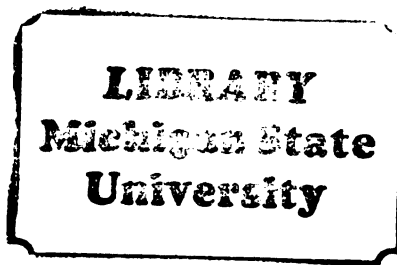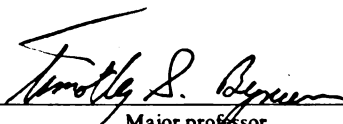This is to certify that the

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DETERMINANTS OF JOB DISSATISFACTION AND JOB
SATISFACTION AMONG CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

By

David W. Hayeslip Jr.

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

DETERMINANTS OF JOB DISSATISFACTION AND JOB
SATISFACTION AMONG CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

By

David W. Hayeslip Jr.

Very little research has examined the reactions of
Correctional Officers to their work. This research seeks to
fill this void by examining the feelings of job dissatisfac-
tion and job satisfaction which Correctional Officers develop.
More specifically, the study attempts to answer the questions:
What are the determinants of dissatisfaction and satisfac-
tion among Correctional Officers; How intense and long
lasting are such feelings; What are some of the outcomes of
these feelings, and; How do these feelings and outcomes vary
among employee subgroups?

Forty-four Corrections Officers were interviewed
utilizing the critical incident methodology in order to
answer these questions. The findings suggested that the
major sources of dissatisfaction were administrative policies
and actions as well as interpersonal relations with fellow
officers and prisoners. Feelings of dissatisfaction tended
to be quite intense and long lasting. Attitudes and
behaviors of withdrawal were likely outcomes of dissatisfac-
tion.

In addition, it was found that satisfaction was a
result of achievement on the job, interpersonal relations and

recognition.   Satisfaction was not as intense or long lasting a feeling however.   Satisfaction was likely to result in feelings of increased job commitment.

Both of these feelings varied in intensity, duration and outcomes among various employee subgroups.

The conclusions reached were that these feelings lent support for the two-factor theory of job satisfaction and that the critical incident methodology was quite useful in attitudinal research.   Further, the results offered a number of implications for correctional officers, administrators, unions, future researchers and others in terms of what can be done to improve Correctional Officer reactions to their work.

To My Dad

For Instilling in Me the
Value of Education

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested that correctional officers or guards are the "line officers" of corrections in that they have the greatest day to day contact with sentenced prisoners and thus have the greatest insight into the day to day problems of prisons and the people who are sentenced there. In fact, some observers have come to the conclusion that the line officer may have the most influence over the possible rehabilitation of sentenced prisoners. Brooks summarizes this perspective when he concludes, "There is considerable evidence that the correctional officer is the single most important change agent in the institutional environment."[1]

Yet, very little is known about the correctional officer, his background, attitudes or behaviors. The primary information available concerning this type of public employee stems from limited observational studies, the musings or remembrances of former prison officials, or the often sensational accounts of prison life by prisoners. As Duffee points out, while more research is currently being focused on correctional organizations and processes, little is still known about the majority of institutional corrections personnel.[2] In fact, Hawkins suggests the guard or correctional officer is rarely mentioned in books about prisons at all.[3] Jacobs, one of the few researchers of correctional officers has concluded that ignoring the attitudes and persons

of officers has not only been systematic[4] but also unfortunate and surprising.[5] He found this lack of research surprising since reformers and scholars have long recognized the importance of the guard in carrying out the goals of corrections.

Recent events throughout the country, particularly a large riot in the Midwest which was said to be instigated by guards, clearly demonstrate that more needs to be known about the people who work in the job of guarding prisoners. Specifically, based on the author's own experience as a correctional officer, as well as his management level experience in corrections, it would seem that guards are a unique employment group in that they are often highly dissatisfied with the work which they perform and yet perceive that their employment could be useful and potentially satisfying if factors associated with their conditions of employment were changed.

In particular, it would seem that correctional officers are pivotal figures in the corrections organization in that they are primarily responsible for the achievement of the goals of corrections. That is, correctional officers are responsible not only for custody but also are thought to be important in the achievement of prisoner rehabilitation. But their job expectations are often not met for a variety of reasons which will be examined, leaving them highly dissatisfied and frustrated. These observations however are merely speculative in that they are based on experience rather than

empirical data.

Therefore, this research will focus on the potential sources of job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction among correctional officers, or guards, with the hope of providing some insight into this unique group and the conditions under which they work./ It is further anticipated that as a result policy implications may become evident which may be of assistance to policy makers and administrators in large correctional organizations such that meaningful and worthwhile changes in the management of these types of personnel can be made. In addition, implications concerning the theoretical foundations of the two-factor approach to job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction may be developed along with the applicability of the critical incident methodology to attitudinal research. Other implications are also anticipated with respect to various groups within the correctional setting, such as correctional officers, inmates and union leaders and how these groups might benefit from the improvement of satisfaction and the reduction of dissatisfaction among officers.

In looking at the issues of dissatisfaction and satisfaction a sample of correctional officers from the largest Michigan prison, State Prison of Southern Michigan, were interviewed based on the critical incident methodology. These critical incidents provide the basis for the determination of the factors associated with the job of correctional officer which contribute to negative or positive

feelings about work. The use of the critical incident technique differs significantly from previous research concerning the attitudes of correctional officers. Previous investigations have relied on predetermined attitude questions or participant observations. The critical incident method, however, relies on factual descriptions by the officers themselves of situations which contribute to these attitudes rather than on preselected perceptions by researchers. That is, this approach utilizes subject descriptions and observations rather than those of the investigator.

In addition, outcomes of these two feelings will also be investigated in terms of performance, relationships with inmates, peers, supervisors and the higher administration as well as career commitment. It is anticipated that dissatisfaction will result in decreased job performance and more negative feelings toward the administration, supervisors, peers and residents. On the other hand, it is anticipated that satisfaction will result in increased job performance and more positive feelings toward these groups.

The next chapter will expand on the problem of guarding prisons and the suggested results of dissatisfaction in a correctional setting. The following chapter will review selected literature concerning job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Later chapters will describe the methodology of this particular piece of research followed by the results and then finally the conclusions and implications of the research.

Footnotes

[1]Robert J. Brooks, "The Role of the Correctional Officer," _American Journal of Correction_, (May-June, 1969), p. 23.

[2]David Duffee, "The Correction Officer Subculture and Organizational Change," _Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency_, (July, 1974), p. 155.

[3]Gordon Hawkins, _The Prison: Policy and Practice_, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press), 1976, p. 81.

[4]James Jacobs and Harold Retsky, "Prison Guard," _Urban Life_, (4:1, 1975), p. 183.

[5]James Jacobs, "What Prison Guards Think: A Profile of the Illinois Force," _Crime and Delinquency_, (24:;, 1976), p. 185.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF OFFICER DISSATISFACTION

1. The Job of Correctional Officer

In a survey conducted in 1976 by Edgar May it was found that in
the adult correctional system in the United States there were slightly
over 42,000 persons employed as state correctional officers.[1] More recent
reports of the number of persons employed specifically as officers are
not generally available but since 1976 the total adult institutional
population has risen from about 200,000 inmates to over 282,000 in 1980[2]
so it is possible that the number of correctional officers employed in
prisons may have also risen. In addition, there has been a recent
increasing trend in terms of the number of correctional institutions
which would also indicate a possible rise in the number of correctional
officers. Nonetheless, correctional officers would appear to be a
sizeable employment group and considering their pivotal role within
corrections, a group worthy of study.

Furthermore, based on previous literature it would appear that
correctional officers are quite dissatisfied with their employment. They
have been repeatedly been characterized as being confused about their
jobs, they have been said to suffer from frustration, conflict and
alienation and they have been found to be cynical about their employment.
As a result it has been suggested that turnover is high and a wide
variety of other personal and organizational problems result from such
dissatisfaction.

However, in coming to an understanding about the dissatisfaction

that correctional officers have with their jobs it would seem logical

to first examine the job they perform. A job description from the

Michigan Department of Civil Service outlines some of the tasks that

correctional officers must perform;

> . . . (has) constant and extensive face
> to face interaction with residents . . .
>
> Conducts thorough searches of residents,
> visitors, employees, cell blocks and other
> structures for such prohibited items as
> critical tools, weapons, drugs or other
> contraband.
>
> Observes, through visual observation, residents
> activities to detect unusual or prohibited
> behavior which might be a threat to the security
> of the facility.
>
> Assists in controlling disturbances and isolating
> instigators . . .
>
> Works with counselors . . .
>
> Attempts to modify residents' attitudes and
> behavior through one-to-one or group interaction.
>
> Attempts to obtain residents' compliance with
> facility rules and regulations.[3]

While this job description is helpful in understanding the basic

duties of a correctional officer in the sense that it is known that he

must seach, observe, maintain compliance and security as well as

facilitate attitude change, Sykes points out in greater detail the

role and responsibility of the correctional officer within the larger

correctional system;

> Now the Official in the lowest ranks of the
> custodial bureaucracy - the guard in the
> cellblock, the industrial shop, or the
> recreation yard - is the pivotal figure on
> which the custodial bureaucracy turns. It is
> he who must supervise and control the inmate
> population in concrete and detailed terms. It is
> he who must see to the translation of the
> custodial regime from blueprint to reality

> and engage in the specific battles for
> conformity. Counting prisoners, periodically
> reporting to the center of communications,
> signing passes, checking groups of inmates as
> they come and go, searching for contraband,
> or signs of attempts to escape - these make
> up the minutiae of his eight hour shift.
> In addition, he is supposed to be alert
> for violations of prison rules which fall
> outside his routine sphere of surveillance.
> Not only must he detect and report deviant
> behavior after it occurs; he must curb
> deviant behavior before it arises as well
> as when he is called on to prevent a minor
> quarrel among prisoners from flaring into
> a more serious situation. And he must
> make sure that the inmates in his charge
> perform their assigned tasks with a reasonable
> degree of efficiency.[4]

In carrying out these various responsibilities associated with the job of correctional officer, it seems apparent that the employee must perform a variety of roles. Burns and Miller summarize the roles which the correctional officer must assume as basically fourfold. He must be a supervisor, a disciplinarian, a security agent and a person who is a communicator.[5]

That is, an officer must supervise the comings and goings of inmates and insure that his as well as the organization's directives are carried out by the inmates. In addition, he must stop rule breaking or disobedience as well as aggressive actions on the part of inmates and punish such behavior when it occurs. Security agent as a role is probably the most important role the officer must assume in that as Jacobs and Retsky suggest, "Prevention of escape and riot is the primary task around which the role of the guard is organized."[6] These first three roles are not particularly new in that they

have been a primary focus of guarding since the 1830-1850
period when the vigilance of the correctional officer within
prisons was stressed.[7]

However, the last role suggested by Burns and Miller
concerning communication is relatively new. In fact, in the
late 1800's conversation among inmates was strictly prohibited
and guards could inflict corporal punishment in the form of
flogging for inmates who even suggested any form of commun-
ication.[8]

In addition to the roles suggested by Burns and Miller,
Jacobs and Retsky have pointed out that the correctional
officer is also supposed to be involved in the maintenance
of prisoners and the prison or as they suggest, "In the
prison new inmates must be processed, clothing must be
laundered, medicine must be distributed, food must be prepared,
lavatories must be kept clean, dining rooms and living
quarters must be cared for; in short, the institution must be
kept running."[9] In other words, the correctional officer
must also be involved in the day to day process of caring for
people which is characteristic of any large scale institution
where people are detained against their will. Or as Goffman
points out, "The handling of many human needs by the
bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people . . .
is the key fact of total institutions."[10]

In addition, however, another new role has been suggested
for correctional officers, that being as Brooks suggests,
the role of "behavioral coach and counselor"[11] or as Briggs

describes it, "consultant."[12] By this it has recently been suggested that the correctional officer should also be intimately involved in the rehabilitation of inmates. That is, the officer, in addition to his security and maintenance functions, now must also attempt to be a change agent, act as a model for inmate reform and assist in attitude change so that the inmates under his charge return after their confinement as productive citizens in the community. Or putting it another way, the officer must also assume the role of teacher whereby he "will facilitate the learning of new values, new orientations, and new experiences which will serive, in turn, to inhibit delinquent acts in the future."[13] It should be pointed out that the addition of the role of change agent or teacher has led to some serious problems on the part of individual guards. These problems of "role conflict" will be discussed in the next chapter. The essence of these problems associated with the changing roles though is that guards have developed stress and conflict in attempting to satisfy both the roles of rehabilitator and custodian.

In summary, the basic characteristics of the job of correctional officer are the supervision and discipline of inmates, fulfilling the daily routine activities associated with institutional people processing, the maintenance of security and custody and finally, participation in the process of rehabilitation of convicted criminals.

2. Correctional Officer Reactions to the Job

Crouch and Marquart investigated why people are attracted to the work of a correctional officer in their participant-observation study and found,

> Typically, people do not have lifelong aspirations to become a prison guard. Rather, getting into correctional work typically seems to be a reaction to unanticipated job changes, the need for full-time employment, supplemental income, or other circumstances marking the job histories of many working class males. Under such circumstances men tend to select prison work when the prison is near at hand offering a secure pay check and when a friend or relative has already paved the way.[14]

Jacobs also came to a similar conclusion when he found that more than half of the guards entering correctional work in Illinois chose correctional work just because they needed a job,[15] although they were attracted to the job becuase of the security it offered. Webb and Morris also found a clear indication that coming to the job of correctional officer was brought about by the likelihood of steady work with little possibility of layoffs.[16] On the other hand Jacobs also found that these new officers perceived the job as one which would be stimulating.[17]

But despite the fact that few new officers had aspired to become correctional officers, Jacobs also found that those entering this type of employment were committed to the job in the sense that most intended to remain on the job for at least five years.[18] However, it should be noted that there

is some evidence that this initial job commitment may vary by race in that Kinsell found in a survey of correctional officers in a medium security facility that blacks were not as likely to indicate a willingness to remain on the job for the next five years.[19] In-service officers also seemed to display commitment to their work as Jacobs and Kraft found in their officer survey that one-half to two-thirds of the respondents preferred the job they currently held over a variety of suggested alternative types of employment.[20]

Despite the apparent attractiveness of the job of correctional officer, based on job security and stimulation, and the voiced commitment of new and in-service officers it is also apparent that officers react to the characteristics of their jobs in ways which suggest that they are largely dissatisfied with the work they are asked to perform.[21] In fact, Lombardo suggests after recently studying guards at Auburn prison in New York that, "The alleviation of correction officer dissatisfaction should be a major priority of the correctional administrator."[22]

The evidence of negative reactions to the work of correctional officer comes from a number of writers. Jacobs points out in his study of the Stateville Penetentiary in Illinois that because of vague role prescriptions, activities associated with the job of guard generally led to frustration among the custodial staff.[23] This observation again refers to the reaction on the part of correctional officers when they are asked to simultaneously fulfill role prescriptions

of custodians and rehabilitation agents. /Again as will be
discussed in the next chapter where officers are asked to
fulfill these two roles which they personally find incompat-
ible they react to the conflict of policies with feelings of
frustration and job dissatisfaction. Carroll also found that
officers expressed a sense of frustration and futility
because of inconsistency in rule enforcement and discretion-
ary policies as exemplified by a quotation by one of the
officers he spoke with;

> . . . It's frustrating, damn frustrating.
> You're just never sure what you're
> supposed to be doing, and the next guy
> might be doing the exact opposite of what
> you're doing.[24]

|While the problem of rule inconsistency will be developed
more fully later, it is still important to note that conflict-
ing rules or directives and inconsistency in policies of
applying these rules not only creates frustration but also
uncertainty and confusion among officers on the job./

Wicks also suggests that the problems associated with
the day to day job of correctional officer become over-
whelming and the reaction of the individual employee may be
callousness, futility or anger, as well as confusion about
the role of guard in the institutional system.[25]

Some correctional officers also seem to react to their
employment by developing attitudes of cynicism, or as Farmer
found, "Results indicated a moderately high level of
operating cynicism in corrections officers, especially in
those who work in 'treatment' institutions."[26] Brodsky

further presents evidence that some guards may react to their employment by developing long term work stress.[27] That is, guards develop a recognition that they are no longer functioning automatically and realize that their physical and psychological discomfort and resultant anxiety are directly related to their job.[28]

Furthermore, in a recent study about alienation among correctional officers Poole and Regoli found after studying 144 officers employed in a large maximum security prison that,

> The weakening of their position vis-a-vis
> inmates has fostered a sense of powerlessness,
> meaninglessness, and isolation; the ambiguous
> and contradictory nature of the operational
> directives of superiors has generated
> sentiments of normlessness, powerlessness,
> and isolation; and the deterioration of the
> working relations among the guards has
> contributed to feelings of normlessness,
> isolation and self-estrangement.[29]

Finally, there is also some evidence that correctional officers react to their work by forming pathological ways of thinking and behaving. Haney, Banks and Zimbardo demonstrated in their classic experimental study of a simulated prison that a homogeneous experimental group of subjects, after being assigned roles as guards, developed abnormal behavior described by the experimenters as, "pathological and anti-social,"[30] and, in particular, about a third of the subjects became tyrannical and arbitrary in their use of power.[31] Sebring also found in a prison where there was a situation whereby conflict existed because of differing

treatment philosophies that paranoid behaviors developed among the staff as evidenced by "covering" themselves, being guarded, suspicious and defensive.[32]

Thus, the picture which seems to emerge from the observations and limited empirical work concerning correctional officer reactions to their job suggests that the correctional officer is hardly satisfied with the type of work he is asked to perform. The guard has been characterized as being frustrated, callous, angry and confused. Further, he appears to view his position as futile, stressful, and has sentiments of powerlessness, isolation, meaninglessness and self-estrangment plus he may develop paranoid or pathological behavior as a result of his employment. In sum then, based on these observations, despite the initial commitment to corrections work and the anticipated stimulation it should produce, the correctional officer finds certain aspects of his job dissatisfying and personally irritating.

3. Outcomes of Dissatisfaction

Over the years administrators of a variety of organizations have subscribed to the common sense view that somehow a "happy worker is a good worker." That is, in other words, an employee who is satisfied with his job will be a better performer on the job. Conversely then a dissatisfied worker will be one who performns poorly in his particular

type of work.

The influence that satisfaction and dissatisfaction have on performance has been studied repeatedly over the years but the evidence of a causal link between the two has been quite limited. In a survey of thirty-one correlational studies Srivastva found that "a positive relationship existed between job satisfaction and performance,"[33] but went on to further conclude that a wide variety of moderating variables could account for such findings and that in particular the strength of such a relationship was quite low over large populations.[34]

In addition to the normal caveats associated with correlational studies it should also be noted that there is also some disagreement about the time priority of these two variables. For example, Lawler and Porter have suggested that since performance leads to rewards and rewards to job satisfaction, that in fact performance is a determinant of satisfaction rather than the other way around.[35] So, as Lawler points out, the view that satisfaction influences performance "has now been discredited, and most psychologists feel that satisfaction influences absenteeism and turnover but not job performance."[36] In other words, withdrawal behaviors are predicted outcomes of dissatisfaction rather that performance.

However, despite any apparent link of satisfaction and dissatisfaction to performance it still would seem that such attitudes could still have serious consequences in work organizations. In particular, it would seem that having

dissatisfied employees within large prison organizations is particularly troublesome. The outcomes of the existence of dissatisfaction can be roughly grouped into the effects on the organization and effects on the individual employees. More specifically, dissatisfaction can result in large organizational costs because of absenteeism and turnover as well as an inability to achieve organizational goals because of sabotage and the failure of employees to carry out directives or to actually subvert the administration. Furthermore, group activities such as unionization, job actions or strikes may develop which can also be costly and in the correctional setting certainly dangerous. Secondarily, on the individual level it appears that dissatisfaction can result in the development of personal problems in terms of mental and physical disorders. For example, as noted earlier, abnormal mental processes may develop such as nervous breakdowns and job related physical disorders may also evolve among highly dissatisfied workers.

In the corrections literature most attention has been paid to the organizational problems resulting from employee reactions to the job. For example, a number of writers have pointed out that turnover has long been a major organizational problem for corrections both on the state and local levels.[37] In fact, retention problems date back to the beginning of guarding prisoners when "warders," "turnkeys" or "guards" chose the job of guarding as temporary employment until something better came along.[38]

Turnover in the field of corrections remains a significant problem today. A survey in 1976 indicated that turnover rates for state correctional agencies ranged from 2.5% to 72% per year.[39] Agencies in this survey averaged a turnover rate of 22.4% with 26 out of the 44 agencies indicating that they lost over a quarter of their officers on a yearly basis. This average turnover rate is about the same as it was in the early 1960's as reported by Lunden.[40] In addition, it has been reported that at least one state correctional agency loses 44% of its new employees within the first month of employment[41] and that some of the larger maximum security prisons lose over 100% of their correctional officers per year.[42] While there is some confusion about how turnover was actually measured in these studies, that is whether it was percentage of total employees which left or the percentage of those hired per year, these turnover statistics are nonetheless consistent with previous dissatisfaction studies. Srivastva again found in his review of twenty-three studies that there was a negative correlation between satisfaction and withdrawal behavior although the labor market in the area of employment seemed to moderate the situation somewhat.[43] Lawler also came to the same conclusion when he noted that "Although relationships between satisfaction scores and turnover have not always been very strong, the studies in this area have consistently shown that dissatisfied workers are more likely than satisfied workers to terminate employment."[44]

If the reported state correctional agency turnover rates

in 1976 were converted into organizational costs as suggested
by Lawler, nationally the costs associated with officer turn-
over was well in excess of $30,000,000 in 1976.[45] Eight
state agencies each incurred turnover costs of over
$1,000,000 for the year (Florida, California, Illinois,
Louisiana, Minnesota, New Jersey, Tennessee, Texas and Vir-
ginia).

In addition to the economic costs associated with the
problem of retention and the shortages of trained personnel,
there are a number of other organizational costs. Attempts
to achieve the goals of custody and security can be problem-
atic given high turnover rates and organizational efforts at
prisoner rehabilitation can be thwarted through a continuing
influx of inexperienced officers. Further, where high turn-
over exists correctional administrators become more concerned
about the quantity rather than the quality of employees.[46]

A closely related organizational problem in correctional
institutions is that of absenteeism. Jacobs and Retsky found
in 1975, again at Stateville, that, "Absenteeism is stagger-
ing, sometimes approaching 40%. In a job that has few
objective criteria for evaluating performance, simply report-
ing to work is likely to become the most important factor on
which the guard will be rated."[47] A somewhat more current
study by Jacobs and Kraft found that the daily manpower
shortage was not quite as serious but stated, "If 120 men are
scheduled to appear on the 7AM to 3PM shift, sometimes only
85 percent show up. This means certain posts will not be

covered, certain programs cannot be carried out, and the daily routine cannot run on schedule."[48] Obviously in such a situation the achievement of correctional goals is likely to be diminished. Again these observations suggest the relationship between dissatisfaction and withdrawal and this has been confirmed in other studies. Lawler in fact has concluded that absenteeism is not only related to dissatisfaction but that, "If anything, the relationship between satisfaction and absenteeism seems to be stronger than the relationship between satisfaction and turnover."[49]

The consequences of dissatisfaction among officers who do routinely come to work and decide not to leave corrections for alternative types of employment are also important in that organizational goals can also be threatened by a variety of means. For example, in his study of cottage parents Cressey found that dissatisfaction led to failures to cooperate with administrative directives, and indeed occassional avoidance of directives altogether.[50] In addition, he also found evidence that some workers reacted by simply doing enough to get by and were generally listless on the job.[51] Other writers have also observed that correctional officers may react to unhappiness on the job by engaging in work slow-downs[52] or even work stoppages.[53] An incident cited by Jacobs illustrated how dissatisfaction can lead to work stoppages. Guards in Stateville became quite dissatisfied when a new warden eliminated their personal authority to "walk" inmates from their assignments and despite resistance

from the officers the warden refused to rescind his order. In order to express their dissatisfaction the officers ultimately refused to unlock the cell houses which led to the new warden changing his orders soon afterwards.[54]

Lombardo also found that officers reacted to their dissatisfaction by engaging in what he called "sabotage-type behaviors."[55] By this he suggested that officers may attempt to adapt administrative directives and force intentional breakdowns in the institutional status quo. Poole and Regoli also found that when guards see their jobs as stressful they become punitive or custody oriented which leads to more disciplinary reporting, closer surveillance and control.[56] This increased custody orientation, as will be discussed later in the literature review of role conflict, can run counter to organizational goals of rehabilitation since treatment is often thought to require an open and flexible environment.

It has also been suggested that guards can react to their job dissatisfaction by developing highly aggressive behaviors.[57] For example, as Cressey points out, cottage parents who were dissatisfied with their jobs reacted aggressively toward children in ways ranging from mild displeasure "all the way to the infliction of some bodily blow or some other type of pain."[58] Again these types of outcomes would tend to deter efforts toward attitude change on the part of prisoners.

While the above outcomes of dissatisfaction clearly have

importance to correctional organizations, probably the most critical outcome of dissatisfaction is the increased likelihood of violence in institutions where officers react negatively to their jobs. Bidna found, for example, where officers become more security oriented in one institution that the levels of violence, as measured by inmate assaults and stabbings, rose.[59] However, it should be noted that violence may also be situationally determined as other institutions in his study found decreased levels of violence following the employment of tighter security methods.

Vernon Fox suggested that such circumstances as oppressive custody, strict discipline and a general punitive attitude on the part of the line staff can also be a cause of prison riots.[60] Sykes noted the riots in New Jersey were partially explained by high guard turnover and careless work assignments among a variety of other factors.[61] The commission which investigated the Attica riot also found that officer dissatisfaction with their jobs contributed to the 1971 riot. In particular, dissatisfied experienced workers managed to leave the cellblocks to work in the towers to avoid contact with prisoners through a union practice of "bidding." This left inexperienced officers in charge of the inmates and contributed to the conflict and tensions among the inmates and the custodial force, a situation which later was conceded as disastrous.[62]

The most recent evidence of the link between officer dissatisfaction and violence has been offered by the

Governor's Committee which investigated several riots in

Michigan's prisons during the summer of 1981. They found

that the guard force at the State Prison of Southern Michigan,

in particular, was highly dissatisfied with the inmate dis-

ciplinary system and as a result of this dissatisfaction a

number of officers took matters into their own hands and

began an unauthorized lock down of prisoners, which they

concluded caused the ensuing riot;

> The threatened unauthorized lockdown
> of the State Prison of Southern Michigan
> by prison guards the morning of May 22
> was the immediate cause of the rioting
> there. Prisoners, upset by the possibility
> of spending the holiday weekend in their
> cells, took advantage of confusion between
> the administration and the line staff to
> seize control of cellblocks 3 and 4 in the
> Central Complex. While nearly 1,000 prisoners
> roamed the yard, fires were set in the
> counselors' offices and in the former
> officers' dining room and caused extensive
> damage. The inmate store was looted, and
> windows in several buildings were broken.
> Prisoners in the North Complex attempted
> to set fires in the module housing unit
> there, and succeeded in destroying one.[63]

Another organizational problem, although perhaps not as

important as the riot outcomes, which can result from officer

dissatisfaction is union organization and representation.

Again as Jacobs pointed out, officer dissatisfaction with

the "walk" policy change led to a situation where "guards

flocked to join the union."[64] While trade union development

in of itself would not seem at first glance to pose a serious

organizational problem, Jacobs found that such a movement

is basically incompatible with a paramilitary structure [65]

which is characteristic of many correctional organizations.
He argues for example that taking orders is inconsistent with
how unions view officer employment and illustrates this by
describing the following situation;

> As the union argues that this is "just a
> job" and that "you're not being paid to
> be a hero," it can be expected that the
> guard will become less committed to an
> espirit de corps. In early May 1975, for
> example, hostages were seized at the Joliet
> prison. Tension was high at Stateville and
> the administration feared that a similar riot
> might be triggered. As the guards came off
> the 7a.m.-3p.m. shift, the captain asked
> for volunteers to work overtime (at time-
> and-a-half) in case of trouble. Only one
> man volunteered. Five years earlier it was
> reported that in similar circumstances guards
> demanded to stay on the job until the threat
> had passed.[66]

A project focusing on management-employee relations in
corrections also found that in some cases union organizations
were having an adverse effect on correctional programming.
John Wynne, author of the final report concluded that unions
have hindered the development of improved inmate programs,
have resisted due process developments and community programs
on the grounds that such programming would have adverse
safety effects with respect to the guards.[67] In fairness to
administrators, however, he also noted that the problems
which may develop as a results of unionization and increased
activism may not all be the fault of the guards since in fact
"correctional managers are ill-equipped to handle the new
demands made upon them by prison employee unionism and
collective bargaining."[68] Nonetheless, it is still apparent

that dissatisfaction by officers can and has resulted in increased union efforts and officer activism concerning his work environment which certainly can create problems for the organization's management.

In addition to the organizational consequences of dissatisfaction there is also some evidence, although quite limited, that stress and conflict on the job can affect correctional officers both mentally and physically. For example, Cressey pointed out in his study that "nervous breakdowns were frequent among guards."[69] And as was noted earlier, Zimbardo and others also suggested that paranoid and pathological thinking patterns can develop among those assuming the role of guard.

Brodsky also found that twenty-one prison guards which he studied developed symptoms of physical illness such as headaches, neckaches, backaches, gastrointestinal problems, cardiovascular disorders and vision problems as a direct result of long term stress associated with their employment.[70] Brodsky concluded that these physical ailments were primarily due to the work of correctional officers and that even when these workers left their jobs, their various physical discomforts remained.[71]

In summary then, the outcomes of dissatisfaction among correctional officers may result in various organizational problems. Dissatisfied workers may leave this type of employment in large numbers or have excessive rates of absenteeism. Such workers may adapt or avoid administrative directives,

participate in work slowdowns or otherwise sabotage organ-
izational routine. They may also become more punitive and
security oriented or aggressive toward the prisoners. In
addition, negative reactions to the job may result in riot
situations, or the incidence of other types of violence in
prisons. In addition, there is also some evidence that
correctional officer dissatisfaction can result in increased
union activities and resultant organizational problems such
as collective bargaining, breakdown in paramilitary operations
and opposition to changes in prisoner programs and due
process provisions. This is not to say that unions in and of
themselves are necessarily negative outcomes of dissatis-
faction yet the organizational problems associated with such
groups have received some attention.

Also, mental or physical disorders may arise in dis-
satisfied officers and these disorders may be serious and long
lasting sources of discomfort for the individual officers.

4. The Dissatisfaction Problem

Again, while the evidence is sparse and the conclusions
previously discussed are speculative in the sense that they
are based on limited and isolated studies or simple obser-
vations by various writes, it would seem that correctional
officer dissatisfaction is a serious problem confronting
correctional administrators.

While new officers appear to come to the job with

expectations of stimulating work and a certain degree of job commitment, they become frustrated and angry about their work, and express feelings of confusion and futility about the job they are asked to perform. As a result turnover and absenteeism may be high and organizational directives may be distorted or ignored. Guards may react by becoming more punitive and security oriented toward inmates and such tightened custody can result in violence both on an individual level and group level within the prison. Also it has been suggested as a result of dissatisfaction officers may become rebellious on the job by ignoring or altering directives and they may also become more active in challenging administrative authority through union efforts. Also on an individual level long term dissatisfaction may result in personal discomfort among guards in the form of mental and physical illnesses.

Thus, the costs of dissatisfaction among guards may be substantial for large scale correctional agencies. It has often been said that the two primary goals of modern corrections are the attainment of custody and control of inmates and the provision of programs leading to rehabilitation of criminals. In a situation where guards are highly dissatisfied with their jobs, the attainment of either of these goals is unlikely. As noted earlier, manpower shortages can mean that certain rehabilitative programs simply cannot be run, and where absenteeism is high; even efforts at maintaining custody can be problematic. In addition, where dissatisfied employees react by sabotaging programs

and directives and actually create circumstances for the disruption of the status quo, attainment of custody and rehabilitation as goals may also be unlikely.

From the economic perspective dissatisfaction is also costly to correctional organizations in that worker shortages require continual recruiting and training of new employees. Furthermore, sabotage and violent reactions by inmates create economic losses for correctional agencies which in difficult economic times may be difficult to recoup. In addition, mentally or physically ill workers compound the manpower shortage problem and are also economically costly to correctional organizations.

Thus, uncovering the determinants of dissatisfaction and developing courses of action to remove or minimize them would seem to be particularly important to the adult corrections field. By doing this it would seem more likely that the goals of corrections may be realized and the costs associated with employee dissatisfaction may be minimized.

Thus, far "dissatisfaction" has only been spoken of in very vague and general terms. In the next chapter the concept of dissatisfaction will be defined and more closely investigated. Further, selected literature concerning the theoretical and empirical explanations of dissatisfaction among a variety of workers will be examined and more attention will be given to what various observers and researchers in corrections have to say about the causes of dissatisfaction among correctional officers.

Footnotes

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[44]Lawler, op. cit., p. 85.

[45]Ibid, p. 150. Lawler suggests that recent research indicates that it costs an organization at least five times the employee's salary to replace him. The figure was derived by using May's 1976 survey information on turnover and salaries.

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CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1. A Definition of Job Dissatisfaction

A major problem in discussing job dissatisfaction, and
satisfaction, is first defining what is meant by these terms.
Unfortunately, the varied usage of these terms makes theo-
retical and empirical comparisons difficult, particularly
when one considers that it has been estimated that by the
early 1970's between 3,350[1] and 4,000[2] articles or disser-
tations had focused on this topic. In fact, Wanous and
Lawler suggest that one of the possible reasons for conflict-
ing results in various studies of job satisfaction may be
that different researchers are simply defining the term
differently.[3]

Part of the confusion with these terms and their usage
is that they are often used interchangebly with other terms
such as "morale."[4] For example, Ivancevich suggests to
practitioners that differentiating between satisfaction,
attitudes or morale really does not contribute to increasing
practical knowledge and thus he uses the terms synonymously.[5]
However, as Carroll points out "morale" is more often equated
with group concepts such as espirit de corps or enthusiasm
rather than with individual attitudes.[6] Clearly within this
study it is necessary to be more precise in specifying what
is meant by the terms job satisfaction and dissatisfaction

to avoid confusion resulting from using multiple concepts to indicate a particular phenomenon.

