

POLICE
JOB SATISFACTION AND PERFORMANCE
JULY 1975

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ACQUISITIONS

For the Solicitor General
of Canada:
A Report on the application
of Behavioural Science
Principles to Policing

Bonnie Fowke
Hickling-Johnston Limited
Toronto



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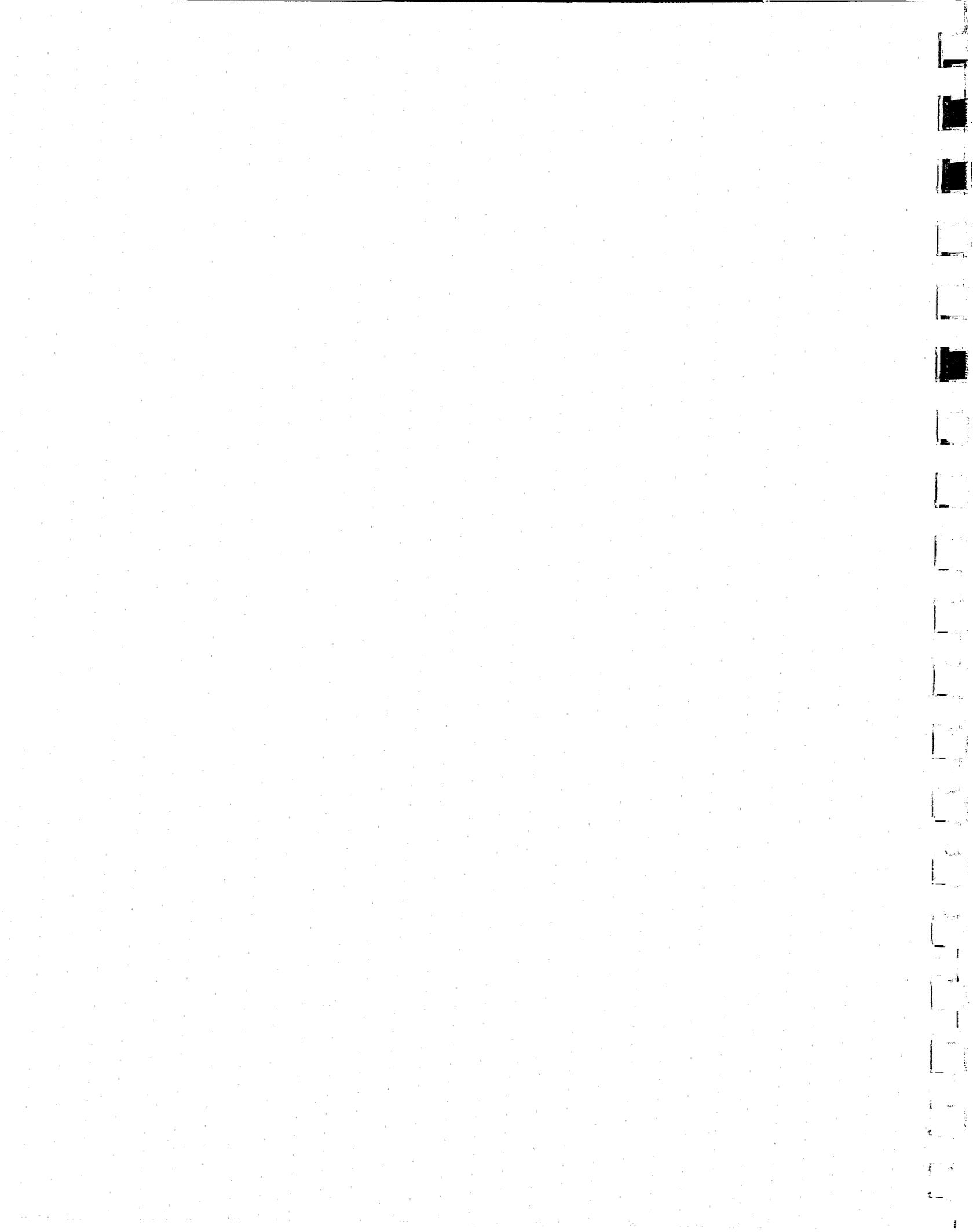
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NOTE: The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of the Solicitor General of Canada.

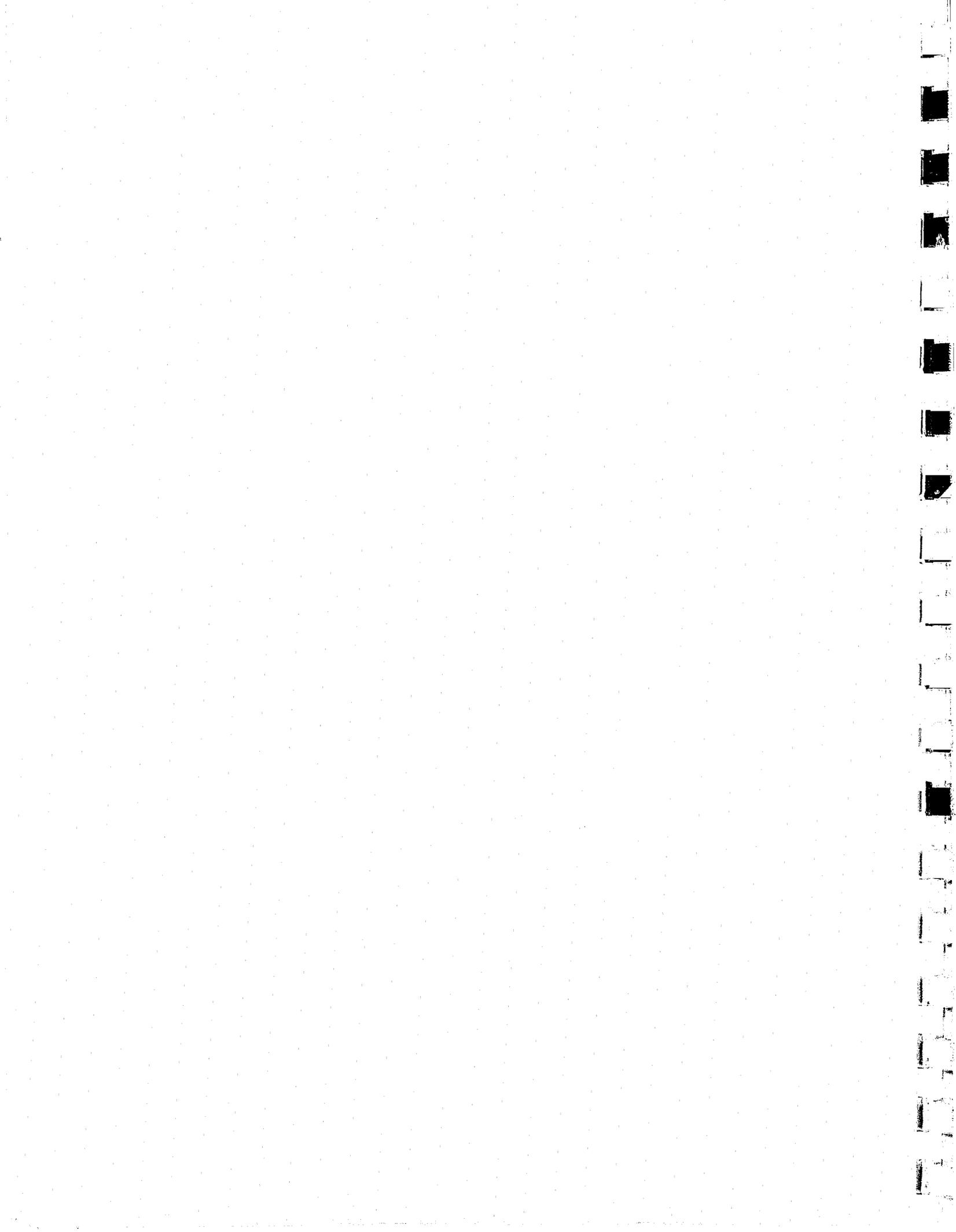


PREFACE

This paper has been developed in three parts. The first two parts are necessary background to an examination of job satisfaction and job performance in the police work role. The first develops a hypothesis based on a description of the ambiguities of the policeman's work role, the increasing complexities of the policing task, and the resulting adaptive response taken by the police. The second part describes a theory of two levels of job satisfaction.

Thus an assessment of the current literature on job satisfaction in policing is made possible in the last section.

The hypothesis is tested, and implications for further research conclude the paper.

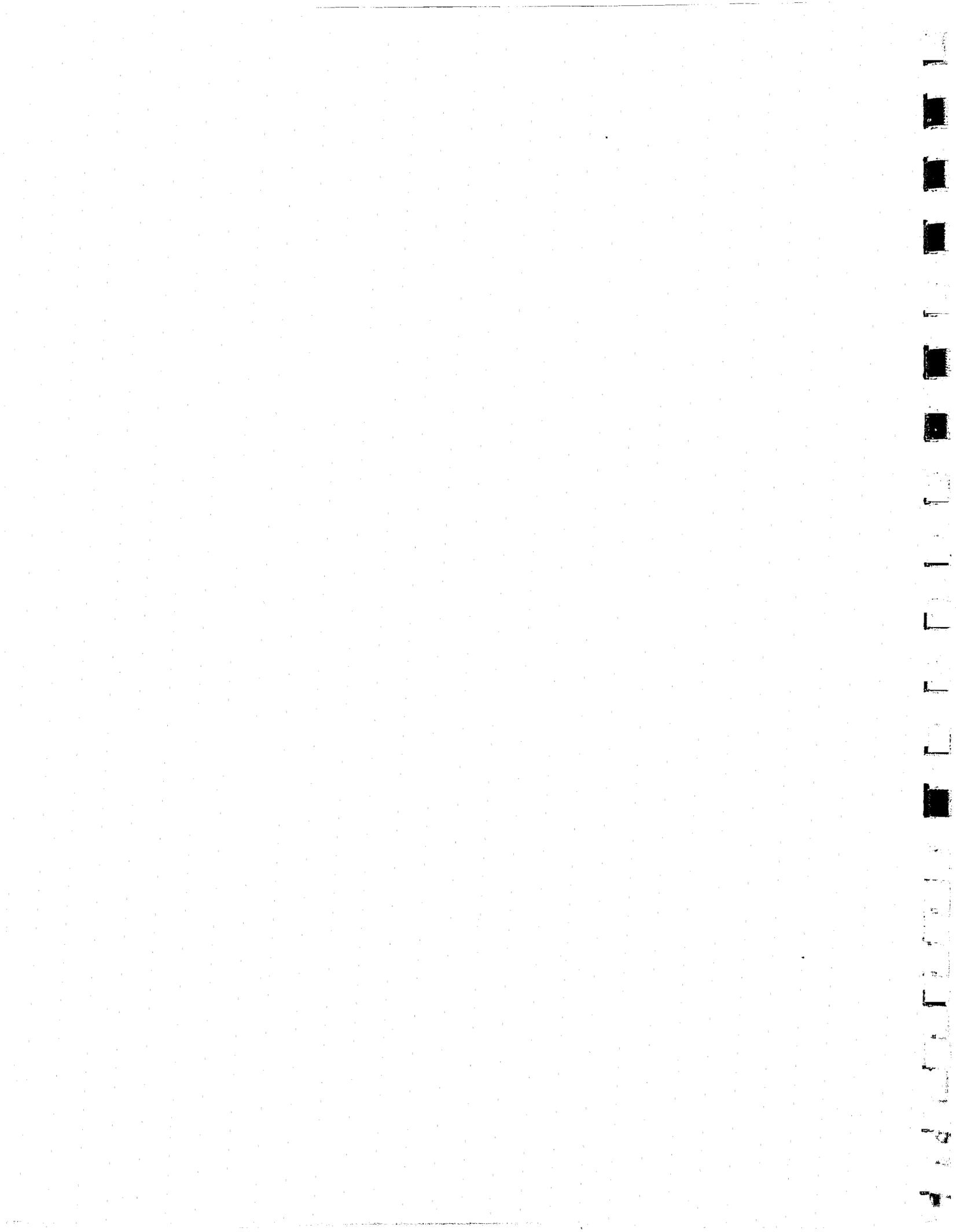


PART I

The Police Role

The Changing Task

Police Attitudes



THE POLICE ROLE

There are many different and sometimes contradictory views of police role. We would agree that,

"The duties of the police officer have been variously conceived: A. C. Germann (1972-130) views the police as an institution of social control whose function is to prevent crime, disorder and maintain the peace. This emphasis upon crime control and peace maintenance is upheld by most investigators. *The Ontario Commission of Inquiry re. Ontario Provincial Police* (1970), cites the maintenance of public order and suppression of all forms of violence and crime designated by the legal statutes as the duties of officers."¹

We would emphasize however, the views expressed in the *Ontario Task Force on Policing* report.

THE REAL POLICE CONSTABLE ROLE

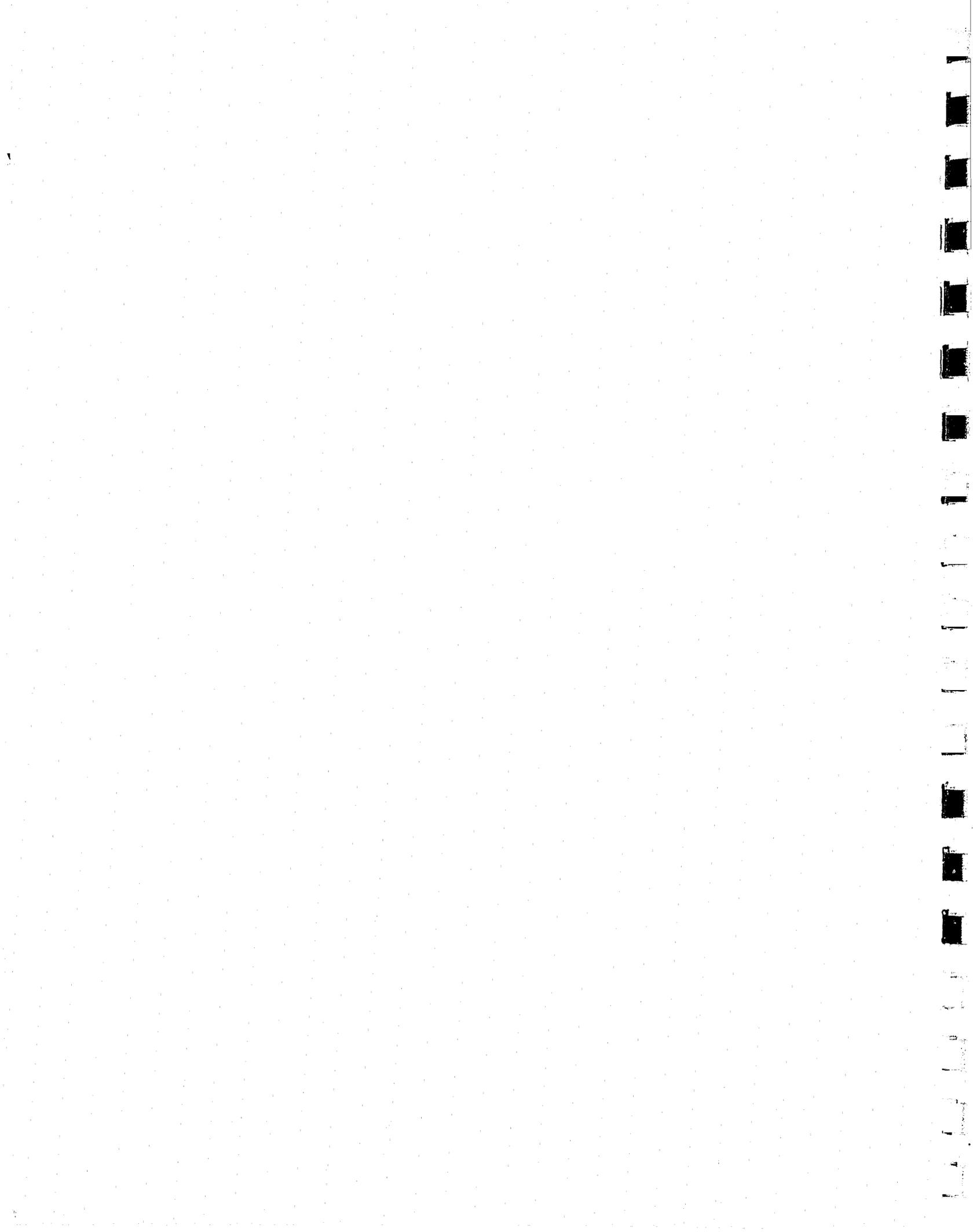
"The real police role is the summation of many thousands of judgements of individual officers. The framework within which those judgements are made is the key to a police role which is in tune with the needs of modern Ontario [Canada]. The following principles suggest the framework we have in mind....

- "The police officer's role is firmly rooted in law...
- The law is applied with discretion and judgement...
- The more serious the offense, the less leeway for judgement...
- Judgements must be governed by a clear sense of police objectives...

This concept of objectives -- their clear understanding by all officers, and the shifting priorities among them -- is not a common one in most police forces. We feel it essential to a police function which is sensitive to modern needs."²

¹ Boydell, C.L., C.F. Grindstaff, P.C. Whitehead, Editors, *The Administration of Criminal Justice in Canada*, Wexler, Mark N., *The Police Culture: A Response to Ambiguous Employment*, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada, 1974. pg. 136.

² Task Force on Policing in Ontario, *"The Public are the Police, the Police are the Public"*, Toronto, Ontario, Queen's Printer, 1974. pg. 13,14.

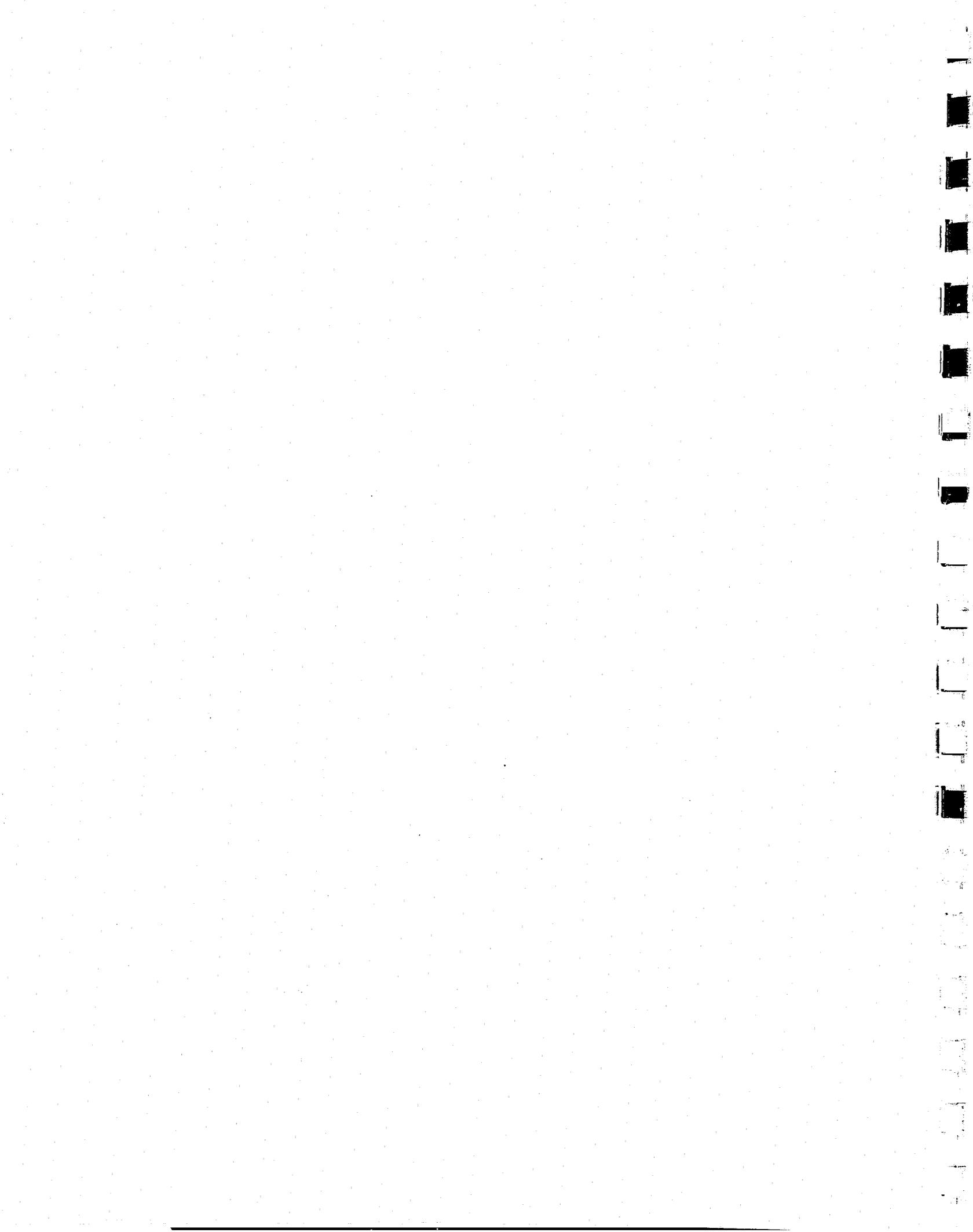


"We therefore recommend that:

1. Objectives within each police force be defined in terms of that community's requirements for crime control, protection of life and property, and maintenance of peace and order.
2. The reality of police judgement in the application of law be squarely faced in each police force, and that deliberate and continuing steps be taken to ensure that each police officer has the ability to exercise his judgement so as to support the objectives and priorities of the force.

"Within the context of the overall objectives, police have six principal functions: response, referral, prevention, public education, crime solving, and law enforcement. Popularly, the latter two have been seen to be the main components of the police role. To a large degree, this perspective is shared by the police tradition, and the other functions are seen to be largely peripheral to 'real police work'. We are of the view, however, that a far better balance among the six functions must be sought if the province's needs for crime control, protection of life and property, and peace and order are to be met."¹

¹ Task Force on Policing in Ontario, *Op Cit.*, pg. 15,16.



Maintenance of Order

There is general agreement in the literature that in the 70's, maintaining order is the role of the constable.

