs his subordinates' efforts toward goal attainment characterized by careful planning, organizing and controlling; 2) "relationships orientation", being the extent to which a manager has personal job relationships characterized by mutual trust, respect for subordinates' ideas, and consideration of their feelings; and 3) "effectiveness", being the extent to which a manager achieves the specific output requirements of his position. This may best be displayed by the three dimensional diagram pictured as Figure 1 on the next page. According to the authors of the MSDT, eight separate management styles¹ arise.

1. The Deserter. The Deserter is a manager possessing low task and relationship orientations and who does not achieve the immediate output expectations of the position.

¹The management styles are denominated as described by the authors of the Management Style Diagnostic Test. The characterization of a manager as a "Deserter", is of course, a somewhat picturesque phrase and not wholly appropriate given that the authors conclude that on the average, one eighth of all managers fit each typology. The choice of terms, therefore, appears unnecessarily value laden. Despite this, the same terminology is used for the sake of convenience and for those readers familiar with the nomenclature.

THE 3-D THEORY

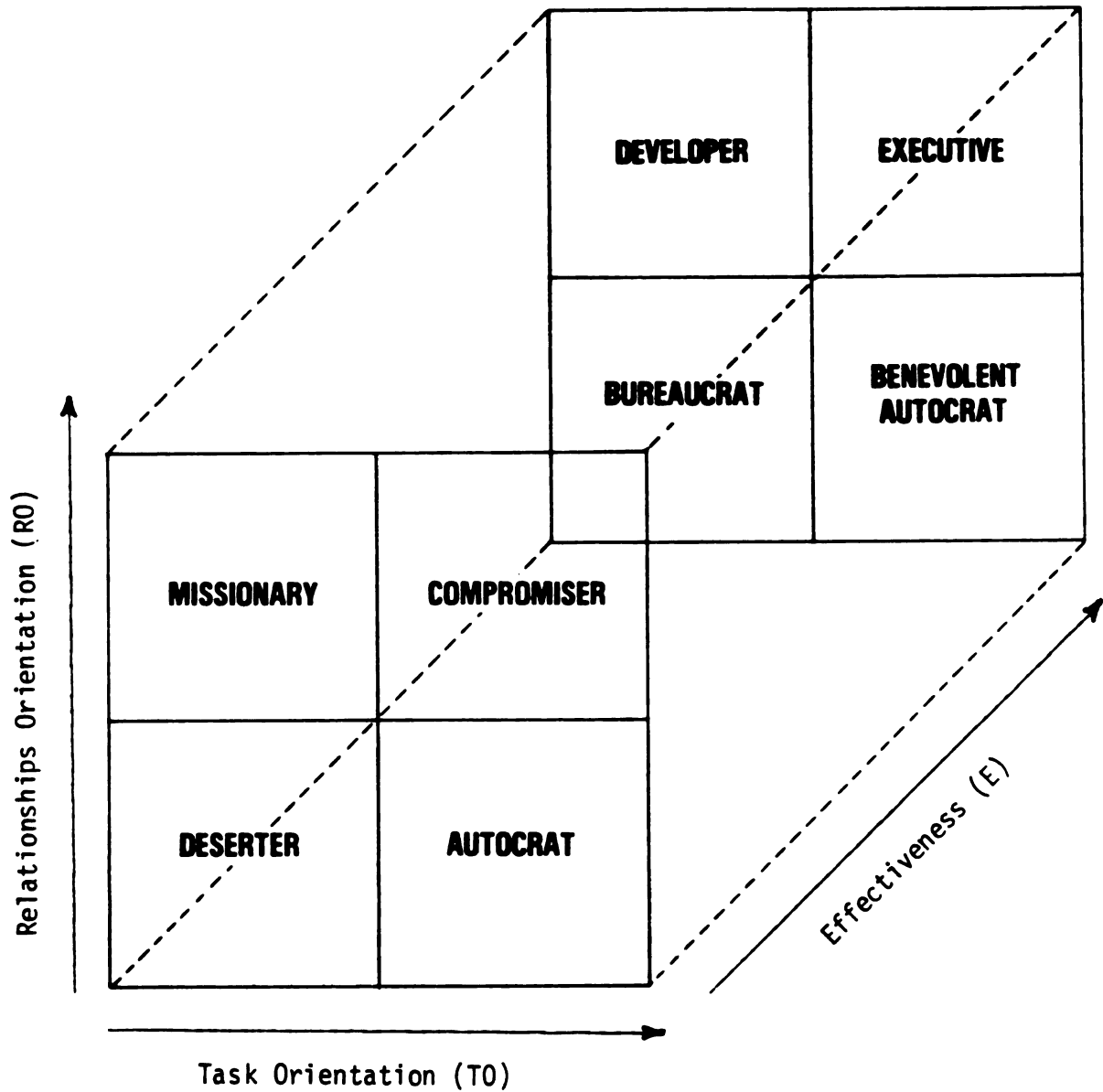


Figure 1. Style profiles identified by the "Management Style Diagnostic Test".

2. The Autocrat. This is a manager who has a high orientation, but little relationship or effectiveness orientation. The Autocrat is seen as having no confidence in others, as being unpleasant, and as being interested only in the immediate job.

3. The Missionary. The Missionary is a manager with a high relationship orientation but low task orientation. This individual does not tend to achieve output requirements for his position. The Missionary is seen as being primarily interested in harmony, but not in achieving the goals of the job.

4. The Compromiser. The Compromiser is a manager who has a high task orientation and a high relationship orientation but who fails to stress the immediate output requirements of the position. This manager is seen as being a poor decision-maker and as one who allows various pressures of the situation to be of too much influence. There is a tendency to minimize immediate pressures and problems rather than maximize long-term production problems.

The preceding four styles of management are regarded as being somewhat less effective because the managers so described tend to lack some of the essential characteristics of successful managers, e.g., not having the proper amount of ability to relate to co-workers and subordinates, and/or not being properly motivated with the goals of the organization, and/or not being attuned to production of the specific tasks assigned to them.

The authors of the MSDT found that the four additional styles of management tended to result in more effective leadership:

5. The Bureaucrat. This is a manager who uses a low task orientation and a low relationship orientation in a situation where such behavior is appropriate. The Bureaucrat is seen as being primarily interested in rules and procedures for their own sake and is perceived as wanting to maintain control of the situation by use of such devices. Others usually see this individual as being very conscientious.

6. Benevolent Autocrat. This is the term for a manager having high task orientation and low relationship orientation in a situation where such behavior is appropriate. This manager is seen as having goals and achieving them without creating undue resentment.

7. The Developer. This manager has a high relationship orientation and a low task orientation in a situation where such behavior is appropriate. The Developer is seen as having implicit trust in people and as being primarily concerned with them as individuals.

8. The Executive. This is a manager who uses a high task orientation and a high relationship orientation in a situation where such behavior is appropriate and who is therefore more effective. The Executive is seen as a good motivator who sets high standards and treats everyone somewhat differently and is perceived as preferring team management and input from subordinates.

The central tenet of the authors of the Management Style Diagnostic Test is that the four more effective styles (styles 5 through 8) may be equally effective depending upon the situation in which they are used. Some managerial jobs are said to require that different styles be used at different times, whereas other jobs tend to demand only one or two styles consistently. Therefore, a particular executive's traits must be

matched with the demands of the job. This test measures the style of management customarily used by any particular manager.

The advantage of this type of validated test is that a researcher may be fairly confident that the test in fact measures the frequency of particular supervisory traits and the style of management used by a particular supervisor. The usefulness of this instrument is also strengthened by the fact that validation has been undertaken with many different occupations.

The disadvantages of using such an instrument are very similar to those of a general questionnaire:

- 1) Respondent fatigue is likely to be fairly great given that the typical respondent would not understand the meaning of the questions being asked nor their significance in determining his particular management style.

- 2) The foregoing would be compounded by the use of some fairly normative words describing the management characteristics of particular supervisors. For example, one can be fairly certain that no supervisor would wish to be labeled a "Deserter", "Compromiser", "Autocrat", or "Missionary". If a particular supervisor realizes that his answers on these questions may so brand him, it is very possible that answers will significantly change.

- 3) Assurance that this particular test has been validated throughout many occupations, while of some comfort, is not decisive on the question of the validity of the study for the extremely specialized area of police supervision. Many of the factors that make police organizations unique, including a paramilitary structure combined with high

officer autonomy on the street, make organizational comparisons difficult at best.¹

Given these rather serious limitations, the use of such a management style diagnostic test must be carefully limited and subject to safeguards. In this study, before any test was administered to a supervisor, the author made certain to as great an extent as possible that the supervisor was motivated to want to learn his management style, to better understand his own performance and to understand the reactions of his subordinates. During this interview, confidentiality of responses and the arbitrary nature of the designations of management styles were emphasized. By the use of such a pre-instrument interview, it was hoped that problems of participant fatigue and apprehension over confidentiality would be greatly lessened. The admitted problem of validity in the specialized area of police administration was somewhat lessened by the author's corroboratory comments about the sergeant's supervisory style written immediately after the interview. This is, of course, a non-empirical measurement; however, it does serve as a partial check.

Interviews

The third research instrument used was an interview. Interviews in general are used for better understanding of a particular respondent's

¹The author contacted the testing company promoting the MSDT and found that no validation has been done with police departments as of this time.

attitudes. This is the only major research instrument outside of field research allowing a certain amount of serendipity, e.g., finding results that were not anticipated in the original research design. For this reason, it is very often used when a number of formal and informal factors may cause observed results. Because an interview shows somewhat more concern for a person's attitudes than a questionnaire, it is also used as a method of motivating the respondent, thus minimizing the probability of inaccurate or incomplete answers in subsequent research instruments.

Limitations of such an approach include the following:

1. There is a heavy time commitment required of both the researcher and the agency involved. As such, it is "costly".
2. Another important weakness is that individuals who are being studied may distort information to impress the interviewer or have similar interactional patterns leading to inaccurate responses.
3. Another limitation is that use of an interview format, even if highly structured, still leads to data that is difficult to empirically compare.
4. The final constraint is that very often interviewer bias and/or distortion can occur.
5. The meaning derived by the interviewer is based on perceptions of the interviewer, rather than perceptions of the individuals being studied.

For these foregoing reasons, it is extremely important to only use interviews where the researcher has a clear preconception of what type of data is likely to be received, is highly trained to obtain accurate

answers from the respondent, is aware of his own biases and despite such attitudes, receives and correctly records responses.¹

For these limiting reasons, interviews were used solely to obtain less structured data on the attitudes of police supervisors, and as a method of interesting such personnel in the research. This latter function must be emphasized since it may have made a critical difference in the acceptance of the questionnaire on the part of subordinate officers.

Field Observation

The fourth technique used was that of the field observation. The uses of such an approach primarily center upon the ability of a researcher to obtain in-depth interaction with a few of the respondents. This, in turn, allows a researcher to obtain a more adequate understanding of the information operations of the person being studied. Frequently, individuals may be unaware or repressing behavior that may be of significant interest to an observer. Therefore, this is perhaps the best method for obtaining an in-depth understanding of the role of the organization being studied and of the individuals with whom one interacts.

¹For a more comprehensive analysis of the uses of such data, see Jean M. Converse and Howard Schuman, Conversations at Random: Survey Research as Interviewers See It. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. (1974); Lewis Anthony Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing. Evanston: Northwestern University Press (1970); Stephen A. Richardson, Barbara Snell and David Klein, Interviewing: Its Forms and Functions. New York: Basic Books, Inc. (1965).

A successful researcher may also increase rapport with the subject, as he is not likely to be viewed as a threatening figure. Thus, the problem of acceptance of the research by the respondents may be further minimized.

Despite the benefits of field observation, it is somewhat limited as a technique for generation of large scale empirical data.

1. By definition, it provides the least structured method of collecting data since the researcher should not actively intervene in the performance of the respondent's duties.

2. For the same reason, the data gathered is not readily replicable.

3. This method takes the most time of the agency and the researcher.

4. The researcher is limited by the activities actually occurring in the particular day's shift for that particular officer. As such, external validity of observations does not come readily. To avoid generalizing from a possibly atypical situation, the observer has to repeat many days of observation to obtain a representative sampling.

5. Observations cannot be used to study attitudes, beliefs, or values.

6. The observer will often not know what behavior is significant.

7. The presence of an observer may affect behavior.

8. It is well-known that conducting a valid field study requires extensive skill and training in gathering such data. The researcher has to be conscious of obtaining data without appearing to do so. If the

respondents are cognizant that the observer's mission is to obtain data, the interaction may be altered affecting the results reported.

As a result of these limitations, the author used field observations and field notes in a very limited capacity. Approximately three 16 hour days (two shifts per day) were spent in each of the two police departments riding with different patrol cars in each shift. As a result, performance was viewed for six shift days in each department. This provided some information regarding the informal opinions of the officers and some much needed information regarding structure and operation of the department. In addition, the fact that the author conducted such field studies appeared to increase acceptance of the research on the part of other officers subsequently given the questionnaire. The author used this method to illuminate primary data received from questionnaires. In order to make more extensive use of interview data, much more extensive preparation would be needed to determine what information to extract prior to each shift, training in the conducting of such participant observations should have been undertaken and a much more extensive time commitment would have been needed to enable the researcher to obtain a representative sampling of officers in many different situations. Therefore, it must be stressed that this method is used in this study solely in a limited capacity to supplement the primary data collection efforts, the administration of a questionnaire and the Management Style Diagnostic Test.

Operationalization

The major research effort is to determine the association of some specific factors with job satisfaction. Major variables tested include background variables, job attitudes and style of supervision. Before an analysis is made correlating job satisfaction with each of these factors, it is necessary to select an appropriate sample to be tested and to operationally define job satisfaction, the primary dependent variable. With regard to groups studied, separate tests will be run for each of the different sample groups. These groups constitute: 1) Detroit police officers; 2) Oakland police officers; and 3) all officers tested from both Detroit and Oakland.

Obtaining a satisfactory operative definition of job satisfaction is, as might be expected, somewhat more difficult. As noted in Chapter I, the problem of defining job satisfaction is compounded by the fact that authorities studying the concept have found it to be somewhat ambiguous with no theoretical definition obtaining complete acceptance. As the author expressed when defining job satisfaction, an adequate understanding of job satisfaction is at least partially dependent upon the attitudes, desires, and expectations of individual employees. These problems with the theoretical definition suggest that it would be equally inappropriate to advance an operative measure of job satisfaction. Four separate operative definitions of job satisfaction are therefore proposed and will be separately tested. They include the following.

1. Job satisfaction will be defined as the product of the seven factors discussed earlier perceived sufficiency of: monetary considerations and benefits, social prestige, job stress, supervisory style, impact upon family life, self-fulfillment and ability for advancement. The mean of each index will then be weighted equally. The strength of this measurement is that it allows the researcher to weigh each of the proposed factors equally. As noted in the discussion of the questionnaire, concepts required the researcher to ask considerably more questions than for other categories. As a result, merely totalling raw scores on the questionnaire would unduly emphasize the former.

To define job satisfaction on the basis of the mean score of an individual, six questions were designed to elicit overall attitudes toward the job.

1. "How satisfied are you with the sort of work you are doing?"
2. "Would you advise a friend to join this department?"
3. "How often have you considered leaving police work?"
4. "Are you more or less satisfied than when you first started the job?"
5. "Are you satisfied with the department as it now stands?"
6. "If benefits were approximately the same, would you prefer to stay in this department or would you rather join another department of similar size?"

The following two measures of job satisfaction were advanced because of the author's belief that individual employees should be allowed to specify which factors are deemed to be most salient. Since both measures had varying strengths, they were each used for initial analysis.

3. The first method of weighting officer preferences in determining job satisfaction is to only count the two most important factors that the officer has selected in a question designed to elicit such information. One of the questions in the questionnaire asked the officer to specify the relative importance of these seven concepts in numerical order (see Appendix B, question 45):

"Of the following items concerning job characteristics, please rank them in order of importance to you:

- _____ Adequacy of benefits
- _____ Community prestige
- _____ Quality of supervision
- _____ Stress of job
- _____ Effect on family
- _____ Personal fulfillment
- _____ Ability for advancement

The strength of this measurement is that it avoids the statistical problem of erroneously crediting the ordinal concept of the relative importance of particular factors with numerical characteristics, e.g., equal interval spacing between the most important and "second" most important factors. Instead, it relies solely upon the two factors identified as the most important. The weakness of this method is that it only gives data on the two factors considered most important by the officer. If there are factors that are nearly as significant they should, of course, be included to some degree in job satisfaction measurements. This type of measurement would, however, forbid utilization of data.

4. The second method of weighting relative importance of the factors comprising attitudes relating to job satisfaction is to count only those categories that an officer has weighed as being the

"most important" or a "fairly important" aspect of the job. To obtain such data, officers were asked questions in each area designed to find out the intrinsic degree of importance of a particular job facet. An example of such a question is as follows:

"How important do you consider it to be to have a job that people outside your organization appreciate?"

1. It is the most important aspect of any job.
2. It is a fairly important aspect of a job.
3. It is not too important.
4. Other things are much more important.

Only those categories that an officer suggests are "most important" or "fairly important" will be considered with no attempt at differentiation between these two responses. This method also minimizes the problem of converting this type of ordinal data to a numeric measurement. It also provides somewhat more data than number three since it allows the officer to select more than one job factor that is important in determining job satisfaction. Of necessity, it does not extract all data of relative importance since it does not differentiate between "most important" and "fairly important". It also will eliminate some officers who will uniformly have attached a low importance to all factors and will, therefore, provide a smaller sample size.

Independent Variables

Having determined the subject to be studied in the samples upon which such study will be conducted, it is incumbent to list the independent variables upon which correlations will be found. This may be divided into three different categories. First, background variables include

most of the salient features of the individual patrol officers being age, sex, marital status, race, religion, years on the force, years of education, and type of education.

The second are the seven subgroups of attitudes toward the job. These include perceived sufficiency of monetary consideration and benefits from the job, perceived sufficiency of social prestige, amount of excessive job stress, attitudes toward supervisory style, degree of adverse impact upon family life, self-fulfillment and ability for advancement permitted on the job.

The third independent variable relates to the style of supervision of the immediate supervisor of the patrol officer. As noted earlier, extensive use is being made of the Management Style Diagnostic Test by Organizational Tests, Ltd. This test has attempted to quantify various aspects of a supervisor's management style. Degrees of relationship orientation, task orientation and effectiveness are combined to create a matrix of eight separate management styles. Four of these styles are in turn grouped as "effective" management styles (Executive, Bureaucrat, Benevolent Autocrat, and Developer) while four styles are viewed as being somewhat less effective (Deserter, Autocrat, Missionary, and Compromiser).

Method of Analysis

The mode of analysis for all of the research relating job satisfaction to other variables shall be consistent. Initially, both background variables and subgroups of attitudes toward jobs will be

separately tested in multiple regression analysis combining only the variables of that category. Naturally, tests will be made with all three samples: Detroit, Oakland and the combined sample using all five measures of job satisfaction. The use of multiple regression analysis will also instruct the computer to provide various indices as to the frequency of the variables being studied, the degree of intercorrelation and the amount of variance explained. The third type of analysis to be undertaken is in analyzing the prospective style of supervision.

Multiple regression analysis is not as useful since the first and second measurement of style of supervision are more in the nature of descriptions, not numeric or ordinal data. As such, correlations are the only logical method of analysis that might be used with numbers one and two. Correlations will therefore be undertaken with all of the measures of job satisfaction in all three samples. Degree of relationship orientation, task orientation and of effectiveness will be tested on the basis of multiple discriminate analysis since this ordinal data may be used in such form.

Finally, an overall use of multiple regression analysis will be conducted analyzing the combined effect of all background variables, attitudes toward the job and style of supervision upon job satisfaction. It is recognized that style of supervision has not generated data that is usually used with multiple regression analysis, e.g., measurement of separate styles of supervision is more in the nature of descriptive, not numerical, data. Similarly, most of the other measurements are more of an ordinal nature even if expressed in numeric terms. Despite the

distortion introduced by "shoehorning" this statistical technique into the data available, it is proposed to do so to obtain some data which will analyze overall impact of all the factors. If a review of data shows that this is not an appropriate use of multiple regression analysis, separate runs shall be undertaken using only background variables and the other attitudes toward the job while omitting style of supervision.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

I. Introduction

This chapter will present the research findings obtained from this study of the Detroit and Oakland police departments. Organizationally, it will consist of three major sections: 1) a description of pertinent sample characteristics; 2) a descriptive examination of the findings pertinent to the hypotheses presented in Chapter IV; and 3) a limited analytical examination through regression analysis to determine relative impact of these variables upon variance.