Lawler reviewed job satisfaction literature since the 1930's and concluded that the term in general has been used to "refer to affective attitudes or orientations on the part of individuals toward jobs."[7] Katzell further suggests that to the extent that there is any consensus on the use of the term, "job satisfaction is the verbal expression of an incumbent's evaluation of his job."[8] Indicative of the use of the term job satisfaction in this general way is the definition used by Beer,

> Job Satisfaction is defined as the attitude
> of workers toward the company, their job,
> their fellow workers and other psychological
> objects in the work environment. A favorable
> attitude toward these indicates job satis-
> faction and vice versa.[9]

Locke reiterates the evaluative component of job satisfaction when he notes that while job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are complex emotional reactions to the job, observations of these phenomena are gained through worker introspection[10] and appraisal "against the standard of what he considers good or beneficial."[11]

This general approach to the term job satisfaction appears to be rather broad in that satisfaction would appear to be a single phenomenon, or more technically it would seem that satisfaction is to be treated as a single variable based on definitions such as Beer's. However, Vroom suggests that, in fact, most investigators over the years have treated it

as really a complex set of variables.[12]   Or as Hulin and

Smith point out,

> Later studies have indicated that
> job satisfaction is not a unidimensional
> variable but should be considered as
> being made up of a number of factors
> or areas of satisfaction.[13]

Steers and Porter put this issue a little differently by

suggesting that there is an attitude on the part of workers

called "global job satisfaction" which evidence suggests may

be made up of "at least partially independent subcomponents."[14]

Wanous and Lawler, in particular, feel that this

distinction between overall satisfaction and subcomponents is

important in that operational definitions of overall satis-

faction assume certain combinations of what they call "facet"

satisfactions.[15] For example, they point out that there are

bascially nine ways in which researchers have developed

models of overall satisfaction by combining facet satis-

factions. These different combination schemes range from

simple additive models through weighted discrepancy models.[16]

The debate about satisfaction with facets of employment

and how they may be combined need not be discussed at this

point since that is basically a measurement issue of rele-

vance only when overall satisfaction is the object of measure-

ment. In fact, some researchers simply ignore overall

satisfaction completely as exemplified by Smith, Kendall and

Hulin. This developed a measure of satisfaction which

focused on five job areas; the type of work, the promotional

opportunity, pay, supervision and co-workers. And as they

point out, their "job satisfaction index" is "directed
toward specific areas of satisfaction rather than global or
general satisfaction."[17]

Despite the fact that Smith, Kendall and Hulin ignore
global satisfaction it still seems apparent that in defining
satisfaction and dissatisfaction a distinction between broad
and narrow considerations must be made. That is, these
phenomena must be viewed from an overall perspective and a
facet perspective as well.

However, whether one speaks of overall dissatisfaction
or dissatisfaction with certain aspects or facets of a job
it is apparent that certain common elements need to be recog-
nized in defining these terms. First of all, dissatisfaction
clearly is an affective attitude, or more simply, a "feeling"
based on an evaluation of conditions of employment. Further-
more, as Dubin points out, these reactions are on the parts
of individuals.[18] Moreover, these attitudes are necessarily
grounded within the particular content and context of employ-
ment and can be considered time bound in that attitudes and
situations can change.

Thus, for the purpose of this study two definitions of
job dissatisfaction are offered;

> Overall or Global Dissatisfaction - An
> overall negative affective attitude by an
> individual worker based on his evaluation
> of the content and/or context of his job
> at a particular time.

> Facet Dissatisfaction - A negative attitude
> by an individual worker based on his
> evaluation of one or more elements of the

content of his job and/or one or more
elements of the context of his job at
a particular time.

Job satisfaction will be considered as favorable
affective attitudes in both of these areas for definitional
purposes. The question of whether satisfaction and dis-
satisfaction are polar opposites on an attitudinal continuum
or really separate attitudes will be deferred until further
discussion of the theoretical perspectives on these attitudes
and how these attitudes are to be measured.

2. Theoretical Pespectives on Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction

In investigating the underlying theoretical perspectives
concerning the causes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction it
is readily apparent that there is no single commonly agreed
upon lawlike generalization in this area. In fact, Wanous
and Lawler suggest that "there is a serious lack of good
theory about the very meaning of job satisfaction."[19] Lawler
alone goes even farther by stating that,

> Despite the many studies, critics have
> legitimately complained that our under-
> standing of the causes of job satisfaction
> has not substantially increased during the
> last 30 years . . . for two main reasons.
> The research on job satisfaction has typically
> been atheoretical and has not tested for
> causal relationships. Since the research
> has not been guided by theory, a vast array
> of unorganized virtually uninterpretable
> facts have been unearthed. . . One thing
> the research on job satisfaction has done
> is to demonstrate the saying that "theory
> without data is fantasy; but data without
> theory is chaos.[20]

Despite this rather strong conclusion Lawler nonetheless points out that there have been four general areas where theoretical work has been developed, those being need fulfillment theory, discrepancy theory, equity theory and the two-factor theory.[21]

Fulfillment theory appears to have developed relatively early in the study of job satisfaction as the major works in this area were accomplished during the early 1950's. In 1953 Schaffer summarized the basic theoretical perspective of the fulfillment approach when he stated,

> Over-all satisfaction will vary directly with the extent to which those needs of an individual which can be satisfied in a job are actually satisfied; the stronger the need, the more closely will job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment.[22]

In this study Schaffer examined the extent to which the fulfillment of twelve different needs (such as recognition, affection and achievement) correlated with an overall measure of job satisfaction among 72 employed males. His basic finding was that indeed need fulfillment predicted overall job satisfaction, particularly when a person's two or three strongest needs were examined.[23]

Morse restates this perspective slightly differently when she hypothesized that,

> Satisfaction depends basically upon what an individual wants from the world, and what he gets. The least satisfied person is the one who wants a great deal and gets very little. The most satisfied is the one who wants a great deal and gets it.[24]

She went on to conclude after studying 742 clerical and 73

first and second line supervisors that "satisfaction is
increased directly by the amount the individual's tensions
are reduced and decreased directly by the amount of remaining
tensions."[25] In other words, workers with unfulfilled needs
have internal tensions which have to be reduced through ful-
fillment of the needs in order to create worker satisfaction.
Thus, satisfaction under this approach is simply determined
by jobs fulfilling the needs of the workers.

However, she also discovered that simple need fulfill-
ment was not the only factor which needed to be taken into
consideration, which shed some doubt on the simple need
theory. Individual differences in desires also had to be
taken into account when predicting satisfaction. To illu-
strate the importance of individual desires Morse offered
the following example,

> Suppose we take two people who both have
> a need for five apples and one gets three
> and the other only gets one. We would expect
> that the man who got the greater number
> of apples will be more satisfied or less
> dissatisfied than the one who got less.
> On the other hand suppose a person wants
> five apples and gets three and another
> wants three and gets just that number.
> It seemed logical that the one who still
> has a need for five apples will not be as
> satisfied as the one who gets just what
> he wanted.[26]

Lawler suggests that the next theoretical perspective
attempted to take into account individual differences in
desires and can be characterized as discrepancy theory.[27]
He points out that many psychologists "maintain that satis-
faction is determined by the differences between the actual

outcomes a person receives and some other outcome level."[28]
While he further notes that the various approaches under this
general theoretical heading differ in their definitions of
what is meant by the other outcome level he concludes that,
"all of the theoretical approaches argue that what is received
should be compared with another outcome level, and when there
is a difference - when received outcome is below the other
outcome level - dissatisfaction results."[29]

Katzell typifies this approach to satisfaction when he
proposes a model which is that facet satisfaction = $1-f((X-V)/V)$ where X is the actual outcome received while V is the
amount of a particular outcome which is desired. In other
words, he suggests that under his model that people differ
not only in the extent to which certain outcomes are needed
but also in the extent to which they desire outcomes. Thus,
for him dissatisfaction would result when there is a dis-
crepancy between desired outcomes and actual outcomes
received. As an aside, he also concludes that satisfaction
is a linear combination of these various facet satisfaction
discrepancies.[30]

Locke also assumes that discrepancies are the key to
understanding satisfaction and dissatisfaction but he takes
issue with Katzell's approach by suggesting that this model
ignores individual values and thus is in error.[31] For
Locke, actual outcomes are not what is important in assessing
discrepancies rather it is perceived outcomes which are what
is important. Or as he says, "Job satisfaction and dis-

satisfaction are a function of the perceived relationship between what one wants from one's job and what one perceives it is offering or entailing."[32] In other words, in understanding satisfaction and dissatisfaction one has to recognize that there may be discrepancies which occur in various facets of employment but these discrepancies among individuals result from individual value judgments concerning desired and actual outcomes. That is, satisfaction and dissatisfaction are value responses to a situation and entail estimates of what is wanted, how much is obtained and the personal importance of obtaining something.[33]

Porter has also taken a discrepancy approach but in measuring satisfaction he too takes a different perspective. In his study of 278 management level workers he defined satisfaction as the discrepancy between what a manager was receiving and what he thought he should receive.[34] While this approach is similar to Locke's in that value judgments necessarily were made my these managers, there still is a major distinction in Porter's discrepancy approach. That is that it is not so important to determine how much a person wants, rather it is important to assess how much a person feels he should receive.

While discrepancy theory builds upon fulfillment theory in the sense that it takes into account the importance of individual values and recognizes that people do differ in their values, it is nonetheless vague on how people come to decide what their outcomes should be. In other words, the

evaluative component of satisfaction is not clearly specified. Lawler goes on to suggest that equity theory, while primarily a motivational theory, does shed some light on this perspective of satisfaction.[35]

Adams suggests that it is not merely discrepancy between what is received and what is desired which creates feelings of fairness or satisfaction, rather there is "an element of justice" which must also be taken into account.[36] More specifically, Adams feels that the amount of effort a worker puts into his work in comparison to what he receives is also an important element of satisfaction or dissatisfaction or as he defines inequity,

> Inequity exists for Person whenever his perceived job inputs and/or outcomes stand psychologically in an obverse relation to what he perceives are the inputs and outcomes of Other.[37]

Or as he puts it slightly differently,

> When the normative expectations of the person making social comparisons are violated - when he finds his inputs and outcomes are not in balance in relation to those of others - feelings of inequity result.[38]

Thus, for Adams it is important to recognize when looking at dissatisfaction that people also evaluate their efforts and their impact on outcomes or rewards. Furthermore, in addition to perceptions of the ratio of input to outcome, others in the social environment are compared to the individual worker in developing the attitudes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Zalesnick also stresses the importance of equity on the

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job as a componenet of satisfaction or dissatisfaction as he states,
"one important source of employee complaint and dissatisfaction is a
sense of being wronged, or being dealt with unjustly in comparison with
other people."[39] He goes on to outline what he calls a theory of
retributive justice in which it is suggested that workers contribute
certain investments to their work ranging from actual physical effort to
psychological investments such as hopes or aspirations. If however, the
outcomes of work are not in line with perceived investments then he
suggests that feelings of injustice will result.[40] Justice, on the other
hand is spoken of in terms of the worker's feeling that his investments
and rewards or outcomes are in line with one another. After studying
clinical evidence among department members in a manufacturing company
Zalesnik concluded that there was indeed "a relationship between dis-
satisfaction and out-of-line conditions between rewards and social
investments."[41]

Thus, both of these authors concluded that attitudes of satisfaction
or dissatisfaction result not only from need fulfillment and reducing
the discrepancy between what is desired and what is received but also
from an evaluation of the worker's current situation in relation to
others. Porter and Lawler summarize this by defining satisfaction as,

> the extent to which rewards actually
> received meet or exceed the perceived
> equitable level of rewards. The greater
> failure of actual rewards to meet or exceed
> perceived equitable rewards, the more
> dissatisfied a person is considered to be
> in a given situation.[42]

Despite the obvious differences in these three previous approaches,
there still appears to be a common assumption which is shared in all
three. That is that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are really polar

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extremes along an attitudinal continuum. For example, under fulfillment theory if needs are not fulfilled there is worker dissatisfaction while increasing fulfillment leads to increased satisfaction. Discrepancy theory as well assumes that when great discrepancy exists so does dissatisfaction but by reducing discrepancies satisfaction will increase. And finally, equity or distributive justice assmes that when things are unfair or inequitable that dissatisfaction results but by reducing the inequities associated with the job then satisfaction will increase. So these three approaches view the attitude of satisfaction/dissatisfaction based on the following model;

Dissatisfaction   Neutral   Satisfaction
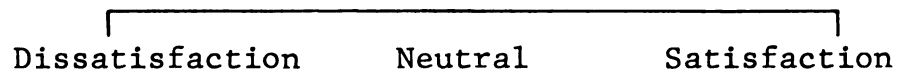
Figure 1 - Single Factor Model

The final theoretical approach suggested by Lawler views satisfaction and dissatisfaction radically different from the model cited above which is associated with the first three approaches. Two-factor theory, which was originally developed by Herzberg, Mausener, Peterson and Capwell in 1957[43] assumes that various job factors could contribute to job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. In other words, rather than suggesting that there is an attitudinal continuum along the lines of the other theoretical approaches, under this two-factor approach satisfaction and dissatisfaction were

considered to be different attitudes produced by different
things. Some time after this initial proposal Herzberg
summarized this conclusion by saying,

> the factors involved in producing job
> satisfaction were separate and distinct from
> the factors that led to job dissatisfaction.
> Since separate factors needed to be considered,
> depending on whether job satisfaction or job
> dissatisfaction was involved, it followed that
> these two feelings were not the obverse of
> each other. Thus, the opposite of job satis-
> faction would not be job dissatisfaction, but
> rather no job satisfaction; similarly, the
> opposite of job dissatisfaction is no job
> dissatisfaction, not satisfaction with one's
> job.[44]

Under this approach then there are really two independent
attitudinal continua which can be represented as follows;

Dissatisfaction   No Dissatisfaction

No Satisfaction   Satisfaction
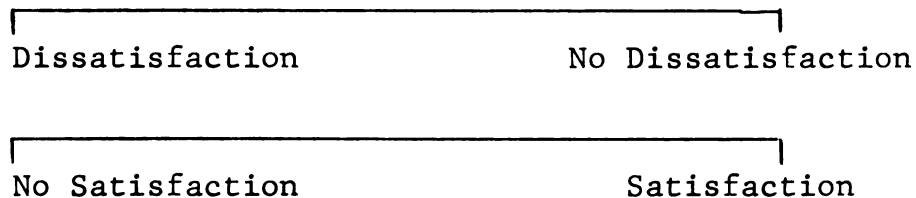
Figure 2 - Two Factor Model

The initial empirical support for this theoretical per-
spective was published by Herzberg, Mausener and Snyderman
in 1959.[45] In their original study they interviewed a group
of accountants and engineers employed in Pittsburgh and they
attempted to identify major sources of satisfaction and dis-
satisfaction on the job. The basic interview technique
consisted of asking the respondents to describe critical
incidents on the job which they felt led to feelings of

extreme dissatisfaction or extreme satisfaction, after which they also probed for the strength of these feelings and the effects that they had personally on the workers and on the company.[46]

Based on a content analysis of the critical incidents provided by those studied the authors concluded that indeed different factors contributed to feelings of job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. They concluded that there were basically five sets of factors which contributed to each separate feeling. For job satisfaction they suggested that achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement were more often associated with satisfaction.[47]

In other words, the subjects in this initial study when describing situations on the job when they felt exceptionally good often referred to being personally recognized by supervisors, peers or others. They also indicated that the actual performance of job tasks was a source of positive feelings about the job as were successful completion of tasks or seeing the results of one's work, that is achievement. In addition, advancement in terms of change of status or position were often cited as contributing to satisfaction. Finally, the subjects also derived satisfaction from being responsible for their own work or being given additional personal responsibility or authority over others.

On the other hand, they further suggested that job dis-satisfaction resulted from company policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and working

conditions.[48] In terms of company policy and administration incidents reflected such situations as inadequate work organ- ization or lines of communication. Supervision factors referred to technical supervision as it was related to immediate supervisory competence or fairness. Salary in general was characterized in terms of unfulfilled salary expectations. Interpersonal relations were further seen to contribute to dissatisfaction in terms of situations where interactions between peers and supervisors were seen as negative in the critical incidents described. Finally, working conditions referred to negative references to the physical environment, amount of work to be performed, type of equipment utilized and the like.

This original study has been replicated a number of times and a variety of researchers have demonstrated similar findings among a variety of workers. For example, similar results occurred in studies of military officers, engineers, scientists, housekeepers, teachers, assemblers, lower level supervisors, foremen in Finland, Hungarian engineers, professional women, agricultural administrators, hosptial workers, nurses, manufacturing supervisors, food handlers and management level personnel who were about to retire.[49]

The consistency of these findings has led Herzberg to not only conclude that dissatisfaction and satisfaction are different attitudes with different determinants but also that determinants of satisfaction are primarily intrinsic to the job while the determinants of dissatisfaction are

extrinsic to the job.[50] That is, for example, the type of work done can contribute to job satisfaction but on the other hand the conditions under which the work is performed can lead to dissatisfaction. Under this theoretical approach then, a worker can simultaneously be dissatisfied and satisfied with his job because of different factors.

It is apparent that Herzberg's approach to satisfaction and dissatisfaction focuses on the facet elements rather than global definitions. Thus, no attempt is made under this approach to explain the extent to which various factors combine to produce overall attitudes, rather the factors identified refer to specific situation effects on attitudes.

Despite the intuitive appeal of this last approach to studying job attitudes it should be noted that it has come under vigorous attack from some writers. One of the strongest criticisms was by Dunnette, Campbell and Hakel who concluded that, not only are the findings obtained under replications of this approach a result of the methodology utilized but also, there are "grave flaws in the story telling method" and the method of interpreting results is highly oversimplified and subject to all sorts of subjective interpretation. In addition, they suggest that interviews in and of themselves provide no safeguards against defensive or socially desireable responses by subjects. Further they note that the two-factor theory implies causality which really can not be inferred without resorting to the experimental method.[51] Their quite harsh conclusion is that it is

time to "lay the two-factor theory to rest, and we hope that it may be buried peaceably."[52] These criticisms will be more carefully examined in the later discussion of the methodology of this research.

Thus, in summary there appears to be no universally accepted theory of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It would seem that fulfillment theory ignores values of workers and further elaboration of discrepancy theory, while accounting for values, was somewhat deficient concerning the evaluative component of attitudes. Equity theory looks more closely at the evaluation against certain standards but assumes as the other two do as well that dissatisfaction and satisfaction fall along the same attitudinal scale. Finally, two-factor theory assumes that dissatisfaction and satisfaction are distinct feelings which are determined by different factors associated with the job.

So, while admittedly the observations in the criminal justice literature do not expressly look at correctional officer dissatisfaction in terms of any of these four theoretical perspectives, it may be possible to assess the extent to which researchers in this field have implicitly taken one or more of the approaches as outlined in this section in suggesting causes of dissatisfaction. For example, if need fulfillment underlies assumptions about dissatisfaction we would assume that observations and studies would suggest that officers are dissatisfied with their needs for achievement, security and the like not being fulfilled. Or

alternatively, if discrepancy theory underlies these
observations then conclusions would most likely suggest that
officers should be receiving outcomes at a different level
than they currently are. Equity perspectives would probably
lead to suggestions that officers are dissatisfied since
their rewards are out of balance with respect to the inputs
brought to the job. And finally, under the two-factor
approach we would expect that the literature on correctional
officer dissatisfaction would stress that factors associated
with the context of the job of guard are the primary deter-
minants of dissatisfaction.

It would seem appropriate then at this point to more
fully examine what various writers and researchers have
suggested are the primary determinants of dissatisfaction
among correctional officers in order to summarize the basic
theoretical assumptions associated with this phenomenon.

3. <u>Suggested Determinants of Correctional Officer Dissatis-</u>
<u>faction</u>

In reviewing the literature concerning correctional
officer job dissatisfaction it is apparent that most authors
speak of dissatisfaction in a vague way. However, they also
do not, in general, refer to dissatisfaction in the global
or overall manner as defined earlier. Rather, the various
pieces of literature tend to try to explain dissatisfaction
from a facet perspective. That is, the literature focuses

on dissatisfaction with various factors associated with
correctional employment rather than overall dissatisfaction
with the specific job of corrections officer. More
specifically, fifteen characteristics of correctional officer
employment have been suggested as being conditions leading
to dissatisfaction. These factors include; Salary, Isolation,
Boredom, Work Environment, Reality Shock, Danger, Adversity
and Uncertainty, Promotional Practices, Lack of Career
Ladders, Unclear Behavioral Rules, Inconsistent Rewards,
Role Conflict and Limited Role, Powerlessness and Alienation.

While each of these various factors may be of individual
interest it appears rather clearly that they all are consis-
tent with the theoretical perspective as offered by Herzberg's
two-factor theory. For example, Herzberg too, as noted
earlier, found that salary was a significant contributor to
dissatisfaction. In addition, promotional practices, lack
of career ladders and behavioral rules, unknown rewards and
role conflict can be thought of as factors which are
associated with administrative policy and administration
which Herzberg also found to be a major source of dis-
satisfaction. The danger, environment, isolation and bore-
dom obviously are conditions associated with working
conditions of a correctional officer. Adversity, powerless-
ness, authority corruption and uncertainty may refer to
conditions which result from interpersonal relations with
inmates and fellow workers and thus again fall under
Herzberg's model of dissatisfaction. And finally, alien-

ation and unclear rules result from lower level supervision which also is a characteristic of the two-factor theoretical approach.

Thus, it is apparent that the observers of correctional officer dissatisfaction, while not explicitly recognizing it, treat the causes of dissatisfaction from the same sort of approach as utlized by Herzberg and others. That is, dissatisfaction is primarily a result of salary, policy and administration, working conditions, interpersonal relations and supervision.

It should be noted that the entire two-factor theory is not totally embraced by writers in the field of corrections since the assumptions concerning satisfaction on the job are not shared by these writers. However, that is primarily a result of the fact that virtually nothing has been said or studied about how satisfied officers are. As noted earlier, the picture of correctional officers at work is a gloomy one where dissatisfaction is the primary attitude expressed by these workers. Put simply, no one suggests that correctional officers are in any way satisfied with their work. This is a serious void in the understanding of correctional officer attitudes about employment which will be more closely addressed later in the chapter.

In looking at what the observers and researchers say are the causes of dissatisfaction the various literature will be roughly summarized under the same basic headings proposed by Herzberg.

Salary - Sykes was one of the earliest observers of corrections to suggest that low salaries were a significant contributor to job dissatisfaction among correctional officers. In his study of the New Jersey State Prison in the 1950's one of his major conclusions was that, "there can be little doubt that the low salary scale accounts for much of the prison's high turnover rate."[53] He went on to suggest that the largely transient guard force accounted for a great number of organizational problems for the New Jersey Prison which probably could be alleviated somewhat if salary dissatisfaction were reduced.

In a national survey of custodial officers throughout the United States in 1958 Lunden also concluded that there was a clear relationship between salary levels and separations from correctional work. In particular, he found that in areas of the country where salaries were low the turnover rate was high while in areas where salaries were high turnover tended to be low.[54] He later reaffirmed this observation when he conducted a similar study of Prison Officers in Britain and concluded that stability and solidarity of the custodial staff was in part due to "relative good salaries and retirement benefits."[55]

A number of years later the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training looked a little closer at the extent to which pay levels were dissatisfying elements of correctional officer work. Based on a Lou Harris survey of correctional personnel throughout the country it was found

that only five percent of those surveyed mentioned good salaries as attractions of their job while thirteen percent indicated that "low pay" was the major dislike of their jobs.[56] At first this finding would not seem too significant if one concluded that only thirteen out of a hundred workers thought that pay was a major factor in dissatisfaction. However, the Commission went on to suggest that this thirteen percent figure was really an underestimate of the actual level of discontent. As evidence that this figure was an underestimate they cited a further survey finding that fifty-seven percent of all correctional employees who left the field did so because of "economic reasons, low pay."[57]

Jacobs and Grear also found that the amount of pay was a factor in correctional officer resignations in Illinois in that twenty-six percent of those who resigned from Stateville Prison cited salary as a major reason.[58] However, they also went on to caution that dissatisfaction with salary was probably not the only factor contributing to turnover of officers. That is, other factors leading to dissatisfaction, such as working conditions or family problems, may have been more important. However, it is still apparent that a large number of officers who left employment with this particular prison were indeed dissatisfied with their salaries.

In summary then, it would seem that in the past correctional officer dissatisfaction with salary has been significant. It has been shown to be related to turnover of officers nationally and in at least one major institution.

However, the extent of the actual dissatisfaction with salary is relatively unknown and the importance of low pay in determining dissatisfaction has really not been thoroughly studied. Finally, dissatisfaction with salary is only one component of dissatisfaction as a number of other factors have also been suggested as being determinants of this attitude.

Policy and Administration - In the literature on correctional officer attitudes toward administration and policies probably the sharpest criticisms by officers have been directed toward promotional practices and policies in correctional facilities. In particular, it would seem that promotional policies are often either lacking, not enforced or because of equal opportunity requirements they are viewed as discriminatory against the most senior officers. In a situation where policies on promotion are not explicit or are simply ignored favoritism seems to result and as Jacobs and Retsky found in interviews with thirty guards, "Claims of favoritism are a common complaint and another cause of resentment."[59] They also found that administrative policies had not been developed which could work to reward guards who demonstrated promise on the job. Or in other words, there were no established career ladders for guards and that many of them simply view being a prison guard as a "dead end."[60]

In another study of the attitudes of 929 guards at the Illinois Correctional Training Academy, Jacobs further found support for the view that officers are dissatisfied with promotional policies. In this study he found that seven out

of ten guards surveyed stated that the promotional system
was either "very unsatisfactory" or "somewhat unsatis-
factory."[61] In addition, he also found that two-thirds of
the guards felt that politics or who you knew was the main
factor in determining promotions.[62]

Additional discontent with promotional practices and
policies was found by Jacobs and Grear in interviews with
55 officers who left their jobs as guards. In this study
they found that blacks complained that they did not have
entree to top positions and cited promotions of white
officers over blacks as evidence of favoritism. In addition,
white officers who terminated employment cited the policy
of the administration to appear that they were not discrim-
inating seemed to lead to unfair promotion of blacks to
higher positions even when they did not have equal seniority
as other white officers.[63]

Based on these three studies then it would appear that
correctional officers are in large numbers dissatisfied with
the promotional practices and policies of the correctional
administration. They are dissatisfied because of the
promotional system itself, perceived favoritism and discrim-
inatory practices. It should also be noted however that
these results all came from studies within the same institu-
tion and thus this level of dissatisfaction may only be
situationally determined. That is, without replication in
other facilities it is difficult to firmly conclude the
generality of dissatisfaction with promotional policies among

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other officers employed elsewhere.

A second area of administration and policy which has received some comment is the dissatisfaction among officers based on what they view as vague, inconsistent or non-existent rules for work behavior among the guards. That is, policies about how to perform one's job appear to further contribute to dissatisfaction.

In a participant observation study in a medium sized facility Leo Carroll found that in fact the lack of rules for officer behavior can be an intentional policy approach for correctional administrators. In this particular facility he found that the administration, in an attempt to create a "home away from home" atmosphere, actually abolished rules governing inmate behavior which was evidenced by a quotation from the inmate guide book which stated, "we refrain from listing a series of do's and don'ts."[64] This lack of rules he concluded, however, resulted in a sense of futility and frustration among the custodial staff and rule enforcement evolved into a highly discretionary and inconsistent activity. This sense of dissatisfaction with the lack of rules may be illustrated by a quotation from one officer who was particularly frustrated,

> That's the biggest problem today. There's
> no policy, no guidelines. You know I consider
> myself to be a well balanced person and I try
> to understand what they mean by not listing
> "do's and do'nts." But you just can't run an
> institution without a written policy of some
> sort. But fantastically enough that's what
> we're doing.[65]

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Further, even in institutions where rules may exist Fogel points out that these rules are not clearly spelled out and while the guard force may look like a military unit, "discretion and accompanying confusion reign nearly supreme. It is hard for a guard to know what will be rewarded."[66] Lombardo reaffirms the problem with inconsistency resulting from unclear rules in his study of guards at Auburn Prison when he found that, "Many officers also experience dissatisfaction with what they perceive as inconsistencies in institutional procedures."[67] As an example of this type of rule inconsistency he noted that there is no standardization of rules from one institution to another. For example, certain goods may be purchased by inmates in one institution in New York while at Auburn these same goods may be prohibited.

Jacobs and Retsky when looking at the problems of working as a tower guard also found problems with rules and policies affecting attitudes of these officers. In particular, they point out that the tower guard is placed in a uniquely uncomfortable position for it is his duty to prevent escapes and attacks on fellow officers through the use of lethal weapons if necessary. Yet Jacobs and Retsky also found that rules that did exist with respect to the use of dealy force were very ambiguous.[68]

Thus, the lack of administrative policies in terms of written rules for inmates or guards appears to be another source of dissatisfaction for correctional officers. Even

where rules do exist a number of observers have suggested
that they are ambiguous or unclear and this results in
inconsistency and frustration among the guard force since
they don't know what they are supposed to do nor if they will
be rewarded for a particular action.

The last source of dissatisfaction which can be viewed
as falling within the general heading of administration and
policy has been variously described as role conflict or role
stress among officers. This refers to the observation that
guards have been asked by administrators to fill basically
two different roles on their job but since these two roles
are so incompatible, personal conflict and stress result
from attempts to satisfy policy directives to fulfill them
both simultaneously.

As noted earlier, in the early days of guarding prisoners
the guard had a simpler task to perform on the job than he
does today. His mission was simply to prevent escapes and to
maintain order and silence within the institutions. But as
Fogel points out, this mission slowly began to erode by the
mid-to-late nineteenth century.[69]

By that time in addition to the task of security or
custody the guards had to adapt to the growing influences of
reformation and rehabilitation of prisoners. Again Fogel
notes that over the years a variety of disciplines have
entered the prison to ply their trades in order to effect
individual change in inmates.[70] This influx of "profession-
als" seriously complicated the role of the guard, or

correctional officer, for now not only was his security function difficult but in addition he was also supposed to personally become invovled in the rehabilitation process.

As Poole and Regoli point out, the introduction of the term "Correctional Officer" itself is a clear indication of the changing expectations by policy makers and administrators of the guard's role.[71] Rehabilitation and treatment as organizational goals, however, assume certain approaches to the processing and handling of prisoners. First, inmates in order to be rehabilitated must be treated individually. Individuality further implies there should be no hard and fast rules applying to everyone. Furthermore, treatment professionals should be able to apply their techniques in an open and flexible environment. However, these assumptions are in direct conflict with the prevailing custodial orientation within the guard's role. That is, in order to maintain order and security the guard has traditionally had to rely on rules and regulations. Flexibility and openness were threats to security and custody. Furthermore, inter-action and openness with inmates was thought to compromise a guard's custodial efforts.

Putting this change in role slightly differently Jacobs and Retsky noted that the addition of the role of rehab-ilitation had meant that, "Inmates are to be understood, not blamed, and formal disciplinary mechanisms should be triggered as infrequently as possible."[72] Yet it was also apparent to Jacobs and Retsky that directives on how to

perform the new rehabilitation role were often vague and this led to frustration among the guard force such that they either left the job of guarding or fell back on their security and maintenance functions since that was the only one on which they could be objectively evaluated.[73]

Thus, when administrative policy makers suggest that in addition to custody a guard must also assume an active position in the rehabilitation of inmates through relaxation of rules and acceptance of treatment professionals, as well as the mandated active interest in inmates as individuals, personal role conflict has resulted. The essence of this role conflict is that for the guard the two roles are basically incompatible. Order and custody are to be maintained but within the context of flexibility and openness- obviously a contradiction.

As Carroll notes, when such a conflict exists or when the officers' role becomes so confused the new role of rehabilitation or treatment is not afforded the same legitimacy among guards as is the role of security. Or as he suggests, "They continue to refer to themselves as guards, to view their primary function as security and control, and to hold a custodial perspective on the nature of crime and the proper treatment of inmates."[74]

Again while the evidence concerning the extent of role conflict is somewhat limited, Crouch found in a survey of guards in a southwestern prison that about sixty percent of those surveyed experienced some degree of role conflict.[75]

That is, six out of ten guards found the policies of rehab-
ilitation and custody to be in conflict and incompatible.
Lombardo also found some evidence of role conflict in his
study of guards at Auburn Prison although the proportion
indicating role conflict was somewhat less than Crouch's
study in that only one-third indicated such conflict.[76]

Farmer also found that where administrators create
policies which suggest that guards must perform both roles of
custody and treatment that administrators may not realize
that they are in fact creating a policy "that is impossible
for the custodial officer to implement."[77] Being put in such
a situation could of course lead to dissatisfaction. He goes
on to find in a study of 58 officers in different types of
facilities that indeed role conflict developed from such
policies and the guards adapted to this conflict by becoming
more cynical about their jobs and the expressed marked
alienation from both inmates and the supervisory staff as a
result.[78] Poole and Regoli found similar results in a study
of 144 guards where they found that because of a shift from
traditional custodial orientation policy toward rehabilitative
or treatment policy orientations that the guards felt more
powerless and isolated.[79]

Thus, where administrative policy within prisons has
suggested to guards that they perform the dual roles of
custody and reform it is apparent that dissatisfaction
results. The policies being so incompatible lead guards to
positions of not knowing what to do on the job because of

role conflict and they have been shown to exhibit a variety
of attitudes indicative of dissatisfaction with their employ-
ment.

In summary then, it is apparent that correctional officers
are dissatisfied with various facets of organizational
policies and administration. In particular, they find
promotional practices to be a source of resentment and view
the job of correctional officer as a dead end because of the
lack of career ladders. They also view the rules for work
as being vague or inconsistent such that discretion and
confusion result. And finally, where administrative policies
suggest that the guard perform two incompatible roles the
guard is likely to become frustrated and feel alienated from
not only the administration but also from the inmates he is
supposed to control. That is, officers may be asked to
control and rehabilitate at the same time and not being able
to do either effectively leaves the officer confused and
angry with those making such policies and the inmates who
ate one moment he must discipline and at the next counsel.