"In sum, the order-maintenance function of the patrolman defines his role and that role, which is unlike that of any other occupation, can be described as one in which *sub-professionals, working alone, exercise wide discretion in matters of utmost importance (life and death, honor and dishonor) in an environment that is apprehensive and perhaps hostile.*"¹

Although the popular public and police perception of police function may be one of "crime fighter" authors studying the police role agree, about 80% of the patrolman's effort is in response to calls to maintain order. Yet the fact remains that the police perception of "real" police work is crime fighting. The confusion between role reality and role perceptions is best summed up by Jesse Rubin² with the phrase:

"The police are occupied with peacekeeping and preoccupied with crime fighting".²

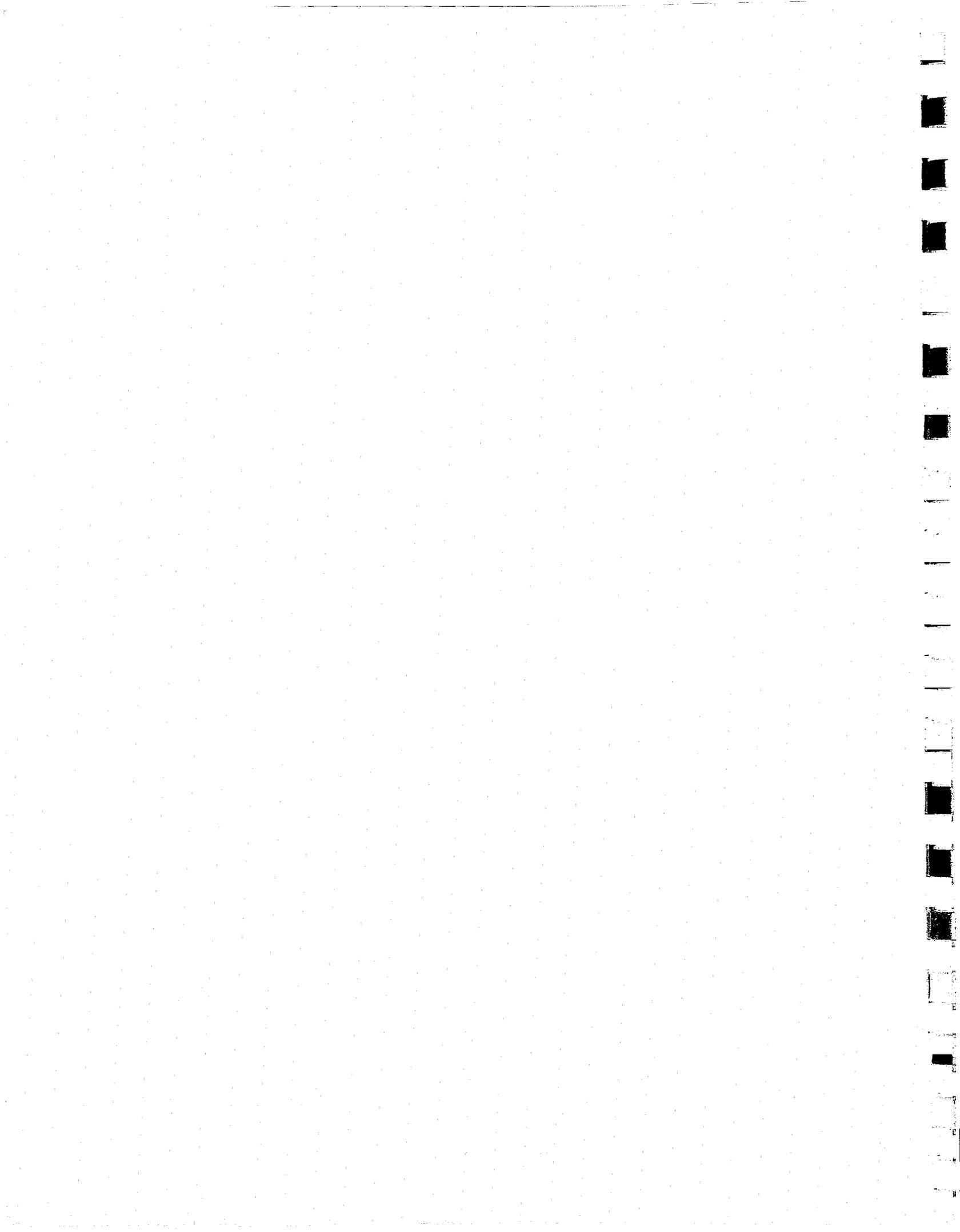
James Q. Wilson writing in *Atlantic*, illustrates the order maintenance (peacekeeping) and law enforcement distinction in the following manner:

"The difference between order maintenance and law enforcement is not simply the difference between 'little stuff' and 'real crime' or between misdemeanors and felonies. The distinction is fundamental to the police role, for the two functions involve quite dissimilar police actions and judgments. Order maintenance arises out of a dispute among citizens who accuse each other of being at fault, law enforcement arises out of the victimization of an innocent party by a person whose guilt must be proved. Handling a disorderly situation requires the officer to make a judgement about what constitutes an appropriate standard of behaviour; law enforcement requires him only to compare a person's behaviour with a clear legal standard."³

¹ Wilson, James Q., *Varieties of Police Behaviour*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1968. pg. 30 (Italics mine)

² Steadman, Robert F., *The Police and the Community*, Rubin, Jesse, Ch. II *The Police Identity and The Police Role*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1972. pg. 25

³ Wilson, James Q.,



The judgements involved in the maintenance of order can be much more difficult than those made while enforcing the law.

The judgements must also be made on occasion between order maintenance and crime fighting. For example, in describing the role of police in the urban ghetto, James Q. Wilson states:

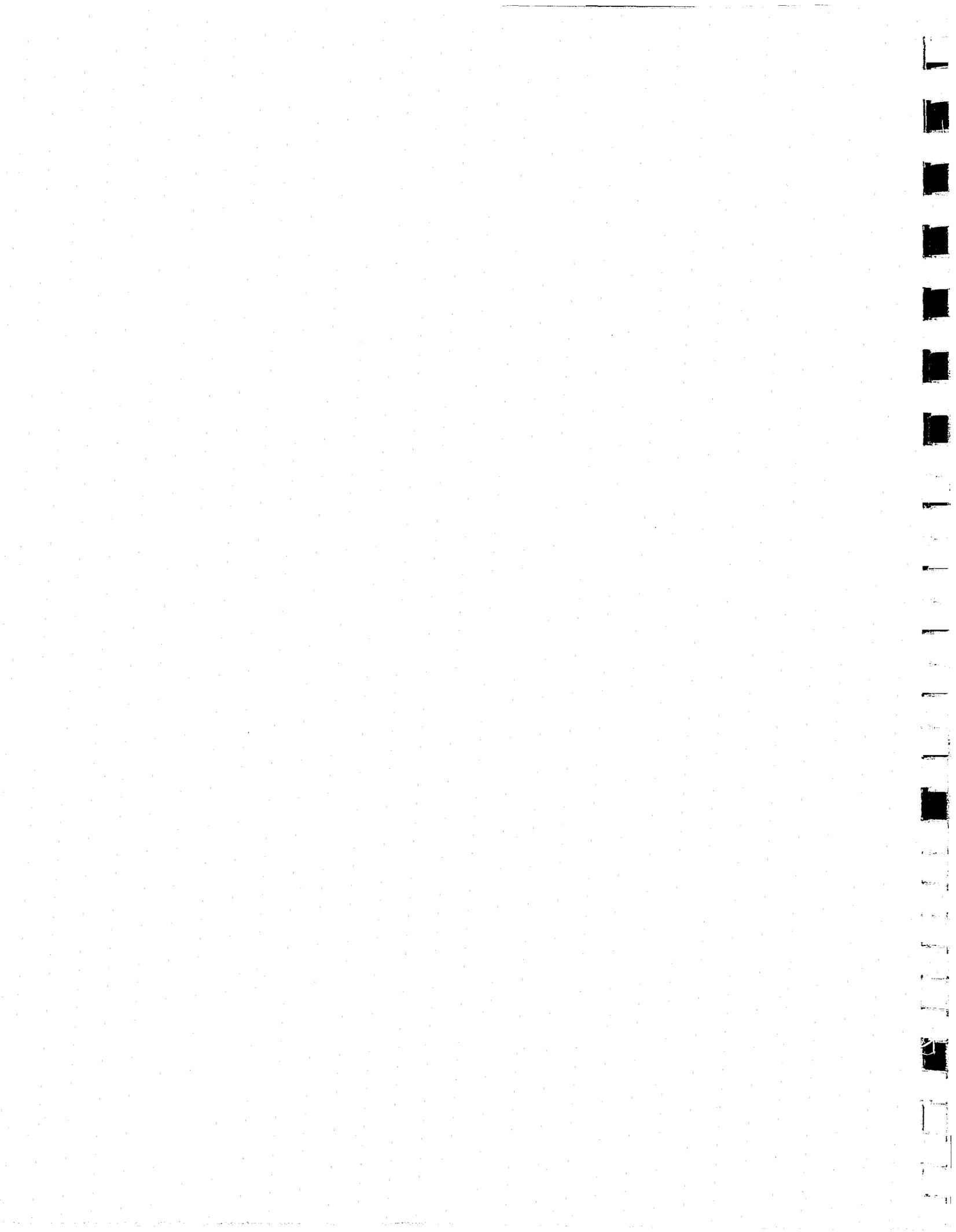
"There is a fundamental, and to a degree inescapable conflict between strategies designed to cut street crime (saturation patrols, close surveillance) and those designed to minimize tensions (avoid 'street stops', reduce surveillance, ignore youth groups)."¹

Many difficulties inherent in maintaining public order arise from inconsistencies which exist between law enforcement roles and order maintenance roles, between the police command and order maintenance role and between the community expectations and order maintenance.

Resolutions of these inconsistencies are part of the day-to-day on the spot decisions necessarily met by an individual patrolman, in the full knowledge that, if there is any response to his actions from the components of the Criminal Justice System, or the command structure or the public, it is likely to be critical, or punitive, and in any case negative.

The maintenance order function, up to 80% of the policeman's job, is in fact, as we shall see, a function to be avoided.

¹ Steadman, Robert F., Editor, *The Police and the Community*, James Q. Wilson, Ch. III, *The Police in the Ghetto*, Baltimore, Maryland, John Hopkins University Press, 1972. pg. 89



Difficulties arise for the individual constable in clearly defining his role of maintaining public order. These difficulties are to be found in the relationship of the police role to the law, of the police role to the police organization, and of the police role to the public.

Police Role and the Law

The policeman is in slang terms the "arm of the law", separate from the legislature and the judiciary.

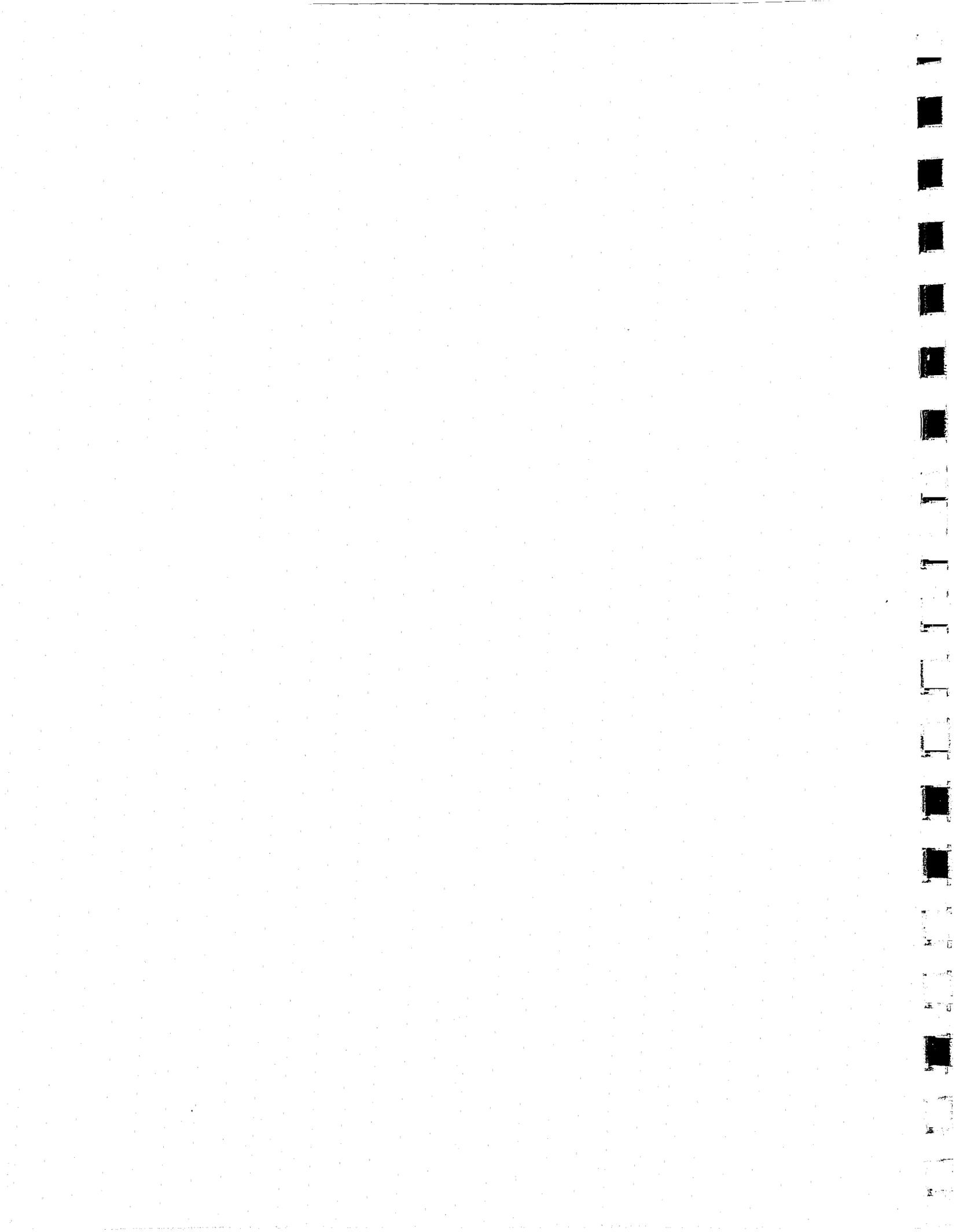
"It would seem by the magnitude of these duties that the police, as an occupational grouping, are to a large degree (A) unfettered by external control in the pursuit of their occupational task and (B) have a clearly demarcated, unambiguous societal duty.

However, such is not the case, for in regard to point (A), *The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administrative Justice* (1967:92) states ... "They (the police) do not enact the laws that they are required to enforce, nor do they dispose of the criminals they arrest." Thus, as an occupational grouping, the police are severely cramped in asserting any form of professional autonomy. The policeman can, in the "formal" workings of the legal system be equated with the industrial worker who neither initiates the work process, nor is present at the revelation of the final product. So conceived, the police are an occupational group that receive their mandate from the legal system and in turn rely upon the legal system for the disposition of those individuals who they believe have transgressed the criminal code."¹

The policeman makes decisions about when to enforce the law.

"In regard to point (B), "the police have a clearly demarcated, unambiguous societal task", the legal system must be addressed. For, in providing the law enforcer with its legal code, the legal system shall be shown to create demanding decisions and often incompatible demands upon the officer, thus by in large derogating the mechanistic, "rule" following conception of the police and posing a myriad of adaptive problems that have partially been

¹ Boydell, C.L., et al, editors, Mark N. Wexler, *Op Cit.*, pg. 136



resolved by the development of an internally supportive police culture."¹

Inspector R. Heywood of the R.C.M.P. discussed the policeman's relationship to the law for a greater social good (peace-keeping).

"Every statute or enactment that constitutes a police force imposes a legal duty on the police in relation to the law. It is the sworn duty of all policemen to maintain, enforce and uphold the law, and the dereliction of this duty is, in fact, a violation of the law itself for which the policeman can be punished... However, it was never the intention in our type of society that the law be rigidly applied to the letter. Inherent in our system is the exercise of discretion by those people empowered to enforce the law. This relationship should be viewed as if the police were tied to the law by an elastic band. As the gravity of the offence or seriousness of the law increases, the elastic thickens, whereby, the policeman has less room for the application of discretion in performing his duties. However, in relation to the enforcement of less serious and more social regulatory rules of society, the elastic is thinner and the policeman has greater flexibility in the application of that law.

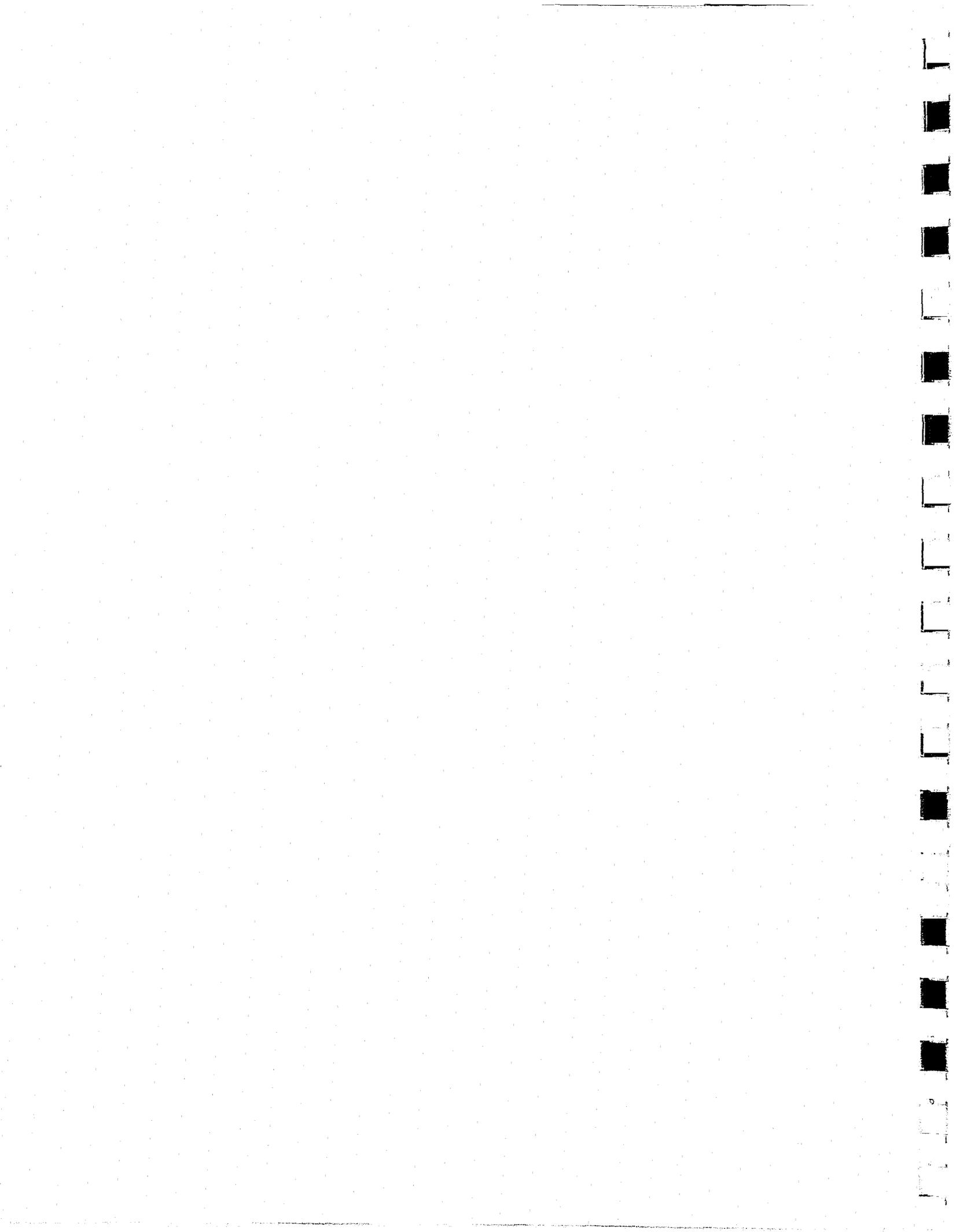
... His objective then, is not rigid application of the law, but taking whichever course of action that is likely to produce a greater social good in a broader sense.

Where we have recognized a police tie to the law and a duty imposed upon the policeman to enforce the law, we have also recognized that the policeman must be able to exercise discretion in the application of that law if he is to achieve the greatest good for the community at large.

... the exercise of discretion is implicit in our system of social justice and that the probability of it being applied to produce the best results will only occur when the man that is applying it has a sound understanding of his total objectives in the community. It is necessary for the policeman to have the opportunity to not only be knowledgeable

¹

Boydell, C.L., et al, editors, Mark N. Wexler, *Op Cit.*,
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in the law that he is responsible for enforcing, but also, have the opportunity to have a good understanding of his role and also of the needs of the community in relation to crime control and law enforcement. This kind of understanding needs development¹

However, the law doesn't recognize the concept of discretion - that the police constable has the discretion not to enforce the law.

"No judicial recognition has been given by a superior court in Canada or the United Kingdom to the proposition that a police constable has the authority *not* to invoke the criminal law process when the elements of an offence may be proven.

"On the other hand, police administrators have *recognized* responsibilities in defining systematic discretion patterns, as it is they who must allocate available manpower and resources to a broad spectrum of competing needs²

The senior management of a police force, is frustrated in discretionary planning because management is, in effect, isolated from the field officer.

"Tension is created between the police in the field and the administration because of a lack of consultation. Communications are thus distorted, not only by the stages of the hierarchy through which they must pass, but also because of a conflict of values between those who issue the directives and those who must implement them. This conflict is compounded because of the Chief's inability to obtain an accurate account of how his policy is interpreted in the field or in a particular department.

"A Staff Superintendent with one of Canada's largest forces, a man of thirty-five years' experience, complains about the problem of upward communication. "The important problem is feedback - to know whether procedures and orders are working or being carried out".³

¹ Heywood, R., *To Meet the Needs of the Future: An Examination of Police Roles*, R.C.M. Police, Vancouver 1974. pg. 33-36

² Task Force on Policing, *Op Cit.*, pg. 13

³ Grossman, Brian A., *Police Command*, Toronto, McMillan of Canada, 1975. pg. 41
Hickling-Johnston



Police Role and the Police Organization

Selection of police officers emphasizes qualities in the new recruits which may not always be consistent with maintaining public order. Training of police officers then emphasizes the law enforcement and investigative role of policing. The recruit is then sent to a police force usually organized around the law enforcement function, i.e., the detective division, units specializing in homicide, burglary, auto theft, narcotics, vice, robbery, etc., and not around order maintenance functions such as a family disturbance squad, or drunk and derelict squad. Juveniles are the exception to this and are usually treated by specialized units. The patrolman and the recruit as a patrolman, gets everything else, clerical and service work, and of course, order maintenance.

According to James Q. Wilson, the response of police management in the U.S.A. to the constable's difficult role is that

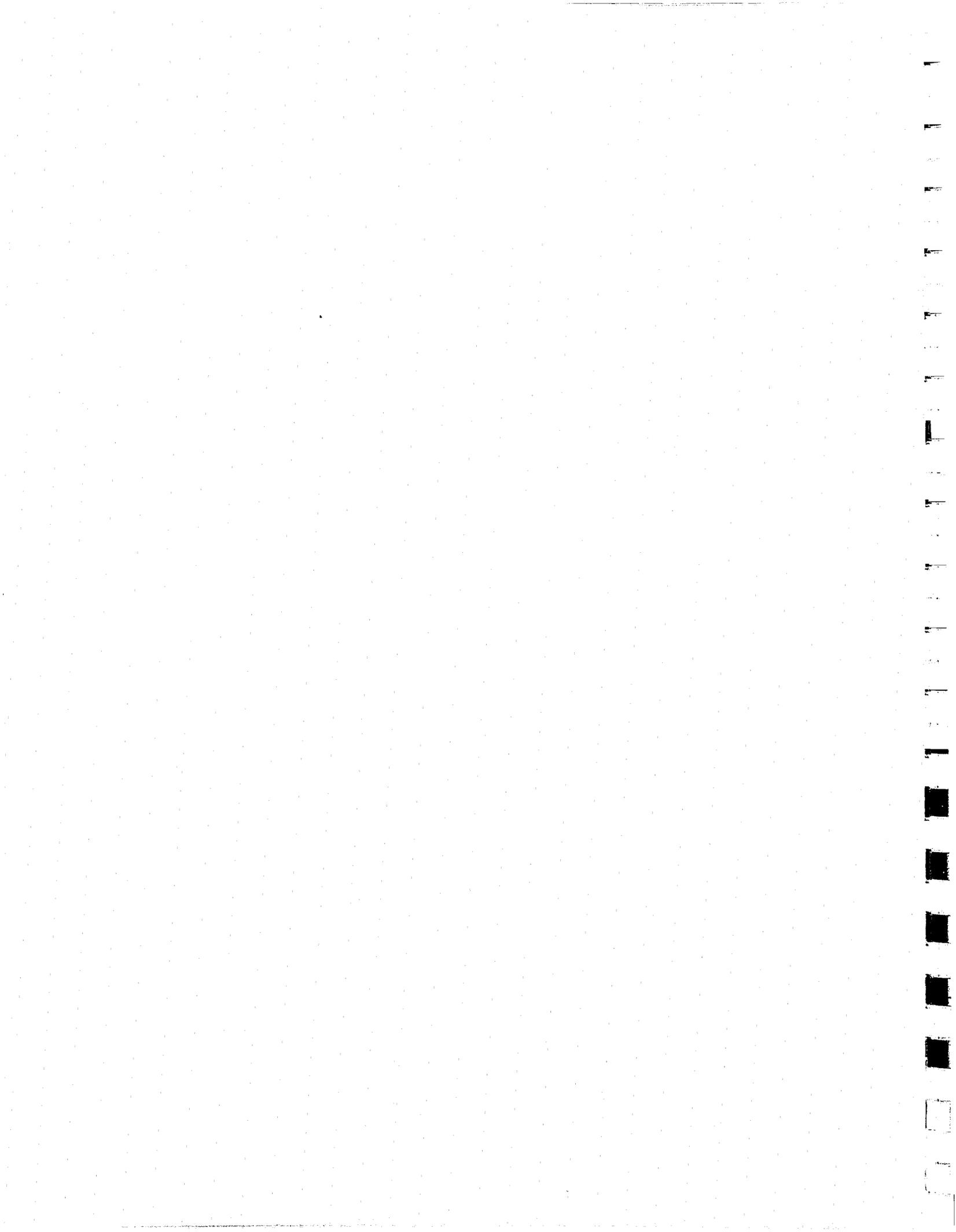
"The general drift in police management has been to convert, wherever possible, matters of order maintenance into matters of law enforcement, to substitute the legalistic for the watchman style and to multiply the rules under which the patrolman operates."¹

The rules tend to be negative ones -- what a policeman should not do, "the brass give us plenty of rope with which to hang us".