Several limitations upon the data should be stated at the onset. First, this study is exploratory in nature. As stated earlier, while there are a number of comprehensive job satisfaction studies, such studies have not been attempted in police organizations. Therefore, while this study presents a limited analysis of results, it must primarily be regarded as being a tentative exploration of police job attitudes.

Second, the primary research instrument, the questionnaire administered to patrol officers, has not been previously used. Therefore, it is difficult to precisely determine the response that would be expected for "satisfied", "less satisfied" or "dissatisfied" officers.

Because of this limitation, some interesting data will be presented even if the author cannot be certain that the responses measure absolute levels of job satisfaction.

II. Descriptive Analysis of Sample Characteristics

A brief description of the patrol officer sample's background and attitudinal characteristics will be presented prior to analyzing if various hypotheses were supported by the data. The distribution of the sample has been presented in three categories: 1) Detroit, containing 94 officers unless otherwise specified; 2) Oakland, containing 76 officers unless otherwise specified; and 3) the Detroit-Oakland sample combined, containing 170 officers unless otherwise specified. These background characteristics are displayed in Table 13.

A. Age Distribution

In the original questionnaire (see Appendix B, page), age was divided into eight categories (19 and under, 20-24 years, 25-29 years, 30-34 years, 35-39 years, 40-44 years, 45-49 years, and 50 and over). Summary Table 13 shows that the sample interviewed varied from the ages of 20 to 44.

One characteristic of this sample is that there are no officers under the age of 20 or over the age of 44 (see Chapter VI, infra). There are no officers under the age of 20 since neither Oakland nor Detroit will admit officers to full duty status under 21 years of age. Instead, such individuals are allowed to join pre-service para-professional cadet programs. In addition, it is possible that most

Table 13. Sample Characteristics by Location

	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age						
Under 20	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	11	11.7	6	7.9	17	10.0
25-29	39	41.5	28	36.8	67	39.4
30-34	30	31.9	34	44.7	64	37.6
35-39	9	9.6	7	9.2	16	9.4
40-44	5	5.3	1	1.3	6	3.5
Over 45	0	0	0	0	0	0
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0
Race						
Black	33	35.1	18	23.7	51	30.0
Caucasian	59	62.8	46	60.5	105	61.8
Hispanic	2	2.1	6	7.9	8	4.7
Other*	0	0	6	7.9	6	3.5
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0
Marital Status						
Single	24	25.5	11	14.5	35	20.6
Married	61	64.9	54	71.1	115	67.6
Divorced	9	9.6	11	14.5	20	11.8
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0
Years in Policing						
1-4	49	52.1	26	34.2	75	44.1
5-9	32	34.0	37	48.7	69	40.6
10-14	7	7.4	11	14.5	18	10.6
15 or more	6	6.4	2	2.6	8	4.7
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0
Spousal Employment						
No	23	35.9	19	34.5	42	35.3
Part-time	7	10.9	10	18.2	17	14.3
Full-time	34	53.1	26	47.3	60	50.4
Not applicable	30		21		51	
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0
Pre-service Education Attainment						
High School	30	31.9	10	13.2	40	23.5
Some college, no degree	42	44.7	22	28.9	64	37.6
AA Degree	22	22.4	33	43.4	55	32.4
2+ years college	0	0	11	14.5	11	6.5
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0
Inservice Education						
None	49	56.3	29	41.4	78	49.7
Criminal Justice	29	33.3	28	40.0	57	36.3
Science	3	3.4	4	5.7	7	4.5
Liberal Arts	6	6.9	9	12.9	15	9.6
	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0
Sex of Officers						
Male	73	77.7	73	96.1	146	85.9
Female	21	22.3	3	3.9	24	14.1
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

* The word "other" was selected in lieu of naming all other potential groups: Oriental, Amerind, etc. It is, however, assumed that "other" primarily refers to Oriental officers. The author did distribute questionnaires to Orientals in Oakland. Data shows only six people selected "other", all six were from Oakland.

older officers in these cities have been either promoted or are no longer assigned to general patrol duties.

The majority of officers were between the age of 25-34: Detroit, 73.4% (69) and Oakland, 81.5% (62). Since selection was not based on officer age, this result is probably reflective of the high proportion of patrol officers in that age group. The distribution in Summary Table 13 shows that of the two samples, those from Oakland had fewer between the ages of 20-24 or over the age of 40 than those from Detroit.

B. Racial Distribution

Summary Table 13, shows that the sample has a high percentage of minority officers with Caucasians representing only 61.8% (105) of the combined sample, while black officers accounted for 35.1% (33) in Detroit and 23.7% (18) in Oakland. This percentage would appear to be less than the representation of white officers in comparable cities (see Chapter VI, infra). These figures approximate (within 2%) the racial composition of the department. Similarly, while the hispanic and "other" categories are higher than the national average, both tend to be fairly accurate reflections of minority representation in their respective departments. This result may, in part, be explained by these two department's affirmative action programs (see Chapter IV for more detailed explanation).

C. Marital Status

As expected, the summary table shows that most officers are currently married. In addition, there were a rather high number of divorced officers. It should be noted that the questionnaire probably

underrepresented the latter since no differentiation was made between individuals in their first marriage and those in a subsequent marriage. Similarly, formal or informal separations would probably have indicated that they were married.

D. Years in Policing

Consistent with the data showing that the sample consists largely of officers between the ages of 24-35, 84.7% (162) have less than ten years of active service and fewer than 5% (8) have fifteen or more years of service. While the figures in Oakland and Detroit were similar, there appeared to be a higher percentage of those with less than five years of experience in Detroit, 52.1% (49) compared to 34.2% (26) in Oakland. The lack of many officers with over ten years of experience somewhat limits the amount of sample variance, at least regarding this variable.

E. Spousal Employment

Summary Table 13 indicates that the majority of married police officers are not the sole family wage earners. Over half, 50.4% (60) of the 119 officers responding to this question reported that their spouse had full-time employment.¹

The high rate of spousal employment may be reflective of continuing social trends toward multiple wage earner families. It may also be partially due to the sample being skewed toward younger officers that

¹The percentage may be slightly higher since only 115 of the officers reported that they were married.

are presumably more in need of capital, having less accumulated funds and being less likely to have children to occupy one's spouse.

F. Pre-service Education Attainment

Summary Table 13 indicates that the sample has more pre-service education than many otherwise similar police departments (see Chapter VI, intra). While both departments require officers to have at least a high school degree, a rather high percentage of officers had completed some college. This result may partially be a function of the relative youth of these samples having had ready access to collegiate criminal justice programs and partially because of recent encouragement of further education by various programs administered by the Veterans Administration and by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, for example L.E.E.P.

It should, however, be noted that there were marked differences in preservice educational attainment between the samples. In Oakland, only 13.2% (10) officers had just a high school degree compared to 31.9% (30) in Detroit. Similarly, in Oakland, 57.9% (44) had at least an associates degree compared to 23.4% (22) in Detroit. Finally, no Detroit officers indicated that they had education beyond the level of associates degree prior to entry.

G. Inservice Education

As Summary Table 13 indicates, over half of the 157 respondents, 50.3% (79) did participate in inservice educational programs. This figure was higher in Oakland, 58.6% (41) compared to 43.6% (38) in Detroit despite the fact that approximately 58% (44) of Oakland's

officers already completed at least a pre-service associates degree. This widened the initial pre-service disparity in educational attainment reported at Number 6, supra.

As might be expected, most officers participating in inservice education concentrated in criminal justice related programs with between two-thirds and three-quarters in such a curriculum.

H. Sex of Officers

As expected, there were far more males, 85.9% (146) than females, 14.1% (24) in the combined sample. The female minority while adequately reflecting proportions of the respective departments (see Chapter IV, supra) appears higher (at least in Detroit) than similar police departments (see Chapter VI, infra). However, the overall sample conceals major differences in the Detroit and Oakland samples: 22.3% (21) for Detroit and 3.9% (3) for Oakland. This disparity is most likely the result of Detroit's overall affirmative action program including the hiring of many female recruits. Oakland's affirmative action program and consent judgment to a discrimination case, see Chapter IV, supra, has not yet produced equivalent results.

III. Descriptive Findings

A. Sample Attitudes and Their Relationship to Background Characteristics

The police officers studied in Detroit and Oakland reveal considerable variance in expressed job attitudes. This section summarizes such attitudes and descriptively discusses differences.

It should be noted that expressed responses toward particular job characteristics appear to reveal areas of job dissatisfaction, however, as this is the first use of this instrument, several limitations must be stressed. First, there is no "reference point" to determine what the expressed attitudes of a "satisfied" or "dissatisfied" officer would be. Because of this, expressed dissatisfaction may be a function of the norms of the lower ranking police subculture in Detroit and in Oakland. For example, the author has heard most officers complain at some point about the insensitivity of departmental leaders. This may, of course, be reflective of profound dissatisfaction with this aspect of the department. It may, however, merely be a reflection of norms to complain about their superiors. This instrument, being tentative in nature, would not test differences between expressed and actual job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Further, such norms may vary depending on the department studied. It is conceivable that actual levels of job satisfaction in Detroit and Oakland are similar even though differences in expressed job satisfaction were observed. Cultural norms expressing degrees of satisfaction in more or less emphatic terms might not really be indicative of differences in actual values. This is one reason why cross-departmental job satisfaction studies must be approached with caution.

Second, because this particular instrument has not been used in other employment settings, any effort to interpret the data as showing a profound level of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction is suspect. Such an instrument would need to be administered to different departments and (in modified form) to different occupational groups before

absolute judgments might be realistically advanced.

In light of these limitations, the data presented must be viewed primarily as an effort to find relative levels of expressed dissatisfaction in the particular job situation. Such data use allows the researcher to determine if any background or attitudinal trait was correlated with particular levels of expressed satisfaction. In addition, it allows the researcher to observe relative expressed dissatisfaction of different aspects of the job. For example, the observation that "dissatisfaction with opportunities for advancement" is more frequently expressed than "dissatisfaction with self-fulfillment received from the job" might be significant of itself. Finally, even if it is true that it is the "norm" for officers to complain about particular job characteristics, it is significant to study those suggestive areas (and the groups) that do not follow predicted norms.

1. Perceptions of the adequacy of benefits:
the Salary and Benefits Index

Patrol officers were asked two questions to determine if officers believed their salary and benefits to be adequate:

- a) How satisfied are you with your present salary and benefits?
- b) As compared with other civil service employees, how would you rate your total compensation?

Responses demonstrate that most officers expressed some degree of dissatisfaction with benefits received. In responding to the first question, only 12.4% (21) of the combined sample believed that their benefits were "about right".

Responses illustrate the tendency to have reported dissatisfaction increase when officers compare adequacy of compensation to that of other civil service employees. This may be significant since the city administrators in both cities have attempted to maintain wage parity among all protective service employees. To the extent that this is not the case, police officers usually are compensated slightly higher than equivalent fire department personnel, etc. This study suggests that police officers as a group may not be satisfied with obtaining parity. Therefore, this policy may not be resulting in increased employee job satisfaction among patrol officers.

Table 14 is a derived table aggregating mean responses to the two previously stated questions. Several comments about the use of these derived indices are in order.

Table 14. Salary and Benefits Index

	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	5	5.3	5	6.6	10	5.9
	13	13.8	16	21.1	29	17.1
	39	41.5	18	23.7	57	33.5
Very high	32	34.0	28	36.8	60	35.3
	<u>5</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8.2</u>
	94	100	76	100	170	100

One initial comment about the Salary and Benefits Index will be true of most of the artificially derived indices discussed hereafter. There is a tendency toward a modal distribution, a high frequency of a

"3" response and somewhat fewer "1" or "5" responses than for the individual questions. This tendency toward more central responses occurs in derived Likert scales since it is less frequent for an officer to express consistent responses to all questions included in any particular index. Hence, the "typical" pattern of responses to artificially derived indices is modal in nature, more or less approaching a bell-shaped curve.

A second comment about the index relates to the nature of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), the computer program used. To allow more comprehensive cross-tabular analysis, the number of cells was decreased by rounding responses to the nearest full digit. In an index composed of an even number of questions as in the Salary and Benefits Index, there is the possibility of reported scores midway between the full digits, e.g., 1.5, etc. Under SPSS, these responses are rounded upward, e.g., 1.5 = 2.0. Therefore, there was a consistent upward bias in those four indices composed of an even number of questions: "Salary and Benefits Index", "Advancement Index", "Supervision Index", and "Stress Index".¹ This probably did not greatly affect subsequent cross tabular analysis. For purposes of such analysis, only a three point scale was used being: low (1 and 2), medium (3) and high (4 and 5). Only the rounding upward of "2.5" and "3.5" responses would therefore have changed results and only for the four affected indices.

¹The other four indices, including the most critical, the "Overall Index" had an odd number of questions and were not so affected.

Table 14 showing the Salary and Benefits Index demonstrates that most officers expressed a fairly high degree of satisfaction with tangible benefits. In fact, 43.5% (74) of the combined sample averaged at least a 3.5 response.

The Salary and Benefits Index was cross-tabulated against the various background characteristics of the patrol officers to determine if any of the latter covaried. Significance was determined by ascertaining whether the reported chi square or Kendall's Tau C was significant at a .05 level of probability or less.

For descriptive purposes, cross-tabular analysis was undertaken for all indices and background variables. Results of this analysis is displayed in Appendix E.

Table 15, infra, is a summary table of reported cross-tabulations between the Salary and Benefits Index and the various background variables.

The Salary and Benefits Index was found to be related to several background characteristics. First, age of the officer was found to be inversely correlated with the index. This relationship may at least partially be explained by the fact that patrol officer salaries while increasing with years of experience does not increase markedly unless the officer moves to a different grade. In Oakland, the range for patrol officers was from \$16,680 to \$19,140 (1978) and in Detroit from \$14,103 to \$18,647 (1978). Thus, while there is a high entry level salary, subsequent salary gradations are quite small, possibly confounding expectations of progressively higher compensation.

Table 15. Statistical Association between Background Characteristics and Salary and Benefits Index for Detroit, Oakland, and Combined Samples

	Detroit			Oakland			Combined					
	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.
Age	2.98	.56	-.11	.06	3.09	.54	-.07	.16	4.43	.35	-.09	.03*
Race	5.14	.27	.12	.06	11.07	.07	-.05	.31	13.04	.04*	.05	.20
Marital Status	6.50	.07	-.002	.49	1.71	.79	-.11	.10	4.54	.34	-.05	.20
Years in Policing	.20	.99	-.006	.47	6.70	.15	-.20	.02*	4.04	.40	-.09	.07
Spousal Employment	.35	.07	-.22	.02	.96	.91	.40	.33	2.32	.68	-.07	.10
Pre-service Education Attainment	4.46	.35	.04	.33	6.39	.17	.03	.37	5.78	.22	.06	.19
Inservice Education	5.35	.50	.09	.12	2.03	.92	.07	.22	6.13	.41	.02	.4
Sex of Officer	1.64	.44	.08	.20	1.19	.55	.04	.18	3.89	.14	.06	.16

* Significant at the .05 level or greater.

Second, satisfaction with salary and benefits appeared to be related to the officer's race with black officers somewhat less satisfied than other groups.

Third, satisfaction with salary and benefits appeared to be inversely related to years of policing of the officer, but only in Oakland. This factor may be partially explained by the extremely low salary differentiation between beginning officers (\$16,680) and the highest paid patrol officer (\$19,140), a total difference of \$2,460. Dissatisfaction with such limited salary differentials is not surprising.

Finally, it is unclear the extent to which answers to these questions reflect real dissatisfaction with this job characteristic or merely a normal expression of a desire for more compensation. Such expressions of dissatisfaction may be supporting Preiss and Ehrlich's observation that recent police recruits had increasing interest in economic security and pay increments compared to past recruits. To discover if this demonstrated significant dissatisfaction with compensation, one would have to conduct additional research either in the form of analysis of responses from other occupations or by analysis of factors leading to work stoppages, high absenteeism, rapid turnover and other factors that are related to job dissatisfaction.

2. Perceptions of the social value and prestige of the occupation: The Prestige Index

As was discussed more fully in Chapter III, it has long been a truism that police officers do not believe that their services are regarded adequately by society or the municipal government.

The following questions were asked to determine satisfaction with occupational prestige:

- a) Do other people recognize the value to society of police services?
- b) How satisfied are you with the police department's prestige within city government?
- c) How satisfied are you with your status as a police officer in the community?
- d) How important do you consider it to be to have a job that people outside your organization appreciate?

Results reported in Appendix D confirm that the sampled officers did not believe their occupation received sufficient prestige in the community and that there is concern on the part of many officers over the department's prestige in city government.

It is also interesting that responses to these questions demonstrate greater expressed dissatisfaction with the department's prestige in city government than in the community.

The overall Prestige Index was constructed by obtaining the mean responses to these questions. Table 16 indicates that expressed dissatisfaction with some aspects of police officer department status within the community and city government. As expected, Table 16 showed a modal distribution with 46.5% (79) responding with mean scores rounding to "3". The remaining officers were somewhat more likely to express negative attitudes, 32.3% (55) rather than positive, 11.1% (36).

The Prestige Index was found to be highly correlated with a number of background variables, indicating that expressed concerns over the occupation's prestige and status varies markedly among different groups of officers.

Table 16. Level of Satisfaction with Status in the Community and City Government: the Prestige Index

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	6	6.4	7	9.2	13	7.6
	19	30.9	13	17.1	42	24.7
	31	44.7	37	48.7	79	46.5
	15	16.0	16	21.1	31	18.2
Very satisfied	1	2.1	3	3.9	5	2.9

First, there was an inverse relationship with age of the officer, but only in the Detroit sample. The statistically significant correlation with the combined sample appeared to be largely the result of the Detroit data since the Oakland sample did not show any significant result. The reason for the finding's presence only in Detroit is unclear. It may partially be the result of racial factors as white officers tended to be older on average than their black counterparts.

The Prestige Index did appear to be related to the respondent's race. As may be seen from the following three tables, significant results were reported only in the Detroit and combined categories. However, this may be due somewhat to the relatively large numbers of Hispanic and Other (primarily Oriental) officers in the Oakland sample, approximately 16%. Apart from these individuals constituting very small cell groups for cross-tabular analysis, a pattern in Oakland developed between Black and Caucasian officers. In common with their Detroit counterparts, it appears that the Caucasian officers as a group expressed more dissatisfaction with their prestige than do Black officers.

Table 17. Statistical Association between Background Characteristics and The Prestige Index for Detroit, Oakland, and Combined Samples

	Detroit			Oakland			Combined		
	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C
Age	9.88	.04*	-.13	.03*	.57	-.02	.37	10.19	.03* -.09
Race	12.70	.01*	-.23	.002*	.32	-.14	.06	16.06	.01* -.16
Marital Status	1.60	.80	-.097	.11	.63	-.07	.19	2.72	.60 -.07
Years in Policing	2.79	.59	-.13	.06	.33	-.10	.13	3.50	.48 -.11
Spousal Employment	10.12	.04*	.13	.10	.720	.13	.07	8.55	.07 .15
Pre-service Education Attainment	3.87	.42	.12	.09	10.20	.03*	.18	10.31	.04* .19
Inservice Education	8.67	.19	-.08	.18	3.97	.68	-.00	3.01	.81 -.02
Sex of Officers	1.08	.58	.09	.15	3.29	.19	.002	.82	.67 .03

* Significant at the .05 level or greater.