Working Conditions - The next general area of factors
which correctional officers apparently are dissatisfied with
roughly fall within the category of working conditions. That
is, officers in addition to being dissatisfied with salary
and policies also are apparently dissatisfied with various
aspects of the conditions under which they are supposed to
actually perform their work. Within this general framework
three basic facets emerge from the literature on correctional

officers. Those three basic factors are danger, the environment itself and boredom or isolation.

As one might logically expect working in an institution where murderers, robbers and other convicted felons are housed for long periods of time creates a situation where fear is prominent among officers. Aggression by dangerous men clearly seems likely, if not in reality certainly in potential and as Brodsky notes, "guards . . . are the most available target for this aggression."[80]

Jacobs and Retsky summarzie the dangerous nature of a guard's work by noting that "tension continually looms over the prison threatening to explode into assault or even riot."[81] This potential for personal injury is further confounded by the fact that guards are in essence personally defenseless, or a Jacobs and Retsky go on to point out,

> Within the maximum security prison guards carry no weapons because they might be overpowered by the greater number of inmates and have the weapons turned on them. Ironically, many inmates are armed or have easy access to lethal weapons like shivs, razors, iron pipes, bats and broken glass.[82]

Dissatisfaction with the danger associated with the job of correctional officer appears to be rather commonplace as evidenced by a number of studies. Jacobs found in his survey of 929 officers that when they were offered an unstructured question asking them to list the major disadvantage of the job, 49% of those surveyed responded by suggesting that danger was the most important disadvantage.[83]

To measure the relative strength of this disadvantage Jacobs utilized a seven point scale ranging from (1) extremely dangerous to (7) not dangerous at all and found a mean response of about "3" with 29 percent of the officers responding with a "1" indicating that they felt the job was extremely dangerous.[84]

Lombardo found similar results in his study of Auburn officers whereby about one-third of the officers interviewed referred to danger or tension as "the worst thing about the job."[85] He further concluded that "most officers express the opinion that large-scale violence is a constant possibility and can be precipitated by seemingly random events."[86]

Officers working in a medium security institutions also apparently are dissatisfied with the element of danger present within their type of employment. Kinsell and Shelden in their survey of 63 officers in a medium security prison in Nevada found that personal or general "security was the most important problem associated with their job."[87] Replicating Jacobs' seven point scale concerning the intensity of the feeling of danger they found that 38.5% believed that their job was extremely dangerous and 60.2% of their sample fell on the "dangerous end of the continuum."[88]

As again noted earlier dissatisfaction is often related to turnover and in their interviews of those separated from employment at Stateville, Jacobs and Grear found that danger was the most cited reason contributing to a decision on the

part of officers to resign. They found that 52% of those interviewed indicated that danger was an influence in their resignation decision.[89]

Thus, while the research is confined to a limited number of institutions, it is clear that officers are dissatisfied with the amount of danger associated with their job of guarding prisoners. They have variously referred to the danger on the job as being the greatest disadvantage, the worst thing about the job or the most important problem on the job. In addition, they also cite this as an important reason for leaving employment as a correctional officer.

The second area associated with the actual working conditions may be roughly categorized as the environment of the prison itself. In particular, the large fortress type prison is unique in its environment as a work place and some have suggested that this work environment is a significant source of discomfort and dissatisfaction among officers.

Almost five decades ago Roucek was one of the first to recognize that working conditions in prisons had to be improved as he observed that the hours were long and the work of a guard had to be carried out in "irksome and confining conditions."[90] However, one can easily conclude that this statement is an oversimplification when applied to the working conditions of correctional officers today.

A large number of fortress type prisons currently in use in state correctional systems were built over a century ago when the prevailing prison philosophy required such massive

structures to house prisoners in small single cells. Today these facilities are often in poor physical condition, over-crowded and are outdated legacies of a past era. Yet they continue to be the work place of many officers and other correctional employees.

Crouch and Marquart have rather graphically described what it is like to work under "ghettolike" conditions in these large maximum security prisons where as many as 2,000 convicted criminals are housed when they described what officer recruits were likely to encounter in the cell blocks;

> This concentration of life presents the
> new guard with an unfamiliar and at the
> very least distracting sensory experience
> as the shouting, radios and televisions
> playing and food trays banging; he smells
> an institutional blend of food, urine,
> paint, disinfectant, and sweat.
>
> Another kind of shock in store for the new
> recruit involves the sexual behavior of
> inmates. The unisex world of prison both
> thwarts sexual desires and offers aberrant
> sexual alternatives. . . (And they conclude)
> the more visable inmate homosexuality
> may provide the greatest reality shock for
> the new guard.[91]

Of course a number of guards are not put in direct contact with inmates on a regular basis but rather are given the task of providing for security in the form of preventing escapes from the perimeter of the institution. These officers often work in the position of perimeter or tower guard. Yet such a job, while removed from the reality shock of the cell block is hardly much better in terms of the environment within which officers must work. Jacobs and Retsky offer

another lucid description of such an environment;

> . . . his lunch is delivered in a metal
> canister which is hauled up to the tower
> by rope. During the winter, coal for a
> 50-year-old pot-bellied stove is hauled
> up in the same fashion. The stove is
> inadequate to heat the tower because of
> wind leaking through the windows . . .
> In the summer, the towers are always
> intolerably hot; the only relief is
> being supplied an ice container hauled
> up along with the food.[92]

While such graphic descriptions suggest that the working

conditions of correctional officers are discomforting, to say

the least, really little research has focused on the extent

to which guards actually are dissatisfied with the working

conditions of large prisons. However, it does seem apparent

that under conditions where officers are expected to work

in facilities which are old and deteriorated and where large

masses of prisoners are grouped together that officers are

likely to experience feelings of dissatisfacion.

Again while this has not been empirically demonstrated

perhaps the closest verification of this observation of the

extent to which working conditions can affect attitudes of

correctional employees is offered in a notation by Fogel

concerning the Vienna Illinois Correctional Facility. This

facility is relatively new having been built in 1971 and it

is operated under a "suburban model" rather than a cellblock

model since inmates live in rooms rather than in cells and

there are no walls to climb or towers to shoot from. Depsite

the high turnover at the nearby Stateville facility, the

waiting list for prospective employees was 1400 people in

1975 at Vienna.[93] Further, Fogel reports that an unpublished evaluation study demonstrated that this facility had a humanizing effect on not only the inmates but on guards as well.[94] Again though, while it has been suggested that working conditions will affect satisfaction and dissatisfaction of correctional officers, the evidence is limited.

The final factor associated with the working conditions of officers and one which is thought to be a source of dissatisfaction is the boring and repetitive nature of the job that officers perform. By and large the day to day activities of the correctional officer are rather constant and routine because of the people processing nature of their jobs. For example, the inmates are awakened and fed at the same times each day, sent to work in the same manner and told to go to sleep at the same time each day.

Jacobs and Retsky note that in such a situation where officers main concerns focus on inmates being "worked," "fed" and "housed" that the most obvious resulting characteristic of prison work becomes its "boredom and routine."[95] Furthermore, they point out that the large fortress type prison is really an institution which is in most ways, in particular physically, isolated from the rest of the world. Where such isolation exists they suggest that the prison becomes a "closed and timeless society where days, weeks, and months have little to distinguish them. With the exception of infrequent riots, few exceptional happenings are likely to occur."[96]

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Within these isolated societies boredom is further compounded by the continuous repetition of tasks which are environmentally created. For example, the guard at the gate must continually open and close the gate to let inmates and staff move from one area of the facility to another. Likewise, to assure that the environment is not disturbed through inmates escaping, the ritual of the count is carried on over and over throughout the workday. Based on the author's own experience the ritual of the count at night provides a clear example of the boring nature of the job the officer must perform. The night officer has absolutely nothing else to do except periodically make sure that there are the same number of bodies present in the locked cells as there were when he came onto his work shift. The dimly lit cellblock at night and the requirement that the counts be done regularly certainly creates boredom among the officers. In fact in Pennsylvania, and I suspect elsewhere as well, the night guards must punch time clocks at various points within the cellblock throughout the night as evidence that the boring nature of their work did not result in their falling asleep.

The cell block guard is not the only person to be subjected to boredom and repetitive tasks. The tower guard as well finds that the environment in which he works is also boring and particularly isolated. Another quotation from Jacobs and Retsky's description of the tower guard illustrates how isolated and bored a tower guard really is;

> The tower guard is alone. Except
> for telephone or walkie-talkie
> communication with the security
> headquarters, he has no contact with
> other individuals during the eight-
> hour shift. It is forbidden to bring
> either a radio or reading material
> into the tower.[97]

Wicks points out that while some employees may welcome the boredom associated with their jobs, by and large, such a boring and repetitive environment is unappealing to most guards and serious consequences may result. In particular, he suggests that these circumstances may lead to negative defenses on the part of guards. Or as he observes, "Goals may be lowered in life; fantasy may be used to an extreme to escape the drudgery. Low grade depression or apathy may result. And alcohol or drugs may be used to help them get through the day."[98]

In the only study of correctional officers which touched on the element of boredom within the working environment, Lombardo found in his study of Auburn guards that more than a third of the guards stated that they had experienced difficulties with the boredom and routine associated with their work.[99] He too found that adaptation to the boredom of the work place led to a number of outcomes. The first he found was that some officers reacted by developing what he called "prison stupor," which refers to guards simply turning themselves off from the need for any outside stimuli throughout their work hours.[100] Furthermore, he noted that boredom and repetitiveness created a situation where guards

adapt by imposing rigid routines during the course of their work day in order to create landmarks by which they can measure the progress toward the end of the shift. This in turn though creates more repetition and in fact may compound the boredom encountered in the prison.

In sum, while the evidence is again limited, it does appear that officers in correctional institutions are dissatisfied with various working conditions associated with their employment. They find the work dangerous and see themselves as targets of aggression against which they have little or no defense. Furthermore, the environment in which they work is isolated, outdated and in may ways a "ghettolike" atmosphere. Personal discomfort and isolation are also cited as contributing to dissatisfaction. And finally, the environment creates jobs in which boredom is prominent as is routine activity and repetition. Thus, officers are dissatisfied with various working conditions and these various facets may each contribute to overall job dissatisfaction among officers.

Interpersonal Relations - The next area of factors which officers apparently find dissatisfying can be roughly categorized as factors emerging from interpersonal relations on the job. In particular, correctional officers seem to be dissatisfied with interpersonal relations with the inmates themselves. It has been suggested by a number of writers that guards have to suffer through a great deal of adversity on the part of the inmates and despite the apparent legal

power associated with their positions in fact find themselves
with their authority undermined by inmates leaving them in a
situation of uncertainty and virtual powerlessness.

Adversity on the part of inmates is of course associated
with the aggressive nature of the individuals confined to
prisons. As was noted earlier, the prisoners confined to
these institutions are often aggressive and the guard may be
the target of such aggression. This level of aggression and
adversity is unique to this type of employment in that few
other workers are required to interact personally with people
who do not want to be institutionalized, do not necessarily
want to abide by the institutional routine and in fact look
upon the employee as a symbol of the authority which is keep-
him isolated from free society against his will. Cormier
notes the uniqueness of these types of interpersonal rela-
tionships when he says, "Few individuals in a democratic
society are exposed, day after day, year after year, to such
paranoid thinking as are prison guards. They are constantly
exposed to persecution."[101]

The type of adversity in interpersonal relationships with
inmates should be distinguished from the type of aggression
which may take the form of physical attacks or riots,
however. This type of adversity refers to the hostile
manner in which inmates personally act in their interactions
with officers. That is, repeatedly inmates interact with
guards in a sarcastic and negative manner. A quotation from
an interview conducted by Lombardo exemplifies the nature

of this adversity in interpersonal relationships with inmates;

> Being able to take a little guff,
> sarcasim and insults from the inmates.
> No matter who the inmate is, you're
> difficult to accept. Even if a guy
> asks you to do something for him, he
> says it in a sarcastic manner. I ask
> him to go away and come back later and
> he goes away cursing. A few days, he
> comes back and he's okay. After that
> I might see him in the hall or out of
> place and tell him to get where he
> belongs and he mumbles under his breath.
> To put up with this kind of stuff every
> day is tough.[102]

Adversity encountered by guards on the part of inmates of course is not always as blatant or open as these types of verbal challenges to the guard. Often such adversity takes the form of what Goffman calls "ritual insubordination." By this Goffman means that inmates in a variety of institutions create adversity in their relations with their keepers by placing a barrier between themselves and the guard and subtlely challenge the guard's ability to control them either individually or collectively.[103] The most obvious sorts of insubordination take the form of those described by Lombardo where griping, bitching and similar behaviors are not really designed to bring about any changes but merely are use as a vehicle to challenge the officer and to create adversity.

The second type of insubordination, however, is more subtle but is also at least equally effective in terms of creating such adversity. This type of insubordination is accomplished through the creation of parody by way of strict adherence to the rules, often accomplished in small groups.

Goffman offers an example cited by Cantine and Riner to illustrate this type of insubordination;

> How to express comtempt for authority?
> The manner of "obeying" orders is one
> way . . . Negroes are especially apt at
> parody, sometimes breaking into a goose-
> step. They seat themselves at table 10
> at a time, snatching off caps simultan-
> eously and precisely.[104]

Another form of insubordination associated with parody is the phenomenon of inmates labeling unpleasant or theatening portions of their environment with nicknames which challenge the institutional authority. For example, again referring to a mental institution, the punishment block may be referred to as the "tea graden."[105] And finally, inmates may also react to guards in a manner whereby they remain aloof, rigid and cool in their interactions. While such insolence is not sufficient to bring about punishment on the part of the custodians, it is nonetheless another efficient manner by which inmates can project their rejection of the guard and his authority and thus create adversity in terms of the relationships which exist between the guard and the guarded.

The evidence concerning the extent to which guards experience such adversity and perceive it as a source of dis-satisfaction is again limited. However, in Lombardo's study it was found that 28% of those interviewed suggested that the type of treatment they received from inmates was a source of dissatisfaction with their jobs as correctional officers.[106] Kinsell and Shelden also found that guards in a medium

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security facility cited this factor as the second most
important problem they had on the job, in that 21.2% of those
contacted mentioned problems such as being taken advantage
of and verbal abuse were important to them.[107]

Jacobs and Grear also found evidence that interpersonal
relations with inmates contributed to dissatisfaction and
turnover as 18.5% of those surveyed cited inmates as the
group with which they had the most trouble with on the job,[108]
and 22% of those surveyed indicated that inmates were a
contributing factor in their decision to leave correctional
work.[109]

The second factor associated with interpersonal relation-
ships with inmates which has been suggested contributes to
job dissatisfaction has been identified as authority corrup-
tion. This differs slightly from adversity in relationships
in that adversity refers to authority challenging while
authority corruption refers to the phenomenon whereby inmates
do not simply challenge an officer's authority and control,
but in fact find a means by which they can undermine and
indeed in some cases virtually eliminate the authority the
officer may initially have over inmates.

May suggested that the traditional sterotype of the
prison guard portrays the guard as a shotgun and billy club
toting overweight man with a well chewed cigar clenched
between his teeth who menacingly confronts prisoners.[110]
This image though really rests on cliches from decades ago
but it nonetheless has often been offered in movies and even

in documentary reports of disturbances, an example being the
media coverage of the Attica riot where the media focused
heavily on the excessive violence among the police and the
correctional officers in the retaking of the prison.

This image of the prison guard implies that the guard
has virtually unlimited power to control and manipulate
prisoners and this authority can range from simple order to
obey, physical coercion and ultimately if need be calling
upon the state for whatever additional force may be necessary
to control inmates ranging from the state police all the way
to the national guard or other military forces.

However, some time ago Sykes recognized that this image
of the omnipotent guard with virtually unlimited power and
force at his disposal was a picture which in fact had nothing
to do with reality of the authority of the guard or correct-
ional officer.   Indeed, he suggested that the guards are
"far from being omnipotent rulers who have crushed all signs
of rebellion against their regime, the custodians are engaged
in a continuous stuggle to maintain order - and it is a
struggle in which the custodians frequently fail."[111] In fact
life in prison is really a society in itself where inter-
personal relationships do not rest upon authority and
compliance but rather,

> Guards and prisoners become invovled in a
> complex pattern of social relationships in which
> authority of the guard is subject to a number of
> corrupting influences; it is only by under-
> standing the nature and extent of thie corrup-
> tion that we can understand the effectiveness
> or ineffectiveness of imprisonment in rehab-
> ilitating the adult criminal.[112]

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Sykes goes on to identify three basic ways by which inmates can corrupt the authority of guards. The first is through friendship. Being involved in the day to day activities of the prison society the guard may view certain inmates to be victims of the prison organization in much the same way in which he the guard is victimized. Further, some inmates may be drawn from the same social situation as the guard himself and the guard may feel more closely related to the inmate than to other correctional personnel such as counselors and other professional treatment personnel. As a result the guard's so-called total power is not used since friendship leads to a reluctance by guards to impose their power on inmates with whom they become friends.

The second way by which authority can be corrupted is through what Sykes calls reciprocity. As he points out the guard is evaluated by the extent to which he can maintain order and compliance within the cellblock but he must often do so without adequate rewards to present to the inmates for such compliance. Thus he must rely on the provision of other services to insure compliance and favorable review by his superiors. One of the most common ways by which the guard can do so is by ignoring minor offenses. This however again weakens his power for inmates then are allowed to violate certain prohibitions in turn for compliance in maintenance of order and the status quo.

The last way in which authority is corrupted is through default, Sykes suggests. This occurs whereby guards

gradually transfer their own power and authority to those they feel they can trust. For example, cellblock runners often are asked to perform tasks normally assigned to guards, such as conducting counts, delivering the mail and the like. However, again through default the guard loses the absolute authority he is envisioned to possess.[113]

The problem resulting from authority corruption is that as Sykes suggest, "Authority, like a woman's virtue, once lost is hard to regain."[114] Even if a guard seeks to regain his authority, his efforts may be checked by a threat on the part of inmates to send a "snitch-kite" - an anonymous note to a guard's superiors outlining his past indiscretions.[115] That is, once the guard's authority is corrupted be inmates he is subject to blackmail such that he is left with little or no power to exert control over his work environment. The inability to control the work environment obviously can result in feelings of dissatisfaction among correctional officers.

Poole and Regoli found evidence that feelings of power-lessness were common among guards particularly where their position with respect to inmates had weakened.[116] Lombardo too found that correctional officer dissatisfaction centered around a set of concerns which he categorized as feelings of powerlessness. In his Auburn study in fact he found that about one-fourth of the responses in his interviews yielded themes of powerlessness and over 60% of the officers referred to powerlessness as a source of dissatisfaction.[117]

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It should be noted however that powerlessness was not solely a result of corruption of authority by inmates, it was also in some ways a result of supervisory practices within the administrative structure of the institution, a topic which will be addressed more fully in the next section.

But there is evidence that interpersonal relationships with inmates within prisons is a contributing factor to over-all dissatisfaction with the work of correctional officers. Further, a number of interpersonal relationship factors are facets on the job with which the officers find certain degrees of dissatisfaction. Inmate relationships are often based on adversity and hostility on the part of the inmates. Further, even when adversity does not openly exist inmates may challenge an officer's authority through ritual insubordination by means of parody or other behaviors. In addition, through interpersonal relationships with inmates a guard's authority may be corrupted through friendship, reciprocity or default. Loss of this authority then can lead to feelings of powerlessness and an inability to control one's own work environment. Loss of this power and the resultant feelings also can be viewed as a source of dissatisfaction among correctional officers.

Supervision - The final set of factors which have been suggested as contributing to dissatisfaction among officers can be grouped together under the heading of supervision. That is, immediate supervisory actions and the relationship between the guard and his supervisor can lead to dissatis-

faction on the job. In particular, the literature suggests that dissatisfaction may result from supervisors who treat correctional officers simply as objects, supervisors may be thought of as not backing their officers, supervisors may treat officers suspiciously in the same manner as inmates or they may create situations in which officers are personally degraded on the job.

As noted earlier correctional institutions are often plagued with high absenteeism and turnover. These two factors have serious consequences for the relationship between guards and their supervisors. Supervisors of correctional officers must first be concerned with adequate staffing of the various positions which guards must occupy during any given shift. However, as Jacobs and Retsky point out, where such high absenteeism and turnover exist in such facilities as Stateville the chief guard must assume the position of putting bodies into the needed work slots and this constant pressure to fill gaps in the work force can result in the supervisory staff viewing subordinates as mere objects.[118]

In addition to perceptions of being treated as objects a number of authors have found that officers feel that supervisors do not give adequate support or backing to the guards when it is necessary. For example, Jacobs investigation into what prison guards think found that a substantial number of those interviewed felt that they did not get sufficient backing as evidenced by a finding that twenty percent of those

in the study disagreed with the statement that supervisors "usually support the officer."[119] Jacobs also found that 32.1 percent of these officers cited relationships with supervisors as a major disadvantage of their work. [120]

Lombardo also found supporting evidence that officers view relationships with supervisors as sources of dissatisfaction on the job. Officers in his study tended to be critical of a perceived lack of support in the handling of inmate disciplinary matters and further suggested that supervisors not only fail to assist officers in performing their duties but actually work against such efforts.[121] In addition he found that officers expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of responsibility that supervisors gave to them and also felt that they had little opportunity for effective input into supervisory decisions.[122] There also appeared to be a significant degree of dissatisfaction with superiors in his sample in that 30 percent of those interviewed suggested that a major bother in their employment was supervision.[123]

Carroll found that incidents occur daily which tend to strengthen this feeling of not being backed and indeed that supervisors often betrayed line officers, or as he described on such incident,

> On one occassion I witnessed an officer
> break up a fight between two inmates. He
> waded in among some 25 spectators and
> separated the two combatants. He informed
> each that they were to be reported for fighting
> and ordered them to return to their cells. . .
> Later in the day he learned that the captain
> had returned them to normal status, and that
> no Disciplinary Board was recommended.[124]

In addition to perceptions of a lack of support on the part of supervisors or comments of not being backed on the job, there is additional evidence that guards perceive the directives and supervision of their immediate bosses as often being contradictory and ambiguous. This is in some ways related to the ambiguity of rules in correctional institutions which was discussed earlier. But Poole and Regoli found that where guards perceive supervision in this way they tended to express sentiments of normlessness, powerlessness and isolation.[125] They also found in an earlier study that such a supervisory orientation contributed to role stress[126] which again was pointed out as a source of dissatisfaction for officers.

Not only do guards perceive inadequacies in supervision but they also apparently view themselves as being treated in much the same manner as inmates within the institution. Poole and Regoli as well as Fogel all cite evidence of this type of treatment which serves to personally degrade officers. Fogel's observation illustrates this type of treatment by supervisors;

> Higher echelon guards assume that contraband smuggling is being conducted by lower echelon guards. Since the former hold power over the latter, they treat them as guards themselves are taught to treat convicts. Guards are "shaken down" or "inspected" on assignment to see that they are working and, as in the case of inmates, receive "tickets" for infractions.[127]

Jacobs and Retsky point out that in addition to these supervisory practices inmates may also make written reports on

guards and in fact guards themselves are encouraged to write "tickets" on each other.[128]

In addition to Lombardo's finding that almost a third of the Auburn guards expressed dissatisfaction with relationships with their superior officers, Kinsell and Shelden found about 30 percent of those studied in a medium security institution found supervisors more sympathetic to inmate problems than to officer problems.[129] Finally, Jacobs and Grear found that 54 percent of the former guards (73 percent of the non-whites) who left correctional officer employment within the first three months cited that their greatest difficulty was with their supervisory officers.[130] So again, in a limited number of institutions relationships with supervisors appear to be a significant source of dissatisfaction among officers in that they perceive that supervisors do not back them, limit their responsibility and input, give them ambiguous directives, and degrade them by treating them in the same manner as inmates are to be treated by guards.

In conclusion, the literature on correctional officers has suggested a wide variety of facets associated with the job of guarding prisoners which officers appear to feel dissatisfaction about. The first set of factors fell within the topic of salary as this was shown to be a prominent area of officer dissatisfaction in at least one major institution and within a national survey of correctional workers. The second area was categorized as policy and administration. Under this are authors who have suggested that promotional

practices are significant sources of dissatisfaction and the lack of career ladders creates a feeling that the job of correctional officer is a dead end.

Rules for officer behavior were also said to be inconsistent, vague or nonexistent which further led to dissatisfaction and frustration among guards since they find it hard to know what's rewarded. Further, administrative policies which have suggested that guards should maintain dual roles of custody and rehabilitation have led to role conflict or stress among officers which has also been suggested as a source of dissatisfaction among guards.

Working conditions are another element of correctional officer work which have been thought to contribute to dissatisfaction. Guards have been described as being greatly concerned about the danger associated with their jobs, they may have to work in ghettolike environments and may be required to perform repetitive and boring tasks within that environment.

In addition, correctional officers experience difficulty in their interpersonal relationships with inmates in that they are confronted daily with overt adversity as well as ritual insubordination. Further, even where their authority is not directly challenged they often fall victim to authority corruption by prisoners such that they are left in a position of having no control over their work environment.

And finally, supervisory procedures and activities also contribute to feelings of dissatisfaction. Supervisors have

been described as not supporting discipline of prisoners by officers and indeed working against the officers perceived interests. Supervisory relationships are also confounded by the types of vague and contradictory directives issued. And too, officers are often treated in the same manner as inmates are treated in that they are searched and undergo the same disciplinary procedures as the inmates themselves undergo.

Thus, it is apparent that while writers and researchers in the field of corrections, while not explicitly stating it, have nonetheless focused on the determinants of dissatisfaction in roughly the same manner as outlined in Herzberg's two-factor theory. That is, the same general areas of dissatisfaction are cited in the corrections literature as would be predicted under the two-factor model.

However, the two-factor model also assumes that employees can also be satisfied on the job because of other factors associated with employment such as achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement. It is useful at this point to examine the extent to which authors have adopted this model as it applies to correctional work in terms of satisfaction as well.

4. Suggested Determinants of Correctional Officer Satisfaction

Based on the theoretical perspectives of Herzberg we

would expect that the literature on correctional officer attitudes and opinions would cite sources of satisfaction as roughly falling within the areas of achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement.

While the information concerning the attitudes and opinions of correctional officers is generally sparse, there has been little investigation into the feelings of job satisfaction among these types of employees. In fact, in the review of the literature there were really only three studies which focused on this issue in any way.

Jacobs in his study of "What Prison Guards Think" found in his interviews with 929 Illinois guards that most seemed to indicate some degree of job satisfaction. The evidence offered for this conclusion was that 40 percent of those interviewed described themselves as being very happy in their job and 50 percent described themselves as somewhat happy in their job.[131] Jacobs went on to conclude that a major element of this feeling of happiness on the job was the work itself as evidenced by the fact that 59 percent of those interviewed cited "interesting work" as one of the main advantages of the job.[132]

Kinsell and Shelden also found some evidence that the work itself led to feelings of satisfaction when they found in their study of guards in a medium security facility that 69.8 percent chose the word "challenging" as the best phrase representing their job.[133] Thus, at least in these two studies there is some evidence of work itself having a

possible impact on feelings of satisfaction although the link
is somewhat vague.

In terms of achievement as a possible source of satis-
faction Kinsell and Shelden also found some additional evi-
dence of this possibility. In their study 61 percent cited
the phrase "it gives me an opportunity to help someone" as
the best description of the job.[134] In other words, it would
appear that this group of respondents identified the ability
to help as an achievement associated with their employment
and thus a possible source of satisfaction.

There is also limited evidence that responsibility con-
tributes to job satisfaction as again pointed out by Kinsell
and Shelden. They found that 57.1 percent indicated that
their job held "great responsibility."[135] But again, the
extent to which they thought this actually contributed to job
satisfaction was not established.

However, recognition was not discovered to be a source
of satisfaction by Lombardo in his Auburn study. He found
that only 16 percent of the guards he studied indicated that
they were satisfied with the amount of recognition they
received on the job. [136] In fact, he went on to conclude
that "most officers believe that their work lacks opportunity
for recognition, which is often a source of discontent."[137]

Advancement as well did not seem to be linked to feel-
ings of satisfaction on the job as Lombardo found that only
four of the fifty guards he spoke with cited advancement as
the best thing about their job - none mentioned it as the

"most satisfying aspect of the job."[138]

Thus, while little evidence is available for support of Herzberg's theory in terms of correctional officer job satisfaction there does appear in the literature reference to achievement, work itself and responsibility as sources of satisfaction on the job. However, recognition and advancement do not appear to be touched upon as determinants of this attitude.

Several additional factors associated with job satisfaction among officers were identified which under Herzberg's model would be more likely sources of dissatisfaction instead. Those additional factos are salary and job security. Jacobs found that 59 percent of this sample cited job security and 39.8 percent cited money as one of the three main advantages of being a correctional officer.[139] Lombardo found similar results in Auburn as well when he found that 60 percent cited pay as the best thing about the job and 60 percent also cited job security as the best thing about their job.[140]

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, while the evidence is limited it does appear that there is some basis in the corrections literature for viewing the sources of job satisfaction and job satisfaction under the same theoretical perspective as suggested by Herzberg under his two-factor model.

There is evidence that job dissatisfaction may be

influenced by facet dissatisfaction with salary, organizational policy and administration, working conditions, interpersonal relations and supervisory procedures and practices.

On the other hand, there is also some evidence, although far more limited, that job satisfaction may be a result of facet satisfaction with achievement, work itself and responsibility. However, there were also some additional possibilities raised that salary and job security may be more important as satisfiers than as dissatisfiers.

However, as has been repeatedly stated, such conclusions are speculative because of the slim empirical support offered in the corrections literature. In fact, the review of the literature has really only focused on a handful of studies which while not only being limited may also be challenged on methodological grounds, particularly in terms of the manner in which attitude measurement took place.

For example, most of the studies cited focused their measurement of attitudes and feelings of job dissatisfaction on open-ended questionnaires or interviews. However, in examining the types of questions asked it is apparent that the subjects' responses could have been unintentionally biased toward the categories of determinants previously discussed. For example, Lombardo in his interviews about the possibility of administration and policy being a source of dissatisfaction asked the following question;

> How about the administration's policies
> toward officers. Do they bother you?[141]

Such a question obviously raises the possibility of suggesting to the respondents that they may be bothered by policies when in fact this bother may be inconsequential in the normal conduct of the job.

In general, the types of studies which have been done have suffered from other methodological problems as well. Most have been participant observation studies where conclusions have been based on researcher perceptions of attitudes or on conversations with officers. The other types of studies have looked at dissatisfaction among those already out of correctional work or address the issue based on preconceived notions of the determinants of dissatisfaction.

Without methodologically critiquing each of the studies cited it is still apparent even if all are methodologically sound that a number of important issues have not been resolved in previous research and indeed a number of important areas of concern within dissatisfaction and satisfaction have not been addressed.

Most notably the works on dissatisfaction and satisfaction have not systematiaclly examined feelings of officers within the definitional context outlined earlier in this chapter. For example, dissatisfaction and satisfaction as feelings are necessarily situational in nautre. That is, these feelings may be instituted within certain situations and these feelings may endure or dissipate. Further, such feelings could vary greatly in duration and intensity. However, the studies cited treat dissatisfaction and

satisfaction in a vague global way implying that these feel-
ings remain constant over a period of time and that indi-
vidual situations are of little importance.

Furthermore, the link between dissatisfaction and satis-
faction and how a correctional officer performs his or her
job has not been examined in the literature. Neither have
outcomes such as personal health or other personal factors,
and feelings toward other workers, supervisors or career
commitment.

And finally, these studies in general have not looked at
the extent to which these feelings may vary across subgroups
in the correctional officer population, although Jacobs
recognized this problem some time ago when he suggested;

> In general it will be important to know
> whether the guards' attitudes, values
> and behavior are better explained by such
> background characteristics as age, race,
> and social class or by such occupationally
> specific variables as time on the job,
> work assignment, and rank.[142]

Thus, it may be that older officers tend to be less satisfied
with their job and that more serious outcomes may result from
this dissatisfaction since they may still yearn for the "good
old days." Then too, dissatisfaction may vary by race in
that black officers may not react to adversity and pressure
by inmates in the same manner as white officers since the
majority of inmates within large institutions are black.
Females as correctional officers are as in other areas of
employment entering into line positions for the first time
and again their reactions to the job may be quite different

from the reactions expressed only by males in the studies already cited. Education as well may differentiate between varying levels of dissatisfaction and satisfaction in that the more educated officers may have the background to cope with the reality shock or the adversity and corruption of authority. Conversely, those with less education may be more inclined to accept the boredom and repetition associated with some officer job assignments.

Veterans of the armed forces may also react differently in that they are used to the military organizational structure, promotion problems as well as some of the administrative policies which for others may be sources of dissatisfaction. In addition, tenure on the job may affect these feelings in that adaptation to employment make take place during longer tenure such that those on the job a long time may not be as dissatisfied with certain circumstances as younger, less experienced officers. On the other hand, more senior officers may again yearn for the old days and be more dissatisfied.

Finally, having relatives working in the correctional field could mitigate some of the extreme feelings of dissatisfaction and the location where officers live could also have an impact. That is, those from large cities may be more familiar with the behavior of urban inmates while those from a rural area may view adversity and danger from a quite different perspective.

Of course all of these additional subgroup factors are

only speculative in the sense of having any impact in that they have not been systematically included in previous research. However, it would still seem important to investigate these additional possible sources of dissatisfaction and satisfaction and the outcomes that these feelings may have among different types of correctional officers.

In summary then, this research will seek to more fully investigate the determinants of correctional officer satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It will look at these attitudes separately within a situational framework and will also seek to examine the intensity of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction as well as the duration of these feelings. In addition, the relative importance of the various facets which may contribute to overall dissatisfaction and satisfaction will be examined.