"Because most crimes cannot be solved and because a comprehensive policy for order maintenance is impossible to develop, the police administrator acquires, in addition to his law enforcement orientation, a *particularistic* concern for the behaviour of his men. That is to say, what preoccupies him -- other than the over-all level of crime -- is not how patrolmen *generally* behave but how they behave in a *particular case*. Police chiefs do not as a rule lose their jobs because crime rates go up; indeed, rising crime rates may make it easier for them to get more money and manpower from city councils. But they often get into trouble and sometimes lose their jobs because a particular officer takes a bribe, steals from a store, associates with a gangster, or abuses a citizen who is capable of doing something about it."²

¹ Wilson, James Q., *Op Cit.*, pg. 281

² Wilson, James Q., *Op Cit.*, pg. 69

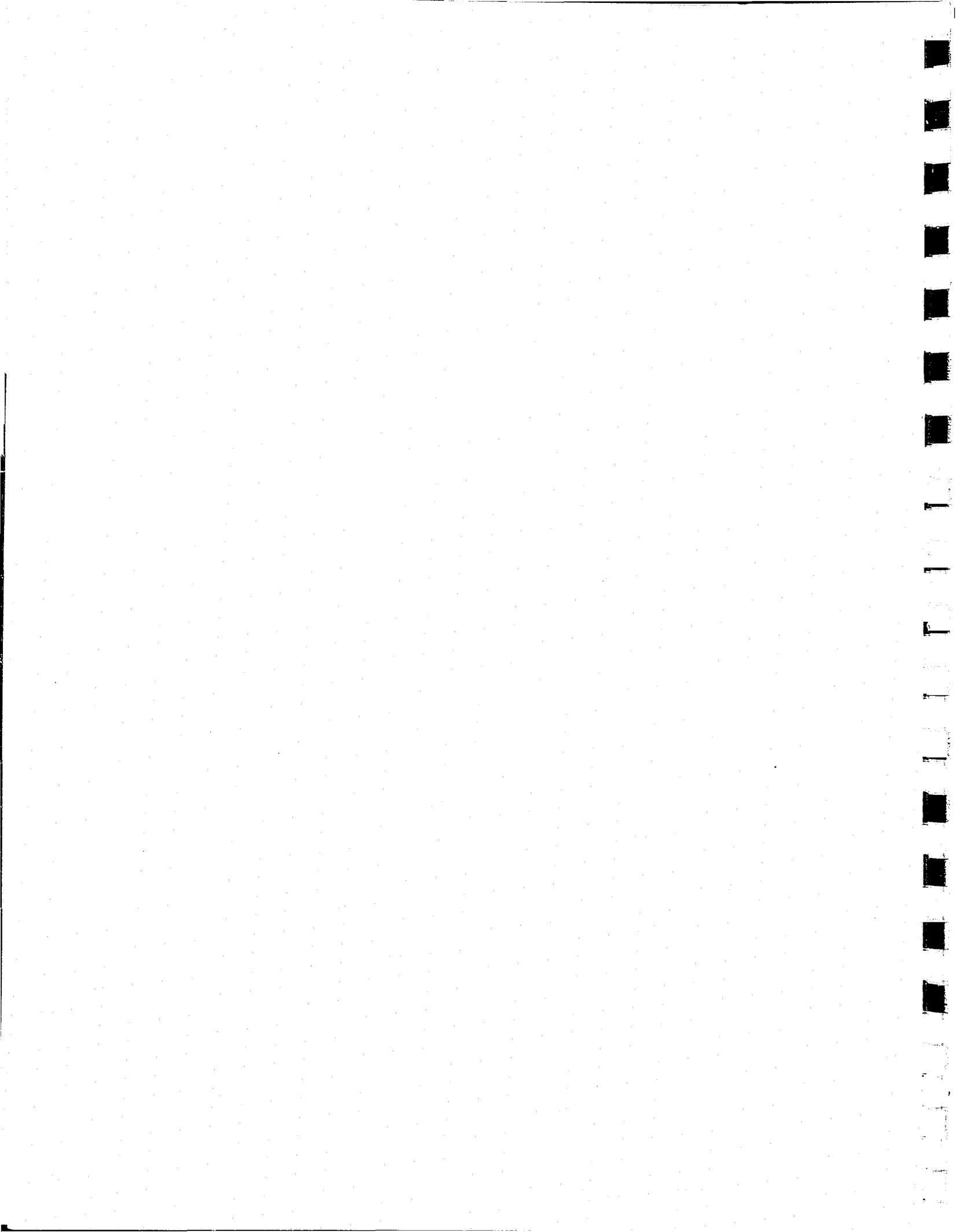


The results of the legalistic approach to the patrolman's field function in Canada are described in terms of the tensions arising between management and the patrolman.

"The police officer feels, in many cases, that he must walk a tightrope between unrealistic rules and procedures and the need for overly specific reports on the one hand, and the realities of day-to-day police work on the other. It is acknowledged that policemen cannot always follow directives to the letter. The police administrator who disciplines an officer for not doing so displays a lack of awareness that the rules cannot always be followed in practice. Cynicism is engendered in the patrolman who feels that when a citizen complains about his behaviour he is held responsible on the basis of rules, regulations and directives which he and his superiors privately acknowledge go unenforced.

To compensate for the low morale and cynicism that is created by administrative adherence to unrealistic rules and regulations, rank-and-file police officers look more to support that acknowledges the realities of their working conditions. This contributes to an increase in police union activism. Autocratic command techniques which ignore the realities of police practices are becoming less acceptable to the rank and file as the activism of police employees' groups and unions increases."¹

¹ Grossman, Brian A., *Op Cit.*, pg. 41



Police Role and the Public

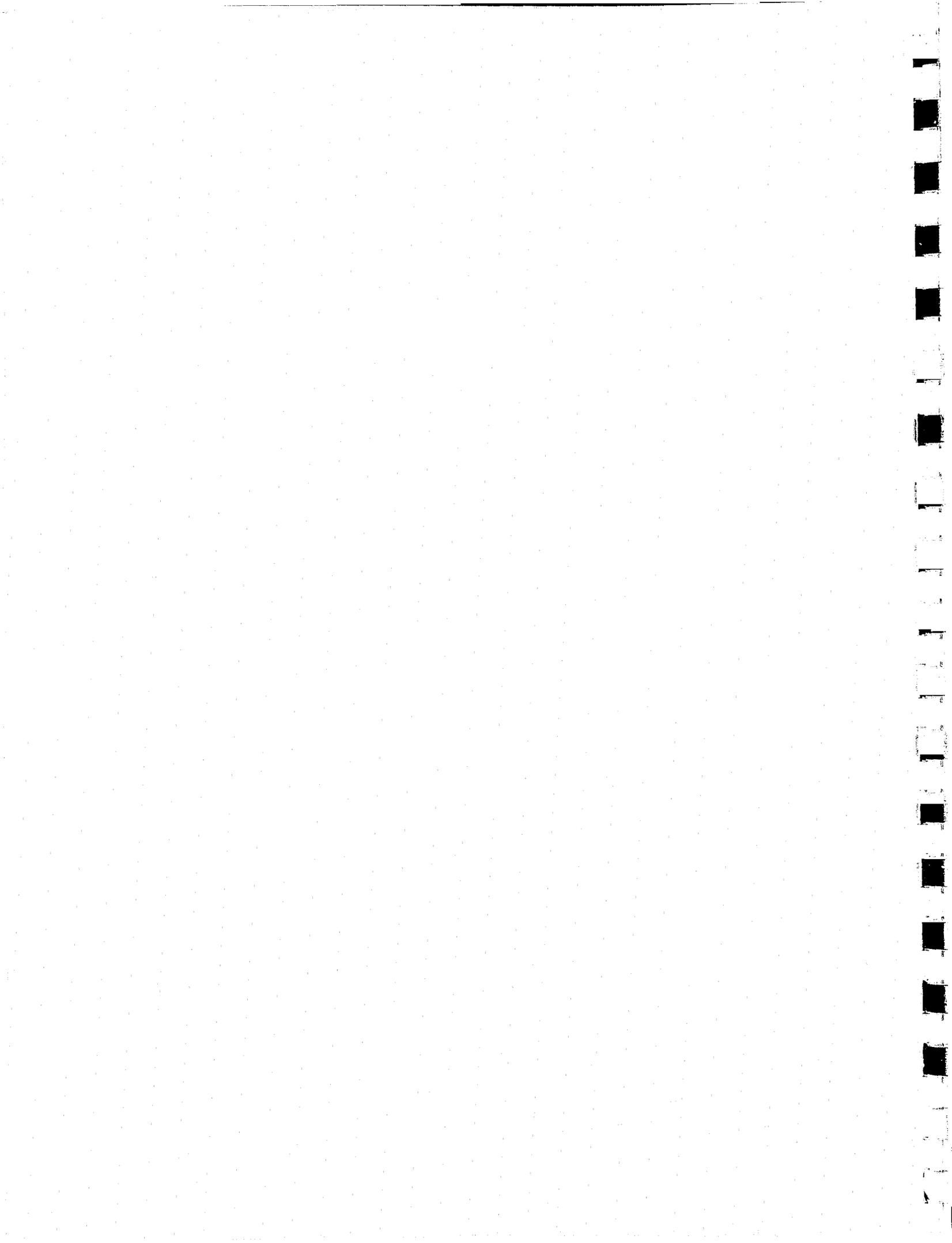
The public perception of the patrolman is as a "crime fighter" and often leaves it with the collective perception that the patrolman is a policeman in search of a crime. "Why are you hassling me about this traffic offense? Why aren't you out catching criminals?"

"The patrolman, in the discharge of his most important duties, exercises discretion necessarily, owing in part to his role in the management of conflict and in part to his role in the suppression of crime. In managing conflict, his task is to maintain order under circumstances such that the participants and the observer are likely to disagree as to what constitutes a reasonable and fair settlement and he is likely to be aware of hostility, alert to the possibility of violence, and uncertain that the authority symbolized by his badge and uniform will be sufficient for him to take control of the situation.

In suppressing crime, his task is to judge the likely future behaviour of persons on the basis of their appearance and attitude and to deal with those he deems "suspicious" under the colour of laws that either say nothing about his authority to question and search short of making an arrest or give him ambiguous or controversial powers."¹

Public recognition in the form of headlines, such as "\$200,000 Heroin Bust", "Bank Robbers Captured" are given to the crime fighting role of the policeman. For the larger proportion of his task there is little, if any, public recognition of successful public order maintenance. In fact, if public recognition of the policeman and his maintenance of order function can be judged by public media coverage of riots, strikes, it is of a highly critical nature.

¹ Wilson, James, Q., *Op Cit.*, pg. 278



THE CHANGING TASK

Increasing Complexity of Order Maintenance

• Fragmentation

As well as policing a public often antagonistic, hostile or abusive, the policeman is facing a more difficult task today, when he attempts to understand the needs of the community. This is especially true in the urban situation, and for the very small remote northern native communities.

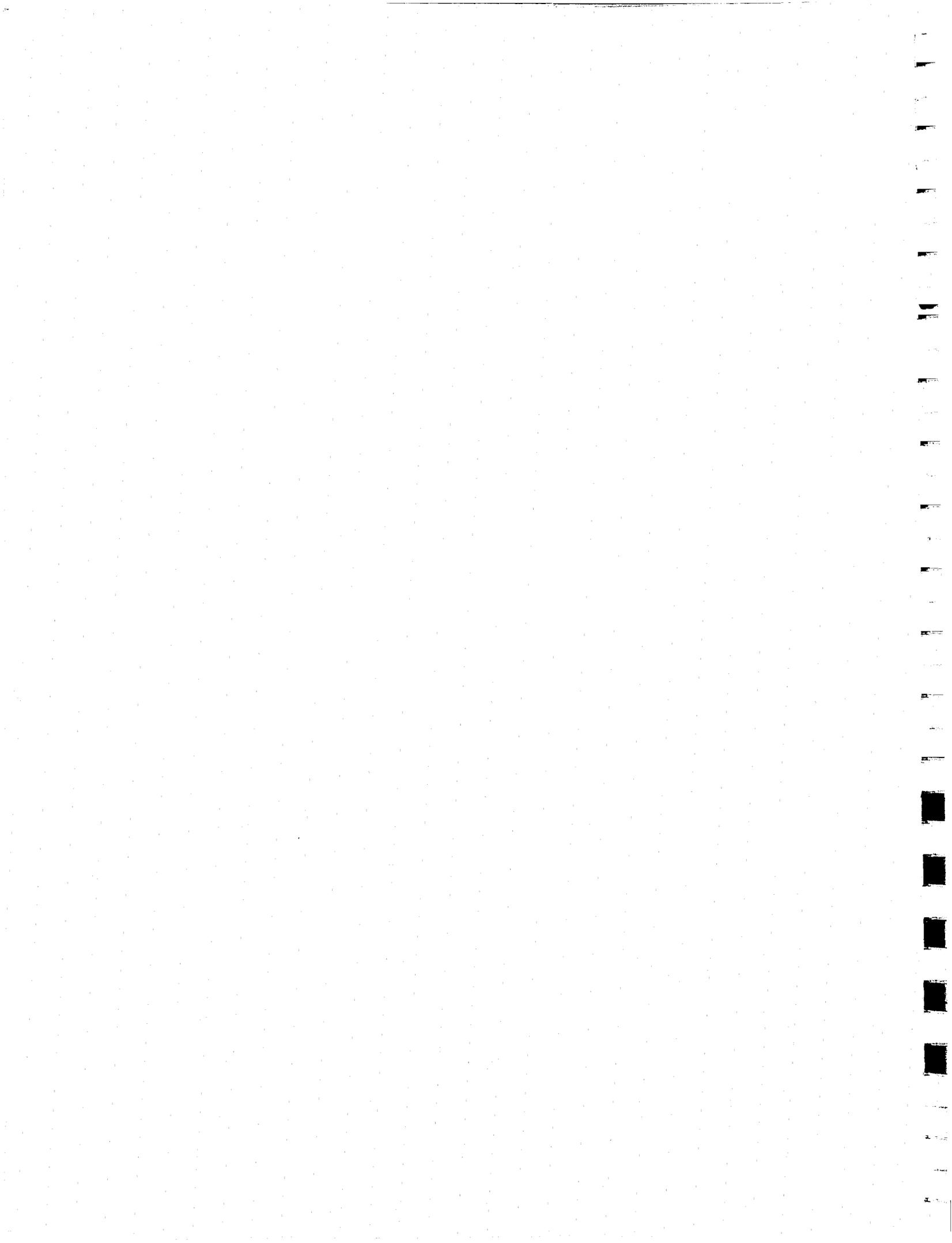
The social conditions of 1970's are rapidly increasing the complexity of demands for the maintenance of order. The homogeneity of social mores and social norms has fragmented within neighbourhoods. For instance, in the central city districts there is often conflict between the level of order demanded by businessmen, residents, shoppers and those who come to the city in search of disorder, "soft-porno", "hard-porno", "body-rub parlours", "prostitution" and those who profit from these.

The City of Toronto recently had an example of this fragmentation when many conflicting views were expressed by residents over that city's "Sin Strip" and it became a political issue. In more homogeneous neighbourhoods the local norms of level of order can complement the police role.

"The problems created by the exercise of necessary discretion are least in communities that have widely shared values as to what constitutes an appropriate level of order and what kind of person or form of behaviour is an empirically sound predictor of criminal intentions; the problems are greatest in cities deeply divided along lines of class or race."¹

There is no clear evidence to suppose racial tensions will divide our cities as has been the U.S. experience, but one cannot dismiss the possibility of racial stress. A change in Canada's pattern of immigration has resulted in an increase of many more visible minority groups. In the event of racial conflict the police patrolman will be faced with new inconsistencies.

¹ Wilson, James Q., *Op Cit.*, pg. 278-9



Atcheson, a Canadian sociologist is of the opinion that we in Canada, already have a race conflict crisis:

"It would be my opinion that unless a rational economy can be developed in the northern communities and a reasonable application of our knowledge of the dynamics of cultural erosion and racial discrimination can be made effective, the major problem of northern communities will be ever-increasing violence. Frobisher Bay and Inuvik will become the Watts and the Newark of the Canadian North."¹

Family Stress

The changing social conditions causing family stress also increase the demands on policemen attempting to maintain public order. Violent family confrontations may end in a call for the policeman which is considered by constables to be one of the most dangerous calls to answer. As well as dangerous they are unrewarding in that they are often repetitive; no long term solution can be found by the constable.

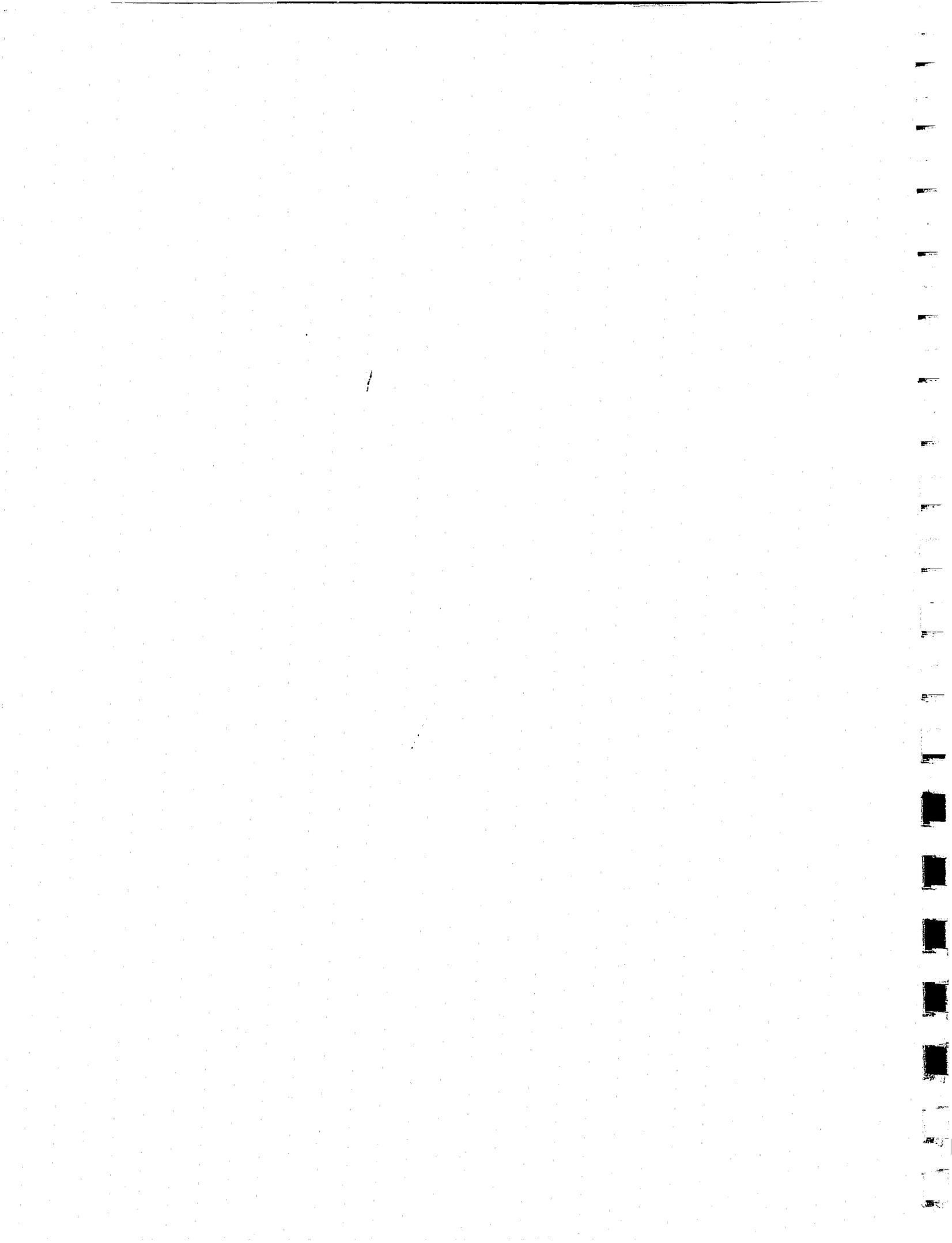
Juvenile delinquency is another growing problem, and one that is increasing across Canada from the largest urban city to the smallest Indian Reserve.

Crowd Control, Security

Civil disobedience and strikes are a relatively minor problem in Canada, compared for instance, to the United States experience.

However, in the future we expect to see increasing demands on the police to handle organized civil disorders and security for public figures.

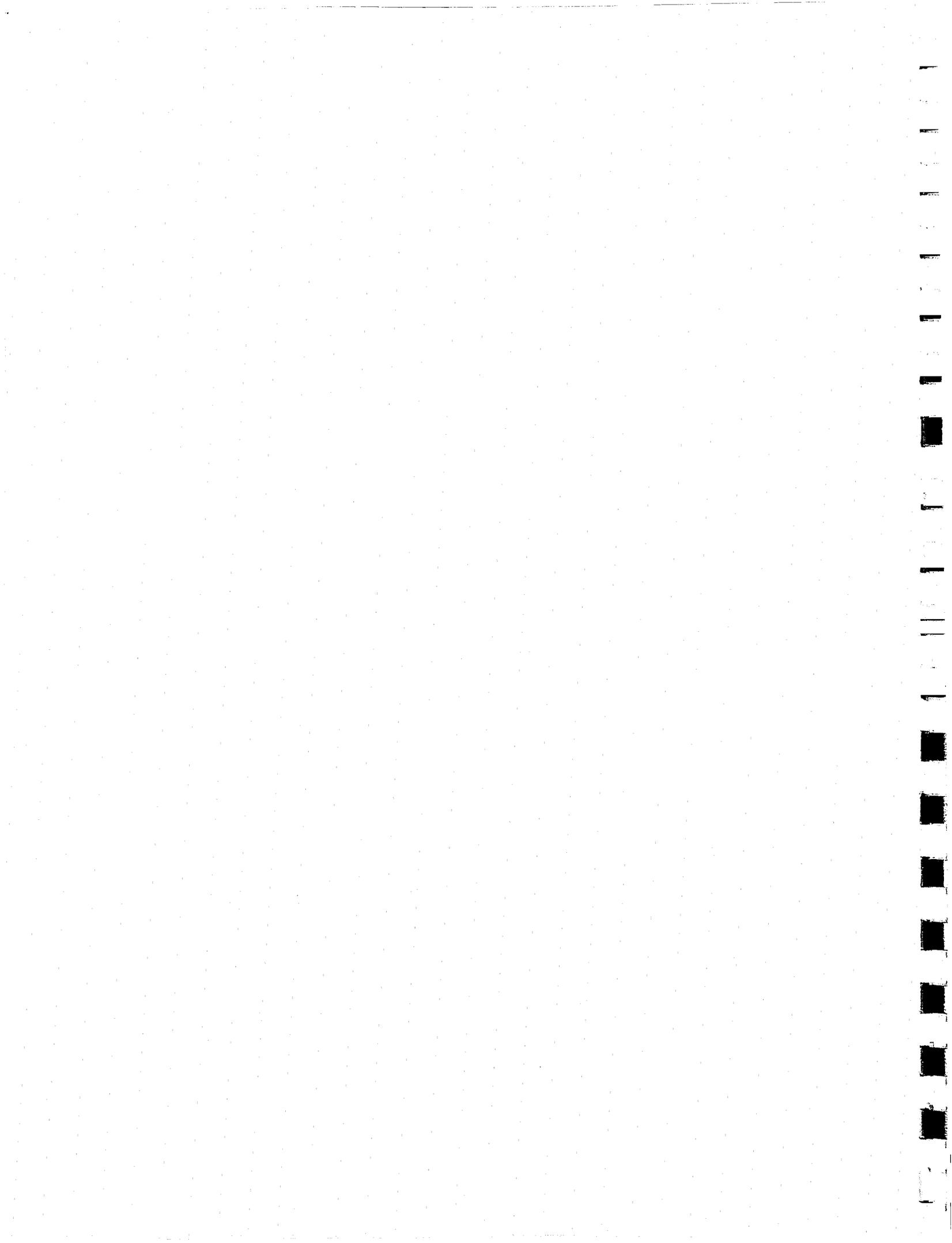
¹ Atcheson, J.D., *Problems of Mental Health in the Canadian Arctic*, Canadian Mental Health, January-February, 1972 pg.72



. Youth

The changing social values and norms of a society are perhaps always more quickly tested by youth from all levels of society. The youth/police confrontation such as some we have seen in American cities, Ohio, Kent State, Berkeley, Calif., may not be seen here in Canada. We may see confrontations in different forms, such as these we have already seen in Yorkville, Toronto; Gastown, Vancouver; Rochdale, Toronto, etc.