The combined table shows that fully 42% (44) of the Caucasian officers indicated low satisfaction compared to only 16% (8) of the Blacks. Conversely, over 31% (16) of Black officers compared to 18% (19) of white officers expressed a high score for the Prestige Index. The fact that white officers tended to be markedly less satisfied with the occupation's prestige than Blacks was an interesting result not predicted by any previous literature. Several explanations are possible. First, in cities with a black population majority (and in Detroit the city administration is largely black), the white officers may feel somewhat socially alienated or isolated from the population. Second, it is possible that the white officers were recruited from different class origins than black recruits and may be less satisfied even with the same "prestige". Finally, and perhaps most significantly, in both the Detroit and Oakland departments, the performance of the primarily white police force has been the subject of divisive political debate largely on racial lines. In Detroit, Mayor Young was elected largely on the promise of making the "white" police force more "responsive" to the needs of the black population. He ran against a white police commissioner, John Nichols, who supported the existing police department. It would not be surprising if white officers favoring Nichols would interpret his defeat as a demonstration of low occupational prestige in the city in general and city government in particular.

Third, in common with the trend observed when studying correlations with the age of the officer, years in policing appears negatively related to the Prestige Index.

It is unclear whether there is any pattern developing in this observation of the Detroit data. It appears that the primary reason for the statistically significant differentiation is because of the fact that only one officer with a spouse working part-time has indicated low prestige. In a cell sample of such a low amount, no conclusion should be drawn. Table 17, supra, shows that the Prestige Index is also positively related to pre-service educational attainment but only in Oakland. The reason for finding this to be true in only that sample is unclear.

3. Perceptions of the quality of supervision:
the Supervision Index

As first noted in Chapter III and more fully examined in Chapter IV, the officer's attitudes toward their departmental supervision are quite complex. As a result, six questions were asked of all participants.

- a) How much recognition does your department give you for a job well done?
- b) How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your immediate supervisor?
- c) How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your lieutenant?
- d) How satisfied are you with the quality of leadership in the department as a whole?
- e) To what extent are you allowed to participate in supervisory decisions that affect your job?
- f) How closely do you feel you are observed in your work by your supervisors?
- g) How important do you consider it to be to have a job under a good supervisor?

Answers to these questions demonstrate several important attitudinal trends. First, there is confirmation of the literature suggesting that considerable numbers of officers express dissatisfaction with departmental leadership, see Chapter III. Such dissatisfaction, of course, varies depending on the department being sampled and on the level of leadership being examined.

Second, expressed dissatisfaction increases when the officer evaluated the leadership of higher level supervisors as opposed to sergeants. Expressed dissatisfaction (columns 1 and 2) increased dramatically from 25.3% (33) for sergeants; to 37% (63) for lieutenants; and finally, 54.7% (93) for departmental leadership as a whole. At the same time, percentages of officers that were satisfied with particular levels of supervision (columns 4 and 5) drastically decreased when evaluating higher levels of departmental management: 47.1% (80) for sergeants; 35.2% (60) for lieutenants; and 21.2% (36) for departmental leadership as a whole.

It is unclear how much weight should be assigned to these observed tendencies. One might argue that this demonstrates acute dissatisfaction with the departmental leadership ameliorated solely by personal respect for immediate supervisors. Alternately, this may be a function of the primary officers interaction with their sergeants and to a progressively less extent, with their lieutenants and the departmental command structure.¹

¹For confirmation that such interaction patterns actually exist, see discussion of Muir, Chapter III.

If officers primarily interact with their sergeants and they are relatively satisfied with these contacts, then the expressed dissatisfaction with departmental leadership may be due solely to the tendency to rate someone you know somewhat higher than the "faceless" high command.

Data suggests that officers are satisfied with several aspects of their supervisors' performance. For example, there is some evidence confirming that patrol officers as a group are not dissatisfied with their immediate supervisors. When asked to evaluate one of the primary supervisory tasks, how the supervisor observed the officer's work, the majority found that the amount and type of observation by their supervisor (sergeant) was "about right".¹

However, responses to the questions suggest that patrol officers are dissatisfied with one specific trait of departmental command officials relating to departmental recognition of exceptional efforts by the officers.

Table 18. "How much recognition does your department give you for a job well done?"

Degree of recognition	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	23	24.5	20	26.3	43	25.3
	34	36.2	33	43.4	67	39.4
	27	28.7	16	21.1	43	25.3
	8	8.5	5	6.6	13	7.6
Great deal	2	2.1	2	2.6	4	2.4
	94	100	76	100	170	100

¹See discussion of Muir's research (Chapter III) re fact that only the sergeant in the police organization takes the time or expends the

This table demonstrates that most of the officers do not believe that they receive very much, if any, recognition for superior performance; 63.7% (110), in fact, believed that they received none or little recognition. This suggests that there is a substantial failure of communication between command officials and patrol officers. It has been noted in Chapter III that individuals who do not receive positive reinforcement (recognition of merit awards) for good performance very often are hostile toward those that withheld such recognition. It is, therefore, not altogether surprising that negative attitudes are expressed toward departmental leadership. Similarly, officers appear to be dissatisfied with the extent of their participation in relevant supervisory decisions. Over half of the sample, 54.7% (93) believe that they have none or little participation in making supervisory decisions affecting their jobs. This perception (whether or not based upon actual fact) may also explain part of the expressed dissatisfaction with departmental leadership.¹ When an employee believes he has little control over the work environment, there may be an increased discontent toward those wielding power and perceived as refusing to share responsibility.

Responses indicate that 51.2% (87) of all officers believe that their job generates "very excessive" or "excessive" pressure to meet

effort to learn about their subordinate's characteristics, recognizes superior performance, or attempts to influence subordinate development within the department.

¹Subsequent research might profitably test this possible correlation. To do this, many questions would need to be asked focusing upon the desired level of participation and the areas of dissatisfaction with departmental leadership.

work demands. This conclusion was uniform for both departments with 51% (48) in Detroit, 51.3% (39) in Oakland. Overall, less than 18% (30) of the combined sample rated their job as having "little" or "very little" stress.

In addition to asking this overall question regarding perceived stress or pressures generated by job demands, three additional dimensions of stress were included: variety provided by the job, perceived degree of inhibition of emotional expression, and the perceived danger of the occupation compared to other public safety jobs.

Table 19. "Overall, how much variety do you consider your job as a police officer provide?"*

Degree of Satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	11	11.7	7	9.2	18	10.6
Somewhat dissatisfied	29	30.9	29	38.2	58	34.1
About right	54	57.4	40	52.6	94	55.3

*The questionnaire asked the officer to rate the amount of variety provided by the job. The amount of variety was given on a continuum from "far too little" to "far too much". The answer indicating the highest level of satisfaction was determined to be in the middle, a "3". For purposes of calculating the Stress Index, data was rearranged and those choosing a "3" on the questionnaire were given a "5" signifying approximately the right amount of variety. For purposes of the Stress Index, those that chose "2" or "4" were given a code "3" indicating some degree of dissatisfaction over the amount of variety. Those choosing a "1" or a "5" were labeled "very dissatisfied" and given a "1".

In the area of job variety, most of the officers, 55.3% (94) consider that their job provides approximately the right level of job variety. Responses indicate that officers as an aggregate indicate that

their job tends to frequently inhibit expression of emotions; 54.1% (92) found such inhibition to occur "very often" or "often".

Finally, responses show that the officers overwhelmingly believe that their jobs are somewhat more dangerous than other public safety jobs (firefighters, corrections officers, etc.). Over 75% (128) stated that their job was more dangerous, while only 7.7% (11) found it less so.

Table 20. Level of Satisfaction with Amount of Stress: The Stress Index

Degree of stress perceived	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	4	4.3	2	2.6	6	3.5
	20	21.3	23	30.3	43	25.3
	56	59.6	40	52.6	96	56.5
	14	14.9	11	14.5	25	14.7
Very high	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 20 reporting results of the Stress Index provides average officer responses to the questions constituting the index. In common with most of the other derived indices, the majority of officers responded at an average level of a "3". There was, however, a high percentage of officers, 28.8% (49) responding at an average level of "1" or "2".

The Stress Index appears to be related to several background variables, however, these background variables appear to be different in Detroit and Oakland. First, the Stress Index appears to be related to several background variables, however, these background variables

Table 21. Statistical Association between Background Characteristics and The Job Stress Index for Detroit, Oakland, and Combined Samples

	Detroit			Oakland			Combined		
	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C
Age	.81	.93	.05	.23	.892	.06	4.11	.39	.45
Race	1.23	.87	-.05	.24	14.86	.02*	9.62	.14	-.01
Marital Status	4.09	.39	-.05	.26	2.75	.10	2.36	.67	-.06
Years in Policing	2.17	.70	-.04	.28	8.99	.06	5.43	.25	-.12
Spousal Employment	4.01	.40	-.036	.36	5.45	.24	6.04	.16	-.05
Pre-service Education Attainment	9.79	.04*	.23	.003*	6.12	.19	7.76	.04*	.19
Inservice Education	7.18	.30	.01	.44	5.04	.54	4.52	.61	-.03
Sex of Officers	.68	.71	.09	.30	.99	.61	.87	.65	.05

* Significant at the .05 level or greater.

appear to be different in Detroit and Oakland. First, the Stress Index is related to race, but only in Oakland. Caucasian officers as a group appear to have more officers expressing satisfaction with the level of job stress.

Second, in Oakland, the Stress Index appeared to be inversely correlated with years in policing although negative attitudes stabilized for officers with five or more years experience.

In both departments, the Stress Index appeared to be inversely correlated with the pre-service education of the respondents. Those officers with less pre-service education appeared to be less satisfied with the amount of stress from their job.

4. Perception of adverse impact upon family relations: the Family Index

Five questions were asked requesting the officer to indicate how he believed the job affected family life:

- a) Would you say your relations with your family are_____.
- b) On balance, how do you think your job as a police officer has affected your family life?
- c) How much does your spouse or other close relative(s) worry about your safety while you are on the job?
- d) Would you say that, in practice, your work comes before your family?
- e) To what extent does your job cause you to neglect your family?
- f) How important do you consider it to be to have a job which allows you to spend considerable time with your family?

Over 61% (106) rated family relations "very satisfactory" or "satisfactory". Only 21% (36) perceived their family relations to be "very unsatisfactory" or "unsatisfactory".¹ The patrol officers were next asked how their job affected their family life. Responses revealed that the majority of officers did not believe that their job markedly affected family life. However, approximately 50% (84 out of 170) of the sample believe their family is worried about their safety. This finding reveals considerable potential for family tension.

Similarly, although the officers as a group do not believe their work causes family neglect, far more indicated that their job did affect time devoted to their family. Differences in responses between questions may, of course, simply be related to differences in the perceptions of the import of questions and/or the clarity of the question. However, this may also be indicative that some officers are incapable of admitting that their work may adversely affect family relations while simultaneously refusing to deny its specific impact upon family life.

Table 22, the Family Relations Index, aggregates officer responses to the questions in this index. Responses indicate high curtosis with all but one officer averaging between two and four on the five point scale.

¹While this data shows that most officers have "satisfactory" family lives, it may alternatively indicate an inability to negatively answer an extremely personal question.

Table 22. Level of Satisfaction with Family Relations: The Family Relations Index

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	0	0	0	0	0	0
	15	16.0	14	18.4	29	17.1
	47	50.0	42	55.3	89	52.4
	31	33.0	20	26.3	51	30.0
Very high	1	1.1	0	0	1	.6

As is graphically shown in Table 23, supra, no statistically significant correlations were found between the Family Index and any of the tested background variables. This result was somewhat surprising since the literature suggests that many job attitudes may be influenced by the officer's family life. This may indicate that while such correlations may occur, they are not related to particular background characteristics.

5. Perceptions of ability to advance in the job:
the Advancement Index

Patrol officers were asked two questions designed to determine how satisfied they were with the prospects for job advancement:

- a) How satisfied are you with your possibilities of being transferred within the department?
- b) Are people who get promoted in your organization likely to be selected from among those who do the best work?

Responses reveal that most officers are dissatisfied with advancement opportunities. One area of dissension was over fairness in the promotion system with most reporting that promotions in the department

Table 23. Statistical Association between Background Characteristics and The Family Relations Index for Detroit, Oakland, and Combined Samples

	Detroit			Oakland			Combined		
	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C
Age	.15	.99	.008	.45	.88	.93	.79	.94	.02
Race	2.51	.64	.00	.50	8.73	.19	10.47	.11	-.03
Marital Status	8.61	.07*	-.14	.03*	3.47	.48	.05*	-.14	.006*
Years in Policing	.90	.92	-.02	.41	3.95	.41	4.17	.38	-.06
Spousal Employment	4.89	.30	-.22	.02*	3.19	.52	.16	-.16	.02*
Pre-service Education Attainment	5.79	.21	-.05	.27	4.33	.36	.	-.07	.15
Inservice Education	14.76	.02*	.14	.04*	8.79	.19	7.76	.26	.08
Sex of Officers	1.70	.42	-.003	.48	2.53	.28	2.63	.27	.008

* Significant at the .05 level or greater.

were not primarily based upon ability. Findings also show significant differences between Detroit and Oakland officers. In Detroit, 62.8% (59) believed that it was "very unlikely" that a promotion would be based upon ability compared to 34.2% (26) in Oakland. Conversely, only a handful thought promotion based upon ability was "likely" or "very likely", 6.4% (6) in Detroit and 15.8% (12) in Oakland.

In an effort to find more information regarding the phenomenon of perceived unfairness of promotional opportunities, another question was posed (but not inserted into the Advancement Index) asking the officer to specify the factors that interfered with a more equitable promotion policy.

In the Detroit sample, 43.6% (41) picked affirmative action as the primary factor. If the category "other" is eliminated, fully 64% (41 out of 64) found this to be the primary factor disrupting promotion based upon ability. In Oakland, 18.4% (14) of the sample and 45% (14 out of 31) of the sample selecting a specific cause found affirmative action to be the primary factor. The high percentage in Oakland of "other" responses, 59.2% (45), indicates that the officer malaise has not yet become focussed upon any particular aspect of advancement and there may indeed be none in Oakland.¹

¹In view of the high percentage of officers selecting the category "other", especially in Oakland, it is suggested that several additional responses be added. Suggestions are "racism", "tests unrelated to merit" and "longevity in the department". The first category might well be chosen by some minority officers; the second by those that resent what are perceived to be irrelevant civil service examination and the third by younger officers frustrated by seniority requirements.

The second question contained in the Advancement Index asked the respondent to evaluate the possibilities of lateral transfer in the department. While responses to this question did not reveal the extremely high expressions of dissatisfaction shown toward advancement policies, it supports the conclusion that many officers may not be content with intra-departmental mobility. Responses from Oakland show somewhat more officers were very dissatisfied, 28.9% (22) compared to 19.1% (18). This difference was not very large and may, in any event, be simply due to there being fewer transfer possibilities in a smaller department.

Table 24. Level of Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement:
The Advancement Index

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	13	13.8	10	13.2	23	13.5
	37	39.4	26	34.2	63	37.1
	35	37.2	26	34.2	61	35.9
	9	9.6	13	17.1	22	12.9
Very high	0	0	1	1.3	1	0.6

Table 24, The Advancement Index, aggregates responses to the two preceding questions. This is the only derived index that shows a marked skewness away from a modal pattern. Slightly over half of the overall sample, 50.6% (89) expressed dissatisfaction while a meager 13.5% (23) reported satisfied responses.

As shown in Table 25, supra, the Advancement Index is correlated with several background variables. First, there was a negative

Table 25. Statistical Association between Background Characteristics and The Advancement Index for Detroit, Oakland, and Combined Samples

	Detroit			Oakland			Combined					
	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.		
Age	6.36	.17	-.15	.02*	8.85	.06	-.03	.31	5.81	.21	-.09	.03*
Race	8.45	.08	-.16	.02*	2.75	.84	.03	.36	7.75	.25	-.0	.18
Marital Status	4.19	.38	-.04	.30	1.14	.88	-.04	.29	2.05	.73	-.03	.31
Years in Policing	5.89	.20	-.18	.01*	9.45	.05*	-.14	.06	11.05	.02*	-.16	.005*
Spousal Employment	2.58	.63	.15	.07	5.28	.25	.17	.07	5.20	.27	.15	.02*
Pre-service Education Attainment	4.14	.39	.097	.13	2.91	.57	.10	.14	3.	.45	.12	.04*
Inservice Education	9.75	.14	-.07	.14	10.81	.09	.02	.40	8.03	.24	-.02	.37
Sex of Officers	9.44	.009*	.26	.00 *	1.67	.43	.002	.48	9.16	.04*	.12	.01*

* Significant at the .05 level or greater.

correlation with the age of the respondent, but only for the Detroit sample.

While the combined Detroit-Oakland sample also showed a statistically significant negative correlation, this appeared to be a residual effect of the Detroit sample as there was no such finding from the Oakland data. Years in policing also appeared to be negatively correlated with the Advancement Index. This relationship was found in both the Detroit and Oakland samples indicating that this phenomenon might have more generalizable significance than mere age of the respondent.

The negative correlation between age (and years in policing) and the Advancement Index may be partially explained by job position. Officers that are older and/or who have greater seniority may have some factors inhibiting advancement. This might be racial pursuant to affirmative action programs, the result of bad evaluations, or due to poor test taking. Regardless of reasons, these officers would appear likely to express more frustration with advancement opportunities than others. As noted earlier, salary differentials within grade, e.g., salary range, is extremely narrow, making dissatisfaction with advancement opportunities likely to be quite important.

The Advancement Index also tended to be positively correlated with increasing pre-service education although this did not reach statistical significance in either the Detroit and Oakland samples separately. The combined sample of 170 officers did show a statistically significant finding demonstrating covariance between expressed satisfaction with advancement and additional pre-service education.

Finally, females in Detroit had a statistically significant higher level of scores on the Advancement Index. No such relationship could realistically be found in Oakland as there were only three female officers in that sample. It may be hypothesized that this reflects the impact of affirmative action programs in Detroit. Policies have forced the department to greatly increase advancement potential for women as, until recently, there were only a handful of women supervisors largely restricted to traditional "women's details".

6. Perceptions of the job's ability to advance personal fulfillment goals: The Self-Fulfillment Index

To determine satisfaction with personal fulfillment goals, the following questions were asked:

- a) In your daily work, how free are you to make decisions and act on them?
- b) Do you receive a feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing?
- c) To what degree do you see your patrol duties as relying on your own discretion and judgment?
- d) How satisfied are you with the opportunities within the department to improve your job skills?
- e) Does your work make use of your particular capabilities?

Responses to these questions indicate that for most officers, increased benefits are not the only factor that would prompt a desire to obtain advancement. While 24.7% (42) of the officers in the combined sample would not have desired a promotion without an increase in salary, fully 61.2% (104) would be inclined to do so. Obviously, part of this may be due to non-monetary benefits of advancement, e.g., a change to

better duties and a more authoritative position. However, part may well be a reflection of an officer's emotional commitment to seek advancement with the structure of the police department.

Question "b" provides officer responses to a direct question of whether the officer obtained any sense of accomplishment from his job. Responses indicate that a plurality, 48.8% (83) give positive responses (answering with a "4" or "5" on the five point Likert scale). Therefore, there is tentative support for previous research which found that most officers believe their work fulfills a necessary role.

Question "e" requested responses to the closely related question of whether the job actually used the officer's capabilities. The table showed a considerable percentage of officers expressing dissatisfaction, 32.7% (56) compared to 33.5% (57) satisfied. There is also considerable variance between the samples with Detroit being 38.3% (36) negative, 27.7% (26) positive, compared to 26.4% (20) and 40.8% (31) in Oakland. The reason for the tendency of Detroit officers to express more negative attitudes is unknown.

Question "d" requests the officer to determine whether he believes that his department provides officers with opportunities to improve their job skills, presumably through provision for formal training, seminar attendance or "job enrichment" programs. Responses indicate a high level of dissatisfaction 48.8% (83) responding negatively compared to 28.2% (38) positively. This negative response was one of the most emphatic received to any question. While the format of the questionnaire did not allow any follow-up to explain this response, the author's field observations and discussions with patrol officers did attempt to obtain

clarification. Most officers from both departments complained that except for training in weaponry and self-defense, skills and an occasional program funded by outside sources, the department only infrequently attempted to maintain or improve job skills or train them for new techniques. It is interesting that the Detroit Police Department does have access to the Criminal Justice Institute to provide inservice education for its officers. This program, while helpful, may not be available to all officers due to lack of sufficient funding.