Also, to further fill the gaps in knowledge about officer attitudes and behaviors, further examinations will be made of the outcomes of these attitudes on personal behaviors, other attitudes and relationships. Finally, this research will also begin to satisfy Jacobs' call for more research into the variability in feelings and attitudes across subgroups based on age, race, sex, education, military experience, tenure, family member employment in corrections and community of residence.

The next chapter will more fully examine the specific research questions associated with filling these voids in what is known about the correctional officer as well as

outline in some detail the actual manner in which the study was conducted and how the data were collected and analyzed.

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CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

As has been repeatedly mentioned in the previous chapters concerning the problem of correctional officer dissatisfaction and satisfaction and the reivew of the literature, very little has been discovered about the feelings of correctional officers with respect to the work that they do. Thus, research on correctional officer job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction is still within the realm of exploration and description rather than prediction.

Therefore, it is rather difficult to develop from the limited information available testable hypotheses about correctional officers' satisfaction and dissatisfaction. That is, the traditional social science definition of hypotheses as "specific expectations about the nature of things, derived from theory,"[1] or predicted relationships between two or more variables[2] presents problems. This is important in a study such as this which seeks to fill knowledge gaps since in such an area very little is currently known.

Thus, instead of traditional hypotheses, this study will address a number of more general questions which were derived from the previously discussed review of the literature. These questions will be outlined next in this chapter, then the manner of data collection will be described,

followed by the manner in which these data were analyzed, and finally this chapter will conclude with a discussion of the possible errors associated with this particular metholology and the implications such errors may have on the findings of this study.

2. Research Questions

As noted in the discussion of the review of the literature, writers in the field of corrections have suggested that the sources of job satifaction and dissatisfaction fall within the same general areas as suggested by Herzberg. Therefore, the following research questions concerning facet satisfaction and dissatisfaction were developed from this perspective. In addition, since little previous research has looked at intensity, duration or outcomes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction additional research questions were developed to address these issues. Finally, again since little research has looked at subgroup variability in attitudes, questions were also developed to assess this variability. The research questions coming from the previous review of the literature are as follows;

    A. Facets of Dissatisfaction and Satisfaction

        1. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify salary as a facet of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

        2. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify policies and administration as facets of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

3. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify working conditions as facets of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

4. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify interpersonal relations as facets of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

5. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify supervision as a facets of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

6. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify achievement as a facet of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

7. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify recognition as a ifacet of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

8. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify work itself as a facet of job dissatisfaction of job satisfaction?

9. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify responsibility as a facet of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

10. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify advancement as a facet of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

11. To what extent do Correctional Officers identify other additional facets of job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction?

B. Overall Job Dissatisfaction and Job Satisfaction

1. Intensity

a. How intense are feelings of overall job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction among Correctional Officers?

b. What facets are suggested by Correctional Officers as being the most important contributions to overall job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction?

c. To what extent are the facets of job dissatisfaction associated with overall intensity of dissatisfaction among Correctional Officers?

    d. To what extent are the facets of job satis-
faction associated with overall intensity
of satisfaction among Correctional Officers?

2. Duration

    a. How long do feelings of overall job dis-
satisfaction and job satisfaction last
among Correctional Officers?

    b. What facets suggested by Correctional
Officers are associated with overall job
dissatisfaction and job satisfacttion
duration?

3. Outcomes

    a. How do feelings of overall job dissatis-
faction and satisfaction among Correctional
Officers affect job performance perceptions?

    b. How do feelings of overall job dissatis-
faction and satisfaction affect Correctional
Officers on a personal level?

    c. How do feelings of overall job dissatis-
faction and satisfaction affect Correctional
Officers feelings toward the higher admin-
istration, supervisors, fellow workers and
the prisoners or inmates?

    d. How do feelings of overall job dissatis-
faction and satisfaction affect Correctional
Officer feelings toward their commitment
to a career as a Correctional Officer?

C. Variability Among Subgroups

1. To what extent do suggested facets of job dis-
satisfaction and job satisfaction vary by age,
race, sex, education, previous military
experience, time on the job, family member
employment experience and location of resi-
dence?

2. To what extent does intensity of overall job
dissatisfaction and job satisfaction vary by
age, race, sex, education, previous military
experience, time on the job, family member
employment experience and location of resi-
dence?

3. To what extent does duration of overall job

dissatisfaction and job satisfaction vary by age, race, sec, education, previous military experience, time on the job, family member employment experience and location of residence?

4. To what extent do outcomes of overall job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction vary by age, race, sex, education, previous military experience, time on the job, family member employment experience and location of residence?

3. Study Sample

Subjects for this study were drawn from currently employed "Corrections Officers" at the State Prison of Southern Michigan, more commonly referred to as Jackson Prison. The facility from which subjects were drawn has been called the largest walled prison in the world, although what is exactly meant by such a designation is unclear, i.e. the longest wall, the most acreage or the most prisoners? Nonetheless, the State Prison of Southern Michigan (SPSM), which opended originally in 1839, had an average daily population in 1980 of 5425 inmates, or as they are locally referred to, "residents."[3] In addition, a reception and classification portion of the facility housed an additional 416 residents in 1980.[4] Overall the total population exceeded capacity in 1980 by almost 1,000 inmates making working conditions even more difficult than would be the case under normal capacity.

This facility is the largest single institution for housing convicted felons within the state of Michigan

although there are an additional fifteen other facilities
which also house prisoners and are under the control and
supervision of the state. Jackson Prison is administratively
divided into several facilities which are all under the
control of a single warden. In this prison the residents
are classified and housed differently based on differing
security risk levels. The Central Complex is the major max-
imum security housing area while the North Complex houses
residents of medium security classification and the South
Complex holds those who are considered to be on trustee
status.

The basic line correctional officers, designated "Cor-
rections Officers" in Michigan, at SPSM numbered 559 indiv-
iduals as of September 12, 1981.[5] However, it should be
realized that this is not the actual number of officers
employed full time since at any given time a number of these
line employees are on medical or other leave. Nonetheless,
the ratio of line staff to the total number of residents is
approximately 1 to 100. Also it should be noted that when it
is realized that these officers are spread across four dif-
ferent shifts that this ratio is actually higher.

Line officers in this facility are employed only in a
limited number of positions throughout the institution. The
primary employment position, as might be expected, is that of
block officer. However, in addition officers are also
employed in gun turrets throughout the facility, on the roof
as perimeter and security guards, at various gates for

control of movement as well as within the dining ares, the yards and in some of the shops and farming areas. Thus, these employees work in a number of positions and are exposed to varying security classifications of prisoners depending on the job location. It should also be noted that seniority through the process formal bidding as well as informal recognition tend to dominate job assignment.

Initially an attempt was made to secure a total random sample of all the corrections officers employed within the study site. The initial sample consisted of fifty-five officers, or about ten percent of the employees at this facility. While it would have been more desirable to actually contact this initial fifty-five member sample on the job in order to explain the purpose of this study and to introduce myself, concerns were voiced by the administration of the facility. In particular, one of the deputies suggested that he did not want me to talk to the officers on the job under any conditions. The primary rationale for not letting me into the facility was that it could jeopardize security, particularly when officers in the gun turrets or on the roof were contacted.

The second strategy suggested then was to contact the officers at roll call. However, it was apparent that this would also not be feasible since a number of officers went directly to their posts before roll call and futhermore, since the sample was random, officers were spread across so many days and shifts that such a strategy would have been

rather difficult. Abandonment of this strategy, however, was
based on the chaotic nature of the roll calls and the fact
that a number of the officers wouldn't be there anyway.

So, a final approach to contacting the initial sample
was devised whereby letters of introduction and explanation
were forwarded by the SPSM personnel department to each of
the officers in the sample (see appendix for sample letter).
Then several weeks later another letter was sent to the
officers after learning their days off and shift assignment.
This letter indicated that I would wait for them after work
in one of the employee lounges to introduce myself and to
talk to those who had been selected in the sample. For two
weeks this waiting for the officers after work was carried
out with the result that I was contacted by only one officer.
Thus, this approach was also abandoned. Later investigation
found that many of those for whom I had waited were involved
in car pools, were simply anxious to get home after work, had
to work overtime or had some other legitimate excuse for not
meeting me.

Following the abandonment of this scheme another letter
was sent to the original sample of fifty-five (again see
appendix for sample letter) offering them the option of
merely filling out a postage paid post card with their name
and telephone number so that they might be contacted person-
ally at home instead. In addition, it was also felt that a
monetary incentive might be helpful in luring more of the
sample to participate; thus they were also offered five

dollars for their participation. As a result of this offer and the option of sending a post card, ten responses by officers were made out of the fifty-five that were solicited. It was apparent that the majority of the sample were either not interested in participating in the study or were somehow suspicious of the author's intentions. Later comments by some of the officers who were interviewed also suggested that a questionnaire survey administered five months earlier by another researcher had turned officers off with respect to research, particularly since some felt that such an interest was really tied to the disturbances and some also indicated that they had been insulted by the tone and wording of the previous research attempt.

Thus, it was apparent then after this initial low response rate that a larger random sample would have to be drawn. So an additional one hundred officers were randomly selected. Letters similar to those sent to the original sample offering the monetary incentive and the post card option were sent to these additional officers (see appendix for letter). Again however, the response rate was quite low. Out of the one hundred additional officers who were contacted two had left employment at the facility and only nine more officers agreed to participate.

It was obvious then after this second low response that attempts at total randomness in terms of subject selection would not be feasible despite the obvious implications that would have on the generalizability of the findings. Since

the sampling procedure had deteriorated into a volunteer sample, it was then decided to ask for volunteers among the entire population of corrections officers working at the facility. So again letters were prepared and forwarded to the remaining employees utilizing the monetary incentive and the post card response format. As a result an additional thirty-six officers responded for a total sample size of fifty-five. Failure to contact a number of these volunteers because of such problems as shift changes, not being at home, vacations and other reasons reduced the actual sample of officers to forty-six or slightly less than ten percent of the total number of corrections officers employed at SPSM. In addition to those who volunteered and could not be contacted, two other interviews could not be utilized since the subjects did not respond to the structured format. That is, two subjects would not answer the interview questions but instead used the interview as a means to merely express their complaints about their jobs.

4. Data Collection

Collection of data from the resulting subjects focused primarily on an interview format. More specifically, since as was discussed in the previous chapter the researchers in corrections have implicitly addressed the issue of satisfaction and dissatisfaction from the same basic theoretical framework as outlined by Herzberg, it was decided that the

methodology for this study should be similar to that of Herz-
berg. Thus, the basic data collection strategy consisted of
an interview of subjects which revolved around the "critical
incident" approach.

This approach is far from a new technique of data col-
lection. Indeed it was suggested by Flanagan in 1954 as a
method of developing job requirements.[6] It has since been
repeatedly utilized as the basis for data collection in the
development of behavior anchored scales in job analysis in
industry.[7] However, Flanagan suggested that this technique
might also be a useful method in determining employee atti-
tudes.[8] It has been thought that this method is particularly
useful in employee attitudinal research since it relies on
factual descriptions of events which lead to specific atti-
tudes. That is, critical incidents are objective descrip-
tions of actual events rather than descriptions of opinions,
perceptions or judgements. The basic advantage of this
approach then is that it develops objective factual descrip-
tions of events which lead to certain job related attitudes
rather than subjective interpretations of such events, which
of course can be filled with a wide variety intended and
unintended biases. Herzberg later in fact utilized a modi-
fied version of Flanagan's approach in his research on dis-
satisfaction and satisfaction among various types of workers.

The critical incident approach as developed by Herzberg
consists of having subjects describe specific incidents which
happened to them on the job which led to overall feelings of

job dissatisfaction or job satisfaction. Or as Herzberg summarized this approach,

> We decided to ask people to tell us stories about times when they felt exceptionally good or bad about their jobs. We decided from these stories we could discover the kinds of situations that lead to negative or positive attitudes toward the job and the effects of these attitudes.[9]

The analysis of the actual reported critical incidents was accomplished through content analysis in order to identify facets of the job and environment which led to these perceived feelings.[10] Results of Herzberg's study and various replications have alread been cited but it should be mentioned that these findings were gained through this critical incident technique. In addition to the analysis of the critical incidents, questions followed the incidents to assess effects and intensity of the feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.[11]

The data collection in this study utilized the critical incident approach as well, although the semi-structured format offered by Herzberg was modified to some degree. His format was modified in order to answer the previously outlined research questions in this study. That is, the format was designed to develop critical incident descriptions, intensity levels, duration and outcomes for this particular employment group. This research effort was not designed to be a replication of Herzberg's previous work. That is, while Herzberg attempted to prove his two-factor theory through the

critical incident format, this research was not necessarily
an attempt at further verification although the collection
techniques were similar. As can be seen in Appendix E the
interviews were designed to be rather structured in the sense
that specific situations were to be described by the respond-
ents and specific followup questions were offered in order
to keep the interviews from deteriorating into mere "gripe"
sessions. The instrument finally utilized resulted from an
initial pre-test with three corrections officers from
another Michigan institution. The pre-test found that there
were not significant problems in understanding the purpose
of the interview and the basic format. However, some of the
wording in the first draft needed to be modified in order to
clarify some of the instructions. The changes can be seen
in comparing the draft format with the final format in
Appendix F. This final format was utilized with the entire
sample of forty-six corrections officers.

The introductory comments for the interview were designed
to give the subjects basic background about the nature of the
questions which were to follow and to offer them an opportun-
ity to ask questions prior to the beginning of the interview.
The subjects generally understood the purpose of the inter-
view and questions which were asked usually revolved around
issues concerning what was going to happen to the results
following the completion of the study.

Part I of the interview focused on the feeling of job
dissatisfaction and began with asking the respondent to

describe a specific situation which occurred within the last year which led them to feel the most dissatisfied with their job. The one year time limit was imposed to make sure that the incidents had occurred relatively recently and thus were fresh in the minds of the subjects so that the descriptions would not be too distorted as a result of the passage of time. The subjects had little difficulty in citing specific incidents and readily provided detailed descriptions of such situations.

Following the descriptions several followup questions in Part I were asked. To insure that the incidents had occurred relatively recently the subjects were asked when the situation had occurred. To measure the duration of the feelings of dissatisfaction the question of how long the feelings lasted was asked. Then to try to identify the relative importance of specific facets within the situation the subjects were asked to indicate the most important factor which they thought contributed to their feelings. And finally, a seven point scale ranging from neutral (1) to extreme dissatisfaction (7) was presented to the subject in order to measure the intensity of the feeling. The seven point scale was admittedly arbitrary. Herzberg in his initial study had developed a twenty-one point scale to measure intensity.[12] However, as will be noted later, subjects in this study could choose to participate and be interviewed over the telephone. It was felt that a seven point scale would be easier to communicate in a telephone interview than a longer scale.

A shorter scale might also have been used, but it was felt
that variability might be reduced by further shortening the
scale.

Part II was designed to elaborate on the possible out-
comes of the situations described in Part I. So, outcome
questions were designed to see if actual job performance
changed as a result of the incident, if they had been
affected in any way personally, if feelings changed toward
supervisors, the higher administration, fellow workers or
the residents and finally if their commitment to a career as
a corrections officer in any way changed(for example,
increased desire to leave the job).

Part III looked at the alternative feelings of job satis-
faction. This section was structured in the same manner as
Part I except that the subject was asked to describe a
specific incident where he or she felt particularly good or
satisfied on the job. The same followup questions were
offered in terms of when the incident occurred, duration of
feelings, importance of facets and intensity of feelings.
In part IV the same outcomes were investigated as were in
Part II.

Finally, as was suggested in the previous chapter and
in the research questions section, data concerning sub-groups
were felt to be important in order to see if variations among
groups could be identified in terms of intensity, duration,
outcomes and so on. Thus, the final questions were designed
to develop sub-group characteristics based on age, race, sex,

education, armed forces experience, time on the job, family member employment in corrections, residence and length of employment at this facility.

After completion of the structured portion of the interview the subjects were then given the opportunity to add any additional comments or to ask questions about the interview. This occassionally led to citing additional incidents of dissatisfaction but more often led to describing opinions about what was needed to improve the job of the individual officer or what could be done to solve the problems of discipline and management of the facility. Since the primary focus of this study was to assess objective factual descriptions of events leading to feelings of dissatisfaction or satisfaction, the additional subjective opinion oriented comments were not included in the data analysis nor are they discussed in the findings.

After the subjects made their additional comments they were then offered a copy of the later results (which all accepted) and were again offered the monetary reward for participation. Eleven of the officers decided to accept the money. While the majority of the sample did not accept the reward, apparently such an incentive was helpful in gaining responses from some officers. However, later comparison of the critical incidents described by those who accepted the incentive and those that did not revealed little difference in the types of incidents described.

Interviews with the subjects were conducted in a variety

of settings. After receipt of the post card from the subject
indicating that they would cooperate, phone calls were made
to each of the subjects in order to answer any initial ques-
tions and to set up times and locations for personal inter-
views. Often the subjects preferred to be interviewed in
their own homes. In addition, some of the interviews were
conducted over coffee in local restaurants while some others
took place within the employee lounge. In addition, where
mutually acceptable locations and times could not be agreed
upon, interviews were conducted by telephone. While ini-
tially it was felt that face-to-face contact in a neutral
location would be the best approach to insure openness in
responses, it became apparent after only a few interviews
that location was of little importance. Subjective appraisal
by the author of the subjects responses did not reveal any
more or less openness occurred at any of the interview
locations nor was there any indication that the use of the
telephone interview was any more or less effective. About
seventy-five percent of the interviews were eventually con-
ducted by telephone.

The majority of the interviews lasted anywhere from
forty-five minutes to a little over an hour. Only a handful
were under that duration and those were by several officers
who simply could not under any circumstances think of a
single situation on the job where they had experienced feel-
ings of satisfaction, despite repeated prodding. The subject
responses will be more fully described in the findings

chapter, but it appeared that their limited responses were not a result of being uncooperative but rather since they had such boring and repetitive jobs in the facility they could not realistically separate any one work day from another in terms of feeling better on the job.

5. Data Analysis

As previously noted in the description of the data collection process, the primary data sources within the interviews were the various critical incidents. In order to derive quantitative data from the incident descriptions content analysis was performed on these descriptions.

In order to identify which facets of employment were within the various critical incident descriptions a listing of all the various factors within each of the incidents was developed for the entire sample. For example, if in an incident concerning dissatisfaction a subject described a situation where he became involved in a confrontation with a resident a category was created as "resident confrontation." Each of these various factors were then combined into the same types of categories as were suggested under Herzberg's theoretical perspective. Those which did not appear to fit into one of these areas were given separate listings. But primarily these listed factors were combined into possible facet areas of salary, administration and policies, working conditions, interpersonal relations, supervision, achievement,

recognition, work itself, responsibility, advancement and other facets.

In order to determine which category was appropriate for any given factor within a critical incident description definitions similar to Herzberg's provided guidelines. These definitions are as follows;

Salary - not specifically defined by Herzberg but obviously referring to wages or salaries for work being mentioned in the incidents.

Administration or policies - either references to agency ineffectiveness, inefficiency, waste, duplication of efforts, and power struggles or references to policies having a detrimental or positive effect on the subject or co-workers.

Working conditions - references to conditions on the job which led to inconvenience, inability to do the job and amount of work to be performed.

Interpersonal relations - references to good or poor working or personal relationships with subordinates (in this case residents) or co-workers.

Supervision - references to competence or lack of competence, criticism or favoritism by immediate supervisors or indications of good or poor interpersonal relations.

Achievement - references to successful job completion, seeing results of work, not seeing results of work, solving problems or unsuccessful problem solving.

Recognition - references to having work praised and rewards or not having work praised and being criticized or punished, either from supervisors, the administration, peers or residents.

Work itself - references to work being boring, repetitive, varied, creative, easy or difficult.

Responsibility - references to being able to do the job without supervision, being given responsibility or lacking responsibility.

Advancement - references to receiving expected promotion or advancement, not receiving promotion or being demoted.

Other - references to other job related factors not fitting within the above outlined definitions.

A more detailed listing of the categories and the types of responses within the various incidents can be found in the data codebook in Appendix G.

To insure that individual bias was minimized in this content analysis, descriptions of the incidents were given to an academic colleague who was asked to independently judge where factors in the incidents should be placed in terms of the above defined categories. Results from this independent rating resulted in a seventy-four percent agreement (r=.67) with the author's content analysis judgements. Disagreements were discussed by the raters and conflicts were resolved in terms of agreement on the most appropriate categorization. While such discussion was potentially dangerous in the sense that one person could have dominated the conclusions, in fact these discussions generally revolved around clarification of definitions rather than judgements as to who was more correct with respect to category choice.

In coding the factors which officers cited as being the most important element in the critical incidents the same category definitions were used. Thus for example, if orders by a supervisor was cited as the major factor in the incident of dissatisfaction then this would be categorized as supervision being the major source of dissatisfaction.

Length of the feelings of satisfaction and dissatis-
faction were categorized in terms of the approximate number
of days or months that these feelings lasted. Intensity of
feelings remained on the seven point scale as presented in
the interview format discussion.

The specific outcomes cited after discussion of each of
the critical incidents were also listed on cards and then
categorized according to the following format;

        Performance - no change, negative change,
        positive change in perceived performance.

        Personal - no change, negative change,
        positive change in feelings.

        Supervisors - no change, negative change,
        positive change in feelings.

        Administration - no change, negative change,
        positive change in feelings.

        Fellow Workers - no change, negative change,
        positive change in feelings.

        Residents - no change, negative change,
        positive change in feelings.

        Career - no change, negative change,
        positive change in commitment.

Background information categorization was relatively
straightforward and can be more fully examined in the code-
book in Appendix G as well.

Following the categorization of facets, duration,
intensity, outcomes and background information, these data
were placed into a computer data file from which the descrip-
tive and correlational findings were derived. The author
personally entered the data, cleaned the file and performed

all of the analysis so as to minimize data entry or analysis errors.

Data were then analyzed in the following manner in order to answer the research questions developed earlier in this chapter;

A. Facets of Dissatisfaction and Satisfaction - Frequency and percentage distributions of facets within critical incidents.

B. Overall Dissatisfaction and Satisfaction
    1a. Intensity level - Frequency and percentage distributions of intensity scale.
    1b. Facet Importance - Percentage ranking of relative importance of facets.
    1c. Facet association with instensity - Crosstabulation of facets with intensity levels.
    2a. Duration time - frequency and percentage distributions of duration.
    2b. Facet association with duration - crosstabulation of facets with duration.
    3. Frequency and percentage distributions of outcomes.

C. Variability Among Subgroups
    1. Crosstabulation of facets with age, sex, education, previous military experience, time on the job, family member employment and location of residence.
    2. Crosstabulation of intensity level with age, sex, race, education, previous military experience, family member employment and location of residence.
    3. Crosstabulation of duration with age, sex, race, education, previous military experience, family member employment and location of residence.
    4. Crosstabulation of outcomes with age, sex, race, education, previous military experience, family member employment and location of residence.

6. Possible Errors and Their Consequences

The basic assumption associated with the measurement of
job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction among officers is
that these two feelings or attitudes are on distinctly
different dimensions as proposed by Herzberg. That is, it
has been assumed that a person can be simultaneously satis-
fied and dissatisfied with his or her employment. As was
noted earlier there is some disagreement about whether or not
this assumption is appropriate. That is, others who have
studied attitudes toward work have assumed that satisfaction
and dissatisfaction are along the same attitudinal continuum.
Thus, if the assumption of a single attitude is correct the
basic assumption for measurement of job attitudes in this
study would be in error. So, trying to measure satisfaction
and dissatisfaction separately as was done in this study
would be a mistake. The implication of making such an error
would be that I incorrectly measured the outcome variable
under investigation.

However, as was again eariler pointed out, the basic
two-factor theory has been substantiated through replication
of Herzberg's approach previously and thus it seems reason-
able to accept this assumption of two factors although this
replication was primarily done by Herzberg himself and his
students.

In spite of the numerous replications Dunnette, Campbell
and Hakel have vigorously challenged the methodology and

techniques utilized in these replications. In particular, these authors argue that an approach such as the one being undertaken in this study is methodologically flawed. Their conclusion rests on basically three observations. In essence these observations are that interview data and anecdotal descriptions are highly subjective accounts of job events, that there are no safeguards in such a methodology to prevent defensive or socially desirable responses and the two-factor approach appears to suggest causality when in fact causality can only be inferred from the results of experimental studies.[13]

Herzberg has replied to these challenges by noting that subjective responses, while possible in verbal interviews, certainly can not be eliminated through the use of non-verbal methods.[14] That is, he would argue that questionnaires or other techniques still leave open the possibility that responses will be subjective and reflect subject perceptions of what is socially desirable to portray. In fact, he goes on to suggest that it is probably more difficult for a subject to conjure up an "appropriate" incident than to respond to an item on a non-verbal instrument in an appropriate manner.[15] Furthermore, he adds that the critical incident technique if anything, is structured toward the avoidance of responses which will make the subject look good. For example, he notes that it would seem that if a person wanted to look good to the researcher he would suggest that dissatisfaction was a result of his lacking responsibility,

advancment opportunities and not being recognized.[16] Yet,
across the various replications non-individual factors such
as administration, policies and so on are consistently
described as contributing to dissatisfaction. So it would
seem that from Herzberg's argument at least the technique is
not as prone to socially desirable or subjective response as
Dunnette suggests.

However, should it occur that subjects have responded
in such a subjective and appropriate manner as was suggested
then obviously the data collected might lack internal validity
and thus measurement of facets within the critical incidents
could be distorted toward appropriate responses rather than
valid ones. As an aside however, subjective perceptions by
the author found no indication in the interviews that the
incidents cited by the officers reflected in any way sub-
jective nor intentionally biased responses. Furthermore,
it would seem that if anything, descriptions of events were
more valid than interviews which address only personal opin-
ions and attitudes since subject bias could more likely enter
into the latter. For example, in the actual interviews con-
ducted the opinion comments following the formal interview
clearly showed the individual biases of the subjects towards
things like media coverage of the riot and so on, while the
incidents tended to be devoid of blatant examples of bias.

The final challenge by Dunnette concerning the causality
implied by this approach must be agreed with in the sense
that true causality can not be proven with certainty without

resorting to experimentation. However, as in a great deal of
social science research this type of argument, while inter-
esting, is nonetheless irrelevant since actual experimental
designs can not be rigorously implemented. An obvious
example would be to try to experiment with salary levels
among correctional officers to find out how it causes dis-
satisfaction - certainly this would be a design that would be
difficult at best to implement. The implications of non-
causality however do require a recognition that the descrip-
tions and correlations offered may be spurious or a result of
some other unidentified influence. Thus, when assessing the
determinants of these attitudes I really am speaking in cor-
relational rather than causal terms. Thus, causality in the
strictest sense should not be inferred from these findings.

Validity of the measurement of the feelings of dis-
satisfaction and satisfaction was discussed previously, but
again, if the measurement of these attitudes were incorrect,
then the findings are also in error. Another issue which
could affect the consistency of the findings is the reliabil-
ity of the measurement, that is the extent to which the meas-
urement can be assumed to be consistent over time. As men-
tioned previously, in order to insure that the content
analysis of the critical incidents was a reliable procedure
multiple raters were utilized with a resulting seventy-four
percent agreement for the facets identified in the analysis.
Thus, for this portion of the collection at least, there is
some evidence of relative consistency. However, the

remainder of the structured interview data collection was not subjected to reliability checks and could yield inconsistent responses which would mean that data collected during the study could be different from those collected at another time.

Another error may be in construct validity with respect to the outcome measurements. While this can not be empirically evaluated there is always the possibility that when asking subjects to describe changes in their feelings which resulted from these incidents that such descriptions did not accurately reflect to what extent behavioral outcomes represented the construct of mental changes in feelings.

The final possible error, and potentially the most serious, is that the results obtained may be biased because of problems which occurred with the sampling strategy employed. As was noted earlier, subjects in this study, because of a variety of reasons beyond the author's control, could not be selected randomly. Instead subjects participated in the study basically as volunteers. For a sample to be as representative as possible of a population it is desirable to have as large a sample as possible and to select subjects in a random manner. Only through randomness it has been argued can sampling error be minimized such that findings resulting from the sample can be reasonably generalized to the population. Random selection also reduces the possibility that subjects who participate are systematically different from the population as a whole. Without this

randomness it is difficult to estimate sampling error and to determine whether or not findings can be generalized either to the SPSM officers or the total population of correctional officers.

But in addition to the descriptive and correlational statistics associated with the analysis inferential statistics were also utilized because sampling was necessary in this study. It should be noted however, that the use of these types of inferential statistics is based on the assumption that the sample was randomly selected which as stated previously could not be accomplished. However, statistical significance should be viewed with extreme caution since it is not apparent to what extent findings may actually be generalized to this worker population let alone the total population of correctional officers nationally.

However, in order to see to what extent the sample appeared to be similar to the overall population of officers at the study site a number of summary descriptive characteristics of the total group of officers and those who volunteered to participate were compared. These two groups of descriptive statistics are presented in Figure 3. Despite any similarities it still should be stressed that without random selection inferences to larger populations are merely speculative at best and grossly inappropriate as worst.

In addition to the characteristic comparisons an additional comparison was made between those who were initially randomly selected to participate in the study and those who

Characteristic	Population*	Sample
Average Education	13 years	13.6 years
Average Age	28 years	37 years (Md=32)
Race	12.9% Non-white	9.0% Non-white
	87.1% White	91.0% White
Sex	13.7% Female	15.9% Female
	86.3% Male	84.1% Male

*Population summary statistics provided by SPSM Personnel Department.

Figure 3.

Comparison of Sample and Population Characteristics

later volunteered. This comparison was based on the types of critical incidents described as well as the intensity and duration of feelings of dissatisfaction and satisfaction to determine if the randomly selected group differed significantly from the volunteer group. It was found that the types of incidents described were in fact quite similar. For example, in the satisfaction incidents almost identical proportions in each group cited achievement facets. Mean levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction intensity were also quite similar as were descriptions of attitude duration. Thus, it would seem that despite reliance on volunteers, responses were not significantly different than those of the randomly selected group of officers.

In summary then, the basic sources of error may be in the assumption concerning measurement of satisfaction and dissatisfaction as separate attitudes or feelings, the method of data collection may be flawed because of subjectivity, internal validity may be suspect because of these two

previous possibilities and sampling problems could yield
the findings distorted because of sampling error. However,
despite these possible errors evidence of their existence is
limited and since so little has been done empirically with
respect to correctional officers such a research attempt can
nonetheless be justified since it is exploratory in nature.

7. Summary

In summary, this chapter has offered a description of
the basic research questions which were investigated in this
study, the method of data collection including subject
selection and interviewing technique, the manner through
which the data were quntified and analyzed and finally the
possible errors and implications of those errors.

The next chapter will present the findings which
resulted from this strategy along with a discussion of them
with particular emphasis on those findings which seem to
show significance or which offer interesting potential for
further study.

Footnotes

[1] Earl R. Babbie, <u>The Practice of Social Research</u>, (Belmont, CA; Wadsworth Publishing), 1979, p. 111.

[2] Dickenson McGraw and George Watson, <u>Political and Social Inquiry</u>, (New York; John Wiley and Sons), 1976, p. 154.

[3] American Correctional Association, <u>Juvenile and Adult Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies and Paroling Authorities</u>, (College Park, MD; American Correctional Association), 1981, p. 138.

[4] <u>Ibid</u>.

[5] Michigan Department of Corrections, Personnel Roster, September 12, 1981.

[6] John C. Flanagan, "The Critical Incident Technique," <u>Psychological Bulletin</u>, (July, 1954), p. 327-358.

[7] For representative examples see S.L. Johnson and W.W. Ronan, "An Exploratory Study of Bias in Job Performance Evaluation," <u>Public Personnel Management</u>, (Sept.-Oct., 1979). p. 315-323; Gary P. Latham, Charles H, Fay and Lise M. Saari, "The Development of Behavioral Observation Scales for Appraising the Performance of Foremen," <u>Personnel Psychology</u>, (32, 1979), p. 299-311: Gary P. Latham and Kenneth N. Wexley, "Behavioral Observation Scales for Performance Appraisal Purposes," <u>Personnel Psychology</u>, (30, 1977), p. 255-268; Geula Lowenberg, "Individual Consistencies in Determining Behavior Based Dimensions of Teaching Effectiveness," <u>Journal of Applied Psychology</u>, (64;5. 1979), p. 492-501; Gordon E. O'Brien and Daniel Plooij, "Comparison of Programmed and Prose Culture Training upon Attitudes and Knowledge," <u>Journal of Applied Psychology</u>, (62;4, 1977), p. 499-505.

[8] Flanagan, <u>op. cit.</u>, p 353.

[9] F. Herzberg, B. Mausner and D. Snyderman, <u>The Motivation to Work</u>, (New York; John Wiley and Sons), 1959, p. 17.

[10] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 40-43.

[11] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 141-142.

[12] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 142.

[13]Marvin D. Dunnette, John P. Campbell and Milton D. Hakel, "Factors Contributing to Job Satisfaction and Job Dissatisfaction in Six Occupational Groups," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, (2, 1967), p. 143-144.

[14]Frederick Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man, (New York; World Publishing), 1966, p. 131.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 132.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

1. Introduction

    This chapter will present the findings obtained from the
content analysis of the critical incidents of job satisfac-
tion and job dissatisfaction which were described by the
corrections officers at the State Prison of Southern Michigan.
First the background characteristics of the sample will be
described. Secondly the descriptive characteristics of the
dissatisfaction incidents will be discussed followed by the
results concerning intensity and duration of dissatisfaction
plus the outcomes of dissatisfaction. Then the variability
among subgroups in terms of dissatisfaction facets, intensity,
duration and outcomes will be presented. Next the character-
istics of satisfaction within the critical incidents will be
presented along with the results of intensity and duration
of satisfaction as well as the outcomes which were suggested
as resulting from satisfaction. Finally, the subgroup vari-
ability in terms of satisfaction facets, intensity, duration
and outcomes will be discussed.