Fragmentation of communities, including urban city cores, and remote Indian communities, results in a decreased public ability to maintain order and an increased need for police to maintain order. Changing social conditions of the 1970's are characterized by an increase in juvenile delinquency, an increase in domestic quarrels needing third party intervention and an increase in youth/police confrontation, and an increase in civil disobedience; the third party available to meet these problems on a 24-hour basis is the policeman. The task of maintaining public order is changing and becoming more demanding.



Increasing Demand for Crime Fighting Service

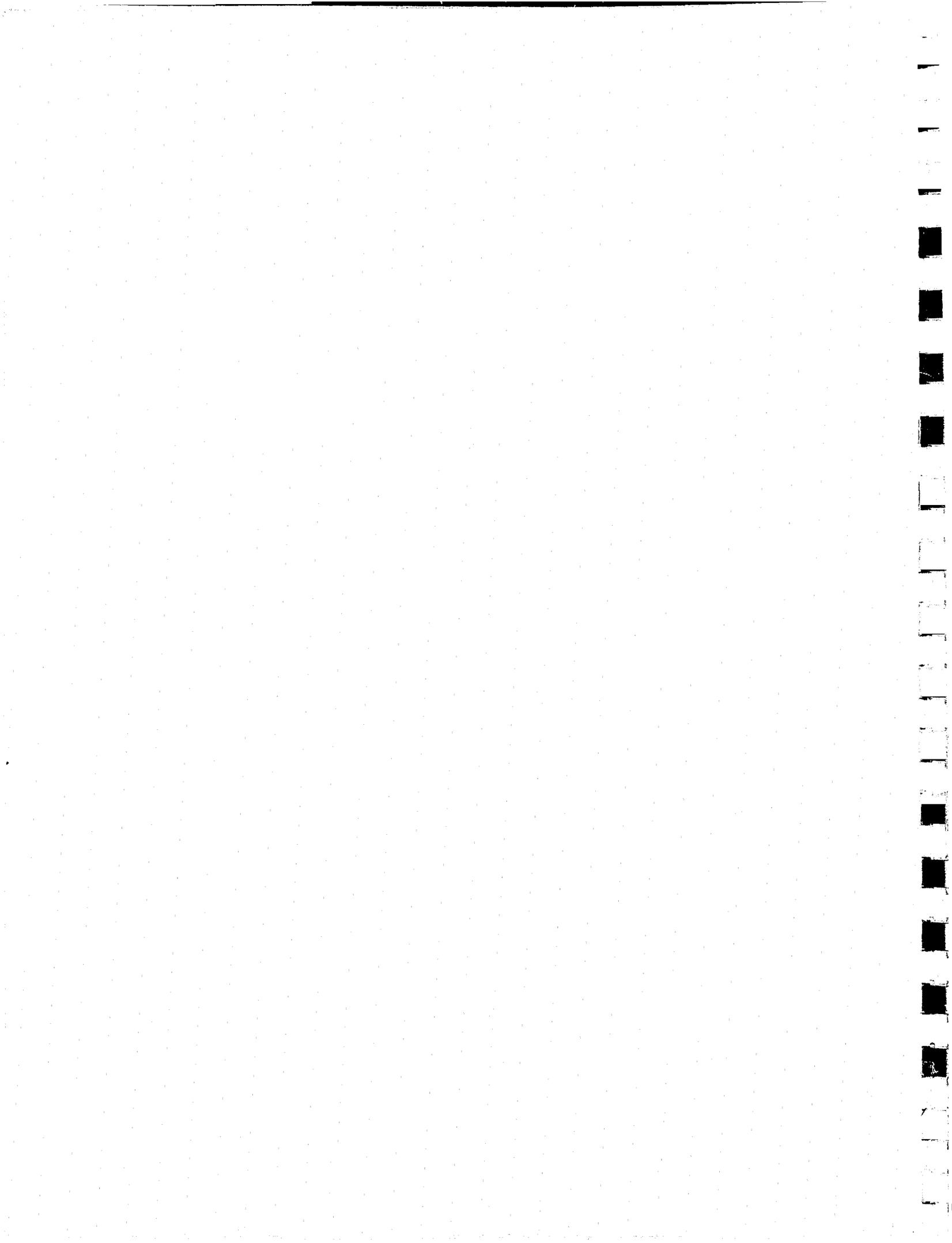
In response to changing social conditions the nature and scope of the police crime fighting role is changing as well. The increase in reported crime, (it is commonly accepted that only 25% of all crime is reported) white collar crime, victimless crime and crimes of opportunity, has necessitated a new emphasis on crime fighting, which although still a small part of the actual police role, is still historically a relatively new function. The original concept of police role was an order maintenance role for public safety and is more descriptive of the police constable role today.

It would be wrong to assume that even "Real Police Work" is totally supported by the public. As we mentioned previously, the public, especially in urban areas, both within one city or between cities, may not agree with all laws. For example, victimless crime -- gambling, prostitution, drug abuse, etc. -- is no longer condemned by moral consensus, in this area of crime fighting police enforce a legal consensus. Proponents of individual rights in attempting to protect the public from abuse of police power often seek public and legislative support to curtail police powers.

In law the trend is to a more ambiguous role for crime control as well,

"The crime control model is based upon the proposition that the repression of criminal conduct is by far the most important function to be performed by the criminal law. It is maintained that the maintenance of human freedom is only possible by the apprehension of criminal factors and thus the preservation of public order. The "due process model" (which forms the basis for O.W. Wilson's grievance) places impediments before the law enforcer, in the belief that human freedom must not be burdened by an over-powerful fulfillment of social control functions by law enforcers. Packer views the "due process" model of law enforcement as predominating today and expanding into the future thus placing fuller constraints and less and less power upon the police.

Support for Packer's contention concerning the future extension of the "due process model" upon the police "crime control" mandate has been given by J. Gallatin et al. (1971) in the study of legal guarantees of individual freedom, where it was found that adolescents in Britain, America, and Germany supported the legal safeguarding of individual



freedoms. In Canada, in the city of Toronto, a sample was asked whether they thought the police should be able to use methods they felt necessary to combat crime or whether they should be strictly controlled. (Table 1)

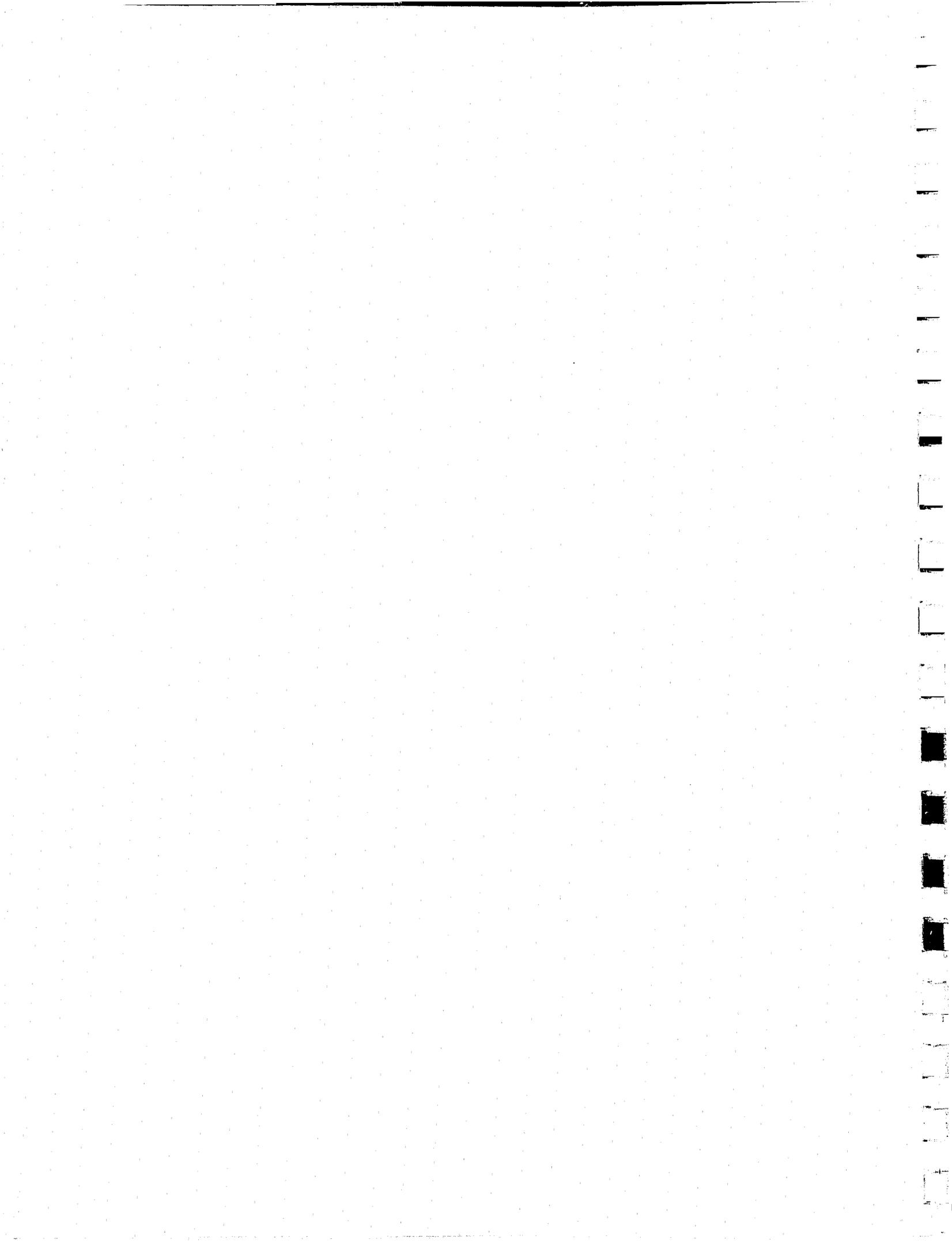
Thus, in a Canadian city, similar results are obtained. The tendency is toward the extension of the "due process model". The police officers hostility concerning the burdensome hindrance of the due process model in establishing police success has already been echoed by others.

TABLE 1
RESPONDENT'S VIEWS ON THE LIMITATION OR
OTHERWISE OF POLICE POWERS

<u>Response Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Should be able to use any method they think necessary to combat crime	15.61
Should have their powers strictly controlled	49.53
In between	29.05
Don't know	3.72
No answer	2.09
Total	100.00
Percentage Base: Total number of recipients 967	

The results of this survey in Toronto, Ontario are illustrated of a trend to a "due process" model, a tendency which is frustrating for police in their crime fighting role. However, the role for policemen that is likely to remain the most attractive and most rewarding, most fitted to their perception of police role and, in many cases, the public's view of police work, is crime fighting. This role is expanding in scope and as it expands more specialized units are formed. This leaves the constable to maintain public order, the least rewarding, most ambiguous and ill-defined role, although paradoxically perhaps the most challenging role.

¹ Boydell C.L., et al, editors, Wexler, Mark N., *Op Cit.*, pg. 148



POLICE ATTITUDES

Police Culture. Policing is different

The suggestion that police organizations might benefit from management practices that have proved useful for other organizations is usually refuted by police with the comment, "But Policing is different." This difference is often thought to refer to the dangerous aspect of police work.¹ The uniqueness of being a policeman however, is much greater than can be characterized by any one aspect of police work. The police have developed into a separate culture in our society. In the sense of belonging to a distinct culture the policeman and his family are different from any others.

This isolation of police is well documented in all the literature. The argument of whether the isolation is a function of the personalities attracted to policing or a function of the occupational role is academic. The influence of the police cultural norms on the attitude of policemen to their work is of significant importance. An examination of the police culture is critical to any attempts to introduce change into a police organization, such as those changes that may be involved in new management practices.

. Adaptive response

That the police reaction to inconsistencies between their role and the public, and their role and the legal system, have resulted in an *adaptive* cultural response -- is the hypothesis of Mark N. Wexler,² and one with which we concur.

¹ There has been no evidence in this survey of the literature on policing that the dangerous aspect of policing conflicts with innovative management possibilities.

² Wexler, Mark N., *The Police Culture, A Response to Ambiguous Employment*, Masters Thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Western Ontario, London, July 1973

TWO SOURCES OF PRESSURES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLICE CULTURE

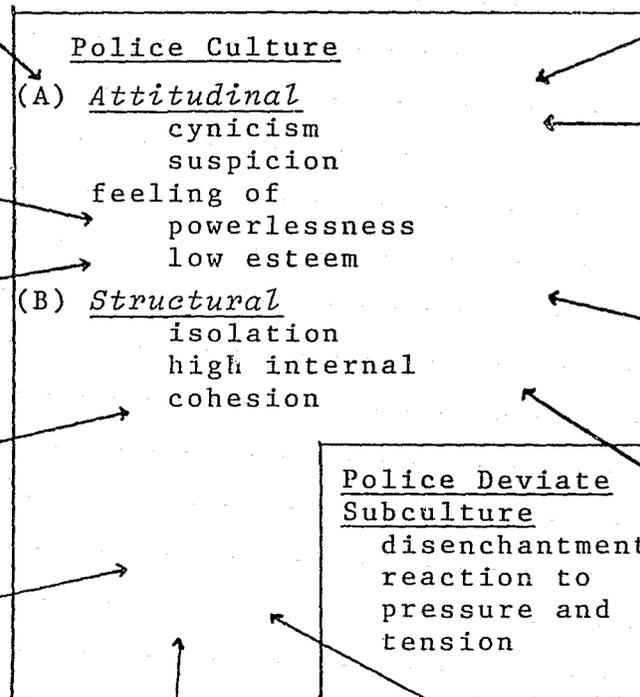
- (A) POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION
- (B) POLICE-LEGAL SYSTEM INTERACTION

Citizen interaction

- . police ranking of police work high in importance ... citizens ranking moderate to low.
- . police work necessitates the usage of personal judgement. ... citizens by in large do not recognize discretion and when they do they limit it to minor traffic violations.
- . police demand for deference ... citizens acknowledgment of impoliteness.
- . police required to enforce legal moralisms ... citizens perception of intrusion upon personal liberty.
- . police ignored by civilian organizations such as social workers and clergy despite similar emphasis on order maintenance.
- . citizen's uproar against police when crime rates go up ... although the police are not source of crime they accept a new mandate ... police rarely rebuke citizens for increase in crime. A minoritism reaction.

Legal system interaction

- . police duties especially as delineated in order maintenance highly ambiguous.
- . Often antagonistic relationship between "law enforcement" and order maintenance.
- . the growth and imposition of procedural law as an impediment to police's enactment of duty ... even in times of citizen uproar procedural law is seen by police as hampering success.
- . the informal acknowledgment of the inherent need for discretion in police work, yet the formal disavowal of independent judgement to be used in police work.
- . the low prestige of patrolmen vis-avis judges, magistrates and lawyers ... in a conflict situation the patrolman is at a disadvantage.
- . Lack of autonomy in police occupation, dependance on legal system for initiation and termination of police activities.



¹ Boydell, C.L., et al, Editors, Wexler, Mark N., *Op Cit.*, pg. 148.

"...police perceptions of ambiguity emphasize the retreat into a police culture....the police culture [develops] as an outcome of interactional forces rather than...as a development of a predispositions to act. The police-citizen interaction is burdened with isolation and concomitant pressures; the police-legal system interaction is formulated in an atmosphere of low constabulary autonomy and prestige...both patterns of interaction, supplemented by the police socialization processes, are amenable to the genesis and maintenance of an informal means of achieving a collectively supportive and insular occupational group".¹

The conflict between citizen and police and between the legal system and the police, forcing, as an adaptive response, the formation of a police culture is presented in the facing chart. (Exhibit I).

The consensus of sociologists is that the police isolation is on both an individual basis between the police and civilians, and on an organizational basis between police, organizations and help agencies (prosecutors, school personnel, clergymen, public social workers and private help agencies).

For an individual there is the police culture.

"The police culture as a secretive, cohesive, cynical, suspicious, group weighted down by feelings of powerlessness and low esteem cannot be explained solely as the result of mentalistic predispositions... The existential conditions of everyday police work, ... are explanatory factors usable in accounting for the genesis and maintenance of a police culture.

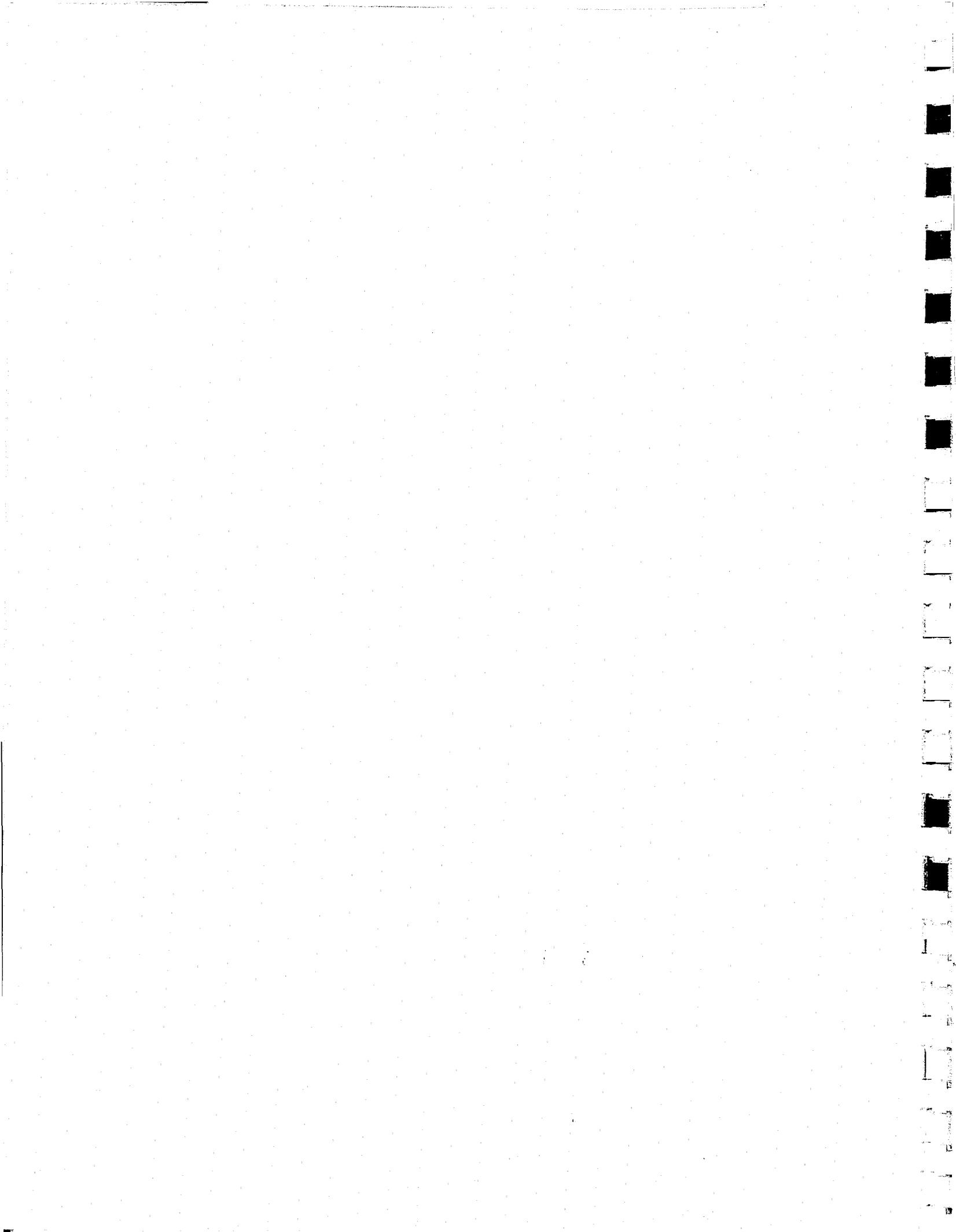
For the police organization there is also a "cultural" isolation.

"Thus it is as an agent of control that the policeman participates in a divided labour with social workers, doctors, clergymen, lawyers and teachers in maintaining social integration. The problems he faces appear to be a failure within the integrative systems so that he cannot mobilize the other agents when he needs them. (E. Cumming, et al., 1964:286)." ³

¹ Wexler, Mark N., M.A. Thesis Dept. of Sociology, University of Western Ontario, London, 1973. pg. 90

² Boydell, C.L., et al, editors, Mark N. Wexler, pg. 135

³ Ibid, as quoted by Mark N. Wexler, pg. 135



"Thus, the isolation and perceived rejection extends [to] the individual [and] to the organizational level".¹

The importance of the police culture cannot be underestimated as it influences policemen in their work role.