Several questions sought responses to one aspect of self-fulfillment, the ability to make and act upon decisions. Question "c" requested the officers to evaluate the extent to which they have decision-making autonomy. Most officers in the samples from both departments believed that they were not significantly limited in their freedom to make major decisions with approximately 80.6% or 137 officers selecting "very frequently" or "frequently". Despite this, answers to two related questions, "a" and "e" reveal that the officers do in fact perceive that they are often inhibited from making and acting upon decisions.

Responses also indicate that many officers believe that job performance depends both upon following departmental rules and regulations, 50% (85) and relying upon their own discretion and judgment, 71.2% (121). However, considerably fewer officers express reliance upon departmental rules and regulations than upon their own judgment and discretion. Combining responses "a" and "c" suggest that many officers perceive themselves inhibited from carrying out their jobs in the way they believe is best by departmental rules and regulations.

Table 26. Level of Satisfaction with Fulfillment Received from Job, the Self-Fulfillment Index

Level of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	0	3.2	0	0	0	0
	3	53.2	4	5.3	7	4.1
	50	41.5	31	40.8	81	47.6
	39	2.1	41	53.9	80	47.1
Very high	2		0	0	2	1.2

Table 26, the Self-Fulfillment Index is a composite of Questions a-e. Aggregating reported results from these questions has resulted in tendencies toward two categories: "3", 47.6% (81) and "4", 47.1% (80). This index was the most positively skewed of any reported.

Reporting results as a composite may, however, conceal some difference between the two departments. In the Detroit sample, the majority averaged "3", 53.2% (50) compared to 43.6% responding closer to "4" or "5". In Oakland, the majority, 53.9% (41) averaged a "4". The reasons for this disparity and its significance are unknown.

No significant differences were found between the Self-Fulfillment Index and the various background characteristics. The meaning of the failure to find any correlation with background variables is unclear. Obviously, this does not indicate that no relationship might exist, only that there was no relationship strong enough to be statistically significant in this sample size.

Table 27. Statistical Association between Background Characteristics and The Self-Fulfillment Index for Detroit, Oakland, and Combined Samples

	Detroit			Oakland			Combined		
	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Tau C	Sig.	Chi ²	Sig.	Tau C
Age	2.32	.08	-.08	.13	.22	.12	.04*	.22	.99
Race	.61	.96	-.05	.27	.49	-.05	.27	4.75	.58
Marital Status	.83	.93	.05	.28	.85	-.08	.16	.24	.99
Years in Policing	.34	.49	-.11	.09	.05*	.07	.22	3.46	.48
Spousal Employment	2.11	.72	-.09	.17	.68	.03	.38	2.58	.64
Pre-service Education Attainment	.85	.93	.03	.26	.69	.08	.19	3.31	.51
Inservice Education	4.83	.57	.008	.46	.23	.17	.04*	8.84	.18
Sex of Officers	.47	.79	.03	.38	.86	.02	.30	.04	.98

* Significant at the .05 level or greater.

B. Attitudes Revealed by the Overall Job Satisfaction Index and Its Relationship to the Job Satisfaction Indices

Overall job satisfaction is the primary focus of study for this research. This concept was measured by the respondent's answers to six questions clustered into three subject areas: expressed satisfaction with the department, satisfaction with the work performed and enthusiasm for the job.

- a) How satisfied are you with the sort of work you are doing?
- b) Would you advise a friend to join this department?
- c) How often have you considered leaving police work?
- d) Are you satisfied with the department as it now stands?
- e) If benefits were approximately the same, would you prefer to stay in this department or would you rather join another department of similar size?

Officers were first asked if they were satisfied with the work performed and with the department as a whole. Previous research summarized in Chapter III indicates that officers would be expected to be somewhat more positive toward their job role than their department. This did not appear to be the case. Responses show there is more satisfaction with the type of work being performed: 53.5% (91) positive and 14.1% (24) negative than satisfaction with the "current status" of the police department 37.1% (63) positive and 36.5% (62) negative. Responses to the questions varied considerably between Detroit and Oakland. The Detroit sample had more dissatisfied workers, 18.1% (17) than in Oakland, 9.2% (7), although percentages of satisfied workers were similar. This relationship was reversed when dealing with

satisfaction with the department; 28.7% (27) expressed dissatisfaction in Detroit and 46.1% in Oakland while satisfied officers varied from 48.9% (46) in Detroit to 22.1% (17) in Oakland. These responses may indicate that the Oakland officers are more motivated by the police role than in Detroit while being less satisfied with their department. This is possibly because greater satisfaction with the police role leads to a greater desire to influence departmental policy. That desire in turn would probably be frustrating in a paramilitary work organization. But this is conjecture.

The following questions asked the respondent to determine how his or her work experience has affected the level of enthusiasm of the officer.

- a) As compared with your feelings when you first started out in the department, what is your present feeling about your job?
- b) What were your feelings when you first started out in the job?

Responses demonstrate that the officers perceived initial high levels of enthusiasm toward their work. Over 88.0% stated they had "positive feelings" while only 4.1% recollect initial negative feelings. Of course it should be stressed that while an officer now believes he was enthusiastic as a rookie, does not mean he was actually enthusiastic at the time.

Despite this limitation, responses indicate a significant slippage from the perceived initial level of job enthusiasm; 58.8% (100) of the officers reported declining enthusiasm compared to only 19.4% reporting more positive feelings. Slippage was more marked in Detroit 70.2% (66)

than in Oakland 44.7% (34). This finding may be quite significant in that it confirms other data generated in this study showing that overall job satisfaction is inversely related (in this sample) to age and years on the force. This result supports some research of police attitude formation indicating that the officers rapidly become more cynical as they leave the confines of the academy and become rookie officers. This is markedly different than the findings of most of the occupational studies cited in Chapter III where job satisfaction increases steadily excepting a short break-in period of decreasing satisfaction.

The third component of overall job satisfaction is if the officer has considered the merits of entry and exit from their own department and policing in general. Since the officer was already employed in the department, it was not considered to be fruitful to ask whether he or she would like to "enter" the department. Instead, the officer was asked to determine if he would advise a "friend" to enter the department or another of similar size.

Somewhat surprisingly in view of negative comments toward its leadership and the department "as it now stand", more officers in both departments were positive toward staying in their own department. These results, do however, disclose that a sizable minority would prefer leaving the department for an "equivalent" department although again, most expressed a favorable attitude toward their own department.¹

¹It is, of course, possible that some of the officers seemingly expressing positive attitudes toward their department did so only because the wording of the question, "equivalent departments". This might have been interpreted to mean the same type of department with the same type of leadership. If this was the understood meaning, it would not be rational to make a job change.

These results are also significant in that they do not show a modal pattern slightly positively skewed. Instead, attitudinal dispersion in both departments shows a solid core of very disaffected officers. Some of this may, of course, be due to the recognized tendencies to overglamorize a different job, e.g., the "grass is greener" syndrome. This may, however, indicate a core group of dissatisfied officers.

A 40% plurality of the officers responding to the question, "How often have you considered leaving police work?" stated that they had not often considered leaving police work. This response is fairly strong evidence that these officers are by and large satisfied with their work and with the department. However, the remaining 60% of the responses were fairly uniformly distributed, indicative that many officers do express significant doubts about continuing in the occupation.

Table 28. Overall Level of Job Satisfaction, The Overall Index

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	0	0	4	5.3	4	2.4
	18	19.1	13	17.1	31	18.2
	50	53.2	22	28.9	72	42.4
	24	25.5	32	42.1	56	32.9
Very high	2	2.1	5	6.6	7	4.1

The Overall Index combines officer responses to a number of questions discussed earlier. The derived index shows a modal distribution somewhat positively skewed, 37% (63) positive, 20.6% (35) negative. This composite, however, conceals some significant differences between

Detroit and Oakland. The Oakland Sample was more dispersed (less kurtosis) with only 28.9% (22) averaging a "3" compared to 52.3% (50) in Detroit. Instead, more Oakland officers expressed satisfied attitudes, 48.7% (37) compared to 27.6% (26) in Detroit.

C. Tabular Analysis of Relationship Between the Overall Job Satisfaction Index and Selected Background Characteristics

The data presented shows that overall job satisfaction measured by scores on the Overall Job Satisfaction Index is related to a number of background variables. Because background variables constitute categorical data, it would be inappropriate to attempt correlational analysis. Instead, cross-tabulations were performed displaying the particular background characteristics against the Overall Job Satisfaction Index. Chi Square and Kendall's Tau C figures were used to determine significance of a particular relationship. It should be stated that finding a significant relationship using cross-tabular analysis is difficult for the size of this sample. Since the cells in cross-tabular analysis are usually much smaller than the original sample size, statistical significant findings are difficult. This is particularly true when Detroit, initial $n = 94$, and Oakland, initial $n = 76$, are measured separately. Therefore, in an effort to increase the possibility of significant findings, the scales were collapsed into low (1, 2), medium (3), and high (4, 5). However, even with this data compression, most tables had at least nine categories.

1. Expressed level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's race.

A relationship was found in Detroit between job satisfaction and race. This relationship, significant at the .019 level of significance shows that caucasian officers are substantially less satisfied than black officers.

Table 29. Expressed Level of Job Satisfaction as Associated with Officer's Race

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	3	9.1	15	45.5	15	45.5
Caucasian	13	23.7	35	59.3	10	16.9
Hispanic	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0

Chi Square = 14.46
Kendall's Tau C = -.18

Significance = .019
Significance = .001

Based largely upon the data obtained in Detroit, this subhypothesis would appear to be supported with white officers less satisfied than blacks. The data in Oakland, while not of itself statistically significant, also reports the same tendency, that whites are less satisfied than black officers.

2. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's sex.

Cross-tabular analysis did not show a significant relationship between this background variable and overall job satisfaction.

A key problem for this study may be that there were not enough female officers (24) to develop a significant difference to compare to male officers. There did, however, appear to be a slight tendency for females not to express low levels of satisfaction as frequently as males, 12.5% (3) compared to 21.9% (32). However, given the small female sample size, no statistically significant result may be reported. Because of this, the subhypothesis may neither be confirmed nor denied by the data.

3. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's marital status.

Tabular analysis of the Detroit and Oakland sample did not reveal any significant relationship between single, married and divorced officers.

Again, data suggests that a lack of significance may at least partially be due to small sample size. There was a tendency of single officers to express more satisfaction than either those married or divorced. If this is proven correct in subsequent research, then generalizations from other occupational settings are not valid, e.g., in the police occupation being married may be negatively correlated with job satisfaction. Such a finding would lend support to the theory that work programs such as family reactions to lack of safety or continual shift changes do in fact negatively affect overall job attitudes.

Because of the failure to obtain a large enough sample size, this subhypothesis may neither be confirmed nor denied.

4. Level of job satisfaction is associated with whether an officer's spouse is employed.

Tabular analysis of this subhypothesis did not reveal any significant relationship.

This is partially due to the lack of consistent pattern of responses. It is also due to a relatively small sample size as only 119 officers responded. Therefore, this result lends no support to this subhypothesis.

5. Level of job satisfaction increases with an officer's age.

As discussed in detail in Chapter III, all other studies in other occupational settings have shown a positive correlation between age and overall job satisfaction. Despite this, cross-tabular analysis of overall job satisfaction with officer age does show a statistically significant inverse relationship.

Table 30. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Age for Detroit-Oakland

Age	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
20-24	1	5.9	5	29.4	11	64.7
25-34	28	21.4	56	42.7	47	35.9
35-50	6	27.3	11	50.0	5	22.7

Chi Square = 8.06

Significance = .04

Table 30, therefore, supports the hypothesis that expressed job satisfaction is inversely correlated with job satisfaction and not positively correlated as originally hypothesized. The percentage of satisfied officers declines from its peak, 64.7% (11) for age group 20-24 to an intermediate 35.9% (47) for age group 25-34 to the lowest level 22.7% (5) for the age group 35-50.

The original subhypothesis must be rejected as the data presented in Table 30 not only fails to support the original subhypothesis, but instead demonstrates precisely the opposite relationship.

6. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's years on the force.

Since there was a significant inverse relationship between age and level of job satisfaction reported on the preceding table, the hypothesized relationship regarding years of policing and job satisfaction was naturally suspect. Results confirmed the suspicion that a significant negative relationship exists instead. Descriptive analysis reveals a significant inverse relationship.

Table 31. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Years in Policing for Detroit-Oakland

Years Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	5	6.7	34	45.3	36	48.0
5-9	23	33.3	26	37.7	20	29.0
10 plus	7	26.9	12	46.2	7	26.9

Table 31 while clearly evidencing the necessity to reject the original hypothesis, does not show a consistent inverse pattern. Instead, often the sharp drop from those officers with one to four years experience, reported results appear quite consistent. This may perhaps be indicative of the period of "negative" socialization away from support of the department is largely completed during the first five years. Unfortunately, this sample did not have enough senior officers to determine if this would hold true for larger samples.

7. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's level of pre-service education.

Cross-tabular analysis of overall job satisfaction shows a slight degree of positive correlation with pre-service education. This result is based largely upon the Oakland data. In Detroit, no statistically significant relationship was found, however, as shown in Table 32, infra, somewhat of a tendency exists for those officers with college degrees, associates degree and above to be more satisfied.

Table 32. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Pre-service Education for Detroit

Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High school graduate	7	23.3	16	53.3	7	23.3
Some college	8	19.0	23	54.8	11	26.2
College degree	3	13.6	11	50.0	8	36.4

Chi Square = 1.52
Kendall's Tau C = .10

Significance = .82
Significance = .06

Table 32 does show some difference between those officers with a pre-service college degree but lends no support to a distinction between high school graduates and those with some college but no degree. This lends some very tentative support to the conclusion that in Detroit pre-service education may, in fact, affect worker job attitudes and may make them more satisfied. However, it must be emphasized that the relationship, if it exists, is tenuous. The relationship in Oakland, however, did appear to be evident and showed the same pattern.

Table 33. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Pre-service Education for Oakland

Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High school graduate	4	40.0	2	20.0	4	40.0
Some college	6	27.3	9	40.9	7	31.8
College degree	7	15.9	11	25.0	26	59.1

Chi Square = 6.47
Kendall's Tau C = .20

Significance = .16
Significance = .01

Since sample size increased and the direction of the relationship was the same for both the Detroit and Oakland samples, the combined Detroit-Oakland sample showed significance on both the Chi Square and Kendall's Tau C measurements.

Based upon the combined sample, this subhypothesis is confirmed. However, this data, in common with most other occupational studies,

indicates that the relationship is largely situational and appears to depend upon the employee's perceptions of the use of his degree.

D. Relationship Between Job Satisfaction and Officer Perceptions of Working Conditions

The data presented shows that overall job satisfaction measured by scores on the Overall Job Satisfaction Index is very closely related to the officer's perceptions toward his work environment. In Chapter IV, supra, a number of indices were developed to measure job attitudes of potential concern to an officer. Reported scores for these indices were presented earlier in this Chapter (Section B).

In determining whether a particular index was significantly correlated with the Overall Job Satisfaction Index, Pearson correlation coefficients were developed with three samples (Detroit, Oakland and Detroit-Oakland combined) between each of the attitudinal indices and the Overall Job Satisfaction Index.

Table 34. Correlation Between Overall Job Satisfaction Index and Various Indices

Index	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	r	n	r	n	r	n
Salary and benefits	.127	94	.254*	76	.201*	170
Prestige	.362*	94	.534*	76	.459*	170
Stress	.175	94	.249*	76	.206*	170
Family relations	.274*	94	.226*	76	.235*	170
Self-fulfillment	.118	94	.550*	76	.345*	170
Advancement	.223*	94	.544*	76	.406*	170
Supervision	.288*	94	.485*	76	.384*	170

* Statistically significant at .05 or greater.

A review of each of the subhypotheses presented demonstrates that attitudes toward specific job components are significantly related to overall job satisfaction.

1. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the adequacy of benefits.

Data from the Oakland sample reveals a statistically significant correlation, while the Detroit data does not show these to be significantly related. Correlations between the two indices is significant only in the Oakland and combined samples. Therefore, the first hypothesis is supported by this data, but only for the Oakland and combined samples.

The Job Satisfaction Index for the Detroit sample appeared to covary somewhat less than in Oakland. This trend was repeated in virtually all of the derived indices and is probably due to the presence of other strong attitude-shaping factors in Detroit. As has been demonstrated earlier, the Detroit sample tended to be more sharply divided by racial and age differences. It is possible that these factors have therefore lessened the relative weight of other attitudinal factors in Detroit.

2. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the social value and prestige of the occupation.

Data presented in Table 34, supra, shows an exceptionally high relationship between the Prestige Index and the Overall Job Satisfaction Index. Therefore, the hypothesis that job satisfaction is correlated with the officer's perceptions of the social value and prestige of the occupation is supported. A statistically significant relationship was

found in both Detroit and Oakland. Further, in Detroit this index had the highest correlation with the Overall Job Satisfaction Index of any of the derived indices.

3. Level of job satisfaction is associated with an officer's perception of job stress.

Table 34 demonstrates that a statistically significant covariation is found between these indices in the Oakland and the combined samples. The relationship in the Detroit sample, while possible, could not be demonstrated at the .05 level of confidence. Thus, the data supports this subhypothesis. While significant covariance could only be found in the Oakland and combined samples, the Detroit data also suggested a relationship. As will be discussed more extensively in Chapter VI, infra, the Stress Index is itself somewhat vaguely operationalized. It may therefore be difficult to interpret what this relationship indicates (e.g., is it focussed upon perceptions of difficulty in complying with work demands).

4. Level of job satisfaction will decrease with an officer's perceptions of adverse impact on family relations.

Table 34, supra, demonstrates that statistical significance was found in the Detroit, Oakland and combined samples. Therefore, the data presented supports this subhypothesis and the two indices do appear related. It is also noteworthy that this is the only derived index in which there was higher covariance in Detroit than in Oakland. This suggests that family attitudes may be a relatively more important factor in Detroit.

5. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the job's ability to advance personal fulfillment goals.

Table 34, supra, shows that statistically significant correlation between the two indices was only found in the Oakland and combined samples. While the relationship may exist in Detroit, it could not be demonstrated at the .05 level of confidence. Thus, the data supports this subhypothesis.

6. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of ability to advance on the job.

Table 34, supra, shows that a statistically significant correlation between the two indices was found in both Oakland and Detroit. Thus, this subhypothesis is supported. One interesting observation is that the correlation in Oakland appeared to be far greater than in Detroit. In fact, this has the highest correlation of any of the derived indices. To some extent this is due to the presence of important cleavages in Detroit accounting for a high percentage of variance. It is, however, true that feelings regarding advancement in Oakland are a more important predictor of job satisfaction than in Detroit. Perhaps this may be due to greater concern over opportunities for advancement in Oakland.

7. Level of job satisfaction will increase with an officer's perceptions of the quality of supervision.

Table 34, supra, shows that the indices are closely correlated in both the Detroit and Oakland samples. Thus, the data presented supports

this subhypothesis. This relationship confirms most of the literature that has reported the extreme importance of supervisory style on job satisfaction. Obviously, this research can only show covariance on the limited topic of expressed supervisory styles and job satisfaction. However, these expressions may be showing a relationship between the underlying factors.

The results reported in Table 34 would seem to demonstrate considerable support for Hypothesis II, e.g., that level of job satisfaction is related to other selected job attitudes.

Two additional points should be noted. First, with the exceptions of the Family Index, the Oakland sample showed higher correlations and higher levels of significance in every category than the Detroit sample. This demonstrates that while attitudinal factors are related to overall job satisfaction in both departments, other factors appear to influence attitudes in the Detroit sample and account for more variance than in Oakland. Section IV of this chapter being a presentation of multiple regression analysis, demonstrates that much of this is relative to the higher level of importance of background variables in Detroit. The second interesting observation is that there is no consistent pattern in the relative importance of each of the major background factors with particular factors appearing to be important situationally, not consistently, in both departments.