    Again it should be noted that the sample of officers
which participated in this study was quite small because of
reasons already outline. Thus, the results again should be
viewed within an exploratory context. This is particularly
important in terms of external validity. Since the sample

was so small, measures of statistical inference were quite limited. However, despite the problems of inference and the impact of the small sample sizeon statistical calculations, answers to all the research questions are provided to hopefully stimulate further investigation into the issues of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among correctional officers.

2. Characteristics of the Sample

Age - In the original data collection instrument age of the respondents was categorized in years. Responses to this question indicated that the ages of the respondents ranged from 24 to 65 with median and modal ages being about 32 years of age. The mean age of the sample was slightly higher, being 37, but this is obviously because the distribution was positively skewed with a number of older officers participating which tended to inflate the mean age.

The distribution of age was collapsed into other categories which can be seen in Table 1. It is apparent from these collapsed categories that the age of officers is relatively evenly distributed in groupings of 24 to 30, 31 to 40 and over 40 years of age. The majority of officers however were under the age of 34. This sample appears to be slightly older than the population of officers at SPSM in that the average age within the total population was 28 years.

Race - Again in Table 1 it can be seen that the vast

Table 1.

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

		$\underline{N}$	$\underline{\%}$		
Age	24 - 30	15	34.1	$\overline{X}$ - 37	s - 10.6
	31 - 40	15	34.1	Md - 32.8	R - 41
	Over 40	14	31.8	Mo - 32	95% C.I.- (33.8-40.3)
Race	White	40	90.9		
	Black	2	4.5		
	Other	2	4.5		
Sex	Male	37	84.1		
	Female	7	15.9		
Education	High School	11	25.0	$\overline{X}$ - 13.6	s - 1.3
	Some College	26	59.2	Md - 13.6	R - 4
	College Grad	7	15.9	Mo - 14	95% C.I. - (13.2-14)
Armed Forces	No	16	36.4		
	Enlisted	28	63.6		
	Officer	0	0.0		
Length of Employment	Less than 2	11	29.5	$\overline{X}$ - 5	s - 4.1
	3 - 5	17	38.6	Md - 4	R - 23
	6 - 10	8	18.2	Mo - 4	95% C.I. - (3.7-6.2)
	Over 10 years	6	13.7		
Relative in Corrections	Yes	9	20.5		
	No	35	79.5		
Relatives Job	Officer	6	66.7		
	Other	3	33.3		
Community	Rural	10	22.7		
	Less than 2000	5	11.4		
	2000-10000	11	25.0		
	10000-100000	17	38.6		
	Over 100000	1	2.3		

majority of the officers in the sample were white (90.9%).
This is not very unusual since as was noted earlier in the
methodology chapter the large majority of the total number
of officers working at SPSM are white (87.1%).

The proportion of officers in the sample which were of
non-white races also approximated the proportion within the
population. In the sample 9.1% of the respondents referred
to themselves as being from non-white races. Of the non-
whites half were black and the other half were american
indian or of mixed racial background.

While it is apparent that non-whites are only a small
minority within the correctional officer ranks the sample
nonetheless reflects the same approximate proportion as
exists in the population.

Sex - Females are also a small minority within the study
sample, accounting for only 15.9% of the total number of
officers interviewed. But again this is fairly representa-
tive of the population of officers currently employed at
SPSM in that of the total number of officers employed only
13.7% are female.

As an aside it should be noted that utilizing females as
guards, or corrections officers, is a fairly recent phenome-
non. Traditionally they have been excluded from the guard
ranks based on the justification that such a job is too
dangerous. As will be mentioned in later findings, this
recent influx of females into a traditionally male dominated

occupation has had some serious impact on certain individuals in terms of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their job.

Education - An unexpected characteristic of this study sample was that the majority of the respondents had completed at least two years of college. The average number of years of schooling however amounted to slightly over 13 years. In addition, all of the officers in the sample had at least a high school education and almost 16% had graduated from a four year college.

As can again be seen in Table 1 when collapsing education into high school, some college and college graduate the majority of the sample fell into the middle category of having at least some college education.

It would appear then that the sample has had some post-secondary education. In addition, this sample appears to compare favorably to the overall population of officers who were also reported to have an average educational achievement of about 13 years.

Armed Forces - The majority of the sample indicated that they were veterans of the armed forces, all of them having served as enlisted personnel. As is presented in Table 1 about 36% of the sample had no military experience.

No information about the military backgrounds of the total population of officers was available so it is not known

to what extent the sample data compare to the total number
of officers at this facility.

It is nonetheless apparent that the majority of those
in this sample had been exposed to a military system of
management, promotion and discipline. This too, as will be
discussed later, could have important consequences in terms
of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the corrections
organization which at least on the surface appears to be
para-military in design.

Length of Employment in Corrections - There was a wide
range in tenure on the job for members of the study sample.
Six individuals interviewed had a year or less on the job
while at the other end of the scale two officers interviewed
had been employed for over twenty years. Generally however,
those in the sample were relatively new to the field with the
majority having been employed in corrections for four years
or less.

The distribution of tenure on the job appears to also
be positively skewed however. For example, the mean number
of years on the job was five while the mode and median were
a full year less. This is really not surprising though when
one observes that the sample is also skewed in terms of age.

Whether or not this sample compares favorably to the
total population is once again unknown as a result of a lack
of information on this variable.

Relatives in Corrections - Again in Table 1 it can be observed that the majority of those interviewed did not have any relatives currently employed in the field of corrections (79.5%). This proportion was again unexpected in that it is contrary to the popular image of the officer from SPSM as being employed based on family member contacts within the system. Perhaps 20% having relatives working in corrections is a large proportion in comparison to other occupational groups however.

Of those who did have relatives employed in corrections their employment was also primarily at the level of officer or sergeant. Only three of those who had relatives employed by the correctional system cited other types of employment.

Community of Residence - Another popular image of officers working in prisons located in remote locations is that they are primarily residents of rural areas. In fact, some administrators have offered the stereotype to the author of the correctional officer as one whose primary occupation is agriculture with corrections only being a supplemental job for financial security.

If this sample is representative of the employees at SPSM however, this stereotype is false. While about a third of the sample live in communities which may be characterized as rural in nature, over 40% live either within the city of Jackson or in Lansing, both being moderate sized cities in terms of population. However, it is still possible that

those living in the cities could have come from rural back-
grounds or lived elsewhere prior to this study.

Years Employment at SPSM - All but one of the respond-
ents worked at this facility ever since becoming employed as
a corrections officer. The one other officer was only
employed elsewhere for a short period of time within the
Michigan system. Therefore, total length of employment was
utilized as a measure of job tenure in lieu of tenure at
SPSM since they are virtually identical.

3. Research Questions - Dissatisfaction

A. Facets of Dissatisfaction;

Question A1 (Salary) - Contrary to past research no one
in this sample cited salary as a source of dissatisfaction
within any of the incidents. Therefore, apparently salary
levels are at least adequate from the officers' point of
view. This was partially confirmed when discussing possible
changes in career with the respondents and a number of them
suggested that they continued to remain employed as an
officer because of the salary and security offered by the job,
particularly during these difficult economic times in this
state.

Question A2 (Policies and Administration) - Policies

and administration was one of the two major sources of dissatisfaction cited by the respondents in their critical incidents. Overall, as can be seen in Table 2, 70.5% of the officers interviewed made reference to administrative activities or policies at least once within their dissatisfaction incidents.

The primary facet cited within this area focused around actions by hearing officers. Hearing officers are those personnel who adjudicate disciplinary actions against residents which are initiated by officers. For example, if an officer observes a resident violating a rule or regulation he writes a disciplinary report (in the jargon, a "ticket") and the resident has an administrative hearing to determine guilt or innocence. Out of all of the respondents 20.4% indicated that letting a resident off at the hearing or not believing the officer contributed to their feelings of dissatisfaction. Respondents which made reference to this facet of employment typically described an incident where they felt that they were appropriately enforcing the rules and regulations and the hearing officers found the residents not guilty based on what the officers perceived to be "mere technicalities." An example of such an incident was where a "ticket" was thrown out because the officer had supposedly written down the wrong cell number on the report.

The second most common reference within incidents to policies and administration centered around concerns with a lack of administrative action. Out of all the respondents

Table 2.

SOURCES OF DISSATISFACTION AND SATISFACTION

Satisfaction (N=38)   Dissatisfaction (N=44)

                          Policies and Administration
                          2 (5.3%) ++ ------------------------------- 31 (70.5%)

                          Working Conditions
                          2 (5.3%) ++ ------------------- 18 (40.9%)

                          Interpersonal Relations
21 (55.3%) ++++++++++++++++++++++ ----------------------- 31 (70.5%)

                          Supervision
                          0 (0.0%) ---------------------- 19 (43.2%)

                          Achievement
27 (71.1%) +++++++++++++++++++++++++++++ 0 (0.0%)

                          Recognition
13 (34.2%) ++++++++++++++ 0 (0.0%)

                          Work Itself
12 (31.6%) ++++++++++++ -- 2 (4.6%)

                          Responsibility
                          1 (2.6%) + 0 (0.0%)

                          Advancement
                          1 (2.6%) + --- 3 (6.8%)

                          Other
                          0 (0.0%) -- 2 (4.6%)

15.9% made reference within their incidents to administative inaction. Most of these references centered around incidents associated with the prison disturbances last summer. In particular, the respondents cited disappointment with higher levels of the administration failing to take action despite warnings and voiced concerns by line staff concerning their perceptions of impending trouble. However, additional examples of inaction were offered. Several respondents referred to inaction on lower administrative levels, particularly at the deputy level. These incidents centered on administrators at this level not moving troublesome inmates at the request of the officers.

The third most cited factor associated with administration and policies, referred to by about 12% of the officers, was a lack of backing from higher administrative levels. The incidents within which such references were made are slightly more difficult to characterize but a number of them revolved around concerns after the disturbances that recommendations by the line staff were turned down at higher administrative levels leading to the feeling that officers were on their own and not a primary concern of the administration. Additional examples cited the perception that there was a lack of backing with respect to policy implementation. For example, some respondents described situations when they were charged with the responsibility to protect life and property through the use of firearms if necessary. However, they were concerned that they could not adequately implement such policies since

the administration would not back them in implementing the policy and indeed might try to take legal or administrative action to punish them it they did implement the policy.

A wide variety of other references to policies and administration were also made within the various incidents. Discrimination, lack of communication from higher levels, falsity of media reports given by administrators and policies, either specific or general, were also mentioned.

Question A3 (Working Conditions) - Within the critical incidents associated with dissatisfaction over 40% of the officers made reference to working conditions as a source of their feelings. Most of those who made reference to working conditions cited danger and fear as major contributions to their dissatisfaction. In fact, references to fear and danger occurred in 22.7% of all the incidents described concerning dissatisfaction.

The second type of reference to working conditions centered around descriptions of an inability to adequately perform the job of corrections officer because of environmental or other constraints. For example, several of the officers described situations on the job where they were so outnumbered by the residents that they simply could not even maintain the minimum level of custody or control.

Question A4 (Interpersonal Relations) - References to interpersonal relations in terms of dissatisfaction incidents

were as common as references to administration and policies in that over 70% of the incidents contained such references.

As might be expected, considering the types of subordinates which an officer must supervise, most of the references to negative interpersonal relations centered around residents. In fact, out of all the dissatisfaction incidents 36.4% of them contained negative references to interpersonal relations with the residents. The most common type of reference within this context was verbal or physical confrontation with residents. Other references to such relations also suggested situations whereby residents ignored orders or violated rules despite the officer's attempts to personally intervene.

Typical incidents in this area generally referred to verbal confrontations or assaults within work or dining areas where the residents intentionally attacked the officers. In addition, a number of incidents were cited in the same locations where officers became particularly upset with the residents simply not paying attention to the officers' communications.

The second source of dissatisfaction concerned with interpersonal relations was somewhat more surprising. In 29.5% of all the dissatisfaction incidents negative references were made to fellow corrections officers. References to infighting among officers, not enforcing the rules and poor communication between officers were most common.

For example, a number of the subjects described situations where they were dissatisfied with their inability to

perform their job of rule enforcement because a number of their fellow officers refused to enforce the same rules. Also, several incidents centered around concerns of fellow officers vying for supervisory and administrative favor at the expense of relations with other officers. Also, while the number of females was quite small, references to discrimination on the part of fellow officers, intentional attempts to make female officers look bad on the job and group silence as well as a lack of assistance were also mentioned by female officers. As mentioned earlier, such problems are probably the result of the recent influx of females into a traditionally male dominated occupation.

While it was expected that interpersonal relations would be a major source of dissatisfaction, it was also found and will be described shortly, interpersonal relations were also a source of satisfaction. Indeed, within the satisfaction incidents interpersonal relations were also mentioned by a majority of the subjects.

Question A5 (Supervision) - References to supervision were also common in the critical incidents of dissatisfaction and were cited by 43.2% of the sample. In fact, these references were only surpassed by administration and interpersonal relations as contributors to dissatisfaction.

The most common reference to supervision centered on the failure of supervisors to back officers on the job and on disagreements with the administration. In addition however,

poor judgement and communication were cited, as were concerns about favoritism in assignments and treatment of officers on the various shifts. Finally, a number of the officers also made reference to conflicting directives from supervisors as a source of dissatisfaction.

A typical situation where such references were made would be where a subject described confrontations with residents where a supervisor would attempt to intervene and in fact make the situation much more dangerous and inflammatory than it would have been otherwise or where two supervisors told an officer to handle certain problems in two different and directly contradictory ways.

Question A6 (Achievement) - No references were made to achievement in any of the dissatisfaction incidents.

Question A7 (Recognition) - No references were made to recognition in any of the dissatisfaction incidents.

Question A8 (Work Itself) - Work itself was made reference to in only two incidents of dissatisfaction. In both of these incidents officers suggested that they were unsure of what their work duties were really supposed to be. These references did not refer to policy problems but rather personal confusion of what to do in specific situations.

Question A9 (Responsibility) - No references were made

to responsibility in any of the dissatisfaction incidents.

Question A10 (Advancement) - Three officers (6.8%) mentioned dissatisfaction with advancement in their incidents. In particular, these officers made reference to favoritism in advancement procedures as contributing to their dissatisfaction.

Question A11 (Other Facets) - Two other references not fitting within the previously defined categories were also made in the dissatisfaction incidents. One centered on possibly being laid off from the job of corrections officer but was a personal concern and not one associated with policies or other job characteristics. The last reference was in an incident which involved outside agency personnel as a source of dissatisfaction. This last reference can not be more fully described since the anonymity guaranteed to the subject would be violated as a result of the unusual nature of the incident.

B. Overall Job Dissatisfaction;

Question B1a (Intensity of Dissatisfaction) - As noted in the methodology discussion the intensity of overall dissatisfaction within the described incidents was measured on a seven point scale ranging from neutral to extreme dissatisfaction. As can be seen in Table 3 clearly the subjects in

this study tended to be quite dissatisfied with their jobs as a result of these incidents.

The mean and median responses along this scale were both about halfway between 5 and 6 on the scale. In addition, the modal category was 7, or extreme dissatisfaction, with 34.1% of the officers indicating this category. Also, slightly over 52% of all the officers cited a 6 or a 7 on the scale.

Obviously given this distribution on the scale of one to seven, corrections officers in this study appeared to have quite strong feeling of dissatisfaction as a result of the incidents which they described. In addition, the variability of their responses appeared to be low indicating some consistency among the sample in their dissatisfaction intensity levels.

Question B1b - (Most Important Facets) - When the subjects were asked to cite the single most important factor contributing to their dissatisfaction the relative ranking of categories changed to some degree from the percentages offered in Table 2. As can be seen in Table 4, administration and policies are ranked most important with 40.9% of the sample making reference to such facets. However, the second largest group of references were supervision facets rather than interpersonal relations as was the case previously. So while interpersonal relations were often cited in incidents, apparently supervisory problems were more important to the individual officers. Finally, working conditions made up

Table 3.

INTENSITY OF DISSATISFACTION

	Neutral					Extreme Dissatisfaction	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
N	1	3	1	3	13	8	15
%	2.3	6.3	2.3	6.8	29.5	18.2	34.1

$\overline{X}$ - 5.5   s - 1.6
Md - 5.6   R - 6
Mo - 7   95% C.I. - (5.0-5.9)

Table 4.

MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF DISSATISFACTION

	N	%
Supervision	11	25.0
Interpersonal Relations	9	20.4
Working Conditions	5	11.7
Administration and Policies	18	40.9
Other	1	2.3
Total	44	100.1

the next most important set of factors contributing to dissatisfaction.

The most prevalent factor associated with administration and policies which was cited as being most important was inaction by administrators with almost 16% of the sample mentioning this as being the most important contribution to their dissatisfaction. Other factors cited within this context were actions by hearing officers, again a failure of the administration to back the line officers in situations of conflict and finally a lack of communication from the higher administrative levels down to the line officers.

The most prevalent factor associated with supervision was favoritism on the part of the immediate supervisory staff with 9.1% of the entire sample mentioning this factor. Additional supervisory factors cited were immaturity on the part of immediate supervisors and again a failure of these supervisors to back up officers.

Those who suggested that interpersonal relations factors were most important in contributing to dissatisfaction tended to stress relations with residents far more than relations with fellow officers. Thus, it appears that while both types of references occurred in the incidents themselves, relations with the residents is of more concern to the officers. In fact, 15.9% of the officers cited relations with residents as being the largest contributor to their dissatisfaction.

Finally, those who cited working conditions as major sources of dissatisfaction again mentioned fear and environ-

mental constraints which precluded them from doing their job
well. Overall however, working conditions were the most
important source of dissatisfaction for only 11.7% of the
sample.

The single reference which is categorized as other in
Table 4 refers to the critical incident which can not be
described because of anonymity reasons.

Question B1c (Most Important Factors and Intensity) -
In order to assess the degree to which those who cite various
factors of dissatisfaction vary with respect to their
reported intensity, comparison of mean intensity levels as
well as categorical intensity (1,2=low; 3,4,5=medium; 6,7=
high) are presented in Table 5.

Looking at the mean intensity levels among the various
groups it is apparent that their intensity levels are rela-
tively similar although those citing supervisory factors and
working conditions appear to have slightly higher levels of
dissatisfaction. This is confirmed in the contingency table
as well as 63.6% of those finding supervisory factors most
important had high levels of intensity and 80% of those cit-
ing working conditions also had high levels of dissatisfac-
tion.

In order to assess the statistical significance of the
relationship between major factors and intensity levels it
was necessary to further collapse the data since the sample
size was so small. Collapsing importance categories into

Table 5.

CROSSTABULATION OF MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF DISSATISFACTION
AND DISSATISFACTION INTENSITY

Intensity	Supervision		Inter-personal Relations		Working Conditions		Admin-istration	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	0	0	1	11.1	1	20.0	2	11.1
Medium	4	36.4	4	44.4	0	0	8	44.4
High	7	63.6	4	44.4	4	80.0	8	44.4
Total	11		9		5		18	
$\overline{X}$	5.8		5.2		5.8		5.3	

supervision (supervision and administration) and working

conditions (working conditions and interpersonal relations)

and intensity into low (1-5) and high (6-7) revealed little

association and no statistical significance. Further

comparison of means between the two groups revealed no stat-

istical significance.

Thus, while supervision and work conditions appear to

be those factors which contribute most to high levels of

intensity, differences in intensity contributions were not

significant.

Question B2a (Duration of Dissatisfaction) - Responses

to the question of dissatisfaction duration were categorized

in intervals of a few days, a few weeks, a few months and

still having such feelings. Still having such feelings
really is not intervally ranked with the other categories
but instead refers to comments made by the respondents which
suggested an enduring long term feeling even though the
incident may have been relatively recent.

Most of the subjects felt that these dissatisfaction
feelings were still enduring at the time of the interview as
can be seen in Table 6. In fact, only about 14% of the
sample indicated that feelings of dissatisfaction were temp-
orary in nature, that is only lasting a few days or weeks.

Table 6.

DURATION OF DISSATISFACTION

	N	%
Few Days	5	11.4
Few Weeks	1	2.3
Few Months	5	11.4
Still Have	33	75.0
Total	44	100.0

It would seem then that feelings of dissatisfaction tend
to be long lasting in the sense that these officers suggested
that they still had such feelings or that they had lasted a
number of months after the incident described. Of course
this finding was expected since in the interviews they were
asked to recall the most dissatisfying incident in the last

year. In recalling such an incident it seems logical that they would describe one which they were still dissatisfied about.

Question B2b (Duration and Most Important Dissatisfaction Factors) - As can be seen in Table 7 those who cited interpersonal relations as being the most important contribution to dissatisfaction were also more likely to suggest that they were still dissatisfied as a result of the incident.

Table 7.

CROSSTABULATION OF MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF DISSATISFACTION WITH DISSATISFACTION DURATION

Duration	Supervision		Inter-personal Relations		Working Conditions		Admin-istration	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Few Days	1	9.1	1	11.1	1	20.0	2	11.1
Few Weeks	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.6
Few Months	1	9.1	0	0	1	20.0	3	16.7
Still Have	9	81.8	8	88.9	3	60.0	12	66.7
Total	11		9		5		18	

On the other hand, those who cited work conditions and administrative factors tended to suggest that their feelings were of shorter duration.

Collapsing importance factors into supervision and work as previously defined and duration into short term (few days to a few month) and still having yielded a relationship between duration and most important factors which was not statistically significant. However, it may still be possible that supervisory and interpersonal relations could be more important in developing long lasting feelings of job dissatisfaction.

Question B3a (Performance Outcomes) - As was mentioned in the review of the literature, the common sense belief is that job dissatisfaction tends to reduce or negatively affect the way individuals perform their jobs. However, it is apparent that the majority of those describing dissatisfying incidents (65.9%) stated that the incident in no way affected the manner in which they performed their jobs.

On the other hand, 29.5% of those describing such events did suggest that their job performance was negatively affected. In particular, half of those which felt such situations negatively affected their performance stated that they were more lenient in their enforcement of rules and regulations as well as in adherence to policy directives. Additionally, several others stated that they were just in general more apathetic in their jobs. One incident which summarizes this change in performance was where the officer pointed out that as a result of being dissatisfied with a disciplinary action hearing he found it much more convenient

Table 8.

DISSATISFACTION OUTCOMES

Outcomes	Incident Did Not Affect		Positive Changes		Negative Changes	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Performance	29	65.9	2	4.6	13	29.5
Personally	28	63.6	0	0	16	36.4
Supervisors	30	68.2	3	6.8	11	25.0
Administration	19	43.2	0	0	25	56.8
Fellow Workers	30	68.2	3	6.8	11	25.0
Residents	35	79.5	2	4.6	7	15.9
Career	21	47.7	1	2.3	22	50.0

to merely look the other way when infractions occurred since it wasn't worth the effort any longer to try and impose discipline and he wasn't going to win anyway.

Several of the officers also suggested that as a result of a primarily dissatisfying incident they actually improved their performance. Despite being dissatisfied they suggested that they afterwards either became more vigilant or tried harder to do the job the right way. Again most of those answering this question felt the dissatisfaction did not affect their performance though.

Question B3b (Personal Outcomes) - Again the majority of those interviewed did not think that the dissatisfying

incident affected them in any way personally (63.6%). However, the remaining third or so felt that such situations indeed had important personal consequences. The most common negative personal outcome was increased tension, nervousness or stress which was cited by almost half of those describing personal outcomes. In addition, several subjects described sleep loss,depression, heavy drinking and just generally poorer personal feelings which they attributed to these dissatisfying incidents. However, again most of the officers did not think such things affected them personally, primarily because they made it a point to "not take the job past the gate after work."

Question B3c (Administration, Supervisor, Worker and Resident Feeling Outcome Changes) - The only outcome which the majority of the officers agreed resulted from dissatifying situations was the change in feelings towards the higher administration where 56.8% of those interviewed said their feelings became more negative as a result of the situations they described. In particular, those who said their feelings changed toward the administration felt less confident and respected the administration less. The also suggested that their feelings just in general dropped and several again reiterated a changed feeling in terms of no backing from the administration.

It would appear then that the administration is blamed more for results of dissatisfying incidents than was

described in the actual incidents.

Changes in feelings toward immediate supervisors on the other hand were cited only by about a fourth of the officers in the study. Of those who did report changes suggested that their feelings became more negative in that they lost respect and trust in their immediate supervisors as a result of their behavior within the incidents or afterwards. In addition, several officers also felt improved feelings toward their supervisors as a result of dissatisfying incidents. In particular, these positive changes were increased respect and confidence. However, again most of the officers reported no changes in their feelings toward supervisors.

Negative changes in feelings toward fellow workers were also reported by only about a fourth of those describing incidents. Of this group most were particularly upset or angry with fellow officers for their actions. In addition, several other officers changed their feelings toward fellow officers negatively since they did not assist the respondents or do their own jobs. Overall though, about 68% of the officers said their feelings really did not change toward their fellow officers.

Changed feelings toward the residents were the least likely of all outcomes of the dissatisfaction incidents. Almost 80% of the officers said that they did not change their feelings toward the residents either individually or as a group in any way. Those that did change their feelings tended to trust the residents less or feel more contempt.

However, several of the officers again felt more understanding of the residents' perspectives as a result of incidents which were personally dissatisfying. Overall though, change in feelings toward residents was not a very likely outcome.

Question B3d (Career Outcomes) - Changes in career outcomes were reported most often after changes in feelings toward the administation as 50% of those describing dissatisfying incidents reported negative career commitment outcomes. About a third who reported negative outcomes in career commitment indicated that if they could find another job they would leave, at least partially as a result of the dissatisfaction incident described. Another fourth or so stated that they had thought about leaving while the remainderwith negative outcomes either thought about or actually transferred to another shift or job assignment within the factility.

Only one person reported a positive outcome from the dissatisfaction incident and this individual, while being dissatisfied, found the incident to be a motivator toward increased determination to succeed on the job regardless of difficulties. In fact, as a result this person went on to college in order to improve qualifications for promotion and advancement ultimately into higher administrative levels.

In general though, it is apparent that incidents leading to feelings of dissatisfaction on the job do lead to some degree to withdrawal behavior in terms of transfer or at least thoughts about finding new careers outside of

corrections.

C. Subgroup Variability in Dissatisfaction;

Question C1 (Subgroup Variability; Most Important Facets) - Table 9 presents the variability of subgroups based on age, race, sex, educational level, armed forces experience, years of employment, whether or not the subject had relatives working in corrections, and community of residence in terms of the most important factors which were cited as contributing to dissatisfaction.

Age - In terms of administrative factors each of the subgroups cited such factors about the same proportion of the time, that being about 40%. However, a larger proportion of those in the 31-40 year bracket tended to refer to supervision as the major determinant of dissatisfaction than did other groups and the over 40 group cited supervision less often proportionally than other groups. However, collapsing the sample into age categories of less than 30 and over 30 and the most important factors into supervision and administration as well as interpersonal relations and working conditions did not reveal a relationship with statistical significance.

Race - 28.2% of the whites mentioned supervision as being most important to dissatisfaction while none of the non-whites cited such factors. On the other hand, 75% of the non-whites cited interpersonal relations as contributing

Table 9.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON FACTORS CONTRIBUTING
MOST TO DISSATISFACTION

Subgroups	Supervision		Inter-personal Relations		Working Conditions		Admin-istration	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age								
Under 30	3	21.4	2	14.3	3	21.4	6	42.9
31-40	6	40.0	3	20.0	0	0	6	40.0
Over 40	2	14.5	4	28.6	2	14.3	6	42.9
Race								
White	11	28.2	6	15.4	5	12.8	17	43.6
Non-white	0	0	3	75.0	0	0	1	25.0
Sex								
Male	10	27.0	7	18.9	5	13.5	15	40.0
Female	1	16.7	2	33.3	0	0	3	50.0
Education								
High School	1	9.1	3	27.3	1	9.1	6	54.5
College	8	32.0	4	16.0	3	12.0	10	40.0
College Graduate	2	28.6	2	28.6	1	14.3	2	28.6
Armed Forces								
No	4	25.0	3	18.8	3	18.8	6	37.5
Enlisted	7	25.9	6	22.2	2	7.4	12	44.4
Employment Years								
Under 2	4	30.8	4	30.8	0	0	5	38.5
2-5	3	18.7	2	12.5	4	25.0	7	43.7
6-9	3	33.3	2	22.2	0	0	4	44.4
10 or more	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0
Relatives Working								
Yes	2	22.2	3	33.3	0	0	4	44.4
No	9	26.5	6	17.6	5	14.7	14	41.2
Community								
Under 2000	3	21.4	3	21.4	2	14.3	6	42.9
2000-10000	4	36.4	3	27.3	1	9.1	3	27.3
Over 10000	4	22.2	3	16.7	2	11.1	9	50.0

to dissatisfaction while only 15.4% of the whites mentioned such factors. In terms of administration, 43.6% of the whites felt these types of factors were most important while only 25% of the non-whites cited such reasons. Again collapsing important factors into two categories of supervision and work revealed no statistical significance.

Sex - 27% of the males in the study mentioned supervision as being most important in dissatisfaction while only 16.7% of the females mentioned these types of factors. Half of the females mentioned administration as being most important while 40% of the males also cited administrative factors. A larger proportion of females also cited interpersonal relations as being major sources of dissatisfaction. This again suggests the difficulty females might be having breaking into the male dominated occupation. However, collapsing most important factors still failed to reveal statistical significance.

Education - Most of those with just a high school education cited administrative factors as being most important, 54.5%, while those with some college or college graduates were much less likely to mention administrative factors. On the other hand, those with college education were more likely to cite supervisory factors and working conditions as being the most important factors leading to dissatisfaction. Again though collapsing education into high school and college and most important factors in the same manner as previously did not yield statistical significance.

Armed Forces Experience - There was very little difference in terms of which area was the most important factor causing dissatisfaction based on this experience with the exception of working conditions. A slightly higher proportion of those with no service experience cited working conditions as being most important than those who had been in the service. Collapsing again revealed no statistical significance.

Employment years - Those with six to nine years on the job proportionally were more likely to cite supervision than were the other tenure groups. Those with less than two years were proportionally more likely to cite interpersonal relations, those with three to five years were more likely to cite working conditions and those again with six to nine years were also more likely to cite administrative factors, although the proportions were quite similar across all groups on administrative factors. Collapsing years on the job into five and under and over five years did not reveal any statistical significance.

Relatives working - Slightly more of those with relatives working mentioned interpersonal relations as being most important (33.3%) and slightly more of those not having relatives in the field mentioned working conditions (14.7%). But in terms of the other factors the percentages of responses were quite similar. Again significance was not found as a result of further collapsing.

Community - A slightly higher proportion of those from

small but not rural communities mentioned supervision as being most important (36.4%) while those coming from moderate sized cities were far more likely to mention administative factors (50%). Proportions citing other factors were rather similar. Collapsing community into rural and non-rural did not reveal statistical significance.

Question C2 (Subgroup Variability; Dissatisfaction Intensity) - Subgroup variations in terms of categorized and mean levels of subgroups is presented in Table 10. Since most of the expected frequencies in the table were often less than five, subgroups were collapsed into two groups for t-tests of significance of mean differences in intensity.

Age - Overall those of the younger age group tended to be more highly dissatisfied as a result of the incidents they described than were the older groups. As age increased the intensity of dissatisfaction appeared to decrease. In fact, a t-test did reveal that such a difference of means was significant at the .05 level (F=1.46, 2 tail p=.02).

Race - While there was little difference in the mean scores of dissatisfaction intensity, proportionally more of the whites cited low intensity scores than did non-whites. No statistical significance was found.

Sex - Females appeared to be more dissatisfied with the described incidents than did males. A higher proportion of females reported dissatisfaction in the high range (71.4%) and their mean level of dissatisfaction was also somewhat

Table 10.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON INTENSITY OF DISSATISFACTION

	Low (1-2)		Medium (3-5)		High (6-7)		Mean
Subgroups	N	%	N	%	N	%	$\overline{X}$
Age							
Under 30	0	0	5	40.0	9	60.0	5.9
31-40	2	13.3	5	33.3	8	53.3	5.4
Over 40	2	14.3	6	42.9	6	42.9	5.1
Race							
White	4	10.0	15	37.5	21	52.5	5.4
Non-white	0	0	2	50.0	2	50.0	5.2
Sex							
Male	4	10.8	15	40.5	18	48.6	5.3
Females	0	0	2	28.6	5	71.4	6.1
Education							
High School	2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	5.4
College	2	7.7	11	42.3	13	50.0	5.4
College Graduate	0	0	3	42.9	4	57.1	5.6
Armed Forces							
No	1	6.3	4	25.0	11	68.8	5.9
Enlisted	3	10.7	13	46.4	12	42.9	5.2
Employment Years							
Under 2	0	0	7	53.8	6	46.2	5.7
2-5	2	11.8	5	29.4	10	58.8	5.5
6-9	1	11.1	3	33.3	5	55.6	5.2
10 or more	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	40.0	5.2
Relatives Working							
Yes	1	11.1	6	66.7	2	22.2	5.0
No	3	8.6	11	31.4	21	60.0	5.6
Community							
Under 2000	1	7.1	6	42.9	7	50.0	5.5
2000-10000	0	0	5	45.5	6	54.5	5.7
Over 10000	3	15.0	6	31.6	10	52.6	5.3

higher. While a t-test did not reveal statistical signifi-
cance, proportionally there is a dramatic difference between
the instensity of dissatisfaction among males and females
with females reporting much higher intensity levels.

Education - With the exception of the high school group,
most of the officers were fairly consistent with respect to
intensity levels regardless of education. However, those
with only high school educations were not only more dissatis-
fied but conversely they were also more likely than the
other groups to mention low levels as well. However, the
overall mean differences were not statistically significant
when just comparing those with only high school to those
with at least some college.

Armed Forces Experience - Those with no experience in
the armed forces tended to report much higher levels of dis-
satisfaction than did those who had been in the armed forces.
Proportionally 68.8% of the non-armed foreces officers
reported high intensity scores while only 42.9% of those who
had been in the armed forces reported high scores. Despite
the apparent difference however, the t-test did not show
significance.