Discontinuity with Police Role

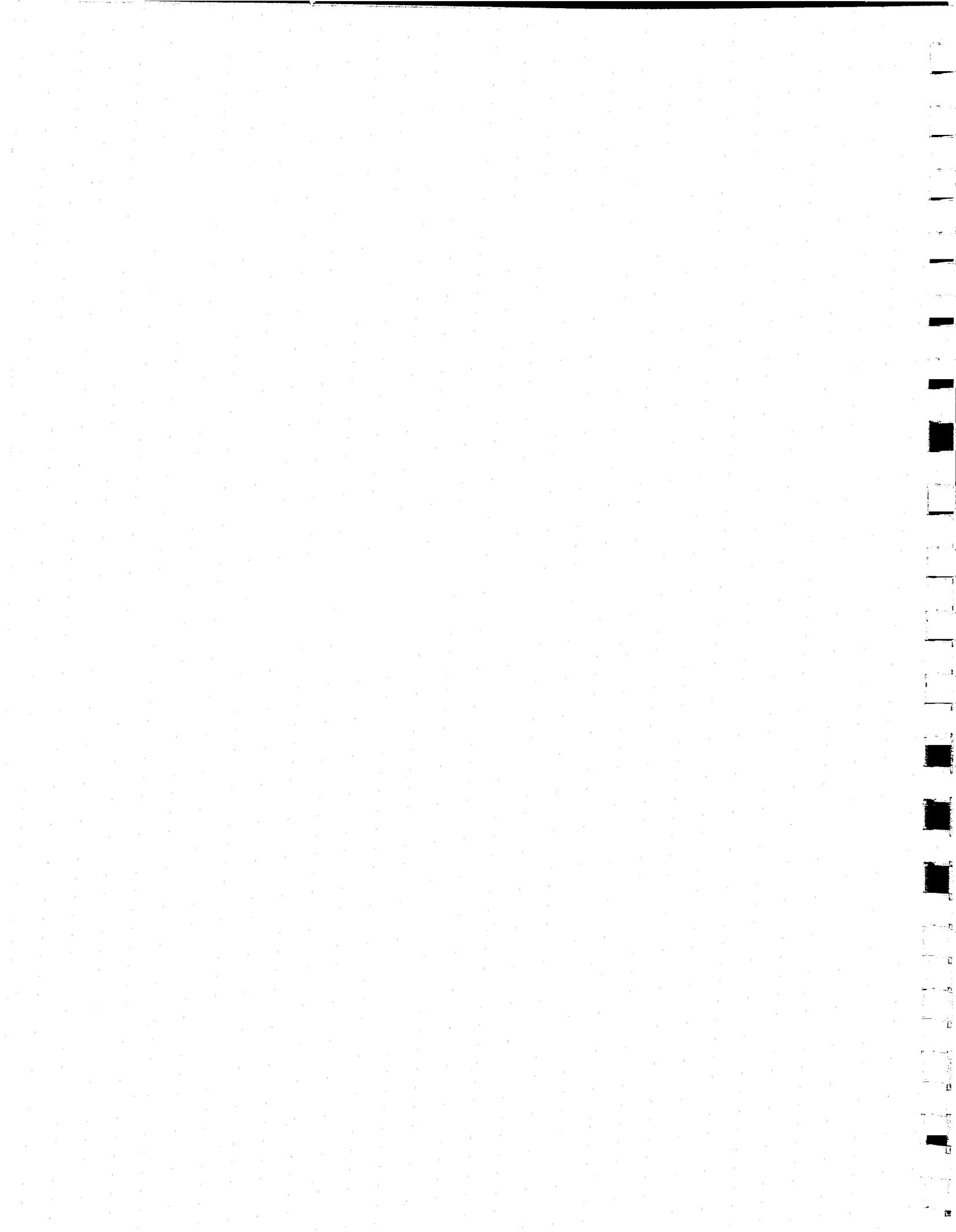
The police culture will have an influence on the police organization and its ability to meet its goals. In the extreme case, the police culture may provide for the formation of a deviant subculture in direct contradiction to police goals.

"The importance of the police culture as an impediment to idealized police work is that in an enclosure, the police culture has provided a warm and fertile climate for the growth and nurturance of a deviant police subculture. Levi (1967:275) posits the "minority" culture of the police as an adaptation to stress. However, in adjusting to this stress, various officers maintain different behaviour patterns. Coping to some officers often entails acting out acknowledged deviant behaviour. Successful adaptation to stress and informal membership in the police culture often implies mooching (getting free coffee and cigarettes, etc.). However in the deviant subculture full blown misuse of police powers may ensue Ahern 1962; Stoddard, 1971; Ahern, 1972; Chevigny, 1969; Kittels, 1949; Smith, 1965).

Neiderhoffer (1969), drawing upon his experience as a police officer, chronicles the development of the deviant police culture as the normal deterioration of a police officer from a position of commitment through stages of frustration and disenchantment to either a new level of commitment or into the "delinquent culture" of the police".²

¹ Boydell, C.L., et al, editors, Mark N. Wexler, pg. 135

² Wexler, Mark N., Thesis, *Op Cit.*, pg. 40



This extreme case has not been as widespread in Canadian experience. The less extreme case, of a police culture which provides insular support for those policemen faced with an unrewarding job, is true to varying degrees depending on community and the officer's rank. This is because adherence to the police culture would vary with the degree of conflict or inconsistencies met by a policeman in his work role. The least experienced officer, the lowest ranking officer, the constable attempting a maintenance order function, and the city policeman policing heterogeneous urban areas would adhere most closely to the police culture.

The adherence to the police culture will vary from rank to rank because:

"... the various police ranks and various police patrols are susceptible to [these] pressures and ambiguities in various degrees. The patrolman, members of traffic squads, vice squads, middle administrators, police chiefs, etc., are all bound within the parameters of the police culture, yet due to differences in interaction patterns as specified by the task postulated in each rank, one should expect a difference in adherence to the rigors of the police culture".¹

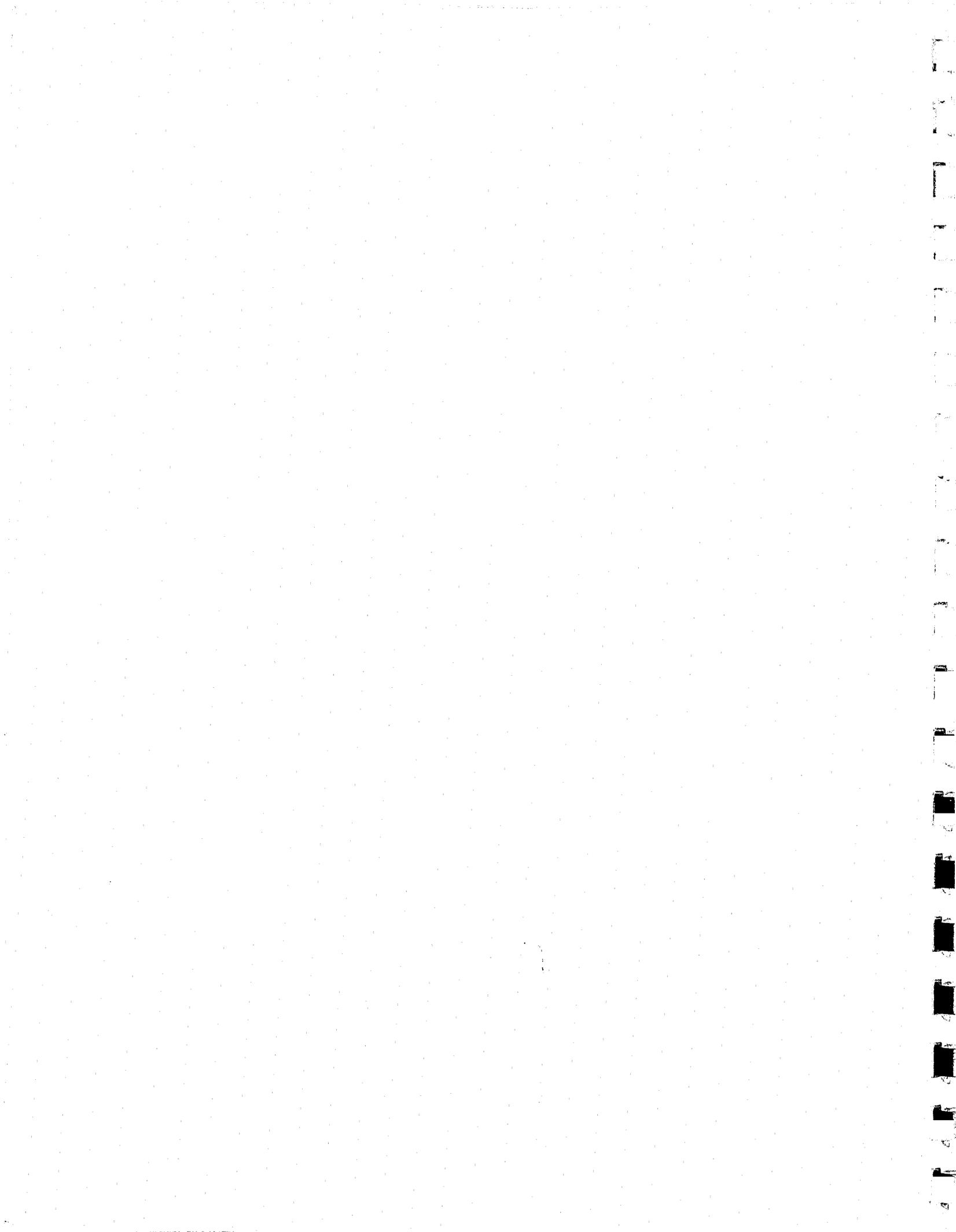
The detective faces fewer ambiguities and, as would be expected, it has been shown that he adheres less to the police culture than the patrolman. The detective wears no uniform and is less visible, he is usually called to a specific "law enforcement task", usually of a serious nature and after commission. Also, since he is dealing with a serious and more easily defined task, the legal system is better suited to reinforce his role.

The need for adherence to a police culture would vary from one community to another because:

"This same type of logic would suffice in dealing with various ecological areas in the same city. Certain police territories are demarcated by a greater degree of citizen-police and police-legal system interactional ambiguity than are others. In the cases where these pressures must be resolved (by the policeman) ... the police culture will tend to be reinforced."²

¹ Wexler, Mark N., Thesis, *Op Cit.*, pg. 92

² Wexler, Mark N., Thesis, *Op Cit.*, pg. 92-93

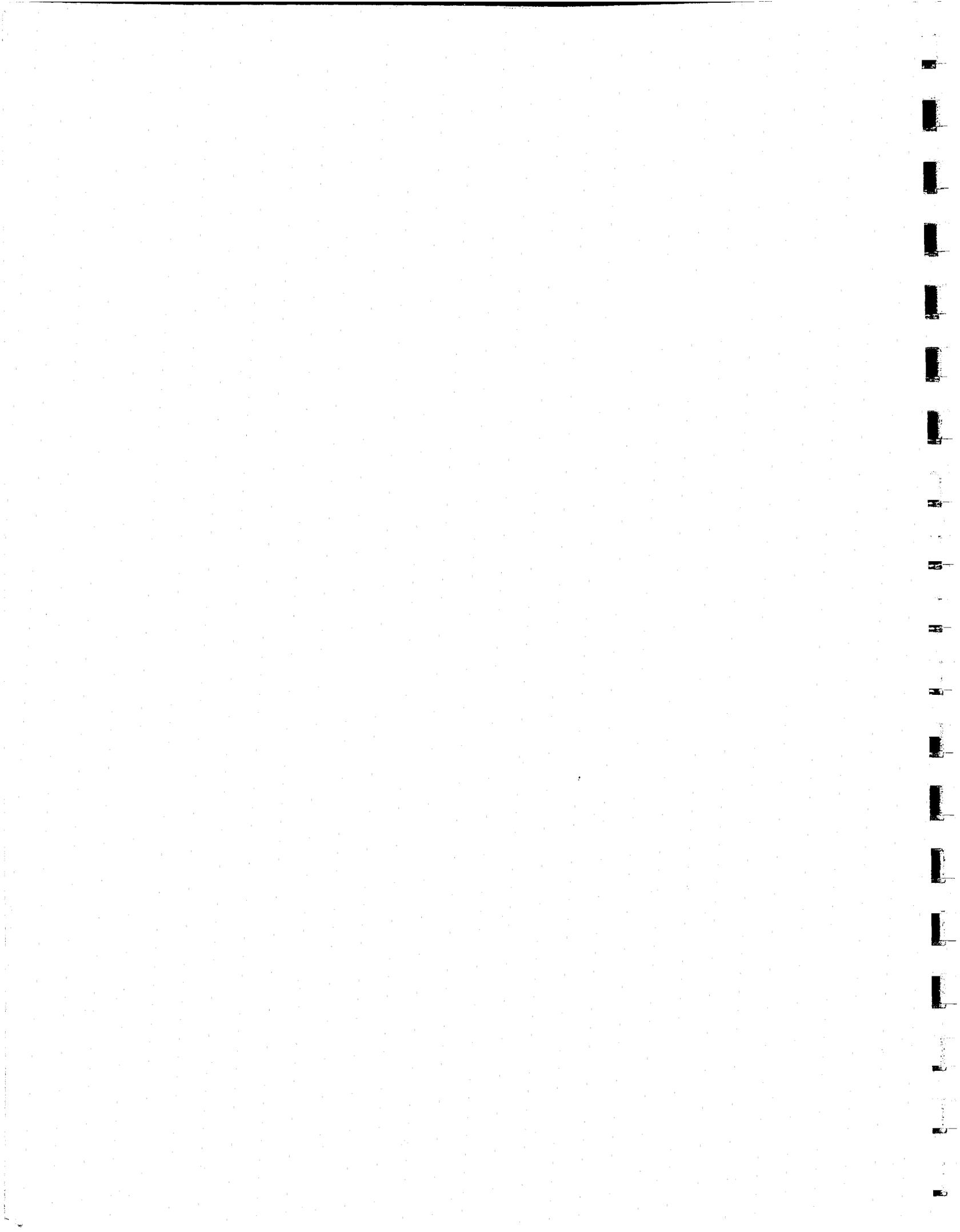


So, the officer most needing the knowledge and the confidence of the community, in order to effectively perform a maintenance order function, feels most isolated.

The apparent discontinuity between membership in the police culture and the greater police role -- order maintenance -- would lead one to suspect a spiralling of police frustrations within an already frustrating and difficult job.

Hypothesis:

On examination one might conclude that the conflicting pressures we have discussed presently inherent in the police role create work tensions for the policeman, especially the patrolman, that interfere with his job performance. Secondly, one might conclude that increasing work tensions increase a reactive, defensive stance by the police culture, and the police union which is not conducive to improving work performance.



PART II
Theories of Behaviour

Hierarchy of Needs

A General Theory of Motivation

Summary

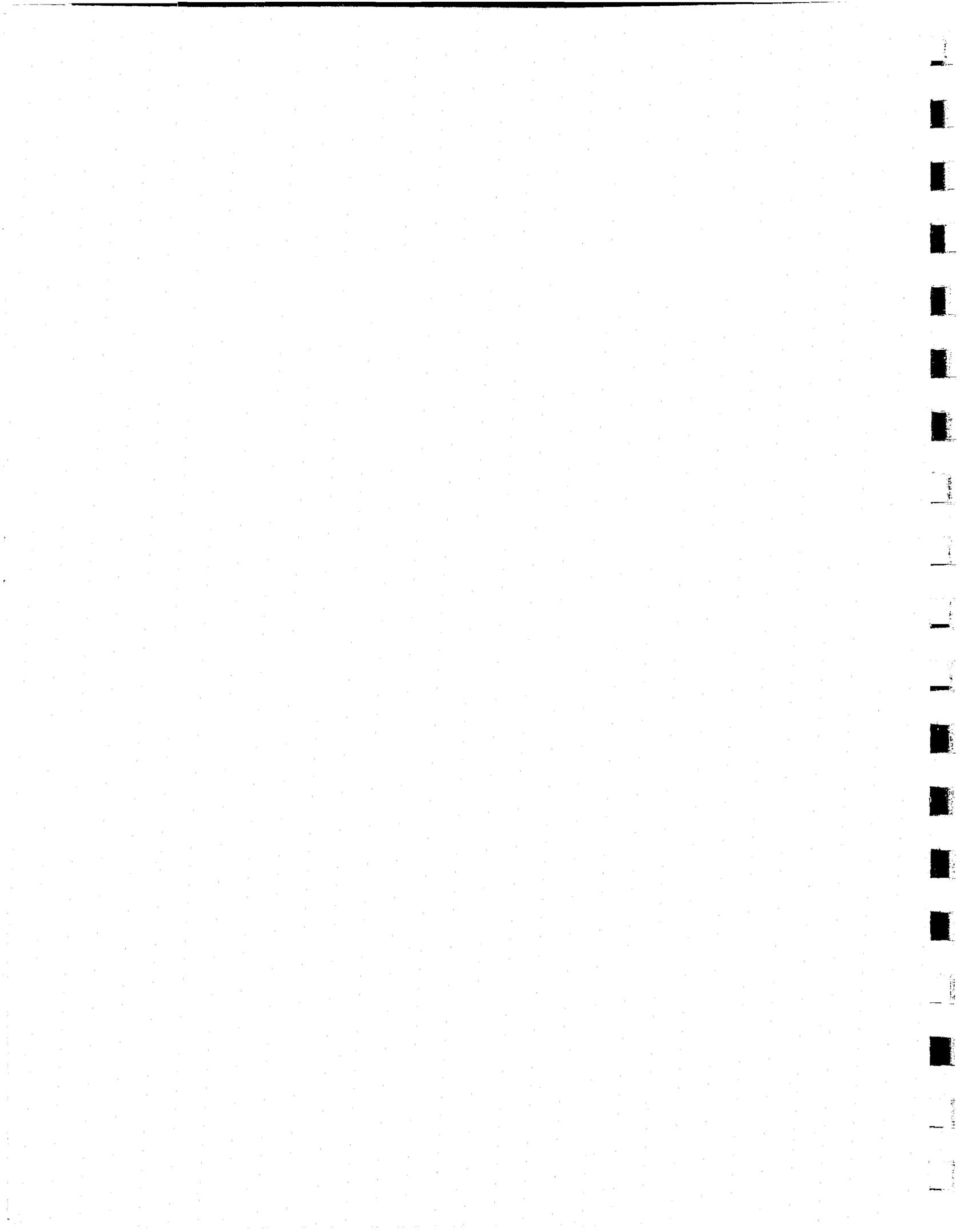
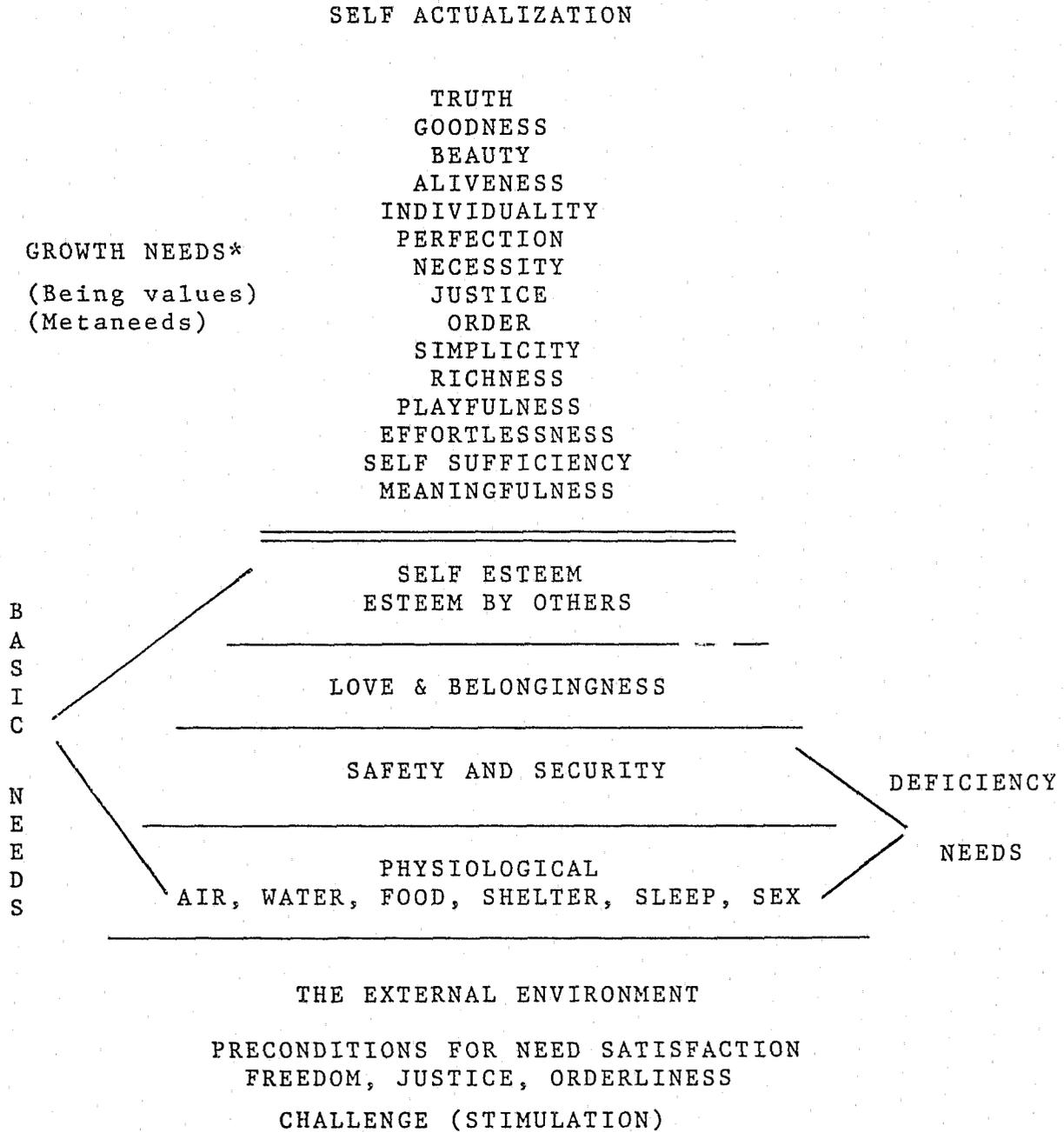


EXHIBIT II ¹

ABRAHAM MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS



*Growth needs are all of equal importance (not hierarchical)

¹ Goble, Frank, *The Third Force: The Psychology of Maslow*,
New York, Grossman, 1970. pg. 50

THEORIES OF BEHAVIOUR

Behavioural Science theory, often considered to be generally just a simplified explanation of human behaviour, has isolated some basic principles of behaviour that have proved useful as an approach to the management of the human resource in many business enterprises.

An understanding of the levels of job satisfaction and the relationship of job satisfaction to performance can be found in a general approach to human motivation developed by some behavioural scientists. This approach has been developed by field tests in a variety of work situations. Dr. Abraham Maslow, Douglas McGregor, Frederick Herzberg, Rensis Likert, Chris Argyris, Robert Blake and Jane S. Mouton have made significant contributions to a comprehensive understanding of the worker, his job satisfaction and his job performance.

There is a common disagreement about their work. Although it has been most influential, it has not been fully developed. For example, a 1969 survey¹ although showing the widespread influence and use by management of behavioural science theory concluded in part "the behavioural sciences bring new and valuable insight to management and add to productivity and profitability, but more developmental research is needed".

In fact, this is exactly what has happened and over the last six years managers in the public sector and the service sector are refining approaches to improving job performance.

¹ As reported in Goble, cited below, The National Industrial Conference Board, a business-financed research organization, conducted a survey in 1969 of a random sample of North American Companies -- 302 organizations responded.

. Hierarchy of Needs

In our opinion, an understanding of behavioural science theory in the world of work is to be found based largely on the humanistic theory of Dr. Abraham Maslow.¹ His is a general theory of psychology explaining human behaviour in terms of a hierarchy of needs* to be satisfied. (Exhibit II facing). In other words, behaviours are universally motivated by the necessity of satisfying a basic hierarchical order of needs.

According to Maslow satisfaction of the first need, the physiological need, allows an individual to strive for the satisfaction of the next need, security. Just as a child must learn to crawl before it can walk, the individual must satisfy certain basic needs before moving on to the next level in the hierarchy.

If one level of need is threatened, behaviour will be influenced. For example, a common sanction to control employee work behaviour is peer pressure. Any deviation from accepted group work norms can be reversed by social ostracization. This is particularly well understood by the policeman. As well, a satisfied need no longer motivates a worker. No further pay increases are going to induce greater performance beyond a certain level, unless that pay increase is associated with a recognition of superior achievement.

Maslow's hierarchy of basic human goals in summary, states that an individual's (or a group's) goal at one level must be achieved at that level (consistent with the environment in which the individual or group operates) before activity at a higher level will take place to any significant extent. Also, when a goal at one level is achieved, the individual (or group) then expects to operate at the next level up to a maximum independent, free, mature, self-actualizing level.

The satisfaction of the basic needs can be considered as progressive steps in an individual's development ultimately leading to the possibility of behaviour to satisfy growth needs. The growth needs are not hierarchical and possibly the least understood. Behaviours related to satisfaction of growth needs could be considered stimulated by intrinsic rewards and not by extrinsic rewards -- the need to create for the sake of fulfilling one's talent, the need to be oneself.