E. Relationship Between the Overall Job Satisfaction Index and The Management Style of the Sergeant

Because of the problems discussed in Chapter IV, it was decided that for purposes of this study, no cross-tabular analysis would be

performed with the data at hand. Instead, an alternative methodology was used to describe the impact of actual management style upon subordinate job satisfaction.

The Management Style Diagnostic Test based its management style classification on the degree of presence of three particular managerial traits: task orientation, relationship orientation and effectiveness (see Chapter IV for further discussion). Unlike the scores on the Management Style Diagnostic Test where there were multiple dominant or supportive styles, each sergeant had only one score for each of the three management traits. A correlation could then be drawn between this score and the Job Satisfaction Index.

It was found that only one type of management trait, Task Orientation, had a statistically significant relationship with the Job Satisfaction Index. Specifically, the combined sample revealed the following correlations.

Table 35. Correlation Between Overall Job Satisfaction Index and Specific Management Style Traits

Overall Index	Relationship	Effectiveness	Task Orientation
Pearson 5	-.0652	-.0846	.1900
Sample size	157	157	157
Significance	.417	.292	.017*

*The sample was not broken into Detroit and Oakland groups due to the low number of sergeants responding to the test. There were only 20 sergeants taking the test and dividing these into groups of 9 and 11 supervisors would have made the generation of significant data even more difficult.

Table 35, supra, does show a statistically significant relationship between reported job satisfaction scores and management orientation of their supervisors. This is important since it indicates that "objective" characteristics of a patrol officer's sergeant has an affect on job satisfaction of the subordinate.

Because of the inability to effectively measure the impact of management styles upon subordinate job satisfaction, the third hypothesis may neither be confirmed nor rejected by this research. The relationship between the Job Satisfaction Index and the management trait of Task Orientation does, however, suggest this factor should be examined in subsequent research to determine if the observed covariation holds true. In addition, a larger scale test with a greater sample size should be conducted to examine the potential impact of management styles as an aggregate.

F. Relationship of the Job Satisfaction Index
with the Officers Perceptions of Working
Conditions Based Upon Self-selection of
Importance of These Conditions

In determining whether this hypothesis is supported by this data, it is helpful to display the officer responses concerning the relative importance of the categories. As might be expected, there are considerable differences in the selection of officers of the most important characteristics. Table 36 shows the dispersion of such responses. Several characteristics may be noted when the first and second preferences and sixth and seventh preferences are combined (see Table 36, on the following page).

Table 36. Selected Importance Rankings of Various Job Components

Ranked Importance	Benefits	Prestige	Quality of Supervision	Amount of Stress	Affect of Family	Self- fulfillment	Advance
1-2	57	14	12	17	76	117	47
6-7	21	110	80	73	24	8	24

First, certain job factors are named as being important far more frequently than other job characteristics. Table 36 shows that self-fulfillment, affect on family, satisfaction with benefits, and satisfaction with advancement opportunities appear to be the most important job attributes selected by the Oakland and Detroit samples. The other three categories, job prestige, quality of supervision and stress of the job had very few respondents stating that the category was of primary importance. Conversely, stating these three characteristics received the vast majority of the "6" and "7" responses indicating relatively little importance attached to this factor.

This result was somewhat surprising to the author since the literature has indicated that perceived quality of supervision is one of the primary determinants of job satisfaction. Its relatively low rating may, however, be an indication that there is little controversy or dissension over this job factor and hence it has not become salient.

The second factor revealed by the data is that those officers selecting benefits as being the most or second most important job characteristic appear to be less satisfied than those selecting affect on family, self-fulfillment, or potential for advancement as the most important job characteristic. Of the 57 officers choosing benefits as being of primary importance, 31.6% (18) had low levels of job satisfaction measured by a "1" or "2" response to the Job Satisfaction Index. Only 22.8% (13) of these officers were "satisfied" measured by a "4" or "5" on the same index. Those officers selecting self-fulfillment as one of their major job characteristics appeared more satisfied with only 18 of 117 respondents (15.4%) being dissatisfied compared to 51

(43.6%) that were satisfied. Similarly, those selecting affect on family had only 14 officers out of 53 (26.4%) expressing dissatisfaction while 60.4% were dissatisfied. This distinction would appear to be important given that some officers that selected benefits as being of first or second importance have also probably selected "affect on family" and "self-fulfillment" as the other factor of prime importance. This overlap might therefore be expected to somewhat diminish the reported differences.

In order to find if there was a closer correlation between those attitudinal factors rated by the officer as being "more important" than those self-selected as being "less important", the author computed correlations between the Job Satisfaction Index and the particular job characteristic index. The purpose was to determine if there was a closer correlation with job characteristics of "first priority" compared to those with lower priorities.

A review of Table 37, on the following page, shows that differences in the amount of correlation does not appear to be linearly related to the degree of importance of the job characteristic. As a general matter, it may be found that job characteristics that were rated as being of first through third priority correlated to a far higher degree than those ranked fourth through sixth. However, job characteristic seven did appear to be fairly closely correlated with overall job satisfaction.

The following table indicates that self-selection of factors constituting job satisfaction does not affect correlation with job satisfaction. It is, however, possible that such a relationship may in

Table 37. Overall Job Satisfaction: Correlations with Job Characteristics by Ranked Importance

Job Characteristic	Correlation	Significance
1	.14	.03
2	.11	.08
3	-.20	.004
4	-.27	.37
5	-.06	.22
6	.03	.37
7	.12	.56

fact exist. If job characteristics 1 and 2 are combined into one category, characteristics 3, 4, and 5 into a second group, and characteristics 6 and 7 into a third category, correlations would change as follows.

Table 38. Overall Job Satisfaction: Correlations with Job Characteristics by Ranked Importance

Characteristics	Correlation
Prime Importance (1, 2)	.12
Medium Importance (3-5)	.097
Least Importance (6, 7)	.07

The restructuring of the data does show a greater relationship with those factors that are rated as being of prime importance rather than those of medium or least importance. However, the differences are

not large and as noted earlier, the table would conceal the anomaly of the higher correlation with the seventh rated factor. Perhaps a better explanation for this response is that some respondents who indicated that a particular factor was of "least" importance did so improperly. This may have been caused by a reaction to the factor, e.g., the respondent being incapable of admitting that a particular factor was important. Whether this explanation is true cannot, of course, be determined at this time.

IV. Multiple Regression Analysis

In order to determine which of the variables were most predictive of job satisfaction, multiple regression analysis was undertaken. The score on the derived Overall Job Satisfaction Index was used as the dependent variable in all cases.

In undertaking this analysis of the two types of variables, background (or demographic) and attitudinal, the following approach was adopted. First, separate equations were constructed based on the seven background variables alone for the Detroit and Oakland samples separately. Then a second set of equations, again for both Detroit and Oakland were constructed, based this time on the seven attitudinal variables. Finally, a combined equation including both types of variables was created. In all equations, standardized beta coefficients were employed. These have statistical properties which allow for direct comparison of relative importance of individual variables.

Table 39 contains the results of the equation based solely on the background variables (see Table 39, on the following page).

Table 39. Standardized Linear Regression Coefficients and Associated Statistics for Background Characteristics in Oakland and Detroit

	Oakland	Detroit
Race	-.12243	-.27464
Years Policing	-.19774	-.21618
Sex	-.14212	.10973
Pre-service education	.22583	.04626
Married, no work	-.10535	.11488
Married, yes works	.03429	-.07288
Single/Divorced	.06031	.06643
Multiple R	.41738	.45600
R Square	.17420	.20794
Adjusted r square	.08920	.14374

Of initial interest in Table 39 is the relatively small amount of aggregate variation in overall job satisfaction accounted for by the variables. In the Oakland sample, the adjusted r square value indicated that these variables account for only 9% of job satisfaction variation. In the Detroit sample, the proportion and variance accounted for is slightly higher, 14 percent.

Although the variation in overall job satisfaction accounted for in both subsamples is small and relatively similar, the manner in which it is accounted for by the seven variables is somewhat different. In Oakland, the coefficient associated with level of pre-service education is the single most important determinant in overall job satisfaction. Officers with more formal levels of education had higher levels of job satisfaction. In Detroit, however, this was not true and the level of formal education was the least important in accounting for overall job

satisfaction. In fact, its coefficient value, .04626, indicates a virtual absence of relationship between education and job satisfaction.

The reason for this difference is unclear. The author had attempted to determine if these were markedly different work environments in the two departments for highly educated employees. However, this did not appear to be true. An alternative explanation, as yet untested, is that the higher overall levels of education in Oakland led to a decreased sense of isolation (and perhaps higher self image) among well-educated officers.

In the Detroit sample, the coefficient value associated with race, $-.27464$, is the most important factor in accounting for level of overall job satisfaction while in Oakland it ranks as 4th while the direction of the relationship is the same with white officers having lower levels of job satisfaction than black officers, there is a notable difference in magnitude. This may indicate that race is approximately twice as important in determining overall job satisfaction in Detroit as in Oakland.

As discussed earlier, the reason for this unexpected difference may well be the bitter divisiveness occasioned by the past history of departmental discrimination and racial conflict in Detroit and the department's aggressive affirmative action program in recent years.

In both samples, the coefficient value associated with years of police service ranked second in importance in accounting for overall job satisfaction. Moreover, both the magnitude and direction of the two coefficients are similar, Detroit $-.19714$, Oakland, $-.21818$. In both cities, officers with longer tenure had lower levels of job satisfaction

than less experienced counterparts. This result confirms descriptive findings stated earlier in this chapter, e.g., that tenure of service appeared to have a strongly negative impact upon officer job satisfaction. This result is also in accordance with most literature suggesting that officers, as an aggregate, become less satisfied the longer their tenure.

The coefficient associated with the variable sex, is the third ranking variable in Oakland, $-.14212$ and fourth in Detroit, $.10973$. Although relatively similar in magnitude, they differ in direction. In Oakland, female officers have slightly lower levels of job satisfaction than their male counterparts while in Detroit the opposite is true.

The reason for this is unclear. It should be initially stated that the Oakland sample with only 72 officers cannot be considered enough to constitute an adequate representative sampling. However, if the differential results were to be confirmed in subsequent studies, the reasons may lie in different affirmative action programs. The Detroit affirmative action program has included a strong effort to hire female officers with 11% women in the department. Women in the department may therefore feel somewhat more welcome by official departmental policy than in Oakland (or at least less isolated). In Oakland, despite a sex discrimination suit, there are only 2% women as sworn officers out of a 656 person department. The relatively high numbers of women officers in Detroit may indeed lessen the women's sense of alienation thereby increasing a tendency for job satisfaction. The relatively low level of significance of this factor in both departments does, however, indicate that it is not especially significant in predicting job satisfaction.

The three remaining background variables cluster about characteristics of the marital status of the officer and employment status if applicable of the spouse. These categories are as follows: married but spouse not working, .11448, Detroit, .10535, Oakland; married with spouse working, -.07288, Detroit, .03429, Oakland; and a combined category of divorced or single officers, .06643 Detroit, .06031 Oakland. It is not believed that these variables are worth further study. They contributed the least to overall job satisfaction in both samples as the magnitude of the associated coefficients were quite low. In addition, in Oakland married officers with non-working spouses had higher levels of job satisfaction while in Detroit, the reverse was true. However, in Detroit, officers with working spouses have slightly higher levels of job satisfaction than in Oakland.

The finding from the multiple regression analysis of the background variables lead to a number of important conclusions. First, the variables covered in this study do not appear to greatly contribute to either prediction or explanation of job satisfaction in either sample. In Oakland, only 8% and in Detroit, 14% of overall job satisfaction is accounted for by such variables. Second, the manner in which job satisfaction is accounted for by these background variables differs considerably. In Oakland, the most important variable is pre-service education. However, in Detroit, this is the least important variable in determining overall job satisfaction. Conversely, the variable which contributes the most to overall job satisfaction in Detroit is race. In Oakland, race ranks as fourth in importance in accounting for overall satisfaction. The failure to find consistent results between the samples

emphasizes the situational nature of the determination of job satisfaction. It is apparent that individual variables are not very significant except for the interaction with characteristics of the job environment. This observation leads to the conclusion that one of the most important future undertakings must be to determine the job characteristics that interact with these background variables.

Table 40, giving results of the multiple regression analysis of the attitudinal variables, reveals several major differences between the two cities. First, the adjusted r square value of the accounted variance of the seven attitudinal indices varies markedly between the two cities with the value in the Oakland sample, .48275, approximately three times that in Detroit, .17750. It therefore appears that such variables are of much greater importance in Oakland than in Detroit. This may largely be because of the greater impact of background variables such as race in Detroit. Such data also supports the logical assumption that the presence of divisive background factors including race may make other attitudinal factors recede in importance.

Second, compared to the background variables, attitudinal factors in both samples are of greater importance in determining overall job satisfaction. In Oakland, attitudinal factors are roughly six times more important than background while in Detroit they are only slightly more important.

This indicates that while both hypotheses have been supported (see discussion at "b" supra), associations between job satisfaction and other expressed attitudes appear stronger than with background variables.

Table 40. Standardized Linear Regression Coefficients and Associated Statistics for Indices in Oakland and Detroit

	Oakland	Detroit
Money Index	.08453	.07829
Prestige Index	.26829	.29056
Stress Index	-.01658	.10624
Family Index	.06817	.19414
Supervision Index	.05992	.14560
Self-Fulfillment Index	.30721	.02889
Advancement Index	.28817	.03151
Multiple R	.72872	.48929
R Square	.53103	.23941
Adjusted R Square	.48275	.17750

Third, there were differences between the cities in the importance of the various factors. In Oakland, the two most important variables accounting for the majority of variation were the fulfillment index and the advancement index. Conversely, in Detroit, these were the least important in determining overall job satisfaction. Similarly, in Oakland a strong positive relationship existed between each of the two indices and overall job satisfaction while in Detroit, no such relationship existed. In Oakland, the coefficient values for the two variables were .30721 (fulfillment) and .28817 (advancement) compared to .02889 and .03151 respectively in Detroit.

For Detroit, the Prestige Index had the highest predictive value. In Oakland, the Prestige Index was only the third most important variable. However, in both subsamples, the magnitude of the coefficients are very similar, .29056 in Detroit and .26829 for Oakland.

For the remaining four coefficients, the most salient difference between the two samples are between the Family Index variable and the Supervisory Index variable. In both cases, the coefficients associated with the Detroit sample are larger than for the Oakland sample. However, the magnitude of the variance explained was relatively small.

For the two remaining coefficients, namely the Money Index variable and the Stress Index variable, the coefficient values are relatively identical and small, i.e., under .10.

These findings namely the divergent amount of variation accounted for by the additional variables in each subsample as well as the manner in which the variation is accounted for by the seven attitudinal variables, when coupled with the findings from the previous analysis of the demographic variables present a very strong basis for arguing that the issues of job satisfaction rather than being fixed or rooted in either demographic or attitudinal factors is further influenced by the situation.

In order to be certain that the results and conclusion derived from Tables 39 and 40 were not specious, it was decided that both sets of variables should be examined simultaneously with a multiple regression equation. Doing so would provide a check against interaction effects between the two sets of variables, a condition which under the foregoing individual analysis remained undiscernable. The results of the analysis are contained in Table 41, on the following page.

Of initial interest is the relative similarity between the adjusted R squared value in Table 41 and the sum of these values from Tables 39 and 40. In the Oakland sample the sum of the adjusted

Table 41. Standardized Linear Regression Coefficients and Associated Statistics for Background Characteristics and Indices in Oakland and Detroit

	Oakland	Detroit
Race	-.11432	-.21666
Years Policing	-.15916	-.22209
Sex	-.19461	.07370
Pre-service education	.12300	-.01087
Married, no work	-.02516	.01289
Married, yes works	.07377	-.08839
Single/Divorced	.10846	-.02300
Money Index	.10669	.08011
Prestige Index	.17789	.21204
Stress Index	.03130	.15221
Family Index	.05758	.19066
Supervision Index	.04628	.18044
Self-Fulfillment Index	.35482	-.02333
Advancement Index	.29020	.06739

R squared value of the attitudinal and demographic variables contained in Table 39 and Table 40 is .57195. For the combined simultaneous analysis the value is .55124. While the combined value is .26264. The results of their comparison are suggestive of an absence of significant interaction between the two sets of variables.

Of additional interest is the relative similarity of the standardized coefficients contained in Table 39 and 40 with those in Table 41. As could be expected, the significance arrived with the individual coefficients, except for those arrived with coefficients with initial values proximate to .00 remain unchanged. Comparisons of the coefficient values per se from Tables 39 and 40 with Table 41 reveal no fluxuation greater than .10 with the majority averaging .05 or less. Taken together

the comparison of the results from Tables 39 and 40 with those from Table 41 provide a relatively strong basis for believing that the two sets of variables are functionally independent of one another and that the condition derived from the results of Tables 39 and 40 are in line, at least on this account.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I. Introduction

There are two types of implications to be drawn from the research conducted as part of this dissertation. First, the author believes that the results have utility in making future policy decisions. Second, after conducting and analyzing the results of the research design, it is concluded that future research efforts might be somewhat refocussed to better fulfill the research purposes outlined.

This research may be of some significance in considering the efforts to effect job-related attitudes of police officers. Before such efforts are undertaken, however, several cautionary notes are in order. First, inferences from the data are limited to a large extent by the characteristics of the observed city and police department. Despite this obvious limitation, to a certain extent there may be some generalizability of the results. For example, one of the observations is that tensions within the city appear to be reflected in expressed officer attitudes. In Detroit, tensions resulting from the change of political power from white to black officials have greatly increased previously gradual changes in the attitudes, hierarchy and overall composition of the police department. The impact of vast change may

have contributed to the dramatic racial differences and accounted for the uninterpreted result of blacks having higher levels of job satisfaction.

Second, the police departments studied appear to reflect the changing population of their cities served. Both the samples and their departments had high proportions of minorities, female officers and number of officers with college education. External validity of the reported results is, of course, somewhat limited in that it cannot be totally predicted what affect changes in particular departmental or city characteristics would have upon results reported. For example, a department without the racial tensions prevalent in Detroit would not be as likely to have major programs of affirmative action or if existant, would probably not prove as disruptive. It is, therefore, suggested that the greatest amount of external validity would be with those departments that are being confronted with similar changing environments, e.g., racial tensions, declining opportunities for the advancement of strong unions, departmental antagonisms, etc. Any such comparisons and recommendations may most appropriately be made with similar departments. Before detailed comparisons were undertaken, analysis of differences and similar characteristics would need to be completed.

II. Policy Implications

It appears from the research conducted that officers are satisfied with many aspects of their employment. Dissatisfaction appears concentrated in several areas: opportunities for advancement and departmental

leadership. Programs might be implemented to eliminate both of these problems. One complaint shared by the majority of officers is that there are only limited promotional supports. When a particular officer is blocked from advancement because of no available promotional slots or because of affirmative action restrictions, dissatisfaction increases. This trend is exacerbated by the fact that salary ranges for both departments are extremely narrow. The only apparent method for receiving a large increase in compensation is through strict advancement. Therefore, one method to increase job satisfaction might well be to increase the salary range for police officers. This would enable officers with greater seniority to obtain higher compensation. It would also make prospects for promotion less important, at least in monetary terms.

An alternative or supplement to increased promotional opportunities would be to have increased intra-departmental transfers and/or the use of specialist positions the latter being more common in departments using team policing. Such positions might make the older officer more likely to become increasingly committed to a career in the department rather than progressively more embittered.

Finally, although most officers appear satisfied with self-fulfillment received from the job, it is very possible that even more satisfaction might result through programs of job enrichment. The creation of new job classifications, adoptions of team policing and more autonomy for senior officers would probably have a positive impact upon patrol officer job satisfaction. The costs of such programs and their practicality in a paramilitary command structure have not however been estimated.

One of the key observations received from the study of the two departments is that the policy initiatives and programs promulgated by the police department appears to affect job satisfaction. Specifically, it appears obvious that affirmative action programs favoring minorities and women may tend to raise job satisfaction among these individuals while lowering job satisfaction for white males. This at least is the inference received from the data. In light of this, it appears that such affirmative action programs should when implemented be aware and attempt to cope with departmental strains these programs may engender.