Employment - Those with more than ten years of experi-
ence appeared to be more likely to rate their intensity at
the lower end of the scale while those with two to five years
of experience were most likely to rate high on the scale of
intensity. Overall, the slight mean trend appeared to be
that as tenure on the job increased dissatisfaction decreased.

However, comparing those of less than five years with those with six or more years did not again reveal significance.

Relatives working - Those having relatives working in corrections were most likely to cite a middle range level of dissatisfaction intensity while those not having relatives in corrections were more likely to rank themselves in the higher levels of intensity. Again even though the mean differences support the proportional trend such differences were not significant.

Community - There did not appear to be much difference proportionally across varying communities in terms of intensity levels. While the mean scores suggest that those in rural areas tend to be slightly less dissatisfied, comparing them to all others in the sample did not reveal significant differences.

Question C3 (Subgroup Variability; Dissatisfaction Duration) - The subgroup variations in terms of dissatisfaction duration are presented in Table 11. Again since in many of the contingency tables the expected frequencies were less that five the tables were collapsed to test for statistical significance. The subgroups were collapsed in the same manner as previously described while duration was reduced by combining a few days to a few months in one category and using still having as the other.

Age - 80% of those under 40 years of age suggested that they still held feelings of dissatisfaction and only a few

Table 11

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON DURATION OF DISSATISFACTION

Subgroups	Few Days		Few Weeks		Few Months		Still Have	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age								
Under 30	1	6.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	12	80.0
31-40	2	13.3	0	0	1	6.7	12	80.0
Over 40	2	14.3	0	0	3	21.4	9	64.3
Race								
White	5	11.4	1	2.5	4	10.0	30	75.0
Non-white	0	0	0	0	1	25.0	3	75.0
Sex								
Male	5	13.5	0	0	4	10.8	28	75.7
Female	0	0	1	14.3	1	14.3	5	75.4
Education								
High School	1	9.1	0	0	1	9.1	9	81.8
College	2	7.7	0	0	3	11.5	21	80.8
College Graduate	2	28.6	1	14.3	1	14.3	3	42.9
Armed Forces								
No	1	6.3	1	6.3	2	12.5	12	75.0
Enlisted	4	14.3	0	0	3	10.7	21	75.0
Employment Years								
Under 2	3	23.1	1	7.7	1	7.7	8	61.5
2-5	1	5.9	0	0	3	17.6	13	76.5
6-9	0	0	0	0	1	11.1	8	88.9
10 or more	1	20.0	0	0	0	0	4	80.0
Relatives Working								
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	100.0
No	5	14.3	1	5.3	5	14.3	24	68.6
Community								
Under 2000	3	21.4	0	0	1	7.1	10	71.4
2000-10000	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	100.0
Over 10000	2	10.5	1	5.3	4	21.1	12	63.2

subjects in either of the two lower age categories reported
duration which could be characterized as being short term.
On the other hand, those who were over 40 were less likely
to suggest that their feelings of dissatisfaction were still
held. However, again data reduction revealed no significant
differences between the two groups.

Race - 75% of both racial groups suggested that they
still felt dissatisfied as a result of the incident described,
while just a few whites mentioned that such feelings lasted
only for a short term. As might be expected given the pro-
portional agreement on still having such feelings no statis-
tical significance was revealed through collapsing.

Sex - About the same proportion of males and females
stated that they still had feelings of dissatisfaction
although a slightly higher proportion of males also mentioned
that their feelings lasted for only a few days. Again dif-
ferences were not found to be significant.

Education - Those with high school and some college
education mentioned that they had dissatisfaction still at
the time of the interview in the majority of cases. However,
college graduates were much less likely to state that their
feelings had endured and in fact about 58% of the college
graduates mentioned duration periods of a few days to a few
months. Comparing high school versus college though found
no significant differences.

Armed Forces - There was again little difference in
terms of dissatisfaction duration based on armed forces

experience. For both groups 75% of the officers said they still had such feelings and 25% mentioned duration levels of from a few days to a few months.

Employment years - Those with six or more years on the job appeared to be more likely to mention still having feelings of dissatisfaction than were those who were on the job for lesser periods of time. Again though such differences were not significant. It should be noted however that the finding of longer duration among older workers was not expected since as was reported earlier the intensity levels for older officers were less.

Relatives working - All of those who had relatives working in corrections mentioned having dissatisfaction feelings which still endured. However, only 68.6% of those not having relatives working in the field mentioned still having such feelings. Overall, this difference was not statistically significant however.

Community - Those from small communities clearly were less likely to mention having dissatisfaction feelings still. Comparing just rural ares to other residential locations though did not reveal significant differences.

Question C4 (Subgroup Variability; Dissatisfaction Outcomes) - Table 12 presents the differences among subgroups in terms of negative outcomes of dissatisfaction within the areas of performance, personal effects, supervisors, administration, fellow workers, residents and career. Since

negative outcomes were the most prevalent as a result of dissatisfaction these are the only ones presented in Table 12. Comparison of no outcome changes and negative changes in each of the outcome areas were made within each subgroup for which categories were again collapsed because of the small expected frequencies. Unless otherwise mentioned the differences between groups in terms of no or negative outcomes are not statistically significant.

Performance - Those under thirty years of age were most likely to report negative changes in performance as a result of dissatisfaction with 40% of this age group reporting negative changes. Non-whites also were more likely to report negative changes in performance as were females, college graduates, those having no armed forces experience, those being on the job less that two years, those having relatives working in corrections and those living in moderate sized cities.

The only group showing statistical significance however, was that of armed forces experience where those with no experience were much more likely to change their performance than those with experience (corrected chi-square = 7.22, p less than .01).

Personally - Again those under 30 were more likely to report negative personal outcomes of dissatisfaction than other age groups. Whites and females too reported a greater likelihood of negative personal outcomes. Those with some college, those with no armed forces experience, those with

Table 12.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON NEGATIVE
OUTCOMES OF DISSATISFACTION

Subgroups	Performance		Personally		Supervisors		Administration	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age								
Under 30	6	40.0	7	46.7	4	26.7	8	53.3
31-40	3	20.0	6	40.0	7	46.8	10	66.7
Over 40	4	28.6	3	21.4	0	0	7	50.0
Race								
White	11	27.5	14	35.0	11	27.5	22	55.0
Non-white	2	50.0	2	50.0	0	0	3	75.0
Sex								
Male	9	24.3	12	32.4	10	27.0	20	54.1
Female	4	57.1	4	57.1	1	14.3	5	71.4
Education								
High School	3	27.3	4	36.4	0	0	5	45.5
College	6	23.1	11	42.3	8	30.8	17	65.4
College Graduate	4	57.1	1	14.3	3	42.9	3	42.9
Armed Forces								
No	9	56.3	9	56.3	3	18.9	9	56.3
Enlisted	4	14.3	7	43.8	8	28.6	16	57.1
Employment Years								
Under 2	5	38.5	7	53.8	3	23.1	4	30.8
2-5	5	29.4	5	29.4	4	23.5	12	70.6
6-9	2	22.2	3	33.3	2	22.2	6	66.7
10 or more	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	3	60.0
Relatives Working								
Yes	3	33.3	6	66.7	2	22.2	4	44.4
No	10	28.6	10	28.5	9	25.7	21	60.0
Community								
Under 2000	2	14.3	6	42.9	4	28.6	6	42.9
2000-10000	3	27.3	4	36.4	4	36.4	5	45.5
Over 10000	8	42.1	6	31.6	3	15.8	14	73.7

Table 12 (cont'd).

Subgroups	Fellow Workers		Residents		Career	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age						
Under 30	6	40.0	4	26.7	9	60.0
31-40	3	20.0	2	13.3	9	60.0
Over 40	2	14.3	1	7.1	4	18.2
Race						
White	10	25.0	5	12.5	19	47.5
Non-white	1	25.0	2	50.0	3	75.0
Sex						
Male	9	24.3	5	13.5	18	48.6
Female	2	28.6	2	28.6	4	57.1
Education						
High School	1	9.1	3	27.3	5	45.5
College	8	30.8	3	11.5	13	50.0
College Graduate	2	28.6	1	14.3	4	57/1
Armed Forces						
No	4	25.0	3	18.8	10	62.5
Enlisted	7	25.0	4	14.3	12	54.5
Employment Years						
Under 2	3	23.1	3	23.1	7	53.8
2-5	5	29.4	2	11.8	9	52.9
6-9	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	44.4
10 or more	1	20.0	0	0	2	40.0
Relatives Working						
Yes	2	22.2	4	44.4	5	55.6
No	9	25.7	3	8.6	17	48.6
Community						
Under 2000	3	21.4	0	0	7	50.0
2000-10000	4	36.4	3	27.3	5	45.5
Over 10000	4	21.1	4	21.1	10	52.6

less than two years on the job, those with relatives in corrections and those from rural communities also were proportionally more likely to report negative outcomes.

Supervisors - None of those in the older age group mentioned negative changes in feelings toward supervisors. The largest proportion of those citing such feelings fell in the 31-40 year old bracket. Similarly, none of the non-whites mentioned changes in feelings toward supervisors. Males were more likely to mention negative outcomes as were college graduates, those who had been in the armed forces, those employed over ten years and those from small communities.

Administration - Those whose feelings became more negative toward administrators were proportionally more likely to be either 31-40, non-white, female, having some college, having been employed 2 to 5 years, not having relatives in corrections or being from a moderate sized city.

Fellow Workers - Negative changes in feelings toward fellow workers were proportionally more likely among those under 30, those with some college and those from small communities. However, in other subgroups the proportions were so similar in terms of negative outcomes that firm conclusions about subgroup categories could not be made.

Residents - Those officers who change their feelings in a negative manner toward residents were proportionally more likely to be either under 30, non-white, female, having just a high school education, having relatives working in corrections or from non-rural communities. In particular,

having relatives employed yielded statistical significance. That is, it is much more likely that if one has a relative working in corrections that negative changes will result towards residents because of dissatisfaction producing situations (corrected chi-square = 4.07, p less than .05).

Career - Results across most subgroups appears to show that negative reactions to job commitment is relatively common as a result of dissatisfaction incidents. However, as might be expected those with ages over 40 and with long term employment as a corrections officer are less likely to cite negative career outcomes. However, those of non-white races, females, college graduates and those from larger communities tend to cite negative career feelings more often proportionally. This could be an important finding worthy of additional study since these latter types of people are probably those which corrections agencies would like most to recruit and retain.

4. Research Questions - Satisfaction

A. Facets of Satisfaction;

Prior to investigating the satisfaction research findings it should be noted that six of the individuals in this study could not describe a critical incident with which they were satisfied. Despite repeated prodding and suggested examples of other incidents they could absolutely not

describe a critical incident.

Of course this reduces the total N for this portion of the findings to 38 rather than 44 officers which should be kept in mind when analyzing tables associated with satisfaction. And too, with a smaller sample the likelihood of sampling error is greater.

However, it is still important to note that almost 14% of the sample could not cite a single satisfying incident which occurred to them on the job over the past year. The most likely reason for such a result is probably the nature of the type of job these individuals are asked to perform. For example, several of those not being able to cite incidents worked solitary positions either on gates or in gun positions on the roof or in turrets where their contact with residents, fellow officers, supervisors or anyone else is minimal. These types of jobs, while obviously necessary, nonetheless provide for little difference in duties or activities from day to day and thus it probably is not very surprising that a number of the officers really could not distinguish one work day from another in terms of satisfaction. Looking at it another way, the structure of their jobs does not include the possibility for achievement, recognition, interpersonal relations and the like, which as will be seen characterize the incidents cited by the other officers which led to satisfaction.

Question A1 (Salary) - No one in the sample made

reference to salary as a source of satisfaction in the critical incidents.

Question A2 (Policies and Administration) - Two officers mentioned policies and administration as a source of satisfaction. One of these officers cited positive feelings from having policy input while the other cited positive feelings toward specific policy change.

Question A3 (Working Conditions) - Working conditions were also cited in two satisfaction incidents both of which had references to improved working conditions as a source of satisfaction.

Question Q4 (Interpersonal Relations) - As was noted earlier, a large proportion (55.3%) of the satisfaction incidents contained references to interpersonal relations as sources of satisfaction. In terms of interpersonal relations with the residents, a number of the officers mentioned that having the residents assist the officers in the performance of their duties or taking an interest personally in them was a facet of satisfaction.

Also, in terms of interpersonal relations with fellow officers, some of the officers described situations in which teamwork among officers and assistance from other officers also contributed to satisfaction. In addition, good communication between officers was suggested as a facet of

satisfaction.

It should also be noted that interpersonal relations was a major source of satisfaction among corrections officers in that it is only surpassed by achievement as a facet of satisfaction within the critical incidents.

Question A5 (Supervision) - No references were made to supervision as a facet of satisfaction within the satis-faction incidents.

Question A6 (Achievement) - As mentioned, the one facet which was cited most often was achievement since 71.1% of those who described satisfaction incidents mentioned some aspect of achievement. Of those who mentioned achievement in their incidents, the majority (65.8%) made reference to such things as managing to solve problems on the job, getting their individual job done successfully or staying calm in dangerous situations. A number of the incidents having references to these types of achievement factors focused on the riots where officers felt they kep their heads and reacted in a manner consistent with what was expected of them such that they achieved control of the riot situation.

The next most common reference was to being able to help individual residents. In over 13% of all of the satisfaction incidents references were made to assisting with personal or medical problems. This is particularly important in that it demonstrates that the helping role previously discussed as

being a new development for the corrections officer may be
an important contributor to job satisfaction if the officer
is able to fulfill the role effectively.

Officers also mentioned prevention of injury and detect-
ing security problems on the job within some of the satis-
faction incidents. Overall though, successful job completion
and being able to help the residents were the more common
responses.

Question A7 (Recognition) - Out of all of the officers
who described satisfying situations slightly over a third of
them described recognition on the job as is shown in Table 1.
The most commonly cited type of recognition which contributed
to feelings of satisfaction were comments from fellow workers.
Typical of these types of incidents were "pats on the back"
from fellow workers for a job well done, particularly where
the officer was successful in locating contraband. The
second type of recognition was from the residents where resi-
dents thanked officers for helping them solve problems or
took an interest in the work the officer was performing.
Several incidents also made reference to supervision or
administration recognition although these were thought to be
rare. The remaining incidents referred to various combina-
tions of recognition from differing groups. The most impor-
tant source of recognition which was cited again though was
from peers on the job.

Question A8 (Work Itself) - Again in Table 1 it can be seen that almost a third of the officers mentioned work itself in their critical incidents of satisfaction. Finding or reducing contraband levels was the most prominent reference to work itself and appeared to be the most important element of job duties which contributed to satisfaction. However, a number of other references were also made to such things as intervening in disputes or locating security problems as part of the normal conduct of work itself.

Question A9 (Responsibility) - The facet of responsibility did not seem to be a major source of satisfaction in that only one of the incidents mentioned this in any way. In this particular incident however, the officer was particularly pleased that he took on a task outside his normal job, completed it and felt accomplishing such a task demonstrated his own personal ability to be more responsible for more things on the job.

Question A10 (Advancement) - It was also found that advancement did not seem to be a major source of satisfaction in that the only incident which this was mentioned in actually referred to satisfaction with a fellow worker's promotion rather than the subject's advancement potential or likelihood.

Question A11 (Other Facets of Satisfaction) - No

additional facets were mentioned in the satisfaction critical incidents.

B.   Overall Job Satisfaction;

Question B1a (Satisfaction Intensity) - As was previously noted, the index of overall job satisfaction was also measured on a seven point scale. Intensity of satisfaction on this scale can best be characterized a being relatively moderate. For example, as can be seen in Table 13, the central tendency of the distribution of intensity of satisfaction is about 5 to 5.3. In addition, the majority of the sample citing satisfaction incidents fell within the moderate range of 3 to 5 while only about 40% cited extreme levels of satisfaction resulting from the described incidents. Comparing this to the dissatisfaction intensity scale, clearly incidents on the job do not contribute to feelings of satisfaction which are as strong as incidents which contribute to dissatisfaction. That is to say the job of corrections officer appears to be more dissatisfying than satisfying in terms of relative intensity of feelings.

Question B1b (Satisfaction; Most Important Factors) - As can be seen in Table 14, the most important set of factors mentioned as contributing to overall satisfaction are those of achievement, which is consistent with the previous discussion. The single facet most cited is the ability to help

Table 13.

INTENSITY OF SATISFACTION

	Neutral					Extreme	Satisfaction
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
N	0	1	1	7	13	8	7
%	0	2.7	2.7	18.9	35.1	21.6	18.9

$\overline{X}$ - 5.3   s - 1.2
Md - 5.2   R - 5
Mo - 5   95% C.I. - (4.9-5.7)

Table 14.

MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF SATISFACTION

	N	%
Interpersonal Relations	8	21.0
Working Conditions	1	2.6
Administration and Policies	1	2.6
Work Itself	1	2.6
Recognition	9	23.7
Achievement	18	47.4
Total	38	100.0

residents with 13.2% of the sample mentioning this as the
most important factor contributing to satisfaction within the
incidents. Also mentioned within the achievement area were
such things as prevention of injury and solving problems.

The second most important set of factors are recognition
types of factors. From the previous discussion it would be
expected that interpersonal relations would have been second
but recognition from fellow officers and residents appeared
to be more important.

However, following recognition factors the next most
important category was interpersonal relations, particularly
with fellow officers and residents. Under the interpersonal
relations category about 21.0% of the subjects mentioned
this as being the most important contribution to feelings of
satisfaction.

Working conditions, administration and policies and work
itself were also cited as being most important but only one
person mentioned each of them and so they appear to be much
less important when compared to achievement, interpersonal
relations and recognition.

Question B1d (Satisfaction Intensity and Most Important
Factors) - In order to investigate the relation between
factors of satisfaction which were cited as being most impor-
tant and the intensity of satisfaction the intensity levels
were collapsed into low (1-2), medium (3-5) and high (6-7)
and were crosstabulated with the categories of satisfaction

Table 15.

CROSSTABULATION OF MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF SATISFACTION
AND SATISFACTION INTENSITY

Intensity	Inter-personal Relations		Recognition		Achievement		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	0	0	1	11.1	0	0	0	0
Medium	3	37.5	7	77.8	8	47.1	3	100.0
High	5	62.5	1	11.1	9	52.9	0	0
Total	8		9		17		3	
X	5.5		4.4		5.5		4.7	

previously discussed. In terms of proportional differences as can be seen in Table 15, those who cited interpersonal factors were most likely to suggest they were highly satisfied as a result of the incident. On the other hand, recognition was least likely to result in high level satisfaction. This is further exemplified through mean comparisons where interpersonal relations were highest and recognition lowest.

Chi-square test for significance in further collapsed categories of interpersonal relations and recognition as opposed to achievement failed to demonstrate significance as did a t-test between the two collapsed groups. Despite the lack of significance however, interpersonal relations seem still to be rather strongly related to high levels of satis-

faction, at least among this particular group.

Question B2a (Duration of Satisfaction) - The majority of those describing critical incidents of satisfaction (55.3%) also stated that their feelings of satisfaction were still existent. However, as can be seen in Table 16, a much larger proportion indicated short term duration of a few days to a few weeks than had indicated with respect to duration of dissatisfaction. In fact, 28.9% stated that such feelings lasted only a few days at most.

Table 16.

DURATION OF SATISFACTION

	N	%
Few Days	11	28.9
Few Weeks	3	7.9
Few Months	3	7.9
Still Have	21	55.3
Total	38	100.0

Thus, it would appear that feelings of satisfaction which result from critical incidents in a corrections officer's job are somewhat shorter lasting than are feelings of dissatisfaction which result from critical incidents.

Question B2b (Duration of Satisfaction and Major Factors of Satisfaction) - The contingency Table 17 presents the relationship between various major categories which were cited as contributing to job satisfaction and duration of satisfaction. It would appear that the majority of those

Table 17.

CROSSTABULATION OF MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF SATISFACTION
WITH SATISFACTION DURATION

Duration	Inter-personal Relations		Recognition		Achievement		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Few Days	2	25.0	3	33.3	5	27.8	1	33.3
Few Weeks	2	25.0	1	11.1	0	0	0	0
Few Months	0	0	1	11.1	2	11.1	0	0
Still Have	4	50.0	4	44.4	11	61.1	2	66.7
Total	8		9		18		3	

citing interpersonal relations, achievement and other factors still had such feelings of satisfaction while the majority of those citing recognition maintained such feelings for periods of a few days to a few months instead.

Again collapsing categories into interpersonal relstions and recognition as opposed to achievement revealed no statistical significance. Nonetheless, it could still be that

recognition results in relatively short term feelings of satisfaction while longer term feelings emerge from situations involving interpersonal relations and achievement in particular.

Question 3a (Performance Outcomes of Satisfaction) - The large majority of those describing satisfaction incidents (71.1%) indicated that such feelings did not directly affect the manner in which they performed their jobs. However, of those which did suggest that their performance changed some suggested that their vigilance increased to some degree or that as a result of the incident they tried harder to perform their job well. In addition, several others mentioned that they were more helpful towards residents as a result, they made more independent judgements or they challenged the system more as a result. Overall though, there is no support for the common sense notion that the happy worker is a better performing worker.

Question 3b (Personal Outcomes of Satisfaction) - Again, as can be seen in Table 18, the majority of those who described satisfaction incidents did not indicate that the incidents affected them in any way personally (65.8%). However, 28.9% did suggest that the incidents had positive personal effects on them. In particular, most cited general increased positive feelings about themselves. Others pointed out that they felt better physically or felt more relaxed and

Table 18.

SATISFACTION OUTCOMES

Outcomes	Incident Did Not Affect		Positive Changes		Negative Changes	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Performance	27	71.1	11	28.9	0	0
Personally	25	65.8	11	28.9	2	5.2
Supervisors	24	63.2	10	26.3	4	10.5
Administration	30	78.9	1	2.6	7	18.4
Fellow Workers	22	57.9	10	26.3	6	15.8
Residents	29	76.3	9	23.7	0	0
Career	18	47.4	20	52.6	0	0

confident as a result of the incidents of satisfaction. In addition, several also noted that satisfaction incidents had conversely led to emotional problems and heavy drinking, although only two of the officers mentioned such results.

Question 3c (Administration, Fellow Officer and Resident Outcomes of Satisfaction) - Again as can be seen in Table 18, almost 80% of the sample felt that the satisfaction incident did not change their feelings toward the higher administration. This was primarily because, as most noted, the higher administration had nothing to do whatsoever with the types of incidents described. One would possibly expect that

satisfaction on the job might lead to more positive feelings
toward administrators, but this was clearly not the case in
that only one person cited increased feelings toward this
level of supervision. Instead, 18.4% of the officers stated
that their feelings toward the administration diminished.
In this response however, most of the comments were of a
general nature citing merely decreases in feeling toward the
administration rather than specific changes in feelings
toward individuals or policies.

On the other hand, satisfaction incidents occassionally
led to more positivefeelings toward immediate supervisors.
Although such feelings most often focused on increased feel-
ings of respect and confidence, several also merely cited
vague general positive feelings toward supervisors. Despite
the fact that 26.3% of the satisfaction sample noted
increased feelings toward supervisors another 10.5% suggested
that they felt less about supervisors as a result. In par-
ticular, these officers felt more apprehensive and less
trusting toward their supervisors. The type of incidents
cited where these feelings emerged generally were those where
the officer felt satisfied with his own performance in spite
of contradictory orders or poor judgement on the supervisor's
part.

Changes in feelings toward fellow workers also emerged
which were both of a positive and negative nature. As can
be seen again in Table 18, 26.3% of the satisfaction sample
voiced increased feelings toward fellow workers. Most

important indicators of increased feelings were references
to increased teamwork or cooperation on the job among fellow
officers. However, 13.2% of those describing satisfaction
incidents also felt that their fellow officers had not done
the job they were supposed to and thus their feelings dimin-
ished toward these fellow officers.

Only 23.7% of the satisfaction sample mentioned changes
in their feelings toward residents and all of them reported
positive changes in attitudes or feelings. Those citing
changes felt that they could see the inmates in a better
light as a result of what happened or felt that they could
treat certain residents more as individuals.

Question 3b (Career Outcomes of Satisfaction) - While it
was expected that feelings of dissatisfaction would result
in increased withdrawal feelings or actions it was not
expected that satisfaction would necessarily result in
increased job commitment. Yet, 52.6% of the sample indicated
that as a result of their experience they felt more committed
to their job or voiced changed feelings toward more deter-
mination or motivation.

C. Subgroup Variability in Satisfaction;

Question C1 (Subgroup Variability; Satisfaction Most
Important Facets) - Subgroup variability in terms of the
factors cited as most important contributors to satisfaction

is presented in Table 19. Again since often the expected frequencies were less than five, satisfaction categories were collapsed into interpersonal relations and recognition as well as achievement and the subgroups were also collapsed as previously in order to test for statistical significance. Unless otherwise noted, the differences within the various subgroups on the factors cited as being most important are not statistically significant.

Age - Across all age groupings achievement was proportionally most likely in terms of the types of factors contributing most to satisfaction. However, those in the 31-40 year old bracket were slightly more likely (53.8%) to cite achievement. On the other hand, those under 30 were more likely to cite recognition and those over 40 more likely to mention interpersonal relations.

Race - Non-whites tended to mention interpersonal relations proportionally more often as sources of satisfaction and whites tended to mention recognition more often. However, the two groups were almost equal in terms of the proportions which mentioned achievement as the major contributor to satisfaction.

Sex - Females tended to cite interpersonal relations proportionally more often as being the most important contributing factor to satisfaction while males were more likely to mention recognition. However, both groups tended to mention achievement more often as being the most important factor.

Table 19.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON FACTORS CONTRIBUTING
MOST TO SATISFACTION

Subgroups	Inter-personal Relations		Recognition		Achievement	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age						
Under 30	2	15.4	5	38.5	6	46.1
31-40	3	23.1	2	15.4	7	53.8
Over 40	3	30.0	2	20.0	5	50.0
Race						
White	6	19.3	9	29.0	16	51.6
Non-white	2	50.0	0	0	2	50.0
Sex						
Male	6	20.0	9	30.0	15	50.0
Female	2	40.0	0	0	3	60.0
Education						
High School	1	14.3	2	28.5	4	57.1
College	7	31.8	4	18.2	11	50.0
College Graduate	0	0	3	50.0	3	50.0
Armed Forces						
No	4	40.0	4	40.0	2	20.0
Enlisted	4	16.0	5	20.0	16	64.0
Employment Years						
Under 2	2	15.4	3	23.1	8	61.5
2-5	3	25.0	4	33.3	5	41.7
6-9	2	33.3	1	16.7	3	50.0
10 or more	1	25.0	1	25.0	2	50.0
Relatives Working						
Yes	0	0	2	33.3	4	66.7
No	8	27.6	7	24.1	14	48.3
Community						
Under 2000	4	33.3	2	22.2	6	50.0
2000-10000	1	10.0	3	30.0	6	60.0
Over 10000	3	23.1	4	30.8	6	46.2

Education - Those with some college were most likely to mention interpersonal relations factors as being most important in terms of feelings of satisfaction. Half of the college graduates mentioned both recognition and achievement although those with a high school education were the most likely to mention achievement in comparison with the other groups.

Armed Forces - Those with no such experience cited interpersonal relations and recognition proportionally more often as being most important while those with armed forces experience were more likely to mention achievement. Collapsing the categories of satisfaction factors revealed that 80% of those not having service experience cited interpersonal relations and recognition while 64% of those having served in the armed forces mentioned achievement. This difference was found to be statistically significant (corrected chi-square = 3.9, p less than .05).

Employment years - Those with 6 to 9 years on the job were more likely to mention interpersonal relations as being most important to satisfaction while those employed for 2 to 5 years were more likely to mention recognition and those with less than two years mentioned achievement most (61.5%).

Relatives working - Those who had relatives employed in corrections mentioned achievement and recognition more often than those who did not have relatives working and conversely those not having relatives in the field mentioned interpersonal relations more often.

Community - Those from rural communities mentioned inter-
personal relations more often than other groups, those from
moderate sized cities were slightly more likely to mention
recognition and those from small town non-rural areas men-
tioned achievement most often.

Question C2 (Subgroup Variability; Satisfaction Inten-
sity) - In order to investigate the differences among sub-
groups in terms of satisfaction, the original scale was first
broken down into low (1,2), medium (4-6) and high (6,7) and
crosstabulations were developed on these categories for the
subgroups. Results of this analysis can be seen in Table 20.
In addition, the mean intensity score is also presented. To
test for statistical significance the subgroups categories
were again reduced to two groups and a t-test was performed.
Unless otherwise noted, the t-tests did not reveal statisti-
cal significance.

Age - Proportionally it would appear that those in the
31-40 year bracket tended to report higher levels of overall
satisfaction that the other groups. On the other hand, those
in the older age bracket were more likely than the other
groups to cite lower values on the intensity scale, while
those of the younger group were most likely to report middle
range intensity values. The mean intensity levels suggest
the same sort of trend with those in the middle age group
being highest in terms of satisfaction and those in the
younger group being lowest.

Table 20.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON INTENSITY OF SATISFACTION

Subgroups	Low (1-2)		Medium (3-5)		High (6-7)		Mean
	N	%	N	%	N	%	$\overline{X}$
Age							
Under 30	0	0	10	71.4	4	28.6	5.1
31-40	0	0	6	46.2	7	53.8	5.5
Over 40	4	28.6	7	53.8	4	40.0	5.3
Race							
White	1	3.0	20	60.6	12	36.4	5.1
Non-white	0	0	1	25.0	3	75.0	6.2
Sex							
Male	1	3.2	17	54.8	13	41.9	5.3
Female	0	0	4	66.7	2	33.3	5.3
Education							
High School	0	0	4	50.0	4	50.0	5.3
College	1	4.5	12	54.5	9	40.9	5.3
College Graduate	0	0	5	71.4	2	28.6	5.1
Armed Forces							
No	0	0	9	69.2	4	30.8	5.2
Enlisted	1	4.2	12	50.0	11	45.8	5.3
Employment Years							
Under 2	0	0	8	61.5	5	38.5	5.3
2-5	1	7.1	8	57.1	5	33.3	5.2
6-9	0	0	4	66.7	3	33.3	4.8
10 or more	0	0	1	25.0	3	75.0	6.0
Relatives Working							
Yes	0	0	5	71.4	2	28.6	4.6
No	1	3.3	16	53.3	13	43.3	5.4
Community							
Under 2000	1	8.3	4	33.3	7	58.3	5.6
2000-10000	0	0	5	50.0	5	50.0	5.3
Over 10000	0	0	12	80.0	3	20.0	5.0

Race - The majority of whites in the study reported middle range values of satisfaction resulting from the incidents they described (60.6%). On the other hand, the majority of non-whites reported intensity levels in the high range. The mean intensity scores reflect the same finding that non-whites were much more satisfied than whites with their job based on the critical incidents they described.

Sex - Males were slightly more likely to report high levels of satisfaction intensity while females were more likely to report the middle range values. Overall however, their mean intensity scores were virtually identical so realistically there is little difference in intensity between the two groups.

Education - A clear trend is apparent between levels of education and intensity of satisfaction. Simply stated, the more education a subject had the less intense were the feelings of satisfaction. Conversely, those with less education were more likely to report higher intensity scores. When looking at the differences in mean intensity however, this trend is not quite as consistent in that the two lower educational groups have the same mean levels while the college graduates were only somewhat less on the scale.

Armed forces - Those having no armed forces experience tended to report middle range satisfaction intensity scores while those who had some military background tended to report high level intensity scores more often. The mean scores were very similar however, with those having military experience

scoring slightly higher.

Employment years - Those with less than ten years on the job tended to report intensity levels within the moderate range while those with over ten years of experience were more likely to describe high levels of satisfaction resulting from their critical incidents. Again looking at the mean scores those in the 6 to 9 year category were the least satisfied while those in the over ten year category were the most satisfied as a result of the incidents.

Relatives in corrections - Those having relatives in the field of corrections tended to report moderate range intensity scores as did those who did not have relatives employed in the field. However, those not having relatives employed were slightly more likely than the other group to report high levels of satisfaction as their mean intensity was slightly higher.

Community - There is a relatively clear trend in terms of satisfaction levels and community of residence in that the larger the community the lower the reported intensity level. Those from larger communities were more likely to report moderate range scores while those from rural areas were more likely to report high level scores. Also the mean scores consistently descreases as the size of the community increased.

Question C3 (Subgroup Variability; Satisfaction Duration) - The results of the crosstabulation of satisfaction

duration among subgroups is presented in Table 21. Again since expected frequencies were so small the categories of duration were collapsed into a few days to a few months and still satisfied and the subgroups were also collapsed in the same manner as previously to investigate possible statistical significance. Unless otherwise noted, statistical significance was not found after the collapsing procedure.

Age - Those in the 31 to 40 year old bracket were most likely to report that they still had the feeling of satisfaction as a result of the critical incident described. On the other hand, almost 30% of each age group reported that satisfaction only lasted a few days.

Race - The majority of non-whites (75%) reported that their feelings of satisfaction were still held regardless of when the incident occurred. However, whites were more likely to report that their satisfaction had lasted for only a few days.

Sex - The majority of males (59.4%) reported that they still held feelings of satisfaction after the incidents while only a third of the females reported the same perception. On the other hand, about a third of the females reported that their feelings lasted only several days and another third reported that their feelings lasted only a few months. It would appear then that females did not hold satisfaction feelings as long as males.