¹ For a readable summary of his work, see Frank G. Goble, *The Third Force: The Psychology of Abraham Maslow*, New York, Grossman, 1970.

* Needs and goals for our purposes can be used interchangeably.

"One Place and One Time"

	GOAL (Human Goals on the Job)	TEST By Measurable Output Performance	OPERATIONS (Effective managerial or interpersonal style)
B A S I C I N D E P E N D E N C E	Self-actualization "Ego", self-esteem, self respect. Social or Group Action	Unique, creative solutions Job is done "his way" Output shows several inputs from different group members	Leave alone Participation on Goal and Test with Operations left up to the individual Participation on Goal, Test and Operations
	Safety Physiological	Standard Competence Good Health	Give Training - direct and one way - from the "expert" to the "incompetent" In combat situations - Authoritarian command structure Give Support

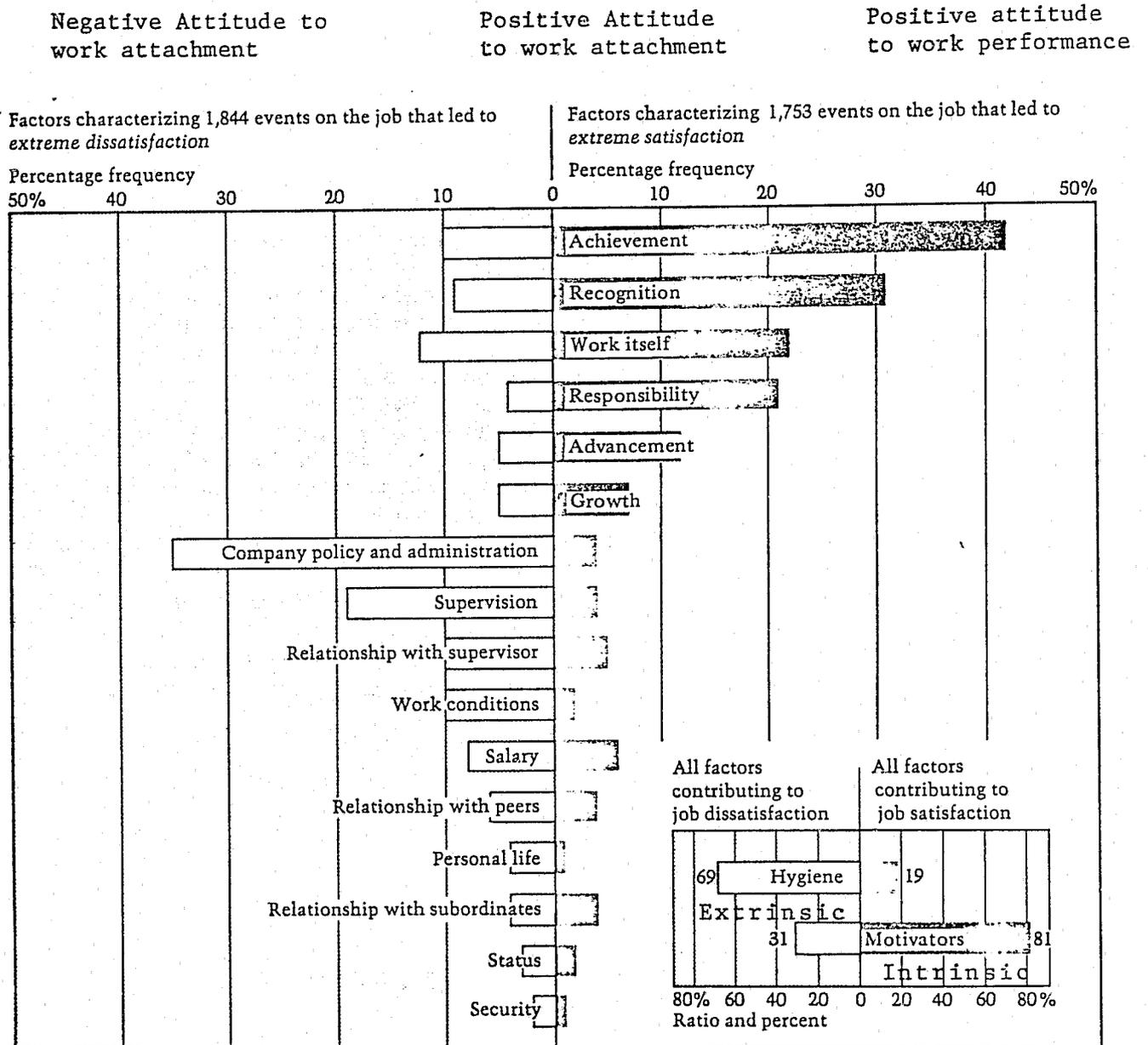
It is important to note that the hierarchy of human goals can apply to several settings or environments at the same time for a given individual, with the individual operating at different levels in different settings -- e.g., at one level in the family setting and at another in the world of work -- at one level with his supervisor and at another with a manager. Obviously, the various "worlds" at which the individual operates do affect each other. However, human beings are extraordinarily flexible and resilient and, in most instances, can separate "one place and one time" from another to a remarkable degree. The exceptions to this separation may be less precise for a policeman. If the policeman is less able than most others to separate himself from his occupational role, then the necessity for satisfaction of his needs as a policeman, (in a work role related context) may be felt relatively more intensely by him than for other occupations.

Different levels of need satisfaction are appropriate for the same person in different environments. This is only partially understood by police managers when they question shifts from an authoritarian management style, such as found necessary in combat situations. Combat is not the time for participation in decision-making. However, the same individuals in another less threatening situation might better respond to a different management style. Exhibit III facing shows some of the relationships in a typical working environment. It indicates the type of management that may be considered appropriate for a group at a specific level in the hierarchy. For example, if the group's goals are at the safety level (insecure, doubtful as to whether tenure in the organization can be maintained, insecure as in combat situations), the only management system that will work will be a system which will be likely to ensure survival. A relationship of an individual or group at this level with a manager will be a hierarchial one. The style of management must be authoritative and prescriptive and any systems or procedures must be rigid and controlling. In short, the group must clearly understand "the rule of the game" and the limits of the playing field.

At higher levels, the management relationship must change if it is to be effective, ranging from participation at the social level to a literal "laissez-faire" approach at the highest level.

EXHIBIT IV

Factors affecting job attitudes, as reported in 12 investigations



EXTRINSIC FACTORS

Short term motivators

INTRINSIC FACTORS

Long term motivators

Abridged from:

Herzberg, F., *One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees?*, Harvard Business Review Jan./Feb. 1968, pg. 57.

A General Theory of Motivation

The reason for enabling individuals to continue to move up the basic needs hierarchy is not to be confused with "soft-hearted", "nice guy" thinking on the part of management. We suggest that individuals striving to meet needs at lower levels of the hierarchy do not perform their jobs effectively. In fact, even after a certain level of needs are met which result in a first level of job satisfaction, there is not a long-term corresponding increase in job performance.

Just as there are two levels of need satisfaction according to Maslow, there is general agreement in the behavioural science literature that there are two levels of job satisfaction. These two levels of satisfaction result in two levels of job behaviours. The first level of job satisfaction is exhibited by a positive attitude to job staying, the second level of job satisfaction is exhibited by a positive attitude to job performance and work effort.

Herzberg's¹ general theory of job satisfaction is a useful model to explain these levels of satisfaction. Levels of job satisfaction according to Herzberg can be expressed by thinking of satisfaction of needs progressing along a continuum from left to right as in Exhibit IV facing. To the left of the continuum are factors characterizing extreme dissatisfaction factors of pain in man's environment. Dissatisfaction with these factors illicit pain avoidance behaviour. Evidence of job dissatisfaction is then evidenced by avoidance behaviour, such as high employee turnover, frequent absenteeism, lateness, stress related illnesses, (i.e., alcoholism). Of the many studies examined by Vroom 1964,² the relationship between job dissatisfaction and resignation was high, although less consistency was found between job dissatisfaction and absences. Conclusions in describing the relationship between job dissatisfaction and accidents were not possible.

In Maslow's terms, these factors causing job dissatisfaction could be considered factors capable of threatening basic need satisfaction. These threatened needs must then be satisfied before growth or job performance can take place.

The worker who is not dissatisfied is neutral, he stays in the job because it is not painful, the working conditions satisfy all his lower levels of basic needs. He is not, however, motivated to perform. This is the first order of satisfaction.

¹ Herzberg, Fredrick, Bernard, Mausner, Barbara B., Snyderman, *The Motivation to Work*, New York, John Wiley, 1959.

² Vroom, Victor H., *Work and Motivation*, New York, John Wiley, 1964.



Workers on the other hand reaching the neutral threshold can respond to favourable job-content factors such as achievement and the work itself, and can be motivated to perform. The absence of these job content factors will not produce job dissatisfaction; the worker too will remain neutral.

In other words,

Poor Job environment	=	dissatisfied worker
Good Job environment	=	neutral worker, one with a positive work attachment
Neutral worker plus poor job content	=	neutral worker
Neutral worker plus good job content	=	performance oriented worker

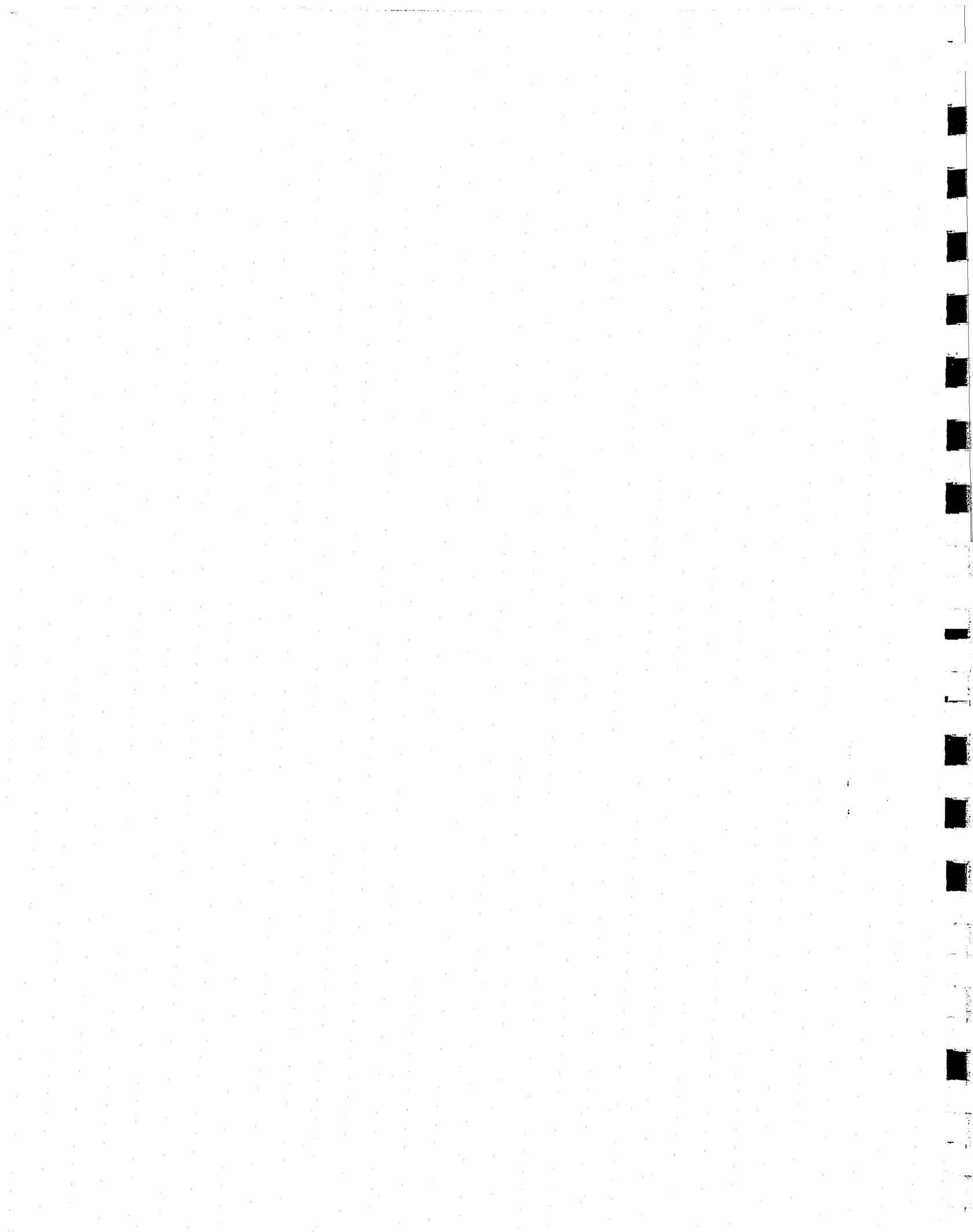
The analysis of empirical job satisfaction studies by Vroom¹ leads him to suggest that,

"The absence of a marked or consistent correlation between job satisfaction* and performance casts some doubt on the generality or intensity of either effects of satisfaction on performance or performance on satisfaction. It also suggests that the conditions which determine a person's level of job satisfaction and his level of job performance are not identical. Some conditions may produce high satisfaction and low performance and still others low satisfaction and high performance and still others high performance and high satisfaction or low satisfaction and low performance. . . . At this point it is sufficient to note that the lack of any marked association between two variables suggests the desirability of regarding them both as conceptually and empirically separable outcomes of the person-work role relationship".

In our view the majority of studies support Herzberg's theory. If one considers that the majority of job satisfaction studies relate workers' attitude to such work role environmental factors as supervision, the work group, wages, promotional opportunities and hours of work, it isn't surprising that the conclusion would be drawn that there is no simple relationship between job satisfaction and performance. In Herzberg's terms the workers satisfaction has been measured by hygiene factors and satisfaction of these factors would mean the worker would be in neutral and not performance oriented.

¹ Vroom, Victor, H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 187

* Job satisfaction is defined by Vroom as a positive attitude to work role.



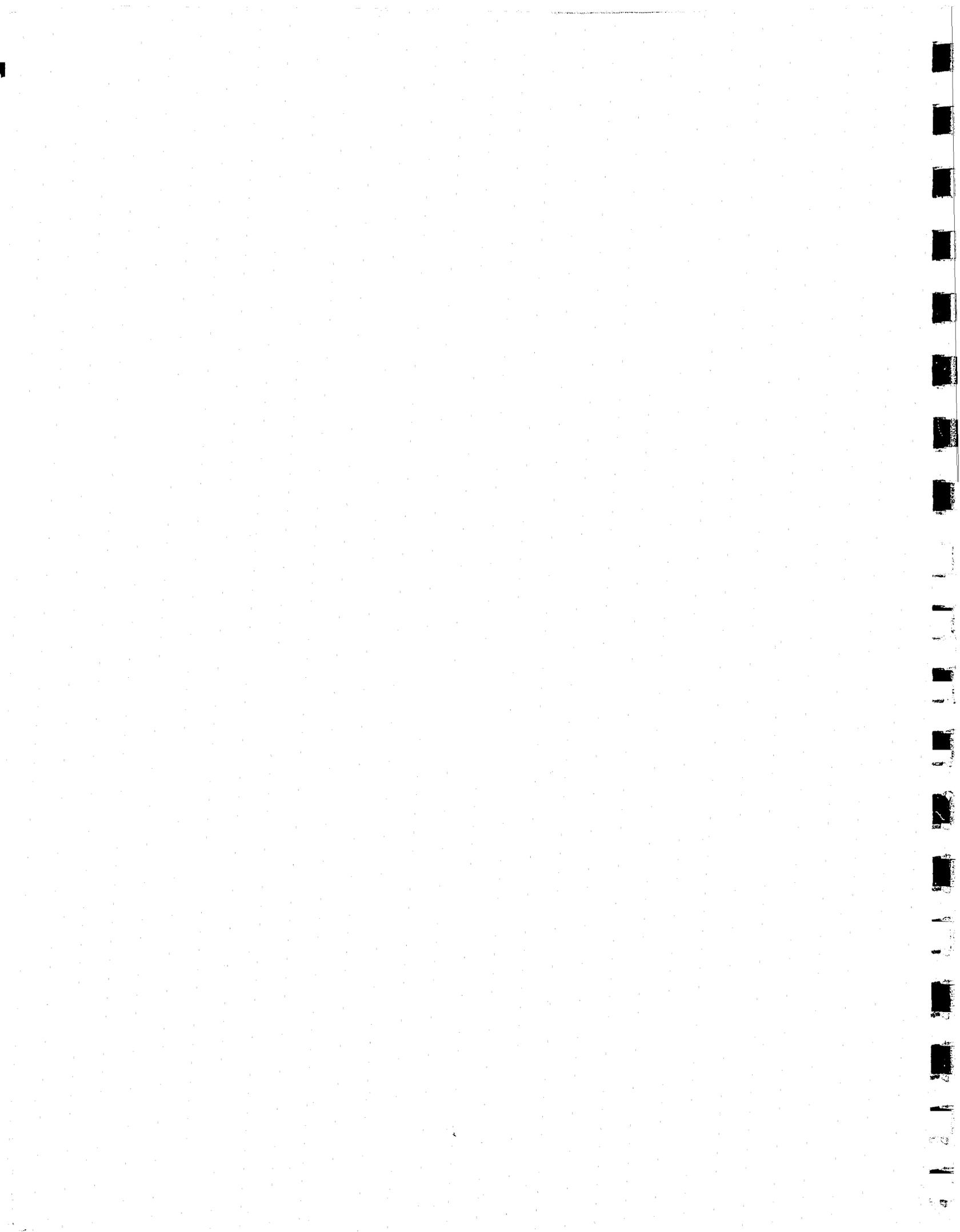
Job dissatisfaction is most often expressed as dissatisfaction with the context of work (hygiene factors). Job content is most often mentioned as related to job satisfaction. The conclusion reached by Herzberg, and in our view supported in the literature, is that there are two sets of factors or conditions which produce two levels of job satisfaction.

Another line of thought claims that due to an individual's protection of his self-image and the values placed on ability, he may see dissatisfaction with job content as failure due to lack of ability and this failure is unacceptable to the workers' self-image and is not admitted.

A certain amount of hostile projections to the environment or work context is bound to occur. "When they don't have enough work to keep our employees busy they poor mouth the organization, it's amazing how these complaints disappear when work opportunities increase". Therefore some would argue, there are not two sets of conditions that act as motivators, one set for dissatisfaction, the other for satisfaction.

This argument misses the point that the two sets of conditions for motivating people are based on two levels of satisfaction not one of dissatisfaction and the other satisfaction. However, the point is well taken that although an individual is at the first level of satisfaction, he may, due to job content related factors, continue to claim dissatisfaction with "hygiene factors". We will see later that this is important when thinking of police job satisfaction.

The only generalization that can be made unequivocally is that given satisfactory work conditions, the nature of the job, and the nature of the individual interact to reinforce each other. *Motivating workers to perform although not completely understood seems to necessitate manipulation of the work and work-person situation in different ways than to keep workers "satisfied" and present in their jobs.*



SUMMARY

The factors in the work environment - such as pay, consideration from supervisor, high probability of promotion, close interaction with co-worker meet a working person's basic needs. Working conditions which meet basic needs cause an absence of dissatisfaction for a working person or a 'neutral' state, but work performance will not be significantly affected. A certain level of neutrality or readiness is necessary however, before performance can be improved.

Factors which influence the work person's performance are not the same as hygiene factors which improve work conditions. The work performance factors are those contributing to the completeness of the work role itself; the ego-involvement and satisfaction from performing the work role will improve work performance. Those work-performance related factors will permit the work-person to meet his growth needs.

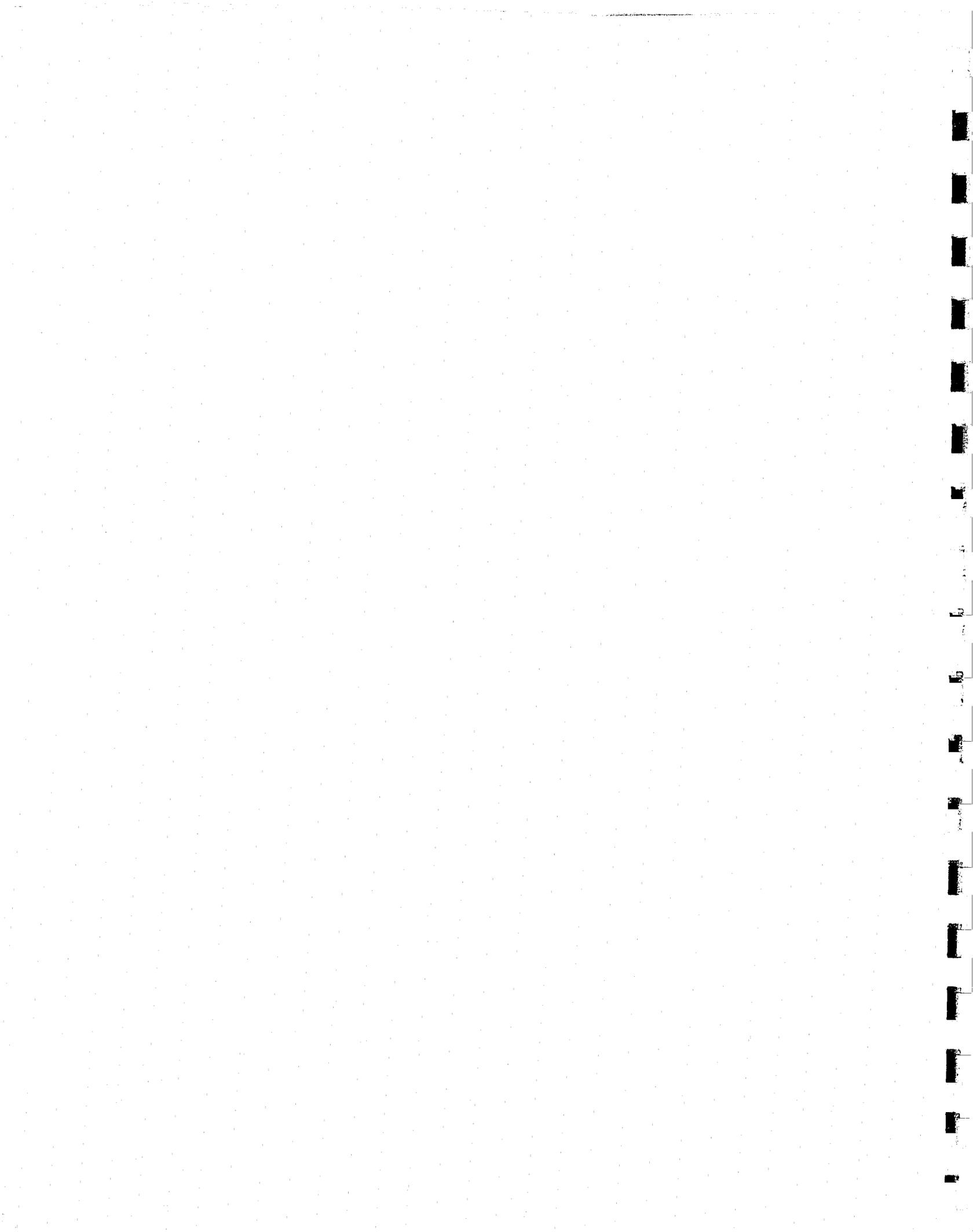
We pointed out earlier that we cannot in practice precisely separate the working environment from the work task itself. Satisfaction for instance, of wage demands, seniority promotions, may be an hygenic consideration, on the other hand, a wage increase or a promotion may be given as recognition of achievement. Also, although working conditions need to be satisfactory before performance goals become important; exceptionally challenging and rewarding work may temporarily cause workers to overlook less than satisfactory working conditions.

If the work becomes less rewarding (in terms of the work itself) the working conditions in spite of their adequacy become more open to criticism.