III. Research Implications

A. Background Variables

The first research observation is that the questionnaire administered should be reformulated, both as to respondent backgrounds and in the development of the various attitudinal indices. Background characteristics were somewhat unsatisfactory in that there were several variables which were not precisely defined as possible. As a result, data derived tended to be somewhat less precise than otherwise possible thereby obscuring or falsely reporting relationships. The following changes are suggested. First, where possible, all variables should be put in a continuum instead of on a categorical basis. Included would be age and years in policing. Due to problems with respondents inserting the wrong figure for years in policing, it is suggested that the latter be handled on the basis of having the officer state his first year of policing. Second, the marital status category allowed responses

only of "single", "married" and "divorced". This may have obscured a fourth group, officers that have been divorced and remarried. Third, the race of the respondent should have included a designation for oriental officers and possibly Amerinds. Fourth, education of the officer was not requested as precisely as possible. Future research might more profitably request the data on a continuum with "years of schooling", 1st grade = 1, bachelors degree = 16, etc.

In addition to these problems concerning the clarity of the background responses, it is suggested that future research eliminate several categories. First, religion might be eliminated as there are too many interfering factors, e.g., differential class background. Second, inservice education might be eliminated as a separate category. Merely requesting the officer to state the years in which he received particular degrees would give a coder the ability to determine the extent of inservice education. The area of concentration of the officer would not appear to be a useful category, especially since curricula of many programs vary considerably even though denominated the same. Third, "spousal employment" might be eliminated as it did not appear to be related using either descriptive or analytical techniques to any attitudinal characteristics studies.

The second reservation regarding background characteristics is that the sample, while closely correlating to relevant characteristics of patrol officers in their respective departments, did not constitute a representative sample of patrol officers for many different departments. First, it had more minorities and was more educated than a sample of patrol officers in most other departments. As this study was

of the Detroit and Oakland police departments, representatives of the sample to "average" departments was not considered crucial. In fact, the author has recognized that conclusions reached must, to be accurate, be situationally based. If, however, subsequent researchers decide to commence a cross-departmental study of patrol officer attitudes, relevant background characteristics will need to be controlled, or else the study will have a low external validity. Such researchers would probably need to impose a stratified random sample format or use a similar technique to ensure representation of the sample.

The second concern is the relatively low incidence of age dispersions of the sample derived in the research. It was seen that age and years in policing of officers tended to have a bearing on police attitudes, not only on the job satisfaction index, but also in the other derived indices. As this appears to be an important factor, it becomes necessary to have a sample that has an adequate cross-section of different ages. As noted in Chapter V, 84.7% (144) had less than ten years of experience on the police force. In fact, over half of Detroit's officers (52.1%) had less than five years experience. This prevented a more intensive study of attitudinal differences based on age or years in policing. If a future researcher wants to maintain the capability of studying distinctions based on age or years in policing, it may be necessary to have a stratified random sample to increase the number of older, more experienced officers.

B. Composition of Indices

There are also suggested changes for the composition of attitudinal indices. While these tended to be highly correlated with job

satisfaction as measured by the job satisfaction index, the author has decided that they might profitably be reformulated in future studies. Initially, it appeared that there were certain questions that were either poorly worded or not suited to the distinctive attitudinal characteristics. Specifically, those in the self-fulfillment index may have unduly reflected the attitudes of the author by presupposing that a certain answer revealed discontent. For example, the question was asked, "To what degree do you see your patrol duties as relying on departmental rules and regulations? While suggestive of a possible overuse of rules and regulations, this could have been more clearly stated by changing one word "Primarily" to "Excessively". Another question asked, "If there would be no salary increase, would you want a promotion within the department?" This sought to determine if the officer had a commitment to seeking advancement within the department apart from tangible rewards of advancement. However, it is possible that other tangible benefits apart from salary (fringe benefits, more desirable working conditions, etc.) might substitute for a salary increase causing a respondent to give an affirmative answer even if he would not accept a promotion without perceived increases for tangible rewards. Similar instances of failure to insert a directional value judgment might have led to results that might have been misinterpreted as falsely reporting employee dissatisfaction.

A second problem with the indices is that several of the indices might profitably be reformulated. Most of these were specific, such as adequacy of benefits, occupational prestige, quality of supervision, impact on family relations, and advancement potential. However, two

indices, the Stress Index and the Personal Fulfillment Index were perhaps excessively broad. The Stress Index asked the officer to relate perceived amounts of pressure to meet job demands, danger, variety, and the tension from inhibition of emotions. All these may indeed cause excessive stress. Therefore, these may be examined as a collective unit. However, the responses received show a large amount of internal variance in responses to these questions. Furthermore, while responses indicate substantial numbers of dissatisfied officers with any particular job characteristic, it is not clear that those dissatisfied with the danger of the job are the same as those expressing dissatisfaction with maintaining work demands. It is therefore believed that future research should divide the Stress Index into discreet groupings measuring more narrowly defined job characteristics.

The Personal Fulfillment Index had more problems since a number of general attitudinal characteristics were being measured. One concern was the perceived autonomy of the officer. Second, was a concern for whether the job allowed the officer to improve job skills and use particular abilities. Third, several questions sought to determine if the respondent was committed to the organization apart from monetary benefits. While each of these discreet units are related to an overall concept of "personal fulfillment" in the future, it might be useful to break these down into three separate categories and expand the number of questions for these indices. This would allow future research to pinpoint precisely where there are significant areas of discontent and be certain which particular unit has the strongest correlation with overall job satisfaction.

Finally, certain questions should have been added to develop a more comprehensive portrayal of the respondent's work attitudes. Specifically, certain areas such as perceived occupation danger and departmental advancement opportunities should have been more clearly focussed.

C. Style of Supervision

Results of this research suggest that potential use of the Management Style Diagnostic Test for this type of study is limited. First, it was clear to the author after extensive informal discussions with the commanders in the Detroit precincts that although sergeants theoretically were assigned to particular squads, in fact no permanent squad system was in affect. Instead, squads rotated fairly frequently and switched sergeants. Under the circumstances, correlating styles of supervision of a particular sergeant lost much of its utility. Instead, the entire aggregate of all of the sergeants assigned to a particular squad would have to be used. This would greatly complicate the research as it is probable that management styles would be different among the different supervisors and it would be unusual to obtain compliance from all of the unit's sergeants.

Second, as discussed in Chapter V, sergeants often had more than one management style. Very often, one of these would be "effective" while the other was "ineffective". Considering that management styles appeared fairly uniformly dispersed and there were many sergeants with multiple dominant management styles, a very large patrol officer sample would need to be collected. A researcher seeking to study 200 or less

respondents would probably not be able to derive significant results even if there were any.

Third, using this system would probably lessen the number of patrol respondents. If the supervisor's management style were not sought, then the researchers, with the same effort, could take a far larger sample with the same effort. The author in fact estimates that approximately three quarters of time was spent meeting with sergeants and administering the Management Style Diagnostic Test. Such efforts were not successful since no substantive conclusion was reached due to the failure to collect sufficient data. It is therefore suggested that unless the researcher considers management style to be the primary independent variable, such tests should not be administered. In short, they are more useful for narrowly defined research rather than the broad research project contemplated in this study.

Although the effort to determine objective styles of supervision did not appear to have significant utility, attitudes toward supervision may be a very important variable in determining officer job attitudes. First, although the research did not allow a comprehensive analysis of the impact of management styles upon police officer job satisfaction, it did indicate that there was a statistically significant correlation between the sergeant's task orientation and employee attitudes. This is significant in that it does show that there is some influence of objective styles of management apart from the subjective perceptions of the officer. Considering that the data was very limited due to problems of sergeant deployment in Detroit, finding any type of correlations may suggest that future research could very profitably examine sergeant behavior.

In addition to objective styles of supervision, officer perceptions of their supervisor's behavior did appear to disclose significant facts. First, there was a high correlation between the Supervisory Index and the Overall Job Satisfaction Index. In Oakland, this correlation was .485; in Detroit, .228 and combined sample, .384. This made the Supervisory Index one of the highest correlations with the overall index and may indicate that subjective perceptions of leadership style do indeed play a part in determining employee work-related attitudes.

Third, research results show that sergeants were perceived as being somewhat better administrators than higher departmental figures. As noted in Chapter V, supra, no objective comparison with actual levels of sergeant's supervisory style could be made. Therefore, there is no method for determining whether the officer's aggregate perceptions of sergeant's supervision was the result of materially better supervision or merely the fact that increased interaction bred greater trust of their immediate supervisor. Whatever the reason, Muir's findings of police officer's support for the high ranking supervisor may be given some support in that police officers tended to rate these supervisors lower than their immediate supervisor. Again, it cannot be determined if this was due to objective incompetence or less social contact.

D. Site Selection

The author realized that in Detroit job satisfaction attitudes were determined largely by specific personnel problems. The Detroit sample appeared to be racially polarized and informal conversations with commanders convinced the author that affirmative action policies might

be significantly affecting morale and scores on the Job Satisfaction Index. From this it may be seen that the initial choice of cities selected greatly affected the results received. The choice seemingly presented to the researcher is whether to focus on a department with a well-defined problem that might be predicted to affect employee job satisfaction or whether research purposes would be better served by an in-depth analysis of departments free of such crises. It would not, of course, be enough merely to ascertain initially that the department did not have major morale problems arising out of affirmative action or other racial tensions. Similar divisive issues might well be presented by particularly hostile union-departmental relations, large budgetary cutbacks, politicization of the performance of the police department or a combination of the above. The researcher should therefore initially study the proposed departments in-depth to find if such problems are likely to occur. If they are, useful research might well be generated by a segment of the questionnaire being devoted to questions measuring the impact of that particular factor.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION

APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION

The sample selection of officers within the Oakland and Detroit Police Department was undertaken by somewhat different procedures in order to compensate for different characteristics of the departments. In Detroit, the process began by obtaining approval from the police chief, William Hart. At Chief Hart's request, Deputy Police Chief James Bannon sent a letter to precinct commanders stating that the research had formal departmental approval and requesting voluntary co-operation. The researcher then made a random selection of four out of fifteen precincts, since otherwise, there would be far too many officers under consideration. All precincts that were contacted offered to cooperate with the research project. Since one of the primary research objectives was to determine the degree of linkage between sergeants and job satisfaction of subordinates, it was perceived by the researcher that it was important to first identify volunteer sergeants and then give questionnaires to their officers. To obtain volunteer sergeants the researcher first talked to each of the four precinct commanders and in every case, obtained his approval of the research. This usually resulted in the second letter or oral communication to the sergeants in the precinct informing them of the project and of the departmental approval of the research. The author then made contact with all of the

sergeants and attempted to obtain their approval to have an interview, take the Management Style Diagnostic Test and interview their officers. Because of the desire to limit the number of questionnaires that had to be distributed to the officers being studied, the author concentrated primarily on one shift in each precinct. Shifts rotate every twelve weeks and thus this did not present a special sampling problem. There were usually five to six sergeants in each precinct on a particular shift for an approximate total of twenty to twenty-five potential sergeants. Fifteen of the sergeants ultimately took the Management Style Diagnostic Test, four offered to, but a suitable time for test taking and contacting their man could not be arranged. One of the sergeants, while not directly refusing to take the test, did little to encourage it and repeatedly objected to available times. The sample of volunteer sergeants resulted in a relatively high percentage of those potential respondents actually entering into the study.

The second part of the research effort involved finding patrol officers willing to cooperate. The fifteen sergeants who were administered the Management Style Diagnostic Tests in turn gave talks to their patrol officers emphasizing the desirability of participating in the research. Questionnaires were then distributed to all of the officers under their command. Because there was some concern of the author that potential respondents might be fearful of retaliation by supervisors, sealed envelopes were provided to all potential respondents at the time of distribution of the questionnaire. In addition to the questionnaire and envelope, a letter requesting their cooperation was sent to all

potential participants in the form of the facing page. In Oakland, virtually all present officers responded. In Detroit, response rates exceeded 50% with all sergeants. Therefore, two sergeants who were originally interviewed were eliminated when they later advised the researcher that they could not achieve the cooperation of 50% of the officers.

Field observations were then conducted for several days where the author attempted to obtain more in-depth appraisal of the informal workings of the particular department. As explain in Chapter IV, field observations were not a primary data source, but rather were utilized for obtaining a better understanding of the departments. There was greater difficulty obtaining data in Detroit than Oakland. This may be due to several reasons. First, the Oakland Police Department has made a policy to accommodate all researchers with an L.E.A.A. affiliation or who have received any L.E.A.A. assistance. This attitude has been communicated through the ranks and acceptance of researchers is relatively automatic. Second, as noted earlier, the Oakland Police Department has no unions. The Detroit Police Department has unions both of the uniformed officers and of police sergeants and lieutenants. When initially contacted in Detroit, union officials were relatively unresponsive toward this project. As such, command officials were legitimately more wary of unnecessarily exposing officers to outside research. While command officials of the Detroit Police Department expressed backing for the project, their official letters had to emphasize the voluntary nature of participation. Given the tensions within the

department, it is not surprising that a lower response rate will result from a voluntary approach.

Collection of data in Oakland required somewhat different steps. Departmental approval was received through initial calls to the police department with the assistance of several command officers from the San Diego Police Department (where the author had conducted a pretest). The author had extensive conversations with the Deputy Chief and the Lieutenant in charge of planning and research. As a result, departmental approval was received. The latter officer suggested the following format for obtaining a sample. Of the twenty-five patrol sergeants in the Oakland Police Department, the decision was made to interview only those officers that worked during two shifts (day and afternoon) during a two-day period. Of the twenty-five sergeants, eleven fit this description. Ten of the sergeants agreed to the research, took the Management Style Diagnostic Test, and requested their officers to participate. As noted earlier, Oakland is set on the basis of having one sergeant in charge of eight to twelve officers. Within the Oakland sample, all present officers responded. In addition to the success of obtaining responses, the author spent three days riding in various patrol vehicles to obtain a better understanding of the department and the city and to have a better appraisal of the informal operation of the department.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please check or circle whichever description is appropriate.

BACKGROUND

1. Age: 19 or under ____ 20-24 ____ 25-29 ____ 30-34 ____ 35-39 ____
40-44 ____ 45-50 ____ over 50 ____
2. Race: Black ____ Caucasian ____ Hispanic ____ Other ____
3. Marital Status: Single ____ Currently Married ____ Other ____
4. Religion: Catholic ____ Protestant ____ Jewish ____ Other ____
5. Years in Policing: 0-4 ____ 5-9 ____ 10-14 ____ 15-19 ____
20 or over ____
6. Does your spouse work? No ____ Part-time ____ Full-time ____
7. Would you please state your preservice education (circle last year completed)
High School: 1 2 3 4
College: 1 2 3 4 5 or more
Major: Sciences or Technical Subjects ____
Social Sciences or Humanities ____
8. Have you attended any schools or colleges since you started police work?
Yes ____ No ____ If, yes, what area? _____
If a degree was received while working in the department, please check:
Associates ____ Bachelors ____ Masters or above ____
9. Sex: Male ____ Female ____

SUBSTANTIVE AREAS

1. How satisfied are you with your present salary and benefits?

1 2 3 4 5
 Totally inadequate About right

2. As compared with other civil service employees, how would you rate your total compensation?

1 ___ What you deserve
 2 ___ Should get 10% more
 3 ___ Should get 20% more
 4 ___ Should get 30% more
 5 ___ Should get 40% more

3. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which provides a high level of compensation?

1 ___ It is the most important aspect of any job
 2 ___ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
 3 ___ It is not too important
 4 ___ Other things are much more important

4. Do other people recognize the value to society of police services?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very few do Most people do

5. How satisfied are you with the police department's prestige within city government?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very satisfied Very dissatisfied

6. How satisfied are you with your status as a police officer in the community?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

7. How important do you consider it to be to have a job that people outside your police department appreciate?

1 ___ It is the most important aspect of any job
 2 ___ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
 3 ___ It is not too important
 4 ___ Other things are much more important

8. How much recognition does your department give you for a job well done?

1 2 3 4 5
None Great deal

9. How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your sergeant?

1 2 3 4 5
Very satisfied Very dissatisfied

10. How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your lieutenant?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

11. How satisfied are you with the quality of leadership in the department as a whole?

1 2 3 4 5
Very satisfied Very dissatisfied

12. To what extent are you allowed to participate in supervisory decisions that affect your job?

1 2 3 4 5
None Great deal

13. How closely do you feel you are observed in your work by your supervisors?

1 2 3 4 5
Totally inadequate More than needed

14. How important do you consider it to be to have a job under a good supervisor?

1 ☐ It is the most important aspect of any job
2 ☐ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
3 ☐ It is not too important
4 ☐ Other things are much more important

15. Do you feel policing is more or less dangerous than other positions in the public safety field (firefighters, corrections, probation and parole officers, etc.)?

1 2 3 4 5
Much more dangerous Much safer

16. Overall, how much variety do you consider your job as a police officer provides?

1 2 3 4 5
Far too little Far too much

17. Does your work as a police officer prevent you from expressing your true feelings and emotions?

1 2 3 4 5
Very rarely Very often

18. Rate the amount of stress or pressure you feel to meet the work demanded of your job.

1 2 3 4 5
Very little Very excessive

19. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which does not have excessive stress?

1 ☐ It is the most important aspect of any job
2 ☐ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
3 ☐ It is not too important
4 ☐ Other things are much more important

20. Would you say your relations with your family are:

1 2 3 4 5
Very satisfactory Very unsatisfactory

21. On balance, how do you think your job as a police officer has affected your family life?

1 2 3 4 5
Hurt greatly Helped greatly

22. How much does your spouse or other close relative(s) worry about your safety while you are on the job?

1 2 3 4 5
Never Always

23. Would you say that, in practice, your work comes before your family?

1 2 3 4 5
Never Always

24. To what extent do you believe that being a policeman causes you to not devote enough time to your family?

1 2 3 4 5
Never Always

25. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which allows you to spend considerable time with your family?

1 ___ It is the most important aspect of any job
 2 ___ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
 3 ___ It is not too important
 4 ___ Other things are much more important

26. If there would be no salary increase, would you want a promotion within the department?

1 2 3 4 5
 Certainly not Definitely

27. In your daily work, how free are you to make decisions and act on them?

1 2 3 4 5
 Not at all Very free

28. Overall, how much variety do you consider your job as a police officer provides?

1 2 3 4 5
 Far too little Far too much

29. Do you receive a feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing?

1 2 3 4 5
 Definitely Definitely not

30. To what degree do you see your patrol duties as primarily relying on departmental rules and regulations

1 2 3 4 5
 Very little Very much

31. To what degree do you see your patrol duties as relying on your own discretion and judgment?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very little Very much

32. How satisfied are you with your possibilities of being transferred within the department?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

33. How satisfied are you with the opportunities within the department to improve your job skills?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very satisfied Very dissatisfied

34. Does your work make use of your particular capabilities?

1 2 3 4 5
 Definitely not Definitely

35. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which gives you a feeling of self-fulfillment?

1 ☐ It is the most important aspect of any job
 2 ☐ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
 3 ☐ It is not too important
 4 ☐ Other things are much more important

36. Are people who get promoted in your department likely to be selected from among those who do the best work?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very unlikely Very likely

37. How satisfied are you with the sort of work you are doing?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

38. Would you advise a friend to join this department?

1 2 3 4 5
 Definitely not Definitely

39. How often have you considered leaving police work?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very infrequently Very often

40. As compared with your feelings when you first started out in the department, what is your present feeling about your job? (Check one in each column.)

At First	Today
1 <input type="checkbox"/> Very enthusiastic	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Much more enthusiastic
2 <input type="checkbox"/> Quite enthusiastic	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat more enthusiastic
3 <input type="checkbox"/> Fairly enthusiastic	3 <input type="checkbox"/> About the same
4 <input type="checkbox"/> Not particularly enthusiastic	4 <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat less enthusiastic
5 <input type="checkbox"/> Not at all enthusiastic	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Much less enthusiastic

41. What helped you most in learning and adjusting to your work when you started out? (Place the number "1" next to the most important; number "2" next to the second most important.)

☐ The regular police officers with whom I work
☐ Departmental rules and guidelines
☐ Your sergeant
☐ Your family
☐ The training academy
☐ My previous background and education
☐ Other _____ (please specify)

42. What has hindered you most in learning and adjusting to your work when you started out? (Place the number "1" next to the most important; number "2" next to the second most important.)