Education - Those having a high school education were most likely to report that they still held feelings of

Table 21.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON DURATION OF SATISFACTION

Subgroups	Few Days		Few Weeks		Few Months		Still Have	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age								
Under 30	4	28.6	2	14.3	2	14.3	6	42.9
31-40	4	28.6	0	0	1	7.1	9	64.3
Over 40	3	30.0	1	10.0	0	0	6	60.0
Race								
White	11	32.4	2	5.9	3	8.8	18	52.9
Non-white	0	0	1	25.0	0	0	3	75.0
Sex								
Male	9	28.1	3	9.4	1	3.1	19	59.4
Female	2	33.3	0	0	2	33.3	2	33.3
Education								
High School	2	25.0	0	0	0	0	6	75.0
College	7	30.4	2	8.8	3	13.0	11	47.8
College Graduate	2	28.6	1	14.3	0	0	4	57.1
Armed Forces								
No	2	15.4	2	15.4	2	15.4	7	53.8
Enlisted	9	36.0	1	4.0	1	4.0	14	56.0
Employment Years								
Under 2	4	30.8	0	0	2	15.4	7	53.8
2-5	3	21.4	2	14.3	1	7.1	8	57.1
6-9	3	42.9	1	14.3	0	0	3	42.9
10 or more	1	25.0	0	0	0	0	3	75.0
Relatives Working								
Yes	2	28.6	0	0	1	14.3	4	57.1
No	9	29.0	3	9.7	2	6.5	17	54.8
Community								
Under 2000	3	25.0	1	8.3	1	8.3	7	58.3
2000-10000	3	30.0	0	0	1	10.0	6	60.0
Over 10000	5	31.3	2	12.5	1	6.3	8	50.0

satisfaction. The majority of college graduates also report-
ed that they held such feelings still while about 30% of
those with some college reported that their feelings lasted
only a few days.

Armed Forces - Both those who had this experience and
those who did not reported that they still had feelings of
satisfaction at about the same proportional level. However,
those who had service experience tended to report feelings
lasting only a few days more often than those who had not
been in the service.

Employment years - Proportionally, those with 6 to 9
years of experience were more likely to conclude that their
feelings of satisfaction lasted only a few days when compared
to the other groups. The majority of the other groups
reported that they still had satisfaction feelings but the
more experienced officers who had been on the job over ten
years were the most likely of all groups to state that they
still held such feelings.

Relatives working - The distribution of satisfaction
duration was quite similar for those who had relatives
employed in corrections and for those who did not. The major-
ity of both groups stated that they still had such feelings,
while 28-29% of both groups also stated that their feelings
lasted only for a few days.

Community - The largest proportion of all groups report-
ed that they still had feelings of satisfaction while the
small town group was slightly more likely to mention that

they still had such feelings. Those from the larger community areas were slightly more likely to say that their feelings lasted only for a few days as well.

Question C4 (Subgroup Variability; Outcomes of Satisfaction) - A comparison between subgroups and the reported positive outcomes of satisfaction is presented in Table 22. Note that only the positive outcomes are presented since the negative outcomes were so much less likely as a result of satisfaction situations. In order to test for significance the outcome variables were collapsed into no change and positive change. Subgroups were collapsed in the same manner as has been consistently utilized throughout the analysis. Unless noted again there was no evidence of statistical significance.

Performance - About equal proportions in each of the age categories reported positive outcomes resulting from their satisfaction critical incidents. However, non-whites were more likely to mention positive changes in performance than whites as were college graduates, those with 3 to 5 years on the job, those not having relatives working in corrections and those from moderate sized cities.

Personal - About 50% of those in the over 40 years of age category reported that the satisfaction incident positively affected them on a personal level. Non-whites also were more likely to report positive personal changes as were males, those with some college, those having armed forces

Table 22.

VARIABILITY AMONG SUBGROUPS ON POSITIVE
OUTCOMES OF SATISFACTION

Subgroups	Performance		Personally		Supervisors		Admin-stration	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age								
Under 30	4	28.6	3	21.4	5	35.7	1	7.1
31-40	4	28.6	3	21.4	4	28.6	0	0
Over 40	3	30.0	5	50.0	1	10.0	0	0
Race								
White	9	26.5	8	23.5	8	23.5	1	2.9
Non-white	2	50.0	3	75.0	2	50.0	0	0
Sex								
Male	9	28.1	10	31.3	8	25.0	1	3.1
Female	2	33.3	1	16.7	2	33.3	0	0
Education								
High School	2	25.0	2	25.0	2	25.0	0	0
College	6	26.1	7	30.4	6	26.1	0	0
College Graduate	3	42.9	2	28.6	2	28.6	1	14.3
Armed Forces								
No	4	30.8	2	15.4	4	30.8	1	7.7
Enlisted	7	28.0	9	36.0	6	24.0	0	0
Employment Years								
Under 2	1	7.7	6	46.2	4	30.8	0	0
2-5	7	50.0	4	28.6	5	35.7	1	7.1
6-9	2	28.6	1	14.3	1	14.3	0	0
10 or more	1	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relatives Working								
Yes	1	14.3	2	28.6	3	42.9	0	0
No	10	32.3	9	29.0	7	22.6	1	3.2
Community								
Under 2000	2	16.7	4	33.3	3	25.0	0	0
2000-10000	3	30.0	2	20.0	3	30.0	0	0
Over 10000	6	37.5	5	31.3	4	25.0	1	6.3

Table 22 (cont'd).

Subgroups	Fellow Workers		Residents		Career	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age						
Under 30	3	21.4	3	21.4	7	50.0
31-40	4	28.6	4	28.6	7	50.0
Over 40	3	30.0	2	20.0	6	50.0
Race						
White	8	23.5	8	23.5	18	52.9
Non-white	2	50.0	1	25.0	2	50.0
Sex						
Male	8	25.0	7	21.9	17	53.1
Female	2	33.3	2	33.3	3	50.0
Education						
High School	1	12.5	3	37.5	6	75.0
College	8	34.8	5	21.7	11	47.8
College Graduate	1	14.3	1	14.3	3	42.9
Armed Forces						
No	3	23.1	5	38.5	7	53.8
Enlisted	7	28.0	4	16.0	13	52.0
Employment Years						
Under 2	5	38.5	4	30.8	7	53.8
2-5	1	7.1	2	14.3	8	57.1
6-9	3	42.9	2	5.3	4	57.1
10 ore more	1	25.0	1	2.6	1	25.0
Relatives Working						
Yes	2	28.6	2	28.6	3	42.9
No	8	25.8	7	22.6	17	54.8
Community						
Under 2000	3	25.0	4	33.3	5	41.7
2000-10000	1	10.0	3	30.0	7	70.0
Over 10000	6	37.5	2	12.5	8	50.0

experience, those who have been employed for shorter periods of time and those from rural areas.

Supervisors - Those in the under 30 year old age bracket were most likely to report positive changes toward immediate supervisors as a result of their satisfaction incidents. Again non-whites were also more likely than whites to report positive changes toward supervisors as were females, those not having been in the service, those on the job for three to five years, those with relatives employed in corrections and those from small towns.

Administration - Only one person reported a positive change in feelings toward the administration which resulted from the satisfaction incident. Obviously then subgroup comparisons are meaningless in terms of administration.

Fellow workers - A slightly higher proportion of older officers mentioned positive changes in feelings toward fellow officers as a result of the critical incident. Non-whites were also more likely to report positive changes as were females, those with some college, those with 6 to 9 years of experience and those living in moderate sized cities.

Residents - While the proportions of those who changed feelings toward residents in a positive manner were fairly similar across age groups, those in the 31-40 year old bracket were slightly more likely to mention positive changes in feelings. Females were also slightly more likely to report positive changes as were those with just a high school education, those with no service experience, those being

employed for just a short time, those with relatives working in corrections and those from rural areas.

Career - Again similar proportions in all age brackets reported positive changes toward their career as a result of the satisfaction incidents although those over 40 were slightly more likely to mention positive changes. Those with high school education also were more likely to mention positive changes, as were those employed under ten years, those not having relatives in the field and those from small towns.

5. Summary

It was repeatedly mentioned throughout this chapter that virtually all of the findings did not result in statistical significance. While technically one should not generalize these findings to the entire population of corrections officers, this lack of statistical significance is probably most likely because of the very small sample size. Regardless of the lack of significance the following major findings are offered in summary of this results chapter;

1. Salary was not related to dissatisfaction among corrections officers.

2. Policy and administration along with interpersonal relations were the two primary factors associated with dissatisfaction among corrections officers followed by supervision and working conditions.

3. Policy and administration was the most important area thought to contribute to

dissatisfaction among corrections officers followed in order by supervision, interpersonal relations and working conditions.

4. Feelings of dissatisfaction among corrections officers tended to be quite strong and appear to be long lasting.

5. Working conditions and supervision tended to result in more intense feelings of dissatisfaction among corrections officers.

6. Supervision and interpersonal relations tended to result in longer lasting feelings of dissatisfaction among corrections officers.

7. Dissatisfaction did not affect the majority of corrections officers in terms of their perceptions of performance, personally, supervisors, fellow workers or the residents. However, negative outcomes resulted from dissatisfaction in terms of feelings toward the administration and career commitment.

8. Satisfaction among corrections officers was primarily associated with achievement followed by interpersonal relations, recognition and work itself.

9. Achievement was considered to be the most important factor contributing to satisfaction among corrections officers followed by recognition and interpersonal relations.

10. Feelings of satisfaction were not as strong as feelings of dissatisfaction among corrections officers and tended not to last as long.

11. Interpersonal relations were associated most with stronger feelings of satisfaction among corrections officers.

12. Achievement was associated with longer lasting feelings of satisfaction among corrections officers.

13. Satisfaction did not change the majority

of corrections officers' attitudes or
feelings toward performance, personally,
supervisors, administration, fellow
workers and residents. Satisfaction did
result in more positive career commitment
by most of the corrections officers.

14. Supervision contributed more to dissatis-
faction among corrections officers who
were 31 to 40 years old, who were white,
who were males, who had some college
education, who had been employed six to
nine years or who were from small towns.

15. Interpersonal relations contributed more
to dissatisfaction among corrections
officers who were over 40 years old, who
were non-white, who were female, who were
college graduates, who had been employed
less than two years, who had relatives
working in corrections or who were from
small towns.

16. Working conditions contributed more to
dissatisfaction among corrections officers
who were less than 30 years old, who were
white, who were male, who were college
graduates, who had no military experience,
who had been employed two to five years,
who had no relatives in corrections or
who were from rural areas.

17. Administration and policies contributed
more to dissatisfaction among corrections
officers who were white, who were female,
who had only a high school education,
who had military experience or who lived
in moderate sized cities.

18. Feelings of dissatisfaction were more
intense among corrections officers who
were less than 30 years old, who were
white, who were female, who were college
graduates, who had no military experience,
who had been employed a relatively short
period of time, who did not have relatives
working in corrections orwho lived in
small towns.

19. Feelings of dissatisfaction enduredmore
for corrections officers who were under
40 years of age, who were male, who had
a high school education or some college,

who had been on the job longer, who
had relatives employed in corrections
or who were from small towns.

20. Dissatisfaction negatively affected
    performance more for corrections officers
    who were under 30 years of age, who were
    non-white, who were female, who were
    college graduates, who had no military
    experience, who had been employed less
    than two years or who were from moderate
    sized cities.

21. Dissatisfaction personally affected
    corrections officers in a negative manner
    more for those who were less than 30,
    who were non-white, who were female,
    who had some college, who had no military
    experience, who had been employed less
    than two years, who had relatives in
    corrections or who were from rural areas.

22. Dissatisfaction negatively affected feelings
    toward supervisors among corrections officers
    who were 31 to 40 years old, who were white,
    who were male, who were college graduates,
    who had military experience, who had been
    employed for more than ten years or who
    lived in small towns.

23. Dissatisfaction affected feelings toward
    the administration more negatively among
    corrections officers who were 31 to 40
    years old, who were non-white, who were
    female, who had some college, who had
    been working over two years, who did not
    have relatives in corrections or who lived
    in moderate sized cities.

24. Dissatisfaction affected feelings toward
    fellow workers more negatively among
    corrections officers who were less than
    30, who had some college education or who
    lived in small towns.

25. Dissatisfaction affected feelings toward
    residents more negatively among corrections
    officers who were less than 30, who were
    non-white, who were female, who had a high
    school education, who had relatives in
    corrections or who lived in small towns.

26. Dissatisfaction affected career commitment

more negatively among corrections officers
who were less than 40 years of age, who
were non-white, who were female, who were
college graduates, who had no military
experience, who had been employed a shorter
period of time, who had relatives in
corrections or who were from moderate
sized cities.

27. Interpersonal relations contributed more
to feelings of satisfaction among corrections
officers who were over 40, who were non-
white, who were female, who had some college,
who had no military experience, who had
been employed over two years, who did not
have relatives in corrections or who were
from rural areas.

28. Recognition contributed more to feelings of
satisfaction among corrections officers
who were less than 30, who were white, who
were male, who were college graduates,
who had no military experience, who had
been employed two to five years, who had
relatives in corrections or who were from
non-rural areas.

29. Achievement contributed more to feelings of
satisfaction among corrections officers
who were over 30, who were female, who had
a high school education, who had military
experience, who had been employed less than
two years, who had relatives in corrections
or who were from small towns.

30. Feelings of satisfaction were more intense
among corrections officers who were 31 to
40, who were non-white, who had some college,
who had been employed longer than ten
years, who did not have relatives in
corrections or who were from rural areas.

31. Feelings of satisfaction tended to endure
longer among corrections officers who were
over 40, who were non-white, who were male,
who had a high school education, who had
been employed over ten years or who were
from small towns.

32. Feelings of satisfaction affected perceptions
of performance more negatively among
corrections officers who were non-white,
who were college graduates, who had been

employed three to five years, who did
not have relatives in corrections or who
were from moderate sized cities.

33. Feelings of satisfaction personally affected
    corrections officers more positively
    among those who were over 40, who were
    non-white, who were male, who had military
    experience, who had been employed less
    than two years or who were from rural areas.

34. Feelings of satisfaction affected feelings
    toward supervisors more positively among
    corrections officers who were less than
    30, who were non-white, who were female,
    who had less than five years on the job,
    who had relatives in corrections or who
    were from small towns.

35. Feelings of satisfaction did not positively
    affect feelings toward the administration.

36. Feelings of satisfaction affected feelings
    toward fellow workers more positively
    among corrections officers who were over
    40, who were non-white, who were female,
    who had some college, who had six to nine
    years on the job or who were from moderate
    sized cities.

37. Feelings of satisfaction affected feelings
    toward the residents more positively among
    corrections officers who were 31 to 40,
    who were female, who had a high school
    education, who had no military experience,
    who had been employed less than two years
    or who were from rural areas.

38. Feelings of satisfaction affected career
    commitment more positively among corrections
    officers who were over 40, who had a high
    school education, who had less than ten
    years on the job, who did not have relatives
    in corrections or who were from small towns.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

1. Conclusions

Determinants of Dissatisfaction - The review of previous research suggested that correctional officers were primarily dissatisfied with their jobs because of salary, policies and administration, working conditions, supervision and inter-personal relations.

A number of previous writers pointed out that salary in particular has long been a source of dissatisfaction and often accounted for much of the turnover problems among correctional officers. However, the findings of this study found no mention of salary as a source of dissatisfaction among corrections officers. Not a single subject in the study mentioned salary within the critical incidents which characterized their dissatisfaction. It must be concluded then that for those in this sample, at least, salaries were within adequate levels for these employees.

Policy and administration were also mentioned in the literature by a number of authors as a source of dissatis-faction. In particular, it was suggested that correctional officers were dissatisfied with promotion policies and felt that promotions were based primarily on politics and favor-itism. Correctional officers were also described as being dissatisfied with rules and regulations which the administa-

tion asked them to enforce or obey. They were often quoted
as being dissatisfied with what they viewed as rules and
policies which were vague or inconsistent. In addition,
they often felt dissatisfied in situations where no rules for
conduct on their job existed. Even where rules did exist
correctional officers were said to suffer from role conflict
whereby administrators asked the officers to perform the con-
flicting roles of custodian and rehabilitator simultaneously.
As a result of this role conflict it was suggested that
correctional officers felt powerless and isolated on the job
which further led to dissatisfaction with their jobs.

The findings of this study confirm the observation that
the administration and their policies are sources of dis-
satisfaction for corrections officers. In fact it was found
that officers in this study thought that policy and admin-
istration factors were the most important sources of dis-
satisfaction on the job. Officers in this study, however,
did not place the blame on administrative sources for pro-
motional problems, but when this was mentioned such criticism
was directed at immediate supervisors instead. For example,
one officer cited a situation where he thought that because
of his seniority on the job he ought to have been eligible
for promotion to sergeant. However, instead another officer
who was female was promoted, which the more senior officer
felt was a result of blatant favoritism on the part of his
immediate supervisor.

In addition to citing concern about administrative

policies the officers in this study also suggested that the administration failed to back individual officers and often failed to take actions that officers thought necessary. Officers also mentioned a lack of power on the job, particularly with respect to enforcing rules and regulations since they felt that hearing officers would let the violator off anyway. However, there were no voiced concerns about role conflict. Perhaps this is because of the fact that organizationally the role of the officer at this institution as custodian has been retained while housing counselors are charged with the rehabilitation role.

In addition, it was also found that dissatisfaction resulting from policies and administration was not equally shared among all the officers but that certain subgroups within the work force tended to view administration and policies as being more important sources of dissatisfaction than other groups.

Working conditions were also mentioned several times as being a major source of dissatisfaction in previous research on correctional officers. Other studies found that the aggressive nature of the residents, or inmates, along with other dangerous conditions on the job led officers to feel afraid and continuously wary of trouble, particularly in the form of physical attack. It was also pointed out that boredom due to the environmental constraints on the job often plagued certain officers. Further, for some officers, particularly those who were new on the job, the deviant behavior

and the institutional blend of noise and odors led to reality shock.

Officers in this study too referred often to danger and fear as being sources of dissatisfaction. While other facets were felt to be more important in terms of producing dissatisfaction, aggressive residents and the constant potential for trouble were of major concern to these officers as well. On the other hand, reality shock was not really mentioned although this is probably because of the fact that these officers had generally been on the job for some time. But, boredom and routine, while not explicitly mentioned, nontheless were quite evident. This can be concluded from the fact that a large proportion of officers in the sample could not recall an incident on the job which led to satisfaction. This appeared to be because their jobs were so boring and routine that they really could not separate one day from another.

A number of authors of previous studies also concluded that corruption of authority and insubordination on the part of prisoners had led to feelings of a loss of power among officers and feelings of dissatisfaction. Interpersonal relationships with prisoners were also mentioned by officers in this study as contributing to dissatisfaction. In particular, resistance to directives and aggressive actions by prisoners were mentioned. For example, several officers cited refusals to obey their orders within their dissatisfaction incidents along with prisoner aggression such as throwing urine on the officers.

In addition to mentioning prisoner relations however, officers in this study also found interpersonal relations with their fellow employees to be a significant source of negative feelings. While such feelings were not as prominent as those concerning the residents, they were nonetheless of major concern and interpersonal relations in general were associated with the most intensely negative feelings about the job of corrections officer. For example, several of the officers indicated that they felt their fellow officers acted as if they came to work just to collect their paychecks, or as one officer said, "only 15% of us are doing the job, the rest just show up and go home at the end of the shift after doing nothing all day."

Relations with supervisors were also mentioned often in the literature as being a source of dissatisfaction among officers. Supervisors were sometimes characterized as not supporting or backing officers on the job. They were also said to occassionally treat the officers in the same way that the inmates were treated. And finally, supervisors were thought to work against officers in many cases.

Findings from this study support previous conclusions that supervisors were also sources of dissatisfaction among officers. While problems with supervisors did not appear to be as important as other sources of dissatisfaction, officers in this study also to some degree characterized superiors as not being supportive, sometimes displaying favoritism and working against the officers' best interests through conflict-

ing directives. For example, several officers described situations where their supervisors made work assignments based on who their favorite officers were rather than on how well an officer could do the job.

Several additional sources of dissatisfaction were also found in this study, those being in the areas of advancement and work itself. However, only a very small number of officers mentioned these additional factors. In general, the sources of dissatisfaction among these officers are consistent with previous research with one major exception. Interpersonal relations with fellow officers was discovered to be an additional major source of dissatisfaction among officers, a conclusion which has not been reached in previous studies.

Outcomes of Dissatisfaction - The review of the literature led to the conclusion that dissatisfaction on the part of correctional officers to some degree affected job performance. It was found that officers who were dissatisfied tended to avoid directives, did not enforce rules as much, or subverted directives from the administration in some way.

Further, dissatisfaction often led to withdrawal behavior. In particular, dissatisfaction accounted for a large proportion of turnover among officers. Also high levels of absenteeism were found to be a result of job dissatisfaction, plus physical and mental disorders were said to sometimes result from such feelings.

Finally, dissatisfaction was also characterized as being associated with such administrative problems as work slowdowns,

work stoppages, institutional sabotage by employees and even riots.

While the relationship between dissatisfaction and the last set of outcomes was not investigated in this study, the effects on performance and withdrawal confirmed to some degree that dissatisfaction contributes to these outcomes. In general, dissatisfaction did not lead to poorer performance among the majority of officers in this study. However, a number of them did admit that as a result of dissatisfaction they became more lenient in rule enforcement or simply ignored directives from various supervisory levels. So, for some officers dissatisfaction did negatively affect performance but overall there was little indication that an unhappy officer will be a poor worker.

Withdrawal attitudes and feelings were also found to be common as a result of dissatisfaction and in fact were likely among most officers. Thoughts of transfer or finding another job were the most likely results and a number of the officers stated that they would leave the job if they only could. The probable reason that turnover is not higher at this institution is the lack of alternative employment opportunities because of the economic conditions in the area.

While the evidence concerning physical or mental problems resulting from dissatisfaction is more limited, nonetheless several individual officers attributed depression and other emotional problems to their job dissatisfaction. So, while personal problems are not necessarily likely outcomes,

they are still often possible.

Additional outcomes not previously mentioned in the literature were also identified. In general, it can be concluded that dissatisfaction can result in attitude change among officers. The most likely attitude change resulting from dissatisfaction is more negative feelings toward the administration. Also however, more negative feelings can develop toward fellow workers and supervisors. On the other hand, negative feelings toward the resident population were somewhat less likely.

So, findings of this study lend further support to the previous observations that dissatisfaction can result in some degree of lesser performance, increased withdrawal attitudes, personal mental problems and attitude changes in terms of higher level personnel, peers and subordinates.

In addition, while previous research did not focus on intensity and duration of the feelings of dissatisfaction among officers it can also be concluded that feelings of dissatisfaction tend to be intense and long lasting. Also, there is evidence to suggest that the sources of dissatisfaction, the outcomes, the intensity and duration of such feelings to some degree vary among various subgroups. That is, some types of officers view different sources of dissatisfaction as being most important and dissatisfaction has differing outcome effects among different types of individuals.

Sources of Satisfaction - The review of the literature produced only a couple of studies which even touched on the

potential satisfaction among officers. Even those studies
which did mention satisfaction gave no hint as to the possi-
ble sources of satisfaction on the job. Thus, the conclu-
sions developed from the findings of this study are relatively
new since officer satisfaction has not received the same
amount of concern as officer dissatisfaction. Nonetheless,
a number of tentative conclusions about job satisfaction
among corrections officers can be offered.

The first conclusion is that despite the gloomy picture
that is often painted about the job of correctional officer
and individual reactions to such a job, this study has
found that officers can, and in fact do, find their job to
be a source of satisfaction as well. The situations leading
to satisfaction may be rare and the intensity and duration
of such feelings not as strong or long lasting as feelings of
dissatisfaction, but the majority of officers could point to
situations which happened to them on the job which led to
these positive feelings about their employment.

The most important factor which contributes to satis-
faction is the ability of the officer to achieve on the job.
That is, personal achievement in terms of solving problems,
successfully getting the job accomplished or preventing
problems appear to lead to positive feelings about the job.
In addition, being able to help the residents with their
problems and needs surfaced a number of times as being an
important source of satisfaction. The was not expected, for
it suggested that some officers feel satisfied in fulfilling

a helping role. Thus, despite the literature concerning role conflict, it would appear that some officers nontheless find the helping aspect of the job to be satisfying.

It can also be concluded that recognition leads to more satisfaction with the job for corrections officers. In general, it would appear that recognition of a job well done from supervisors, peers or subordinates is rare. However, when it does occur, such recognition often leads to officers feeling satisfied with their jobs.

And finally, work itself, whether it be locating contraband or solving security problems, can also be a source of satisfaction for individual officers. Speaking of work itself however, it must also be concluded that some types of positions which officers must fill by their own design reduce the possibility for officers to develop satisfaction feelings. A number of officers, as already mentioned, could cite no incidents of satisfaction within the past year. This was primarily because of the type of work they were asked to do, that being repetitive, boring work with no opportunity for personal interaction or achievement. While these officers were in the minority, it still appeared that the actual type of work one was asked to perform could preclude the opportunity for the officers to experience job satisfaction.

Outcomes of Satisfaction - Again with little previous research having focused on the satisfaction of correctional officers the outcomes of such feelings could not be anticipated. However, satisfaction in general resulted in positive

outcomes for a significant number of officers.

After experiencing satisfaction on the job officers appeared to have increased positive feelings on a personal level and mental attitudes appeared to improve. Incidents of satisfaction also led to more positive feelings toward supervisors, fellow workers and residents. In particular, a number of officers seemed to indicate that satisfaction led to increased teamwork on the job both among officers and supervisors. And too, satisfaction seemed to lead to officers viewing residents more as individuals and sought to help them more with their problems. However, those who reported these outcomes were in the minority of the sample. But, if the role of rehabilitator is to be fulfilled by correctional officers it is apparent that increasing job satisfaction may increase the helping attitudes in some officers so that they may become more help oriented than strictly custody oriented.

Satisfaction also appeared to contribute positively to perceptions of job performance among a few officers. Some officers reported that as a result of job satisfaction they attempted to do their job better, became more observant and more aware of the various job requirements. Overall though the happy officer did not appear to see himself as a better performing officer.

Finally, satisfaction also led to an increased commitment to the job of corrections officer. That is, a number of officers stated that satisfaction made them more committed

to staying on the job and improving themselves in their work. Putting it a slightly different way, withdrawal attitudes appeared to be less likely and could be reduced in situations which created satisfaction on the job.

Overall though, it must also be concluded that for most officers satisfaction leads to no performance or attitude change with the exception of career commitment. Nonetheless, while only a minority mentioned changes, it still may be concluded that for some officers attitudes and performance can be improved as a result of satisfying experiences on the job.

It should also be pointed out that feelings of satis- faction appear to be less strong and enduring than feelings of dissatisfaction. And too, it must also be concluded that feelings, outcomes, intensity and duration of these feelings vary among subgroups such that some groups are more likely to develop satisfaction and to change attitudes as a result. For example, non- whites had longer lasting feelings of satisfaction, they were more likely to improve performance and they were more likely to have improved feelings as a result of satisfaction than were the white officers.

2. Implications

The implications which emerge from the findings and conclusions of this research can be characterized as falling into several areas of concern. First of all, the study

suggests some important implications regarding the theory of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. That is, this research offers additional support for the two-factor approach to dissatisfaction and satisfaction job attitudes. Secondly, the results of this study offer additional implications concerning the methodological approach utilized. That is, it would appear that the critical incident approach is a useful tool, although perhaps somewhat limited, in gaining insight into job attitudes. Finally, the findings suggest various practical implications for different groups within the correctional environment. Various possible improvements emerged which could be implemented by correctional administrators and policy makers. Further, the findings suggest implications for first line supervisors, the correctional officers themselves and their union organization, and the residents or inmates. Finally, these findings also suggest implications for future research efforts and investigations into this field.

Theoretical Implications - As was noted earlier in the review of the literature, there have been differing theoretical approaches toward understanding job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among various types of employees. The basic controversy which has resulted however, is whether or not job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are distinct attitudes brought about by different factors or determinants. If the two-factor theory is correct, as has been suggested by Herzberg and others, employees can be simultaneously

satisfied and dissatisfied with their employment. This further implies that removal or alteration of the factors which account for dissatisfaction will not necessarily lead to highly satisfied workers. Further, improvement of job satisfaction may not necessarily reduce dissatisfaction and its outcomes such as withdrawal behaviors.

As was noted earlier, this research was not specifically intended to substantiate or disprove the two-factor theoretical perspective. However, the results did appear to provide more evidence that the two-factor theory is correct. Evidence of the likelihood that the same worker can be both satisfied and dissatisfied on the job is probably best exemplified by the fact that several of the officers in this study described the same incident as contributing to both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. These officers mentioned the recent disturbance at the prison as such a situation. However different elements within the described incidents contributed to the different job attitudes. For example, one of the officers felt satisfied with his own performance and the teamwork displayed by fellow officers in the handling of the disturbance. On the other hand, this same officer was quite dissatisfied with the reaction of the higher administration during the situation. Thus, this individual was simultaneously satisfied and dissatisfied on the job.

Further support for the two-factor approach was also evidenced by the fact that the officers consistently described different factors within satisfaction and dis-

satisfaction situations. Thus, administration and policies, supervisory behaviors and other factors were cited within dissatisfaction incidents while interpersonal relations, recognition and other factors were cited within the satisfaction situations. It would appear then that the descriptions offered by the subjects suggested that indeed different things account for satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The obvious implication is that these attitudes appear not to be along a single attitudinal continuum but rather are distinct feelings brought about by different job related factors.

Methodological Implications - Again as was pointed out earlier, this research attempted to investigate attitudes of correctional officers by utilizing the critical incident methodology. By having officers describe actual situations it was felt that identification of the determinants of these attitudes would be more valid and objective than would have been the case if other attitudinal measurement methodologies had been utilized.

It seems clear as a result of the application of this technique that the critical incident approach is a useful methodology in determining job attitudes with these types of employees. In addition to being useful, it also appeared that the measurement of feelings on the job was in fact more valid than predetermined questionnaires or other types of interview strategies. An example of this would be that in the openended portion of the interviews a number of the

officers vaguely mentioned the lack of interest in officers by the state level administration. However, the actual critical incident descriptions resulted in more specific observations. Rather than suggest that they were dissatisfied with the higher administration, the officers described actual policies or procedures instead. That is, a number of the officers mentioned problems with implementing such policies as the use of lethal force or described concerns with disciplinary decision making.

The critical incident method then would appear to develop findings which are more objective than the open-ended interviews, which could lead to more emotion laden responses rather than actual descriptions of events and conditions.

However, it should be further noted that there is still a concern that this approach could be biased toward certain types of responses despite the objectiveness of the descriptive approach. That is, in this study just the critical incident approach alone was utilized. It was not used in conjunction with other possible approaches such as participant observation or other techniques. Thus, there were no additional methodological verifications of the findings of the study. The problem with not having these additional approaches and relying strictly on the critical incidents is that certain determinants may have been unintentionally missed since they were simply left out of the descriptions. For example, as was again previously noted, previous research

has suggested that poor salaries often contributed to feelings of dissatisfaction and withdrawal behaviors among correctional officers. However, no one in this study mentioned salary within any of the incidents. Salary, as a determinant of dissatisfaction, may not have been mentioned as a result of the nature of the critical incident technique. That is, in describing actual events occurring on the job salaries may not have been included since they may not be considered as part of the day to day job events.

The implication in utilizing this approach then is that it is a very useful technique in determining factors on the job which contribute to the attitudes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. However, there may also be some unintentional bias in this technique which could lead to omitting other potentially important factors which could contribute to these feelings. Only through the utilization of alternative techniques in addition to the critical incident approach can this be fully determined however.

Implications for Administrators - As was previously stated, the two major goals of institutional corrections are custody and rehabilitiation. The people who probably have the greatest potential for seeing that these goals are achieved, and conversely the greatest potential for thwarting the achievement of these goals, are the line officers. However, turnover and absenteeism have been described as being high for these employees. Of those who do routinely show up for work the avoidance of directives, institutional sabotage,

work stoppages or slowdowns and other serious organizational problems can develop as a result of job dissatisfaction. Obviously under such conditions trying to achieve custody, let alone rehabilitation, is difficult at best.

The findings of this study support the idea that withdrawal attitudes exist among those who are dissatisfied on the job. More importantly however, it was found that withdrawal attitudes and reduced performance were more likely among officers of minority races and among women as well as the more educated. This has obvious serious implications for affirmative action efforts by the agency administration. That is, dissatisfaction on the job may make retention of much sought after minority group members much less likely.

One of the most important sources of dissatisfaction among officers was with policies and administration. Rather than just citing mere general discontent however, officers viewed inconsistent rules and regulations as being important contributions to dissatisfaction. Again for example, a number of officers mentioned that the policy prior to the disturbance was for them to use firearms against the inmates to prevent serious bodily harm to the officers and inmates as well as to prevent destruction of property. However, during the disturbance this policy was apparently changed by ordering the officers who were armed not to shoot to prevent property destruction. The concern raised by these officers was that they did not know what to do. If they fired then they were likely to be in violation of agency policy and yet if

they did not fire they were also in violation of policy. Thus, this observation would imply that policy makers and administrators should review rules, regulations and policies and insure that they are consistent and not in conflict with one another.

Furthermore, the findings suggested that officers were very concerned with lines of communication with those who developed procedures and policies. For example, some officers mentioned within their incidents dissatisfaction with inmate disciplinary procedures. While some of the officers were obviously dissatisfied with the outcomes of disciplinary hearings, the more important observation was that they were not made aware of decisions and changes in policies, except through the officer or inmate grapevine. Thus, it would appear that a lack of established lines of communication between administrators and the first line employee contributed to these feelings of dissatisfaction. To further reduce dissatisfaction then, it would seem that two-way lines of communication need to be established. This could serve not only to improve understanding as to the purpose and outcomes of rules and regulations but would also give the officers input into the policy making process.

In addition, working conditions were often mentioned as being an important source of dissatisfaction among officers. It could be argued that little can be done from a policy standpoint with respect to the dangers associated with guarding dangerous men. However, additional concerns with

staffing and high inmate to officer ratios could be improved.
For example, some officers noted that problems in the dining
areas were often a result of low staffing levels. Increased
staffing might reduce dissatisfaction resulting from inci-
dents within these areas or other areas such as the cell
blocks.

Interpersonal relations and supervision were also men-
tioned by officers as contributing to dissatisfaction. Again
it could be argued that higher administration levels could
do little to affect changes in these factors. However,
efforts at developing supervisory consistency along with
improved efforts at developing communication lines and policy
review might be areas worthy of administrative investigation.

Even if the administration accomplished all of the pre-
vious changes, it should be realized that the findings of
this researh suggested that merely reducing dissatisfaction
will not automatically insure that satisfaction on the job
will be improved since satisfaction and dissatisfaction seem
to be determined by different sets of factors. In order to
improve job satisfaction the administration must then look
to other areas of concern.