The management strategies developed by MacGregor, and Argyris rest on the psychological elements known to motivate employees to perform at levels appropriate for them and for the organization.

These management strategies have been likened to a "smorgasbord" of ideas, of which any combination may be appropriate to any organization at any given time. Successful application then depends largely on an understanding of the worker in his organization, and as well as the organization and its stage of development.*

* For further studies to support evidence of two levels of satisfaction see Appendix A.



PART III

Assessment of Police Job Satisfaction

- . Literature Review
- . Conclusions

EXHIBIT V

Responses of 113 Police subjects to the Question, "How satisfied are you with your job as a Police Officer when you compare it with other jobs you had before you entered law enforcement ?"

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

Responses of 113 Police subjects to the Question, "If you had it to do over again, and knew what you now know, would you still become a Police Officer ?"

Response Category	Start of Training	End of Training	After 18 Months experience
Definitely yes	77.0%	91.2%	80.5%
Probably yes	18.6	8.8	15.9
Undecided	3.5	0	2.7
Probably no	0.9	0	0
Definitely no	0	0	0

Sterling, James, *Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers*, I.A.C.P., Maryland, 1972. pg. 73,74

AN ASSESSMENT OF POLICE JOB SATISFACTION

Literature Survey

An understanding of the ambiguities of the police role, the adaptive police response to these inconsistencies, and a framework to describe conditions found to influence job satisfaction, and job performance was necessary before an assessment of the policeman's relationship to his work role could begin.

There is a paucity of data specifically examining the policeman's relationship to his job. The literature available on job attitudes of policemen must be surveyed with extreme caution. Firstly, there have not been comparable standardized measurements used to assess job satisfaction. Secondly, the samples surveyed come from police forces which vary by type of community and by size. The majority of officers are from urban police forces and have different lengths of service and rank. As we pointed out earlier, rank and type of community are important considerations when assessing police job attitudes. A third caution is that much of the literature is based on the U.S.A. experience. The surveys are suggestive that, (1) there is a general satisfaction with the police job, and in fact, (2) there is a dedication associated with the occupational role. However, (3) there is also evidence that the policeman is not only not motivated to perform, but motivated to not perform.

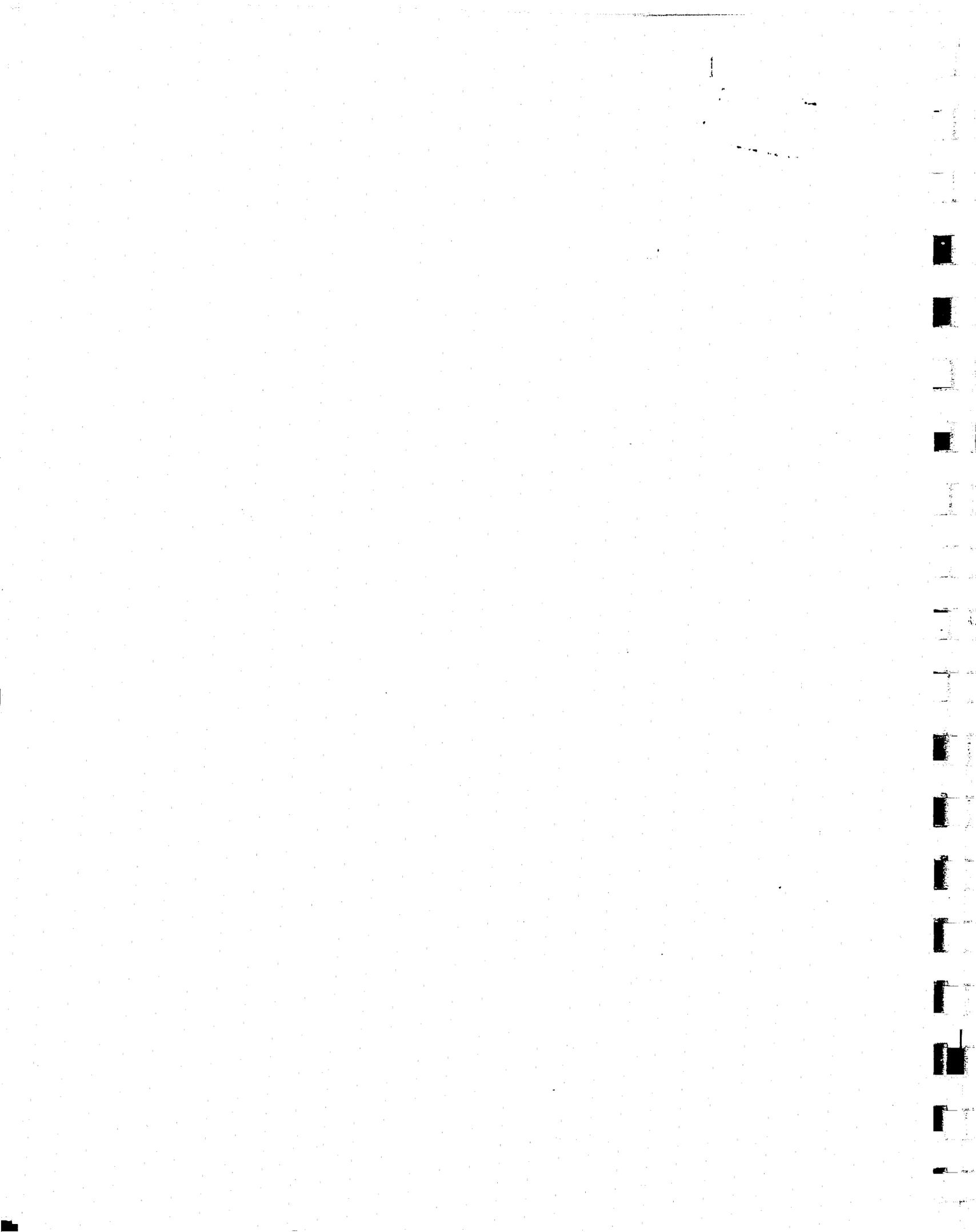
• General Satisfaction

A number of studies suggest police are generally satisfied with their jobs. An attitudinal survey of 113 police recruits from four medium to large U.S. cities was conducted to make specific recommendations for training. James Sterling, Assistant Director, I.A.C.P., focused on changes in role concepts of the police from their entry into recruit training until the completion of 18 months field experience. He included two questions related to job satisfaction. The first was "How satisfied are you with your job as a police officer when you compare it to what other jobs you had before you entered law enforcement?", and "If you had it to do over again, and know what you now know, would you still become a police officer?".¹ The results are shown on Exhibit V facing.

From these results he concludes,

"Lastly, contrary to the adage that he who increases knowledge increases sorrow, the subjects were highly satisfied with their police role and remained so over the time span of this study.

¹ Sterling, James, *Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers*, I.A.C.P., Maryland, 1972. pg. 73,74



Their high job satisfaction was evidenced also by their responses to the question if they had it to do over again, would they still become police officers. At the beginning of training, 95.6% of the subjects responded affirmatively. At the end of training, all of the subjects indicated that they would do so. After field experience, the figure decreased only slightly to 96.4%. Their consistently high level of job satisfaction was reinforced by a strong measure of approval of their occupational choice by a most significant role reciprocal, their wife and of their family. Despite all of the possibilities for job dissatisfaction inherent in the police role, the subjects evidenced a high degree of satisfaction with their work."¹

However, he summarizes,

"Coping with Change

The subjects of this research have been pictured as taking on a complex vocational role which is beset by ambiguities, conflicts and strains. Men with modest education and limited vocational backgrounds were given a modicum of training and placed in a personally demanding role which, in many respects, is discontinuous with their backgrounds, their interests and their formal job training. In the police environment, the expectation for personal change is pervasive and change did take place. The socialization process exposed them to forces which affected their emergent personality needs, increased their awareness of conflicting behavioural expectations, exposed them to the problems of role ambiguity, changed their concept of essential role attributes, altered their perceptions of people and modified their job-related attitudes. For some, their friendship patterns were drastically changed and their aspirations were heightened in disproportion to the existing opportunities. Underlying the whole process of socialization was a theme of personal danger."²

¹ Sterling, James, *Op Cit.*, pg. 76

² Sterling, James, *Op Cit.*, pg. 295



"Despite these forces which might detract from the effective performance of their role, the subjects viewed their position as patrolman as the most important in terms of the aggregate police role. They were highly satisfied with their work and their satisfaction was reinforced by their wives and families. Also, the subjects were not greatly bothered by some of the conflicting expectations of the public regarding their work. *However, to expect men to continue to function effectively over the span of a working career in such a demanding vocational role without having a clearer understanding of the nature of the forces which affect them is to hope for that which appears to be unlikely, if not impossible.*

Within a 21 month time span we have seen clear evidence of the way in which initial police experience has affected the subjects of this research. We do not know the extent to which additional police experience will continue to modify their role concepts. However, there is no reason to believe that further experience, in and of itself, will tend to make more favorable the conceptions these men hold about their work and the people they deal with. Rather, it would seem likely that the cumulative effect of these forces for change would ultimately detract from their ability to effectively enact the full range of duties included in the police role. Hence, it should be recognized that the human resources of a police agency are perishable and must be protected from those conditions which would detract from their value. Self understanding, as the basis of that protection, should be a major concern of the police training officer".¹

An indication that attachment to the police occupation increases with experience is given in a Police Opinion Poll. To gain an insight into American police opinion, a nation wide survey questioned 4,672 policemen. One question was directly related to job attachment. This question as shown on next page, asks "Who are you most like Bob or Bill ?"

¹ Sterling, James, *Op Cit.*, pg. 295, *Italics* added

Bob has about 6 years on the job. He has had a variety of assignments and has gained some valuable investigative experience. He feels there might be some employment opportunities elsewhere for a man with his background and ability. He has looked into employment opportunities outside the department.

Bill has been a policeman for almost 6 years now. He has worked in a few different units and now has an assignment he likes. He is pleased with his successes so far and looks forward to further recognition on the job. He has given little or no thought to leaving the department.

I'm like Bob : I'm more like Bob than like Bill : 1
 I'm halfway between Bob and Bill : I'm more like Bill than Bob :
 I'm like Bill.

RESPONSES TO THE ABOVE QUESTION

<u>Total Responses</u>	<u>I'm like Bob</u>	<u>I'm halfway</u>	<u>I'm like Bill</u>
Experienced Police Officers	11.4	10.7	76.6
Recruits	4.9	14.6	77.6
Civilian Conservatives	11.4	2.9	82.9
Civilian Liberals	24.2	24.2	48.5
<u>Experienced Male Officers Only</u>			
<u>Years of Experience</u>			
Less than 1 year	6.4	17.0	70.2
1 - 3	11.3	14.7	73.4
4 - 6	15.9	14.7	73.4
7 - 10	14.3	14.5	70.4
11 - 15	13.6	11.2	73.9
16 - 20	8.7	9.1	80.8
21 - 25	7.6	8.8	82.2
26 or more	8.0	6.9	83.7
<u>Functional Assignment</u>			
Patrolmen	13.5	12.9	72.3
Detectives	14.4	9.2	75.5
Juvenile Officers	7.0	11.1	80.5
Administrators	6.6	8.1	83.9
Training Officers	6.4	7.5	85.0
Miscellaneous	10.5	13.5	74.4
<u>Educational Level</u>			
Not High School grad., no college	7.4	4.8	85.8
High School grad., no college	9.4	9.8	79.5
Some college., no degree	12.4	12.5	74.1
College degree	19.6	11.6	67.2
<u>Ethnic Origin</u>			
White	11.2	10.9	76.7
Negro	13.0	12.2	71.4
Other	16.2	5.1	78.8

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Police and Their Opinions*, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Washington, D.C., 1969. pg. 160,152

The facing data shows that about 75% of the police respondents agreed with Bill, -- that they were pleased with their success to date. The numbers agreeing with Bill increased with experience. Differences in the strength of agreement were between the Patrolman/Detective (P/D) grouping and the Juvenile, Administrative/Training (J.A.T.) Officer grouping and the strength of agreement decreased with education.

It wouldn't be surprising for there to be fewer voluntary job leavings with length of service, but this is not necessarily the same as an increasing proportion of experienced officers reporting satisfaction with the job. The difference between the P.D* grouping and the J.A.T* grouping is not surprising. As we have discussed, there is less job ambiguity for senior ranks (in the case of police, this would be administrators) or for training officers. Juvenile officers as well have a less ambiguous task:

The college graduate is obviously less satisfied with the job. One might suspect from this and statements noted elsewhere that retention of college grads is poor.

* P.D. - Patrolman/Detective
J.A.T. Juvenile/Administrator/Trainer

EXHIBIT VI

	<u>Questionnaire Item</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Parole</u>	<u>Police</u>	<u>Probation</u>
1.	I Work helps you forget about your personal problems	59	40	89	50
	II My work assists me in forgetting my personal problems	-51 - 8*	42 + 2	-83 - 6	-29 -21
2.	I I like the kind of work you can forget about after the workday is over.	54	50	68	44
	II Once my workday is finished, I am able to leave my problems at the office	-40 -14	-45 - 5	-35 -33	-38 - 6
3.	I To me, it's important in an occupation to have the change to get to the top	82	85	84	77
	II My occupation offers me a chance to get to the top	-73 - 9	-70 -15	-77 - 7	-72 -5
4.	I Getting recognition for my own work is important to me	89	95	84	88
	II I receive recognition for my work	-80 - 9	-75 -20	-77 - 7	-88 ± 0
5.	I It is more important for a job to offer opportunity than security	47	60	36	44
	II My job offers more in opportunity than security	-29 -18	-35 -25	-29 - 7	-22 -22
6.	I To me, it's important in an occupation that a person be able to see the results of his own work	87	85	89	88
	II I am able to see the results of my work	-80 - 7	-75 -10	-88 - 1	-77 -11
7.	I The main satisfaction a person can get out of work is helping other people	85	90	36	88
	II I am given many opportunities to help people in my work	96 +11	100 +10	-29 - 7	94 + 6
8.	I To me, a very important part of work is the opportunity to make friends	73	85	84	50
	II My job provides me with ample opportunity to make friends	87 +14	90 + 5	-83 - 1	88 +38
9.	I It is satisfying to direct the work of others	87	89	84	88
	II I direct the work of others	-57 -30	-50 -39	-55 -29	-66 -22
10.	I To me, it's important to have the kind of work that give me a change to develop my own special abilities	98	100	68	94
	II My job permits me the chance to develop my own special abilities	-83 -15	-90 -10	-35 -33	-77 -17
11.	I It's important to do a better job than the next person	50	45	63	44
	II My position does not demand that I do a better job than my co-workers	-49 - 1	-42 - 3	-61 - 2	-44 ± 0

Note: * This number represents the difference between those who valued statement in Questionnaire #1 and those who identified value was met in Questionnaire #2.

Source: Becker, Harold K., George T. Felkenes, Paul M. Whisenand, *New Dimensions in Criminal Justice*, Metuchen, N.J., The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1968. pg. 240-247

Paul M. Whisenand, Assistant Professor of Criminology at California State College conducted a study¹ which described the patrolman as possessing a reasonably high level of job satisfaction. The study offered an argument for a clearer understanding of job value and resultant levels of satisfaction among employees of the criminal justice system. Eighteen police officers of a major metropolitan area in California in response to questionnaires indicated, that, in general they possessed a reasonably high level of job satisfaction.

The policemen scored 164.8 for 23 items on a 10 point scale, for which the maximum score possible was 230.

The work values that were not being fulfilled for the policemen are indicated in their responses to two questionnaires. The responses to questionnaire I, ideal work related values, are compared to responses in Questionnaires II, values perceived in actual work roles. The questions facing indicated a negative relationship between work value and work role.

It is interesting to note (questions and answers facing) that of the relationships indicating less than fulfilled needs, questions #3, #4, #5, #6, #9 and #10 are work related needs related to work motivators as they influence second order job satisfaction or job performance, such as growth needs and needs for achievement recognition, advancement, responsibility, etc.

Responses to #10, apparently indicate a valued growth need but the value was not accorded to the actual work role. The discrepancy between ideal and actual work role was large.

Another value which is not rated very high is evident in responses to #5. This response seems to support others² who have found that job security is a work-attachment, or hygiene factor important for policemen.

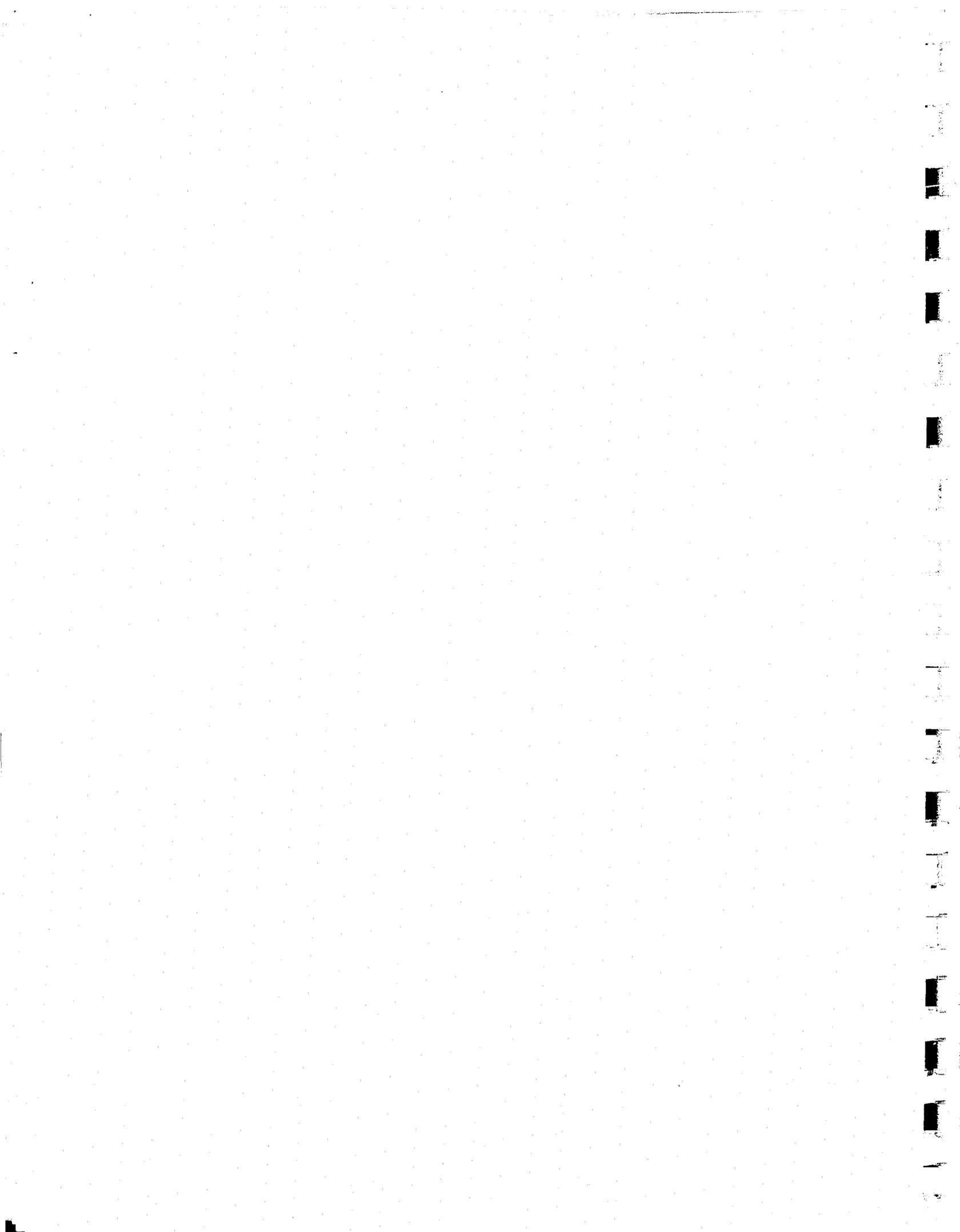
Responses to #7 also seems to support the findings of others³ who have found that policemen are not oriented to helping others. It is interesting to note that they do not perceive many opportunities for helping others. This could be interpreted as a denial of the service aspect of police role. Another explanation is suggested by James Sterling⁴ and that is that persons who are recruited into policing do not have a helping people orientation, these people would, of course, then not see opportunities to help others.

¹ Becker, Harold K., George T. Felkenes, Paul M. Whisenand, *New Dimensions in Criminal Justice*, Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J.,

² Sterling, James, W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*

³ Sterling, James, W., *Op Cit.*

⁴ Sterling, James, W., *Op Cit.*



Paul Whisenand's findings show that of the sample of criminal justice employees,

"Most of the respondents perceived their occupation as making a very important contribution to society. Related to this contribution was their sense of being respected by family and friends. Ironically, more than half of those interviewed reported that they were reasonably satisfied with their current income. Many thought of their job as not providing adequate opportunity for advancement. Apparently, however, the respondents did not attribute a lack of advancement to intraorganizational politics or luck because they overwhelmingly felt that their occupational success was based on what and not who they knew. Those interviewed indicated a sense of task accomplishment regardless of situational constraints or personal dissatisfactions. Finally, of the three occupational categories, the police juvenile officer seems to receive the highest amount of overfulfillment. This in turn implies that they also have the greatest degree of job satisfaction -- based on the 23 items used".¹

Responses by a sample of selected officers in various American training classes in 1968 indicated job satisfaction for many of them was at the first level of satisfaction only, that is the satisfaction seemed to be with basic need fulfillment, or with hygiene factors.

"... to examine the reasons for continuing to work as policemen. A list of 30 possible reasons was drawn up and the men were asked to check those they considered to be important to them and to encircle the three most important ones. A study of the answers submitted by 127 men, about 37 percent of whom were of command rank, revealed that the top ranking reasons were the following:

The position offers good fringe benefits other than salary, (retirement, medical care, insurance).

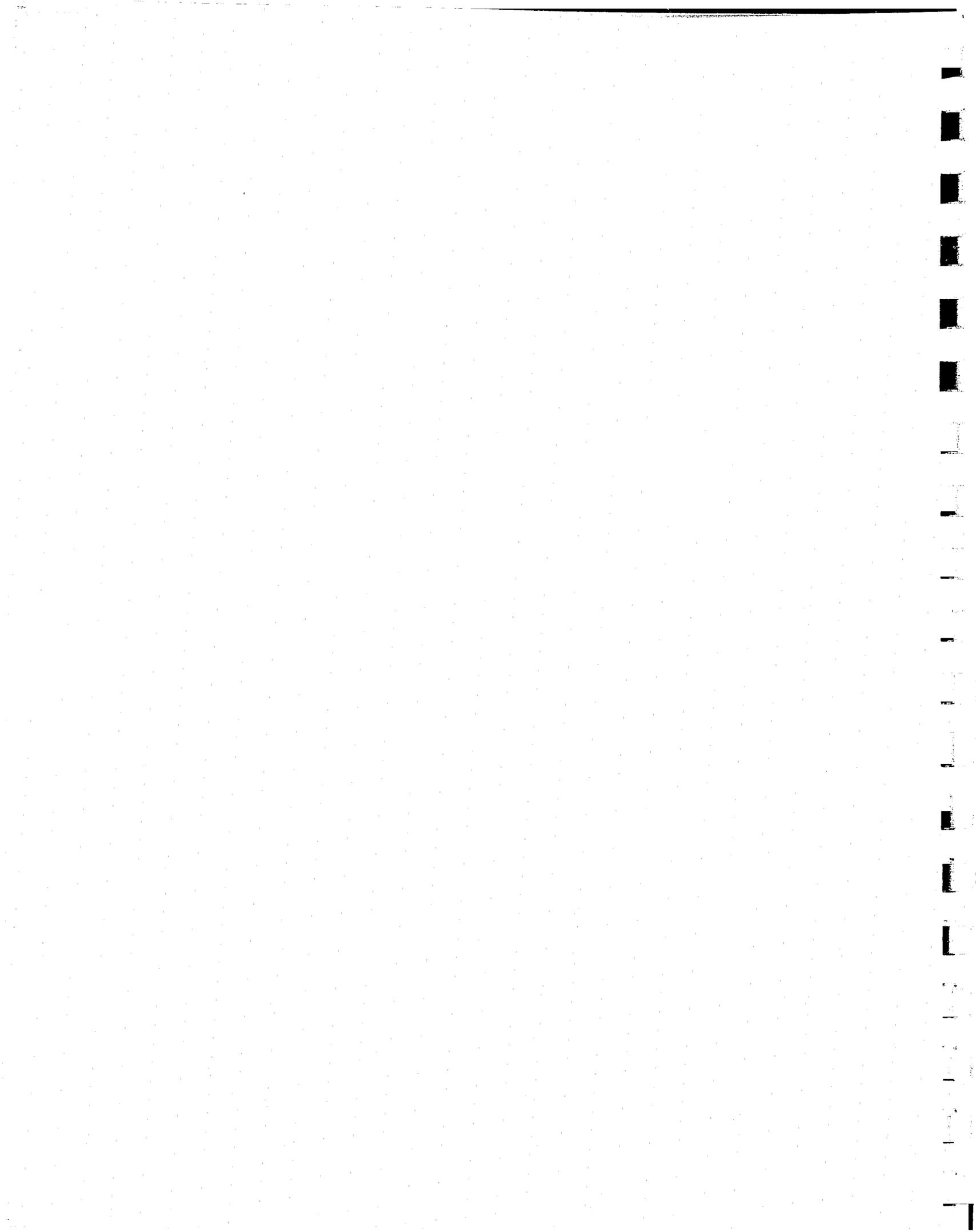
It is an interesting job.