☐ The regular police officers with whom I work
☐ Departmental rules and guidelines
☐ Your sergeant
☐ Your family
☐ The training academy
☐ Your previous background and education
☐ Other _____ (please specify)

43. Are you satisfied with the department as it now stands?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very satisfied Very dissatisfied

44. If benefits were approximately the same, would you prefer to stay in the department or would you rather join another department of similar size?

1 2 3 4 5
 Prefer to leave Prefer to stay

45. Of the following items concerning job characteristics, please rank them in order of importance to you:

☐ Adequacy of benefits
☐ Community prestige
☐ Quality of supervision
☐ Stress of job
☐ Effect on family
☐ Personal fulfillment
☐ Ability for advancement

46. How does your sergeant react when you respond to a domestic disturbance call?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds, but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

47. How does your sergeant react when you supervise traffic and/or respond to an accident?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

48. How does your sergeant monitor your preventive or routine patrol?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

49. How does your sergeant react when you respond to crimes in progress?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND EFFORT. PLEASE PLACE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND RETURN IT TO THE SERGEANT DISTRIBUTING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Arranged by Substantive Area)

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Arranged by Substantive Area)

Please check or circle whichever description is appropriate.

BACKGROUND

1. Age: 19 or under ____ 20-24 ____ 25-29 ____ 30-34 ____ 35-39 ____
40-44 ____ 45-50 ____ Over 50 ____
2. Race: Black ____ Caucasian ____ Hispanic ____ Other ____
3. Marital Status: Single ____ Currently Married ____ Divorced ____
4. Religion: Catholic ____ Protestant ____ Jewish ____ Other ____
5. Years in Policing: 0-4 ____ 5-9 ____ 10-14 ____ 15-19 ____
20 or over ____
6. Does your spouse work? No ____ Part-time ____ Full-time ____
7. Would you please state your preservice education (last year completed)?
High School: 1 2 3 4
College: 1 2 3 4 5 or more
Major: Science or Technical Subjects _____
Social Sciences or Humanities _____
8. Have you attended any schools or colleges since you started police work?
Yes ____ No ____ If yes, what area? _____
Is a degree was received, please state _____
9. Sex: Male ____ Female ____

SUBSTANTIVE AREAS

1. Adequacy of benefits

a. How satisfied are you with your present salary and benefits?

1 2 3 4 5
Totally inadequate About right

b. As compared with other civil service employees, how would you rate your total compensation?

1 ___ What you deserve
2 ___ Should get 10% more
3 ___ Should get 20% more
4 ___ Should get 30% more
5 ___ Should get 40% more

c. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which provides a high level of compensation?

1 ___ It is the most important aspect of any job
2 ___ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
3 ___ It is not too important
3 ___ Other things are much more important

2. Social Value and Prestige

a. Do other people recognize the value of society of police services?

1 2 3 4 5
Very few do Most people do

b. How satisfied are you with the police department's prestige within city government?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

c. How satisfied are you with your status as a police officer in the community?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

d. How important do you consider it to be to have a job that people outside your organization appreciate?

1 ___ It is the most important aspect of any job
2 ___ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
3 ___ It is not too important
4 ___ Other things are much more important

3. Quality of Supervision

- a. How much recognition does your department give you for a job well done?

1 2 3 4 5
None Great deal

- b. How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your immediate supervisor?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

- c. How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your lieutenant?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

- d. How satisfied are you with the quality of leadership in the department as a whole?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

- e. To what extent are you allowed to participate in supervisory decisions that affect your job?

1 2 3 4 5
None Great deal

- f. How closely do you feel you are observed in your work by your supervisors?

1 2 3 4 5
Totally inadequate More than needed

- g. How important do you consider it to be to have a job under a good supervisor?

1 ☐ It is the most important aspect of any job
2 ☐ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
3 ☐ It is not too important
4 ☐ Other things are much more important

4. Job Stress

- a. Rate the amount of pressure you feel in meeting the work demanded of your job.

1 2 3 4 5
 Very little Very excessive

- b. Do you feel policing is more or less dangerous than other positions in the public safety field (firefighters, corrections officers, probation and parole officers, etc.)

1 2 3 4 5
 Much more dangerous Much safer

- c. Overall, how much variety do you consider your job as a police officer provides?

1 2 3 4 5
 Far too little Far too much

- d. Does your work prevent you from expressing your true feelings and emotions?

1 2 3 4 5
 Very rarely Very often

- e. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which does not have excessive stress?

1 ____ It is the most important aspect of any job
 2 ____ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
 3 ____ It is not too important
 4 ____ Other things are much more important

5. Family Relations

- a. Would you say your relations with your family are:

1 2 3 4 5
 Very unsatisfactory Very satisfactory

- b. On balance, how do you think your job as a police officer has affected your family life?

1 2 3 4 5
 Hurt greatly Helped greatly

- c. How much does your spouse or other close relative(s) worry about your safety while you are on the job?

1 2 3 4 5
Never Always

- d. Would you say that, in practice, your work comes before your family?

1 2 3 4 5
Never Always

- e. To what extent does your job cause you to neglect your family?

1 2 3 4 5
Never Always

- f. How important do you consider it to be to have a job which allows you to spend considerable time with your family?

1 ☐ It is the most important aspect of any job
2 ☐ It is a fairly important aspect of a job
3 ☐ It is not too important
4 ☐ Other things are much more important

6. Personal Fulfillment

- a. In your daily work, how free are you to make decisions and act on them?

1 2 3 4 5
Not at all Very free

- b. Do you receive a feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing?

1 2 3 4 5
Definitely not Definitely

- c. To what degree do you see your patrol duties as relying on your own discretion and judgment?

1 2 3 4 5
Very little Very much

- d. How satisfied are you with the opportunities within the department to improve your job skills?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

e. Does your work make use of your particular capabilities?

1 2 3 4 5
Definitely not Definitely

7. Ability for Advancement

a. How satisfied are you with your possibilities of being transferred within the department?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

b. Are people who get promoted in your organization likely to be selected from among those who do the best work?

1 2 3 4 5
Very unlikely Very likely

8. Overall Attitudes Toward Job

a. How satisfied are you with the sort of work you are doing?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

b. Would you advise a friend to join this department?

1 2 3 4 5
Definitely not Very often

c. How often have you considered leaving police work?

1 2 3 4 5
Very infrequently Very often

d. Are you satisfied with the department as it now stands?

1 2 3 4 5
Very dissatisfied Very satisfied

e. If benefits were approximately the same, would you prefer to stay in this department or would you rather join another department of similar size?

1 2 3 4 5
Prefer to leave Prefer to stay

9. Style of Supervisor

a. How does your supervisor back you up in domestic disturbance calls?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds, but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

b. How does your supervisor back you up on traffic supervision and accident investigation?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

c. How does your supervisor monitor your preventive patrol?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

d. How does your supervisor back you up for crimes in progress?

- 1 ☐ Communicates departmental policy
- 2 ☐ Suggests a method for response
- 3 ☐ Orders a method for response
- 4 ☐ Ignores such calls
- 5 ☐ Responds but offers no assistance
- 6 ☐ Responds by telling you to use your own judgment
- 7 ☐ He suggests a response without being limited to departmental policies

Additional Questions to Be Asked Only of Pretest Respondents.

1. Were there any questions that you did not understand?

If so, what numbers? _____

2. In light of the purpose of the study, did you find any questions offensive?

If so, what numbers? _____

3. Are there any questions that were not asked that you think would be helpful in analyzing satisfaction of police officers?

If so, please write these below.

APPENDIX D

MANAGEMENT STYLE DIAGNOSIS TEST

APPENDIX D

MANAGEMENT STYLE DIAGNOSIS TEST

QUESTIONNAIRE

- ① A He overlooks violations of rules if he is sure that no one else knows of the violations.
B When he announces an unpopular decision, he may explain to his subordinates that his own boss has made the decision.
- ② A If an employee's work is continually unsatisfactory, he would wait for an opportunity to have him transferred rather than dismiss him.
B If one of his subordinates is not a part of the group, he will go out of his way to have the others befriend him.
- ③ A When the boss gives an unpopular order, he thinks it is fair that it should carry the boss's name, and not his own.
B He usually reaches his decisions independently, and then informs his subordinates of them.
- ④ A If he is reprimanded by his superiors, he calls his subordinates together and passes it on to them.
B He always gives the most difficult jobs to his most experienced workers.
- ⑤ A He allows discussions to get off the point quite frequently.
B He encourages subordinates to make suggestions, but does not often initiate action from them.
- ⑥ A He sometimes thinks that his own feelings and attitudes are as important as the job.
B He allows his subordinates to participate in decision making, and always abides by the decision of the majority.
- ⑦ A When the quality or quantity of departmental work is not satisfactory, he explains to his subordinates that his own boss is not satisfied, and that they must improve their work.
B He reaches his decisions independently, and then tries to "sell" them to his subordinates.

- ⑧ A When he announces an unpopular decision, he may explain to his subordinates that his own boss has made the decision.
 B He may allow his subordinates to participate in decision making, but he reserves the right to make the final decision.
- ⑨ A He may give difficult jobs to inexperienced subordinates, but if they get into trouble he will relieve them of the responsibility.
 B When the quality or quantity of departmental work is not satisfactory, he explains to his subordinates that his own boss is not satisfied, and that they must improve their work.
- ⑩ A He feels it is as important for his subordinates to like him as it is for them to work hard.
 B He lets other people handle jobs by themselves, even though they may make many mistakes.
- ⑪ A He shows an interest in his subordinates' personal lives because he feels they expect it of him.
 B He feels it is not always necessary for subordinates to understand why they do something, as long as they do it.
- ⑫ A He believes that disciplining subordinates will not improve the quality or quantity of their work in the long run.
 B When confronted with a difficult problem, he attempts to reach a solution which will be at least partly acceptable to all concerned.
- ⑬ A He thinks that some of his subordinates are unhappy, and tries to do something about it.
 B He looks after his own work, and feels it is up to higher management to develop new ideas.
- ⑭ A He is in favour of increased fringe benefits for management and labor.
 B He shows concern for increasing his subordinates' knowledge of the job and the company, even though it is not necessary in their present position.
- ⑮ A He lets other people handle jobs by themselves, even though they make many mistakes.
 B He makes decisions independently, but may consider reasonable suggestions from his subordinates to improve them if he asks for them.

- 16 A If one of his subordinates is not a part of the group, he will go out of his way to have the others befriend him.
B When an employee is unable to complete a task, he helps him to arrive at a solution.
- 17 A He believes that one of the uses of discipline is to set an example for other workers.
B He sometimes thinks that his own feelings and attitudes are as important as the job.
- 18 A He disapproves of unnecessary talking among his subordinates while they are working.
B He is in favour of increased fringe benefits for management and labor.
- 19 A He is always aware of lateness and absenteeism.
B He believes that unions may try to undermine the authority of management.
- 20 A He sometimes opposes union grievances as a matter of principle.
B He feels that grievances are inevitable and tries to smooth them over as best he can.
- 21 A It is important to him to get credit for his own good ideas.
B He voices his own opinions in public only if he feels that others will agree with him.
- 22 A He believes that unions may try to undermine the authority of management.
B He believes that frequent conferences with individuals are helpful in their development.
- 23 A He feels it is not always necessary for subordinates to understand why they do something, as long as they do it.
B He feels that time-clocks reduce tardiness.
- 24 A He usually reaches his decision independently, and then informs his subordinates of them.
B He feels that unions and management are working towards similar goals.
- 25 A He favors the use of individual incentive payment schemes.
B He allows discussions to get off the point quite frequently.

- 26** A He takes pride in the fact that he would not usually ask someone to do a job he would not do himself.
B He thinks that some of his subordinates are unhappy, and tries to do something about it.
- 27** A If a job is urgent, he might go ahead and tell someone to do it, even though additional safety equipment is needed.
B It is important to him to get credit for his own good ideas.
- 28** A His goal is to get the work done without antagonizing anyone more than he has to.
B He may assign jobs without much regard for experience or ability but insists on getting results.
- 29** A He may assign jobs without much regard for experience or ability but insists on getting results.
B He listens patiently to complaints and grievances, but often does little to rectify them.
- 30** A He feels that grievances are inevitable and tries to smooth them over as best he can.
B He is confident that his subordinates will do satisfactory work without any pressure from him.
- 31** A When confronted with a difficult problem, he attempts to reach a solution which will be at least partly acceptable to all concerned.
B He believes that training through on the job experience is more useful than theoretical education.
- 32** A He always gives the most difficult jobs to his most experienced workers.
B He believes in promotion only in accordance with ability.
- 33** A He feels that problems among his workers will usually solve themselves without interference from him.
B If he is reprimanded by his superiors, he calls his subordinates together and passes it on to them.
- 34** A He is not concerned with what his employees do outside of working hours.
B He believes that disciplining subordinates will not improve the quality or quantity of their work in the long run.

- 35 A He passes no more information to higher management than they ask for.
B He sometimes opposes union grievances as a matter of principle.
- 36 A He sometimes hesitates to make a decision which will be unpopular with his subordinates.
B His goal is to get the work done without antagonizing anyone more than he has to.
- 37 A He listens patiently to complaints and grievances, but often does little to rectify them.
B He sometimes hesitates to make a decision which he feels will be unpopular with his subordinates.
- 38 A He voices his own opinions in public only if he feels that others will agree with him.
B Most of his subordinates could carry on their jobs without him if necessary.
- 39 A He looks after his own work, and feels it is up to higher management to develop new ideas.
B When he gives orders, he sets a time limit for them to be carried out.
- 40 A He encourages subordinates to make suggestions, but does not often initiate action from them.
B He tries to put his workers at ease when talking to them.
- 41 A In discussion he presents the facts as he sees them, and leaves others to draw their own conclusions.
B When the boss gives an unpopular order, he thinks it is fair that it should carry the boss's name, and not his own.
- 42 A When unwanted work has to be done, he asks for volunteers before assigning it.
B He shows an interest in his subordinates' personal lives because he feels they expect it of him.
- 43 A He is as much interested in keeping his employees happy as in getting them to do their work.
B He is always aware of lateness and absenteeism.
- 44 A Most of his subordinates could carry on their jobs without him if necessary.
B If a job is urgent, he might go ahead and tell someone to do it, even though additional safety equipment is needed.

- 45 A He is confident that his subordinates will do satisfactory work without any pressure from him.
B He passes no more information to higher management than they ask for.
- 46 A He believes that frequent conferences with individuals are helpful in their development.
B He is as much interested in keeping his employees happy as in getting them to do their work.
- 47 A He shows concern for increasing his subordinates' knowledge of the job and the company, even though it is not necessary in their present position.
B He keeps a very close watch on workers who get behind or do unsatisfactory work.
- 48 A He allows his subordinates to participate in decision making, and always abides by the decision of the majority.
B He makes his subordinates work hard, but tries to make sure that they usually get a fair deal from higher management.
- 49 A He feels that all workers on the same job should receive the same pay.
B If any employee's work is continually unsatisfactory, he would wait for an opportunity to have him transferred rather than dismiss him.
- 50 A He feels that the goals of union and management are in opposition but tries not to make his view obvious.
B He feels it is as important for his subordinates to like him as it is for them to work hard.
- 51 A He keeps a very close watch on workers who get behind or do unsatisfactory work.
B He disapproves of unnecessary talking among his subordinates while they are working.
- 52 A When he gives orders, he sets a time limit for them to be carried out.
B He takes pride in the fact that he would not usually ask someone to do a job he would not do himself.
- 53 A He believes that training through on the job experience is more useful than theoretical education.
B He is not concerned with what his employees do outside of working hours.
- 54 A He feels that time-clocks reduce tardiness.
B He allows his subordinates to participate in decision making, and always abides by the decision of the majority.

- 55** A He makes decisions independently, but may consider reasonable suggestions from his subordinates to improve them if he asks for them.
B He feels that the goals of union and management are in opposition but tries not to make his view obvious.
- 56** A He reaches his decisions independently, and then tries to "sell" them to his subordinates.
B When possible he forms work teams out of people who are already good friends.
- 57** A He would not hesitate to hire a handicapped worker if he felt he could learn the job.
B He overlooks violations of rules if he is sure that no one else knows of the violations.
- 58** A When possible he forms work teams out of people who are already good friends.
B He may give difficult jobs to inexperienced subordinates, but if they get in trouble he will relieve them of the responsibility.
- 59** A He makes his subordinates work hard, but tries to make sure that they usually get a fair deal from higher management.
B He believes that one of the uses of discipline is to set an example for other workers.
- 60** A He tries to put his workers at ease when talking to them.
B He favors the use of individual incentive payment schemes.
- 61** A He believes in promotion only in accordance with ability.
B He feels that problems among his workers will usually solve themselves without interference from him.
- 62** A He feels that unions and management are working towards similar goals.
B In discussion he presents the facts as he sees them and leaves others to draw their own conclusions.
- 63** A When an employee is unable to complete a task, he helps him to arrive at a solution.
B He feels that all workers on the same job should receive the same pay.
- 64** A He may allow his subordinates to participate in decision making, but he reserves the right to make the final decision.
B He would not hesitate to hire a handicapped worker if he felt he could learn the job.

APPENDIX E

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

APPENDIX E

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Table 42. "How satisfied are you with your status as a police officer in the community?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	9	9.6	9	11.8	18	10.6
	17	18.1	16	21.1	33	19.4
	35	37.2	17	22.4	52	30.6
	20	21.3	20	26.3	40	23.5
Very satisfied	13	13.8	14	18.4	27	15.9
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 43. "How satisfied are you with the police department's prestige within city government?"

	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	23	24.5	22	28.9	45	26.5
	26	27.7	18	23.7	44	25.9
	29	30.9	18	23.7	47	27.6
	10	10.6	14	18.4	24	14.1
Very satisfied	6	6.4	4	5.3	10	5.9
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 44. "How closely do you feel you are observed in your work by your supervisors?"

Amount of supervision	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Totally inadequate	6	6.4	4	5.3	10	5.9
	12	12.8	11	14.5	23	13.5
About right	47	50.0	40	52.6	87	51.2
	19	20.2	12	15.8	31	18.2
More than needed	10	10.6	9	11.8	19	11.2
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 45. "How much recognition does your department give you for a job well done?"

Degree of recognition	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	23	24.5	20	26.3	43	25.3
	34	36.2	33	43.4	67	39.4
	27	28.7	16	21.1	43	25.3
	8	8.5	5	6.6	13	7.6
Great deal	2	2.1	2	2.6	4	2.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 46. "To what extent are you allowed to participate in supervisory decisions that affect your job?"

Extent of participation	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	27	28.7	21	27.6	48	28.2
	28	29.8	17	22.4	45	26.5
	26	27.7	18	23.7	44	25.9
	7	7.4	17	22.4	24	14.1
Great deal	6	6.4	3	3.9	9	5.3
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 47. "How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your immediate supervisor?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	8	8.5	8	10.5	16	9.4
	17	18.1	10	13.2	27	15.9
	28	29.8	19	25.0	47	27.6
	28	29.8	25	32.9	53	31.2
Very satisfied	13	13.8	14	18.4	27	15.9
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 48. "How satisfied are you with the type of leadership you receive from your lieutenant?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	14	14.9	9	11.8	23	13.5
	19	20.2	21	27.6	40	23.5
	23	24.5	24	31.6	47	27.6
	17	18.1	15	19.7	32	18.8
Very satisfied	21	22.3	7	9.2	28	16.5
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 49. "How satisfied are you with the quality of leadership in the department as a whole?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	24	25.5	15	19.7	19	22.9
	26	27.7	28	36.8	54	31.8
	25	26.6	16	21.1	41	24.1
	13	13.8	15	19.7	28	16.5
Very satisfied	6	6.4	2	2.6	8	4.7
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 50. "How satisfied are you with your present salary and benefits?"

Level of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Totally inadequate	7	7.4	9	11.8	16	9.4
	12	12.8	12	15.8	24	14.1
	38	40.4	22	28.9	60	35.3
	23	24.5	26	34.2	49	28.8
About right	14	14.9	7	9.2	21	12.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 51. "As compared with other civil service employees, how would you rate your total compensation?"