The first area which was mentioned as contributing to
satisfaction was that of interpersonal relations. Again,
teamwork and mutual assistance among officers, if developed
and maintained, would seem to go a long way toward improving
officer satisfaction. Also, since problem solving and being
able to help residents was mentioned, it would seem that

policies aimed at increasing the problem solving and help-
ing role of the correctional officers would serve to improve
satisfaction, particularly if such a role would also improve
perceptions of achievement on the job.

Another area, and one which would appear to hold sizable
potential in improving satisfaction, is recognition. As
noted earlier, a large number of those interviewed indicated
recognition for a job well done was extremely rare. Or as
one officer noted, "I don't remember ever hearing my lieu-
tenant every saying I did a good job." Officers did not
suggest that they should be rewarded all the time for their
actions but would welcome occassional recognition for ful-
filling the expectations of supervisors and administrators.
While a total system of rewards is probably not necessary,
certainly the development of increased supervisory awareness
of the need for recognition, rather than just punishment,
could lead to improved levels of satisfaction.

Implications for First Line Supervisors - Previous
studies suggested that the outcomes of dissatisfaction, such
as absenteeism and turnover, ignoring directives and sabotage
make the job of the first line supervisor often quite diffi-
cult. Having highly dissatisfied subordinates can result in
supervisors trying to manage a cell block with low staffing
levels or with employees who may simply not perform as the
supervisor expects. This study gives support for this obser-
vation, for as several officers mentioned, a result of their
dissatisfaction was that they would often not enforce the

rules and regulations but instead looked the other way whenever an infraction was detected.

Supervisory behavior was found to be an important source of the dissatisfaction among officers. The implications of this finding are that supervisors may reduce feelings of dissatisfaction among their subordinates by being consistent and fair in their assignments and directives. That is, by reducing favoritism officer discontent may be improved. For example, several officers mentioned favoritism in placing certain officers in more favorable jobs made other officers quite angry and these feelings lasted for long periods of time. Consistent job rotation is a possible strategy available to supervisors.

In addition, supervisory practices were often viewed as changing significantly from supervisor to supervisor. As one officer pointed out, two of his sergeants had told him to do two completely contradictory things on the job. This left the officer not only confused but dissatisfied. Such examples imply that more communication between first line supervisors needs to be developed in order to provide consistency from supervisor to supervisor.

First line supervisors can not only reduce or eliminate some of the sources of dissatisfaction but they also seem to be in a unique position organizationally to improve feelings of satisfaction on the job among officers. The findings of this research again suggest that officer achievement, interpersonal relations and recognition contribute to feelings of

satisfaction. That is, being able to successfully perform on the job, to be independently responsible on the job, to experience teamwork with other officers and being recognized for a job well done improve attitudes among the officers. First line supervisors, it would seem, could affect changes in all these factors. For example, supervisors could give individual officers more responsibility for completion of tasks on the job and support them in achievement of job tasks. They could also make efforts to improve teamwork on the job. Most importantly, systematic recognition of a job well done by an officer would help to improve officer satisfaction.

Implications for Corrections Officers - Again, as has been repeatedly mentioned, administration and policies were found to be important sources of dissatisfaction for officers. In order for these sources of dissatisfaction to be reduced it would seem that it is not sufficient for the policy maker to review inconsistencies on his own. The officers themselves, it would seem, have an important role to play in changing such policies. That is, the officers themselves must make an effort to bring to the attention of superiors perceived inconsistency and overlap in policy, rules and regulations whenever encountered. For example, while the inconsistent lethal force policy may have contributed to disatisfaction among certain officers, this policy may not have been recognized as inconsistent by the administration unless the affected officers communicated their disatisfaction to those with the ability to create or change such a policy. Thus,

the officers themselves must seek to improve communication
channels with their superiors.

In addition, interpersonal relations with other officers
and the prisoners might be improved through individual
officer efforts. For example, some officers complained of
fellow officers not backing them up, not enforcing the rules
or smuggling contraband to the inmates which made things more
difficult for those officers who tried to do their jobs in
the correct manner. It would seem then that officers could
reduce some of the problems with interpersonal relations by
bringing such observations or complaints to the attention of
supervisors and higher levels within the agency. Improved
communication with supervisors in general might increase
satisfaction on the job, as was noted earlier.

Most importantly though, the findings of this research
suggest that officers can improve each others' job satis-
faction by increasing their mutual recognition of a job well
done and improved teamwork and cooperation. That is, as a
number of the officers in the study mentioned, having a
fellow officer merely give them a "pat on the back" for
successfully completing even a minor job task increased job
satisfaction attitudes. Mutual recognition could also serve
to improve interpersonal relations among the officers and
lead officers to try to achieve more on the job, both of which
would further help to improve job satisfaction.

Implications for the Officers' Union - The findings of
this study also provide some important implications for the

employees' collective bargaining organization. First it
would seem that it is possible that certain practices brought
about by union efforts might, in fact, help to contribute to
dissatisfaction among officers. Further, it would seem that
the union organization has a key role to play in the reduc-
tion of dissatisfaction and the improvement of satisfaction.

According to some of the officers, union activites had
resulted in certain job assignments being based on seniority.
Several other officers also felt that such assignments were
based on favoritism instead, but it was obvious that poor
job assignments often went to low seniority officers. That
observation was coupled with dissatisfaction with the senior-
ity assignment system in lieu of basing assignment on past
performance.

The implication of assignment based strictly on senior-
ity is that officers who may be highly motivated and are
successful performers on the job may become frustrated in
that they have to remain in poor assignments despite their
efforts on the job. Perceptions of being locked into poor
assignments could then result in dissatisfaction and reduced
efforts toward superior performance. Furthermore, seniority
assignment means that the less experienced officers will be
placed in the least preferredworking conditions and working
conditions have also been found to contribute to disatisfac-
tion. In addition, the least preferredpositions are also
probably those which result in interpersonal relations with
inmates which are likely to be the most troublesome or

potentially dangerous which further contributes to dissatis-
faction. Thus, it would seem that the efforts by the officer
union may unintentionally contribute and help to maintain
feelings of dissatisfaction among officers.

On the other side of the coin however, it would seem
that the findings suggest a number of ways by which the union
organization could help improve satisfaction among officers.
If the union were to take a cooperative stance, rather than
an adversarial position, toward the administration of this
facility it would seem that two-way communication and mutual
understanding regarding policy matters could be improved.
Furthermore, the union, in speaking for the officers, might
be able to better make policy makers and supervisors aware
of inconsistencies and inadequacies, thereby reducing dis-
satisfying conditions on the job.

The union could also seek through its own system of
rewards a practice of recognition of a job well done by
officers, thereby strengthening peer recognition. Finally,
union efforts could also focus on fairness in promotion based
on ability and performance rather than on seniority or favor-
itism and perhaps help to implement assignment practices
which again might be seen as more equitable among the officers
as a whole.

Implications for Residents - As was noted in the review
of the literature the outcomes of dissatisfaction may have a
significant effect on the residents of large prisons, as well
has having an impact on the correctional organization itself.

It was pointed out that dissatifaction has been thought to lead to disturbances, changing applications of rules and regulations among officers and security problems as a result of turnover and absenteeism. It was also argued from a common sense perspective that where correctional officers are highly dissatisfied prisons may become more unstable, unpredictable or dangerous for the prisoners. While this study did not specifically address this latter argument the findings which did result suggest some implications for the residents, although they may be somewhat speculative.

The findings of this study have shown that correctional officers in this facility are indeed dissatisfied with certain portions of their work and work environment. It would seem then that it is necessary to reduce dissatisfaction so as to improve security and consistency within the prison. This, one could argue, would be beneficial from the inmates' point of view in that consistency offers them the ability to predict day to day events rather than being continuously concerned about changes or danger.

Further, as security and expectancy are improved perhaps rehabilitative efforts could also be improved. For example, a number of officers mentioned that helping inmates or trying to solve their problems was an important component of job satisfaction. So, if this helping role can be strengthened and rewarded, perhaps rehabilitation may be more likely for the residents with the active assistance of the line officers.

Research Implications - As has been repeatedly stated, this study has been exploratory in nature. Thus, it has primarily been descriptive and has had a rather general focus on the issues of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. In retrospect, if this study could have been done over again several changes would have been made. First, another measurement strategy would also have been utilized in addition to the critical incident approach. As mentioned earlier, this could have provided a check against the single method bias. In addition, it would have been useful to have sampled officers from a number of other facilities throughout the state. This research has only looked at officers in a very large fortress like prison. Perhaps the attitudes of officers in smaller, more modern prisons would have been different and more insight could have been gained about the environmental influences on job attitudes. Finally, as mentioned previously this study was conducted after several disturbances within the prison. It was stated that the officers at this facility were found to be a cause of the disturbances because of their reactions to dissatisfaction with disciplinary procedures. It would have been of interest to have conducted this study prior to the distubances and sometime after to assess the relative changes in these job attitudes which might have been the result of the disturbances.

Regardless, the single most serious problem with this particular research effort has been its sampling procedure and the total sample size. Inference has been reduced as a

result of both of these problems. In terms of future
research attempts in this area it would be highly desirable
to attempt to obtain a non-volunteer sample and one which
is much larger that this sample. In particular, a larger
sample would provide the opportunity to more fully examine
the interrelationships within and among the various subgroups.

However, in addition to the improvements that increas-
ing the sample would have in future replications, it would
also seem that a number of other questions have emerged from
this study which may be of future research interest.

In this study the focus in terms of outcomes of satis-
faction and dissatisfaction was on the perceptions of the
officers concerning their changes in feelings or performance.
However, it was really not known to what extent their actual
behaviors changed on the job. For example, a number of
officers stated that they became more lenient on the job as
a result of a dissatisfying incident. However, how that
leniency was manifested, if at all, was not investigated in
this study. Further, when officers stated that their feel-
ings changed toward the residents and fellow officers, did
that also mean as a result, their behavior and interactions
with those people also changed? Thus future research efforts
should look more closely at the actual rather than perceived
outcomes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

The other area which seems to warrant further investiga-
tion is identifying how these various facets of satisfaction
and dissatisfaction combine to produce either overall feeling.

As was noted earlier, there are a variety of combination models and it would seem important to see which most appropriately characterizes correctional officers.

Regardless of these suggestions it is hoped that this study helped to fill in some previously unanswered questions about correctional officers and their work. But certainly, much more needs to be learned about this relatively unknown group of workers.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Original Sample Contact Letter

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY   APPENDIX A

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE · SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE   EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Dear Officer

Recently it seems that there had been a lot of interest in the media
and elsewhere about large prisons and the problems of managing them.
However, as a former corrections officer, it seems to me that too much
emphasis has been placed on asking prisoners and administrators about
the problems in large prisons. In other words, I think that the people
who probably know the most about the day to day problems of prisons,
people like you, have been systematically ignored.

Therefore as a part of the requirements to complete a graduate degree
in Criminal Justice from Michigan State University I am conducting a
study focusing directly on the opinions and attitudes of Corrections
Officers in Michigan. More specifically, I am interested in what
Corrections Officers like and dislike about their jobs and how their
jobs personally affect them.

In order to look at this issue though, I need your help. I selected
your name completely at random from all the Corrections Officers
currently employed as SPSM and I'd like to ask you to spend a few
minutes of your time talking to me about how you feel about your job.
I'll be glad to meet with you at any time or place which is convenient
for you. I will be contacting you in the next few weeks to more fully
explain what I'd like to do and to personally ask you for your coopera-
tion.

I should emphasize that while I had to receive permission to conduct
this study I am in NO WAY associated with the Department of Corrections,
Civil Service or any other task force or government body. Further,
this study is not a result of the disturbance this summer and in fact
actually started back in January of this year.

I should also point out that I guarantee complete anonymity and I will
keep your comments strictly confidential. As partial thanks I will
also gladly provide you with a summary report of my findings for your
personal information.

I sincerely hope that you will participate in this effort. I think
that your perceptions along with those of your fellow officers can
go a long way toward helping the public and policy makers understand
the real demands and problems of being a Corrections Officer.

Should you have any questions please feel free to call me at 517 355-
2212 or 517 372-2794. Thanks.

Sincerely,

David W. Hayeslip Jr.

APPENDIX B

Original Sample Meeting Letter

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY   APPENDIX B

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE · SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE   EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Dear Officer _____.

As you probably recall I sent a letter to you several weeks ago asking for your help in a study of Corrections Officers' opinions and attitudes about the day to day problems of prisons.

In order to introduce myself, more fully explain the study and how you can help and to tell you what I plan to do with the results I'd like to meet with you and some of your fellow officers after work in the _____ on December _____ at _____ .

I know that your time off is very valuable but I assure you that out meeting will be as brief as possible - <u>I hope five minutes at most.</u> I would have preferred meeting with you on the job but a number of Department officials prohibited that.

I want to emphasize that meeting with me does not mean any obligation to participate in the study but I would greatly apprecitate it if you could spare these few minutes to hear what I have to say.

Again should you have any questions please feel free to call me at 517 355-2212 or 517 372-2794. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

David W. Hayeslip Jr.

APPENDIX C

Original Sample Followup Letter
Following Meeting Failures

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY   APPENDIX C

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE · SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE   EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Dear Officer _____,

As you know I tried to meet with you and a number of other officers after work over the past several weeks to introduce myself and to explain my study of corrections officer opinions.

However, a significant number of officers couldn't make it due to illness, changes in shifts and a number of other reasons. In addition, I was unable to meet as scheduled over the past few days due to the fact that my wife gave birth to a baby girl unexpectedly over the weekend. My apologies if you tried to see me and I wasn't there this week. Since we couldn't meet personally I would like to explain the nature of the study in this letter instead.

As mentioned in my first letter of several weeks ago I am concerned with the commentaries on the problems of prisons which are based on conversations with either inmates or administrators. I think that corrections officers are the ones who really know what the day to day problems are and are best qualified to discuss them. Or as a friend of mine who was a guard with me in the military said, "If you haven't worked the block you don't know anything about prisons."

In order to explore some of the problems of being a corrections officer I'd like to ask you to spend about 30 minutes of your time discussing your job with me. I know your time is very valuable so I'd like to offer you $5.00 as partial thanks for helping me.

If you would like to help, we can talk after work or during your days off at any place which you find convenient or if it is easier for you we can also simply talk on the phone for the half hour.

Inorder for us to schedule a meeting please fill out the enclosed post card and mail it to me as soon as possible. If the post card is not returned I will assume you are not interested and I will not bother you anymore. However, please give it some thought - the officers I've talked to agree that more needs to be heard from the "C.O."

I want to stress again that your comments will be confidential and no one will know if you participated or not. If you have any questions please call me at 517 355-2212 or 517 372-2794.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

David W. Hayeslip Jr.

APPENDIX D

Contact Letter for Increased Sampling

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY   APPENDIX D

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE · SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE   EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Dear Officer

Recently it seems to me that there has been a lot of interest in the media and elsewhere about large prisons and the problems of managing them. However, as a former Corrections Officer, it seems to me that too much emphasis has been placed on asking prisoners and administrators about the problems in large prisons. In other words, I think that the people who probably know the most about the day to day problems, people like you, have been systematically ignored.

So as part of the requirements to complete a graduate degree in Criminal Justice from Michigan State University I am conducting a study focusing directly on the opinions and attitudes of Corrections Officers in Michigan. More specifically, I am interested in what Corrections Officers like and dislike about their jobs and how their jobs personally affect them.

I order to look at this issue though, I need your help. As you may or may not know I have already talked with a number of your fellow officers over the past few weeks. Their comments have suggested that I need to talk to more officers. So I selected you name completely at random from all the Corrections Officers currently employed as SPSM and I'd like to ask you to spend a fewminutes of your time talking to me about your job. If you would like to help, we can talk after work or during your days off at any place which you find convenient or if it is easier for you we can also simply talk on the phone.

I should emphasize that while I had to receive permission to conduct this study I am in NO WAY associated with the Department of Corrections, Civil Service or any other task force or government body. Further, this study is not a result of the disturbances this summer and in fact actually started back in January 1981.

I should also point out that your comments will be confidential and no one will know if you participate or not. I know your time is very valuable so I'd like to offer you $5.00 as partial thanks for helping me. In addition, I will also gladly provide you with a summary report of the findings for your own information.

In order for me to answer any questions you may have about the study and for us to schedule a meeting please fill out the enclosed postage paid post card and mail it to me as soon as possible. If the post card is not returned I will assume you are not interested and I will not bother you anymore. However, please give it some thought - the officers I've talked to agree that more needs to be heard from the "C.O."

Should you have any questions in the meantime please feel free to call me at 517 355-2212 or 517 372-2792. Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

David W. Hayeslip Jr.

APPENDIX E

Initial Interview Format

APPENDIX E

Initial Interview Format

Structured Interview Format - C.O. Dissatisfaction/Satis-
    faction

Introduction

As I said to you in our previous conversation I am going
to talk to you about how you feel about working as a
correctional officer. More specifically, I'd like to
find out about some of the things that have happened
to you on the job that have made you feel good or bad
about the type of work you do.

In order to do that I'm going to ask you to describe
specific incidents you've experienced on the job over
the last year which led to you feeling either very
satisfied or very dissatisfied with your job. After
describing these incidents I'm then going to ask you
some additional questions about how these incidents
affected you personally and how they affected your work.

I again want to stress that your responses are strictly
confidential and I personally guarantee that you will
not be identified as participating in this study.

As you are talking I will be taking notes on what you
say. I am doing this since I want to be sure that I
accurately remember our conversation since your comments
are particularly important.

Do you have any questions?

I.   Think back over the last year since January 1981 and try
     to recall the incident when you felt the most dissatis-
     fied with your job as a Corrections Officer. As best
     you can, please describe this incident and what events
     led up to it.

     When did this incident occur?

     How long did your feelings of dissatisfaction last?

     Within the incident you've described what single factor
     would you say contributed MOST to your feelings of dis-
     satisfaction?

     Overall, how would you rate the extent of your feelings
     of dissatisfaction on the following scale?

```
1     2     3     4     5     6     7
Neutral                            Extreme Dissatisfaction
```

II. Outcomes

As a result of this incident did the way you performed your job change in any way?

Did this incident affect you in any way personally (for example, sleep difficulty, physical or mental problems)

Did this incident change your feelings toward your immediate supervisor? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward the higher administration? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward your fellow workers? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward the prisoners? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward your career? If so, how?

III. Think back over the past year since January 1981 and try to recall an incident when you felt the most satisfied with your job as a corrections officer. As best you can, please describe this incident and what events led up to it.

When did this incident occur?

How long did your feelings of satisfaction last?

Within the incident that you have described what single factor would you say contributed MOST to your feelings of satisfaction?

Overall, how would you rate the extent of your feelings of satisfaction on the following scale?

```
1     2     3     4     5     6     7
Neutral                            Extreme Satisfaction
```

IV. Outcomes

As a result of this incident did the way you performed your job change in any way? If so, how?

Did this incident affect you in any way personally (for example, did you sleep better, feel better physically)?

Did this incident change your feelings toward your immediate supervisor? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward the higher administration? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward your fellow workers? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward the prisoners? If so, how?

Did this incident change your feelings toward your career? (were you more committed to work)

Other studies about job satisfaction and dissatisfaction have shown that certain background characteristics are important when looking at how people feel about work. For example, people who have been on a job a long time have quite different feelings than newly employed people. Therefore, I'd like to ask you for a little additional background information.

How old are you now? _____

What is your race? _____

What is your sex? _____

How far have you gone in school? _____

Have you been in the Armed Forces? _____Yes, officer _____Yes, enlisted _____No

When did you start work as a Corrections Officer? _____

Are any of your relatives working in corrections? _____
    Doing what? _____

In what type of community are you now living?
    _____ country _____ less than 2,000 _____ 2,000-10,000
    _____10,000-100,000 _____ city larger than 100,000

How long have you been working as SPSM? _____

Thanks for your cooperation. Do you have any additional comments about the interview or about your job? The summary results will be available in several months, would you like a copy?

APPENDIX F

Revised Interview Format

APPENDIX F

Revised Interview Format

Structured Interview Format - C.O. Dissatisfaction/Satis-
faction

Introduction

As I mentioned in my previous letter and in our phone
conversation I'd like to talk to you about how you feel
about your job as a Corrections Officer. More specif-
ically, I'd like to find out about some of the things
that have happened to you on the job that have made
you feel particularly satisfied or dissatisfied with
the type of work you do.

In order to do this I'm going to ask you to describe
specific incidents or situations you've experienced on
the job over the last year which led to you feeling
either very satisfied or very dissatisfied. After
you've described these incidents I'm then going to ask
you some questions about what may have happened after
the incidents.

I again want to stress that your responses are strictly
confidential and there is no way anyone can find out
that you've participated in this study, so feel free
to be as candid as you wish.

As you are talking I will be taking notes since I want
to be sure that I accurately remember our conversation.

Before we begin do you have any questions about the
study?

I. Think back over the last year since January 1981 and
try to recall the one incident when you felt the MOST
dissatisfied with your job as a Corrections Officer.
As best you can, please describe this incident and the
events which led up to it.

When did this incident occur?

How long did you feelings of dissatisfaction last?

Within the incident what single factor would you say
contributed MOST to your feelings of dissatisfaction?

In order to measure how strong your feelings of dis-
satisfaction were at the time please indicate how

strong your feelings were along the following scale.

```
1    2    3    4    5    6    7
Neutral                       Extreme Dissatisfaction
```

II. Outcomes

1. As a result of this incident did the way you performed your job change in any way? If so, how?

2. Did this incident affect you in any way personally (for example, sleep difficulty, physical or mental problems)?

3. Did this incident change your feelings toward your immediate supervisors (sergeants, lieutenants or captains)? If so, how?

4. Did this incident change your feelings toward the higher administration (above captains)? If so, how?

5. Did this incident change your feelings toward your fellow workers? If so, how?

6. Did this incident change your feelings toward the residents? If so, how?

7. Did this incident change your feelings toward your career (think about quitting or transferring)?

III. Think back over the past year since January 1981 and try to recall the one incident when you felt the MOST satisfied with your job as a Corrections Officer. As best your can, please describe this incident and the events which led up to it.

When did this incident occur?

How long did your feelings of satisfaction last?

Within the incident what single factor would you say contributed MOST to your feelings of satisfaction?

In order to measure the strength of your feelings at the time please indicated how strong your feelings were along the following scale.

```
1    2    3    4    5    6    7
Neutral                       Extreme Satisfaction
```

IV. Outcomes

1. As a result of this incident did the way you

performed your job change in any way? If so, how?

2. Did this incident affect you in any way personally (for example, did you sleep better, feel better physically)?

3. Did this incident change your feelings toward your immediate supervisors (sergeants, lieutenants or captains)? If so, how?

4. Did this incident change your feelings toward the higher administration (above captains)? If so, how?

5. Did this incident change your feelings toward your fellow workers? If so, how?

6. Did this incident change your feelings toward the residents? If so, how?

7. Did this incident change your feelings toward your career (more committed to work)?

Other studies about job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction have shown that certain background characteristics are important when looking at how people feel about their work. For example, those who have worked at a job for a long time may feel differently than new employees. So I'd like to ask you for some additional background information, but feel free not to answer if you feel it's too personal.

How old are you now? _____

What is your race? _____

What is your sex? _____

How far have you gone in school? ___

Have you been in the Armed Forces? ____Yes, officer ____Yes, enlisted ____No

When did you start work as a Corrections Officer? ____

Are any of you relative working in corrections? ____ Doing what? _____

In what type of community are you now living? ____ country ____ less than 2,000 ____ 2,000-10,000 ____ 10,000-100,000 ____city larger than 100,000

How long have you been working at SPSM? ____

Thanks for your cooperation. Do you have any additional

comments or questions about your job of this interview? As
I mentioned I will be glad to supply you with summary results
of this study if you wish, but I will need your address in
order to forward them. It will take about two months before
they are ready. In addition, I offered to reimburse you
five dollars for your participation and I would like to make
that offer to you again. Should you think of any additional
comments or questions please call me anytime.

APPENDIX G

Data Codebook

APPENDIX G

Data Codebook

Columns	Variable	Codes
1-2	V1 - ID	

Columns	Variable	Codes
3-4	V2 - Super- vision	01 - Poor judgement/overreact 02 - Does not back/no support 03 - Poor communication 04 - Unfair 05 - Lack of maturity 07 - Too friendly with inmates 08 - Conflicting orders 09 - Favoritism toward officers 10 - Criticism/ punish 11 - False reporting 13 - Does not criticize/supports 50 - 2 + 7 51 - 3 + 10 52 - 2 + 3 53 - 3 + 10 54 - 5 + 1 55 - 5 + 5 56 - 3 + 5 88 - Not reported 99 - Missing
5-6	V3 Inter Rels	01 - No cooperation/ fellow 02 - Won't back, help/ fellow 03 - Overreact/ fellow 04 - Don't do job, enforce/ fellow 05 - Negotiate/ fellow 06 - Infighting/ fellow 07 - Predjudice, black, women/ fellow 08 - Help inmates steal/ fellow 09 - Harass, single out/ fellow 10 - Poor communication/ fellow 11 - Write ups/ fellow 12 - Strong reactions/ resident 13 - Verbal confrontation/ resident 14 - Ignore orders/ resident 15 - Fight among selves/ resident 16 - Violate rules/ resident 17 - Argue/ civilians 18 - Assistance, teamwork/ fellow 19 - Good communication/ fellow

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                                  20 - Good relations/ resident
                                  21 - Assistance/ resident
                                  50 - 15 + 18
                                  51 - 12 + 13
                                  52 - 4 + 10
                                  53 - 6 + 9
                                  54 - 4 + 2
                                  55 - 7 + 12
                                  56 - 12 + 17
                                  57 - 20 + 19
                                  88 - Not reported
                                  99 - Missing

7-8        V4 - Working          01 - Danger, loss of control
                Conditions       02 - CO2
                                  03 - Inmates behavior
                                  04 - Custody poor, no disicipline
                                  05 - Can't do job
                                  06 - Fear
                                  07 - Conditions improved
                                  50 - 3 + 6
                                  88 - Not reported
                                  99 - Missing

9-10       V5 - Admin. &         01 - Discrimination
                Policies         02 - H.O.  treats as stupid
                                  03 - H.O. lets them off
                                  04 - Specific policies
                                  05 - Inconsistent policies
                                  06 - General policies
                                  07 - Lack of admin. action
                                  08 - Fail to back officers/ admin.
                                  09 - Lack of communication/ admin.
                                  10 - News releases/ admin.
                                  11 - Personnel problems/ admin.
                                  12 - Admin. in general
                                  13 - Seeing policy input, change
                                  14 - Positive input to policy
                                  50 - 5 + 8
                                  51 - 1 + 2
                                  52 - 3 + 8
                                  53 - 10 + 4
                                  54 - 10 + 4 + 9
                                  55 - 3 + 6 + 9
                                  56 - 5 + 3 + 8
                                  57 - 7 + 5
                                  58 - 1 + 9
                                  88 - Not reported
                                  99 - Missing

11-12      V6 - Responsi-        01 - Accomplish on own
                bility           88 - Not reported
                                  99 - Missing
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13-14	V7 - Work Itself	01 - Unsure what to do
		02 - Finding, reducing contraband
		03 - Intervening in disputes
		04 - Finding security problems
		05 - Aiding inmate
		06 - New job, ambition
		88 - No reported
		99 - Missing
15-16	V8 - Recognition	01 - Admin, doesn't recognize
		02 - Fellow workers recognize
		03 - Inmates recognize
		04 - Supervisors recognize
		05 - Admin. recognize
		50 - 2 + 4
		51 - 9 + 5
		52 - 3 + 4
		88 - Not reported
		99 - Missing
17-18	V9 - Achievement	01 - Caught inmate doing wrong
		02 - Preventing injury
		03 - Inmates recognizing wrong
		04 - Providing help
		05 - Segregating inmate
		06 - Didn't fall apart, stay cool
		07 - Got job done
		08 - Solved, prevented problems
		09 - Maintained control
		10 - Saw results
		50 - 4 + 8
		51 - 5 + 6
		52 - 6 + 7
		53 - 6 + 8
		54 - 9 + 7
		55 - 1 + 7
		56 - 1 + 10 + 7
		88 - Not reported
		99 - Missing
19-20	V10 - Advancement	01 - Favoritism in advancement
		88 - Not reported
		99 - Missing
21-22	V11 - Other	01 - Other, layoff
		02 - Other, interrogate
		88 - Not reported
		99 - Missing
23 Blank		
24-25	V12 - Diss Month	1-12, 13 - over a year ago, 99 - Missing

26	V13 - Diss Length	1 - Few Days, 2 - Few Weeks, 3 - Few Months, 4 - Still have

27-28	V14 - Diss Worst	01 - Supervisor poor judgement
		02 - Supervisor don't back
		03 - Supervisor lack maturity
		04 - Supervisor favoritism
		05 - Supervisor conflict orders
		06 - Supervisor no communication
		10 - Fellow don't do job (IR)
		11 - Negotiate fellow (IR)
		12 - Infighting fellow (IR)
		13 - Prejudice fellow (IR)
		14 - Reactions resident (IR)
		15 - Ignore orders resident (IR)
		16 - Argue resident (IR)
		17 - Nothing done others (IR)
		20 - Can't do job (WC)
		21 - Other (WC)
		30 - Admin. treats stupid
		31 - Admin. lets off
		32 - Specific policies
		33 - Lack admin. action
		34 - Admin. fail to back
		35 - Admin. news release
		36 - Admin. general
		37 - Admin. followup
		38 - Admin. communication
		40 - Other
		88 - Not reported
		99 - Missing

29	V15 - Intensity	1-7, 9 - Missing

30 Blank

31-32	V16 - Performance	01 - No
		02 - Yes, more leery
		03 - Yes, more lenient
		04 - Yes, enforce by book
		05 - Yes, overreact
		06 - Yes, apathetic
		07 - Yes, not as physical
		08 - Yes, more vigilant, observant
		09 - Yes, more helpful
		10 - Yes, more judgements
		11 - Yes, try harder, do right way
		12 - Yes, challenge system more
		88 - Not reported
		99 - Missing

33-34	V17 - Personal	01 - No
		02 - Yes, physical discomfort

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                              03 - Yes, tension, nervous, stress
                              04 - Yes, poorer feelings
                              05 - Yes, emotion (sleep, depress)
                              06 - Yes, more predjudiced
                              07 - Yes, heavy drinking
                              08 - Yes, increase feelings
                              09 - Yes, more relaxed
                              10 - Yes, more confident
                              11 - Yes, problems went away
                              88 - Not reported
                              99 - Missing

35-36     V18 - Super-        01 - No
                visor         02 - Yes, felt less of
                              03 - Yes, lost respect, confidence
                              04 - Yes, less trust, apprehensive
                              05 - Yes, no backing
                              06 - Yes, poor evaluation methods
                              07 - Yes, positive changes
                              08 - Yes, increase respect
                              09 - Yes, increase trust
                              10 - Yes, more pro CO, anti con
                              88 - Not reported
                              99 - Missing

37-38     V19 - Admin.        01 - No
                              02 - Yes, not security oriented
                              03 - Yes, don't believe, back
                              04 - Yes, predjudice
                              05 - Yes, hate
                              06 - Yes, no leadership
                              07 - Yes, negative in general
                              08 - Yes, they need more facts
                              88 - Not reported
                              99 - Missing

39-40     V20 - Fellow        01 - No
                              02 - Yes, upset, angry
                              03 - Yes, afraid of them
                              04 - Yes, didn't do job, assist
                              05 - Yes, responded well, did job
                              06 - Yes, appreciated
                              07 - Yes, good teamwork
                              08 - Yes, cooperation, support
                              88 - Not reported
                              99 - Missing

41-42     V21 - Residents     01 - No
                              02 - Yes, trust less
                              03 - Yes, hate, contempt
                              04 - Yes, general feelings dropped
                              05 - Yes, better light, understand
                              06 - Yes, treat as individuals
```

			88 - Not reported
			99 - Missing
43-44	V22	- Career	01 - No
			02 - Thought about transfer
			03 - Transfer
			04 - Thought of leaving, searched
			05 - Would leave if could
			06 - Would never have done over
			07 - More committed
			08 - More motivated, determined
			09 - Less committed
			88 - Not reported
			99 - Missing

45 Blank

46-47	V23 - Super.	Same as V2

48-49	V24 - Inter. rels.	Same as V3
50-51	V25 - Work cond.	Same as V4

52-53	V26 - Ad., pol.	Same as V5

54-55	V27 - Respon.	Same as V6

56-57	V28 - Work	Same as V7

58-59	V29 - Recog.	Same as V8

60-61	V30 - Achieve.	Same as V9

62-63	V31 - Advance.	Same as V10

64-65	V32 - Other	Same as V11

66 Blank

67-68	V33 - Month2	Same as V12

69	V34 - Satis. Length	Same as V13

70-71	V35 - Satis. Most	01 - Assistance/ fellow
		02 - Communication/ fellow
		03 - Assistance/ resident
		04 - Belief/ Supervisor
		05 - Inmates responded well
		10 - Conditions improved (WC)
		20 - Policies change (admin)
		30 - Finding contraband (work)
		40 - Recognition/ fellow

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                                      41 - Recognition/ resident
                                      42 - Recognition/ supervisor
                                      43 - Recognition/ Admin
                                      50 - Caught inmate
                                      51 - Prevent injury
                                      52 - Help
                                      53 - Got job done
                                      54 - Solved problems
                                      55 - Didn't fall apart
                                      88 - Not reported
                                      99 - Missing
```

72   V36 - Sat.   1-7, 9 - Missing
          Instensity

80 1 - card number

Card II

1-2   Id

3-4   V37 - Perform   Same as V16

5-6   V38 - Personal   Same as V17

7-8   V39 - Supv   Same as V18

9-10   V40 - Admin   Same as V19

11-12   V41 - Fellow   Same as V20

13-14   V42 - Residents   Same as V21

15-16   V43 - Career   Same as V22

Background variables follow according to format within the structured interview format.

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