Satisfaction with pay	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Should get 40% more	18	19.1	16	21.1	34	20.0
Should get 30% more	24	25.5	9	11.8	33	19.4
Should get 20% more	33	35.1	23	30.3	56	32.9
Should get 10% more	13	13.8	19	25.0	32	18.8
What you deserve	6	6.4	9	11.8	15	8.8
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 52. "Rate the amount of pressure you feel in meeting the work demanded of your job."

Amount of pressure	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very excessive	24	25.5	13	17.1	37	21.8
	24	25.5	26	34.2	50	29.4
	30	31.9	23	30.3	53	31.2
	12	12.8	8	10.5	20	11.8
Very little	4	4.3	8	7.9	10	5.9
	94	100.0	78	100.0	170	100.0

Table 53. "Overall, how much variety do you consider your job as a police officer provide?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	11	11.7	7	9.2	18	10.6
Somewhat dissatisfied	29	30.9	29	38.2	58	34.1
About right	54	57.4	40	52.6	94	55.3
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 54. "Does your work prevent you from expressing your true feelings and emotions?"

Times prevented	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very often	27	28.7	23	30.3	50	29.4
	21	22.2	21	27.6	42	24.7
	20	21.3	16	21.1	36	21.2
	15	16.0	11	14.5	26	15.3
Very rarely	11	11.7	5	6.6	16	9.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 55. "Do you feel policing is more or less dangerous than other positions in the public safety field (firefighters, correction officers, probation and parole officers, etc.)?"

Relative amount of danger	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
More dangerous	36	38.3	32	42.1	68	40.0
	29	30.9	31	40.8	60	35.3
	19	20.2	10	13.2	29	17.1
	7	7.4	2	2.6	9	5.3
Much safer	3	3.2	1	1.3	4	2.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 56. "Would you say your relations with your family are":

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfactory	12	12.8	4	5.3	16	9.4
	13	13.8	7	9.2	20	11.8
	13	13.8	16	21.1	29	17.1
	17	18.1	16	21.1	33	19.4
Very satisfactory	39	41.5	33	43.4	72	42.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 57. "On balance, how do you think your job as a police officer has affected your family life?"

Affect on family life	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hurt greatly	12	12.8	9	11.8	21	12.4
	17	18.1	20	26.3	37	21.8
	42	44.7	32	42.1	74	43.5
	17	18.1	12	15.8	29	17.1
Helped greatly	6	6.4	3	3.9	9	5.3
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 58. "How much does your spouse or other close relative(s) worry about your safety while you are on the job?"

Expressed worry	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Always	21	22.3	19	25.0	40	23.5
	20	21.3	24	31.6	44	25.9
	29	30.9	21	27.6	50	29.4
	19	20.2	10	13.2	29	17.1
Never	5	5.3	2	2.6	7	4.1
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 59. "To what extent does your job cause you to neglect your family?"

Extent of neglect	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Always	7	7.4	8	10.5	15	8.8
	24	25.5	28	36.8	52	30.6
	34	36.2	24	31.6	58	34.1
	17	18.1	13	17.1	30	17.6
Never	2	12.8	3	3.9	15	8.8
	84	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 60. "Are people who get promoted in your department likely to be selected from among those who do the best work?"

Likelihood	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very unlikely	59	62.8	26	34.2	85	50.0
	15	16.0	23	30.3	38	22.4
	14	14.9	15	19.7	29	17.1
	5	5.3	8	10.5	13	7.6
Very likely	1	1.1	4	5.3	5	2.9
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 61. "If it is unlikely that people promoted do the best work, why not?"

Stated factors	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Affirmative action	41	43.6	14	18.4	55	32.4
Politics	1	1.1	1	1.3	2	1.2
Favortism	12	12.8	9	11.8	21	12.4
Unfair rating	10	10.6	7	9.2	17	10.0
Other	30	31.9	45	59.2	75	44.1
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 62. "How satisfied are you with your possibilities of being transferred within the department?"

Level of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	18	19.1	22	28.9	40	23.5
	19	20.2	13	17.1	32	18.8
	31	33.0	26	34.2	57	33.5
	17	18.1	10	13.2	27	15.9
Very satisfied	9	9.6	5	6.6	14	8.2
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 63. "If there would be no salary increase, would you want a promotion within the department?"

Attitude	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Definitely not	21	22.3	13	17.1	34	20.0
	4	4.3	4	5.3	8	4.7
	15	16.0	9	11.8	24	14.1
	18	19.1	14	18.4	32	18.8
Definitely	36	38.3	36	47.4	72	42.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 64. "Do you receive a feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing?"

Feeling of accomplishment	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Definitely not	7	7.4	5	6.6	12	7.1
	13	13.8	12	15.8	25	14.7
	29	30.9	21	27.6	50	29.4
	23	24.5	20	26.3	43	25.3
Definitely	22	23.4	18	23.7	40	23.5
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 65. "Does your work make use of your particular capabilities?"

Level of use	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Definitely not	16	17.0	10	13.2	26	15.3
	20	21.3	10	13.2	30	17.4
	32	34.0	25	32.9	58	33.5
	20	21.3	24	31.6	44	25.9
Definitely	6	6.4	7	9.2	13	7.6
	94	100.0	76	100.0	171	99.7

Table 66. "How satisfied are you with the opportunities within the department to improve your job skills?"

Level of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	21	22.3	20	26.3	41	24.1
	22	23.4	20	26.3	42	24.7
	24	25.5	15	19.7	39	22.9
	15	16.0	16	21.1	31	18.2
Very satisfied	12	12.8	5	6.6	17	10.0
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 67. "In your daily work, how free are you to make decisions and act on them?"

Number of times	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very frequently	34	36.2	32	42.1	66	38.8
	35	37.2	36	47.4	71	41.8
	17	18.1	3	3.9	20	11.8
	7	7.4	3	3.9	10	5.9
Not at all	1	1.1	2	2.6	3	1.8
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 68. "To what degree do you see your patrol duties as primarily relying on departmental rules and regulations?"

Degree of reliance	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very little	4	4.3	6	7.9	10	5.9
	13	13.8	8	10.5	21	12.4
	36	38.3	18	23.7	54	31.8
	16	17.0	28	36.8	44	25.9
Very much	25	26.6	16	21.1	41	24.1
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 69. "To what degree do you see your patrol duties as relying on your own discretion and judgment?"

Degree of reliance	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very little	4	4.3	6	7.9	10	5.9
	7	7.4	2	2.6	9	5.3
	19	20.2	11	14.5	30	17.6
	32	34.0	31	40.8	63	37.1
Very much	32	34.0	26	34.2	58	34.1
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 70. "How satisfied are you with the sort of work you are doing?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	6	6.4	3	3.9	36	21.2
	11	11.7	4	5.3	26	15.3
	35	37.2	20	26.3	45	26.5
	27	28.7	34	44.7	38	22.4
Very satisfied	15	16.0	15	19.7	25	14.7
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 71. "Are you satisfied with the department as it now stands?"

Degree of satisfaction	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very dissatisfied	17	18.1	19	25.0	36	21.2
	10	10.6	16	21.1	26	15.3
	21	22.3	24	31.6	45	26.5
	24	25.5	14	18.4	38	22.4
Very satisfied	22	23.4	3	3.9	25	14.7
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 72. "What was your level of enthusiasm when you first started the job?"

Level of enthusiasm	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all enthusiastic	2	2.1	0	0.0	2	1.2
Not particularly enthusiastic	2	2.1	3	3.9	5	2.9
Fairly enthusiastic	11	11.7	2	2.6	13	7.6
Quite enthusiastic	21	22.3	15	19.7	36	21.2
Very enthusiastic	58	61.7	56	73.7	114	67.1
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 73. "As compared with your feelings when you first started out in the department, what is your present feeling about your job?"

Level of enthusiasm	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Much less enthusiastic	22	23.4	19	25.0	41	24.1
Somewhat less enthusiastic	44	46.8	15	19.7	59	34.7
About the same	17	18.1	20	26.3	37	21.8
Somewhat more enthusiastic	8	8.5	9	11.8	17	10.0
Much more enthusiastic	3	3.2	13	17.1	16	9.4
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 74. "Would you advise a friend to join this department?"

Advise to join	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Definitely not	25	26.6	19	25.0	44	25.9
	8	8.5	4	5.3	12	7.1
	22	23.4	16	21.1	38	22.4
	17	18.1	20	26.3	37	21.8
Definitely	22	23.4	17	22.4	39	22.9
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

Table 75. "How often have you considered leaving police work?"

Frequency	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very often	14	14.9	12	15.8	26	15.3
	14	14.9	12	15.8	26	15.3
	16	17.0	10	13.2	26	15.3
	10	10.6	13	17.1	23	13.5
Very rarely	39	41.5	29	38.2	68	40.0
	93	98.9	76	100.0	169	99.4

Table 76. "If benefits were approximately the same, would you prefer to stay in the department or would you rather join another department of similar size?"

Preference	Detroit		Oakland		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Prefer to leave	25	26.6	15	19.7	40	23.5
	12	12.8	8	10.5	20	11.8
	13	13.8	13	17.1	26	15.3
	19	20.2	12	15.8	31	18.2
Prefer to stay	25	26.6	28	36.8	53	31.2
	94	100.0	76	100.0	170	100.0

APPENDIX F

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS FROM CROSS-TABULATIONS BETWEEN
INDICES AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS FOR
DETROIT, OAKLAND, AND COMBINED SAMPLES

APPENDIX F

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS FROM CROSS-TABULATIONS BETWEEN INDICES AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS FOR DETROIT, OAKLAND, AND COMBINED SAMPLES

Table 77. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Age for Detroit

Age	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
20-24	2	18.2	4	36.4	5	45.5
25-34	28	40.6	29	42.0	12	17.4
35-50	5	35.7	9	64.3	0	0.0
Chi Square = 9.88				Significance = .04		
Kendall's Tau C = -.13				Significance = .03		

Table 78. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Race for Detroit

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	6	18.2	17	51.5	10	30.3
Caucasian	29	49.2	23	39.0	7	11.9
Hispanic	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0
Other						
Chi Square = 12.70				Significance = .01		
Kendall's Tau C = -.23				Significance = .002		

Table 79. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Race for Oakland

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	2	11.1	10	55.6	6	33.3
Caucasian	15	32.6	19	41.3	12	26.1
Hispanic	2	33.3	3	50.0	1	16.7
Other	1	16.7	5	83.3	0	0.0
Chi Square = 6.96				Significance = .32		
Kendall's Tau C = -.14				Significance = .06		

Table 80. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Race for Detroit-Oakland

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	8	15.7	27	52.9	16	31.4
Caucasian	44	41.9	42	40.0	19	18.1
Hispanic	2	25.0	5	62.5	1	12.5
Other	1	16.7	5	83.3	0	0.0
Chi Square = 16.06				Significance = .01		
Kendall's Tau C = -.16				Significance = .003		

Table 81. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Years in Policing for Detroit-Oakland

Years in Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	20	26.7	35	46.7	20	26.7
5-9	25	36.2	33	47.8	11	15.9
10 plus	10	38.5	11	42.3	5	19.2
Chi Square = 3.50				Significance = .47		
Kendall's Tau C = .10				Significance = .04		

Table 82. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Employment of Spouse for Detroit

Spouse Employed	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	10	43.5	12	52.2	1	4.3
Part-time	1	14.3	6	85.7	0	0.0
Full-time	13	38.2	12	35.3	9	26.5
Chi Square = 10.11				Significance = .03		
Kendall's Tau C = .13				Significance = .11		

Table 83. Cross-tabulation of Salary and Benefits Index by Age for Detroit-Oakland

Age	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
20-24	1	5.9	7	41.2	9	52.9
25-34	31	23.7	42	32.1	58	44.3
35-50	7	31.8	8	36.4	7	31.8
Chi Square = 4.43				Significance = .35		
Kendall's Tau C = .09				Significance = .04		

Table 84. Cross-tabulation of Salary and Benefits Index by Race for Detroit-Oakland

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	15	29.4	18	35.3	18	35.3
Caucasian	18	17.1	36	34.3	51	48.6
Hispanic	3	37.5	0	0.0	5	62.5
Other	3	50.0	3	50.0	0	0.0
Chi Square = 13.03				Significance = .04		
Kendall's Tau C = .05				Significance = .20		

Table 85. Cross-tabulation of Salary and Benefits Index by Number of Years Policing for Oakland

Number of Years	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	3	11.5	6	23.1	17	65.4
5-9	13	35.1	10	27.0	14	37.8
10 plus	5	38.5	2	15.4	6	46.2
Chi Square = 6.70				Significance = .15		
Kendall's Tau C = .20				Significance = .02		

Table 86. Cross-tabulation of Prestige Index by Educational Attainment for Oakland

Educational Attainment	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Grad	5	50.0	9	40.9	6	13.6
Some College	3	30.0	7	31.8	27	61.4
AA or higher	2	20.0	6	27.3	11	25.0
Chi Square = 10.20				Significance = .03		
Kendall's Tau C = .18				Significance = .03		

Table 87. Cross-tabulation of Stress Index by Race for Oakland

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	10	55.6	7	38.9	1	5.6
Caucasian	8	17.4	28	60.9	10	21.7
Hispanic	4	66.7	2	33.3	0	0.0
Other	3	50.0	3	50.0	0	0.0
Chi Square = 14.86				Significance = .02		
Kendall's Tau C = .04				Significance = .33		

Table 88. Cross-tabulation of Stress Index by Years in Policing for Oakland

Years of Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	7	26.9	11	42.3	8	30.8
5-9	13	35.1	21	56.8	3	8.1
10 plus	5	38.5	8	61.5	0	0.0
Chi Square = 8.99				Significance = .06		
Kendall's Tau C = -.18				Significance = .03		

Table 89. Cross-tabulation of Stress Index by Pre-service Education for Detroit

Pre-service Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Graduate	12	40.0	16	53.3	2	6.7
Some College	11	26.2	23	54.8	8	19.0
AA degree plus	1	4.5	17	77.3	4	18.2
Chi Square = 9.79				Significance = .04		
Kendall's Tau C = .23				Significance = .003		

Table 90. Cross-tabulation of Stress Index by Pre-service Education for Oakland

Pre-service Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Grad	6	60.0	4	40.0	0	0.0
Some College	7	31.8	13	59.1	2	9.1
AA degree plus	12	27.3	23	52.3	9	20.5
Chi Square = 6.12				Significance = .19		
Kendall's Tau C = .19				Significance = .02		

Table 91. Cross-tabulation of Stress Index by Pre-service Education for Detroit-Oakland

Pre-service Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Grad	18	45.0	20	50.0	2	5.0
Some College	18	28.1	36	56.3	10	15.6
AA degree plus	13	19.7	40	60.6	13	19.7
Chi Square = 9.76				Significance = .04		
Kendall's Tau C = .19				Significance = .001		

Table 92. Cross-tabulation of Advancement Index by Age of Respondent for Detroit

Age of Respondent	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
20-24	3	27.3	7	63.6	1	9.1
25-34	37	53.6	24	34.8	8	11.6
35-50	0	71.4	4	28.6	0	0.0
Chi Square = 6.357				Significance = .17		
Kendall's Tau C = -.15				Significance = .02		

Table 93. Cross-tabulation of Advancement Index by Years in Policing for Detroit

Years in Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	21	42.9	21	42.9	7	14.3
5-9	20	62.5	11	34.1	1	3.1
10 plus	9	69.2	3	23.1	1	7.7
Chi Square = 5.89				Significance = .21		
Kendall's Tau C = -.19				Significance = .01		

Table 94. Cross-tabulation of Advancement Index by Years in Policing for Oakland

Years in Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	7	26.9	12	46.2	7	26.9
5-9	24	64.9	9	24.3	4	10.8
10 plus	5	38.5	5	38.5	3	23.1
Chi Square = 9.45				Significance = .05		
Kendall's Tau C = -.15				Significance = .06		

Table 95. Cross-tabulation of Advancement Index by Years in Policing for Detroit-Oakland

Years in Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	28	37.3	33	44.0	14	18.7
5-9	44	63.8	20	29.0	5	7.2
10 plus	14	53.8	8	30.8	4	15.4
Chi Square = 11.05				Significance = .03		
Kendall's Tau C = -.16				Significance = .006		

Table 96. Cross-tabulation of Advancement Index by Pre-service Education for Detroit-Oakland

Pre-service Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Graduate	25	62.5	11	27.5	4	10.0
Some College	32	50.0	24	37.5	8	12.5
College Degree	29	43.9	26	39.4	11	16.7
Chi Square = 3.66				Significance = .45		
Kendall's Tau C = .12				Significance = .04		

Table 97. Cross-tabulation of Advancement Index by Sex for Detroit

Sex	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	45	61.6	22	30.1	6	8.2
Female	5	23.8	13	61.9	3	14.3
Chi Square = 9.44				Significance = .008		
Kendall's Tau C = .26				Significance = .001		

Table 98. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index by Race for Detroit

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	3	9.1	15	45.5	15	45.5
Caucasian	14	23.7	35	59.3	10	16.9
Hispanic	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0
Chi Square = 11.82				Significance = .02		
Kendall's Tau C = -.23				Significance = .002		

Table 99. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index by Race for Detroit-Oakland

Race	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	5	9.8	19	37.3	27	52.9
Caucasian	25	23.8	49	46.7	31	29.5
Hispanic	4	50.0	1	12.5	3	37.5
Other	1	16.7	3	50.0	2	33.3
Chi Square = 14.46				Significance = .02		
Kendall's Tau C = -.18				Significance = .001		

Table 100. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Marital Status for Detroit-Oakland

Marital Status	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single	4	11.4	14	40.0	17	48.6
Married	28	24.3	46	40.0	41	35.7
Divorced	3	15.0	12	60.0	5	25.0
Chi Square = 6.28				Significance = .18		
Kendall's Tau C = .10				Significance = .05		

Table 101. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Age for Detroit-Oakland

Age	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
20-24	1	5.9	5	29.4	11	64.7
25-34	28	21.4	56	42.7	47	35.9
35-50	6	27.3	11	50.0	5	22.7
Chi Square = 8.06				Significance = .09		
Kendall's Tau C = -.14				Significance = .005		

Table 102. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Years in Policing for Detroit

Years Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	3	6.1	27	55.1	19	38.8
5-9	11	34.4	15	46.9	6	18.8
10 plus	4	30.8	8	61.5	1	7.7
Chi Square = 14.56				Significance = .006		
Kendall's Tau C = -.30				Significance = .0003		

Table 103. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Years in Policing for Oakland

Years Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	2	7.7	7	26.9	17	65.4
5-9	12	32.4	11	29.7	14	37.8
10 plus	3	23.1	4	30.8	6	46.2
Chi Square = 6.64				Significance = .16		
Kendall's Tau C = -.18				Significance = .03		

Table 104. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Years in Policing for Detroit-Oakland

Years Policing	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-4	5	6.7	34	45.3	36	48.0
5-9	23	33.3	26	37.7	20	29.0
10 plus	7	26.9	12	46.2	7	26.9
Chi Square = 17.97				Significance = .001		
Kendall's Tau C = -.22				Significance = .0003		

Table 105. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Pre-service Education for Detroit

Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Graduate	7	23.3	16	53.3	7	23.3
Some College	8	19.0	23	54.8	11	26.2
College Degree	3	13.6	11	50.0	8	36.4
Chi Square = 1.52				Significance = .82		
Kendall's Tau C = .10				Significance = .12		

Table 106. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Pre-service Education for Oakland

Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Graduate	4	40.0	2	20.0	4	40.0
Some College	6	27.3	9	40.9	7	31.8
College Degree	7	15.9	11	25.0	26	59.1
Chi Square = 6.47				Significance = .16		
Kendall's Tau C = .20				Significance = .01		

Table 107. Cross-tabulation of Overall Index with Pre-service Education for Detroit-Oakland

Education	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School Graduate	11	27.5	18	45.0	11	27.5
Some College	14	21.9	32	50.0	18	28.1
College Degree	10	15.2	22	33.3	34	51.5
Chi Square = 10.23				Significance = .04		
Kendall's Tau C = .18				Significance = .003		

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