It's steady work; I don't have to worry about lay offs, strikes, plant shut downs, etc.

The next three in order of preference were:

Frankly, I'm trapped. I'd quit if I didn't have so much time invested; I have to go on now until I retire. (More of the command officers encircled this item than did the patrolman and detectives.)

¹ Whisenand, Paul M., *Op Cit.*, pg. 250



It gives me an opportunity to use my own initiative and judgment.

It gives me an opportunity for worthwhile service to my fellow man.

Items pertinent to this discussion of job satisfaction were determinants of the second order and they ranked very close to the bottom of the list:

I enjoy the status of being a police officer; I am recognized as "somebody".

The job gives me a certain status and recognition I couldn't get in some other work.

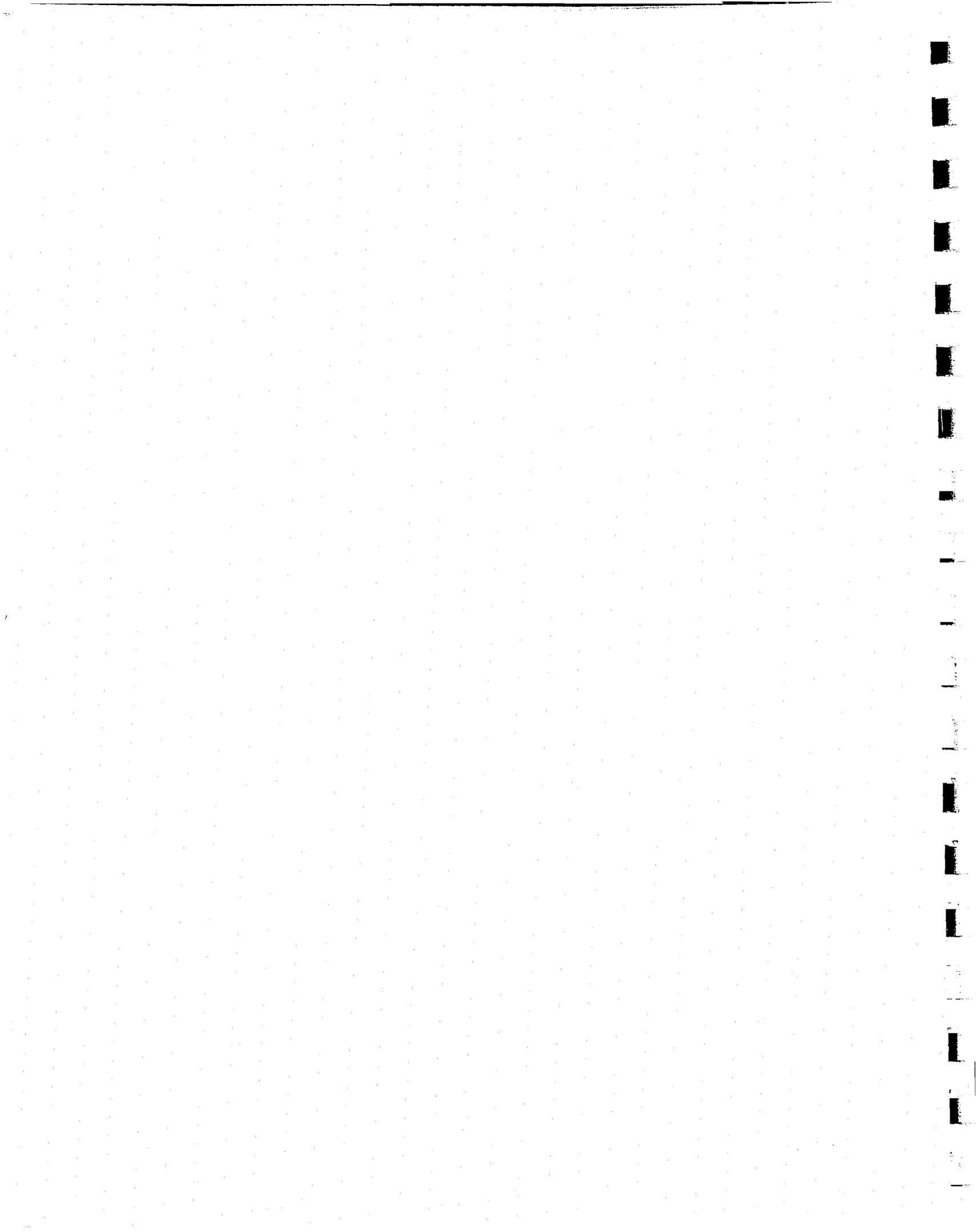
*I enjoy the distinction of wearing a uniform."¹**

A lack of ego-involvement is suggested as a possible reason for the apparent paradox between high job satisfaction as rated by much of the literature in spite of the obvious inconsistencies in role,

"The subjects do not inevitably experience debilitating role conflict whenever they perceive of conflicting behavioural expectations related to their role. This is true even if these conflicting views are expressed by persons who are considered significant to them. For example, the clashing expectations perceived by the subjects for businessmen and civil rights leaders with regard to stopping the rise in crime and respecting civil liberties may not give rise to any role conflict whatsoever. When the behavioural demands of businessmen to stop the rise in crime are in strong conflict with the demands of civil rights leaders to respect civil liberties, the police may gain temporary relief from the responsibility for the resolution of this conflict. In theoretical terms, ..."

¹ Sterling, James, W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 9

* A member of our firm William T. Belyea, a Registered Psychologist actively involved in recruiting and selection of O.P.P. judges that feelings of a lack of status are currently specific to the U.S.A. policeman, rather than to the provincial or federal Canadian policeman.



'... the occupant of the status subjected to conflicting demands and expectations can become case in the role of the tertius gaudens, the third (or more often, the n'th) party who draws advantage from the conflict of the others. The status-occupant, originally at the focus of the conflict, virtually becomes a more or less influential bystander whose function it is to high-light the conflicting demands by members of his role-set and to make it a problem for them, rather than for him to resolve their contradictory demands.'^{19*}

It is entirely possible that this theoretical explanation may be related to the reason why the subjects indicated that they were so little troubled by the conflict situations presented to them. The questions of how the subjects were expected to learn the essentials of police work and whether police experience would change them personally were not heated public issues. They were personal issues which the subjects themselves must resolve. Thus, police experience heightened the degree to which these two matters troubled the subjects. On the other hand, the way in which the police deal with the public, the way in which they handle the arrests of different classes of people, and the way in which they regard civil liberties in their effort to stop the rise in crime all are strongly contested public concerns. Perhaps in these three instances, the police have taken on the role of the third party".¹

An underlying factor in much of the literature is indicative of a dedication to a policing ideal. This dedication may become easily confused with job satisfaction. Of the two, dedication, although related to job satisfaction, is not the cause nor the effect.

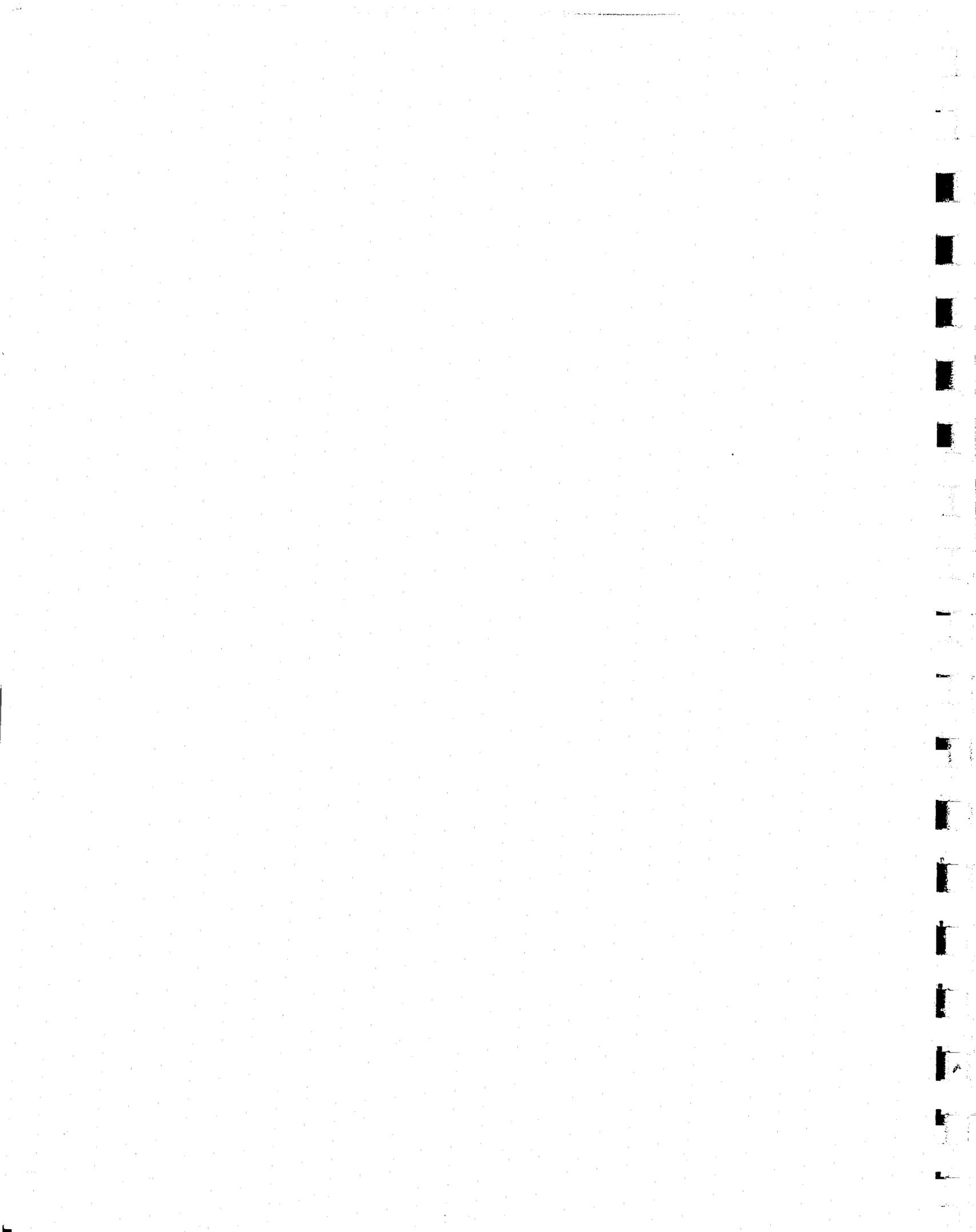
A number of studies² indicate that although the policeman perceives the public perception of his work role is very low -- often lower than the public really do rank it ! -- he, himself perceives his work to be much more important than do the public.

* As quoted by Sterling, James W., *Op Cit.*

¹⁹ Robert K. Merton, "Instability and Articulation in the Role Set," in Role Theory, Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, eds. (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1966)

¹ Sterling, James, W., *Op Cit.*, pg. 280

² Skolnick, S., *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1966.



In 1973 the American National Survey¹ of the relative prestige of 90 occupations rated the policeman 47th. In 1970, a survey of Toronto residents by Courtis, and Dussuyer showed these citizens to "hold a moderate opinion of police-work as an occupation and that among extreme views unfavourable judgements predominate".²

Brieger in his doctoral dissertation, *A Profile of the Police Patrolman*, examined a patrol division of the police department in the City of Montgomery, Alabama and he concluded that,

- "1. The patrolman's self-attitudes toward his role and function within his community differs significantly from the attitudes he perceived the public to hold toward the same variables.
 - a. On eighteen (18) out of the twenty-five (25) items, the patrolman assessed his self-attitudes higher than his perception of the public's attitudes toward the same items.
 - b. On three (3) out of the twenty-five (25) items, the patrolman assessed his perception of the public's attitude toward the same item.
 - c. On only four (4) out of the twenty-five (25) items, was there a mutual response pattern between the patrolman's self-attitude and his perceived public attitude".³

He found his findings were not dependent on age or experience.

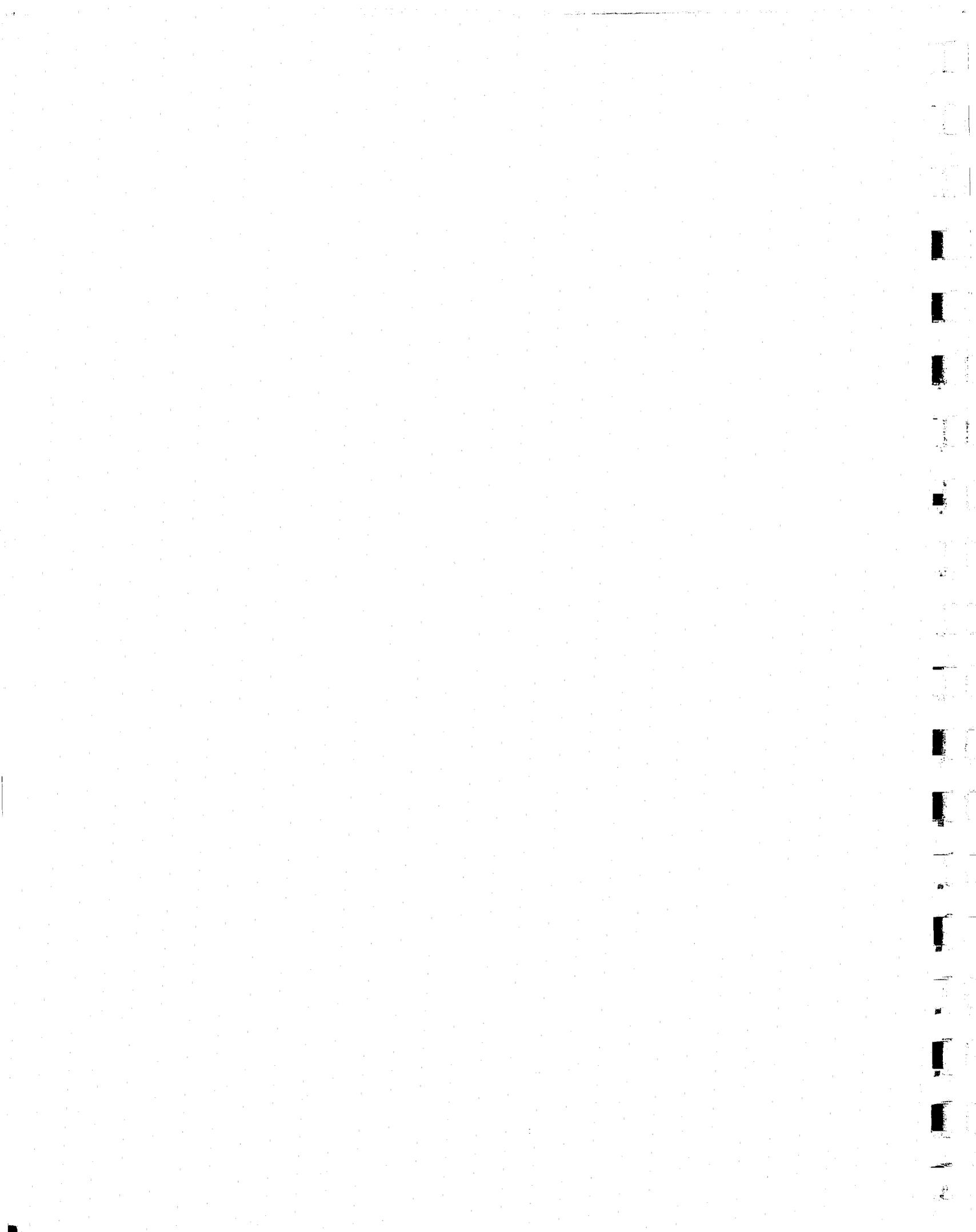
Explanations for high value attachment to police job have been suggested,

"... it remains to be explained why police generally saw themselves in more positive and active terms than did the people they serve. The more favourable ratings could have arisen from any of several factors which were not monitored by this research: from a self-selection of males into police work who already hold exceptionally positive views of the police;

¹ Boydell, C.L., et al, editors, as quoted in Mark N. Wexler, *Op Cit.*,

² *Ibid.*, pg. 130

³ Brieger, Stephen, G., *A Profile of a Policeman: A study of the Relationship between the Patrolman's Self Attitudes and his Perceived Public Attitudes*, Florida State University, Ph.D., Thesis, 1971. pg. 90



from an indoctrination process which occurs with maximal impact within the first few weeks or months of service; or from a defensive response set which is triggered in the process of rating one's own occupational group. One cannot exclude, on a priori basis, the alternative possibility that the police have properly appraised the typical policeman and that community evaluations might rise if the general public had as much information about police functioning as do the police themselves."¹

The policeman may also highly overrate the value of the police job because effort in terms of difficulty is not rewarded.

"Related to the problem of the affective consequences of effort is the effect of effort on the value of outcomes which are attained as a result of effort. Festinger (1961) and Festinger and Aronson (1960) proposed that when individuals receive "insufficient rewards" following an expenditure of energy, there is a tendency to attribute additional value to the consequences of the energy expenditure. An outcome which has been acquired as a result of considerable effort tends to be more positively valent than it would have been if it had been more easily attained.

Festinger views the effects of effort on valence as a specific case of his theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). When a person exerts effort with the expectation of reaching some highly desired goal but does not reach it, dissonance is created between his cognition of the effort which he has expended and his cognition that he has been unrewarded. One means of reducing this dissonance is to find something about the situation to which he can attach value."²

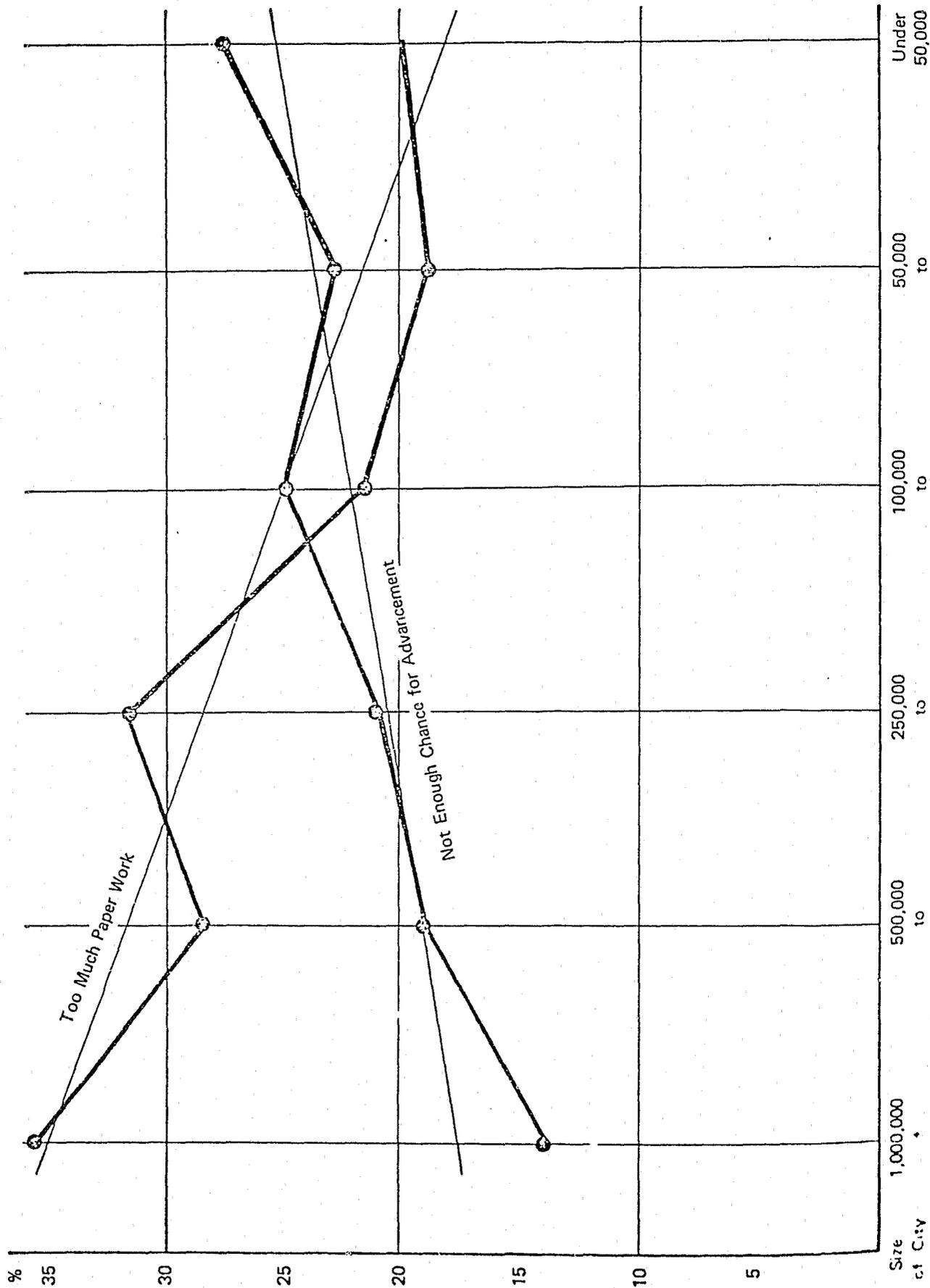
In any case, a tendency of commitment to the value of policing seems generally widespread. The degree to which this is a defensive stance perhaps accounts for apparent inconsistencies between police views held on policing as an ideal and policing as a work role.

¹ Hadar, I., Snortum, John R., *The Eye of the Beholder*, Criminal Justice and Behavior Vol 2, No.1, March, 1975. pg. 66

² Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 36

EXHIBIT VII

THE TWO MAIN PROBLEMS FROM ITEM 78
SORTED BY CITY SIZE



. Some Dissatisfactions

The police opinion poll referred to earlier asked respondents which of a multiple choice of specific problems they considered to be most important for themselves in their work life and in their personal life.

"What is the most important problem you face on the job ?

- A. 27% too much paper work
- B. 12% not enough freedom of judgment - too many orders, rules and regulations
- C. 2% boredom
- D. 13% many officers don't know what they are doing
- E. 6% physical danger -- brutality against the police
- F. 13% ineffective supervision
- G. 22% not enough chance for advancement
- 4% no answer." ¹

As might be expected, city size was a factor in the distribution of responses to A and G. The larger forces had more paper work but more opportunity for advancement. This relationship is shown in Exhibit VII (facing).

The police were also asked,

"What is the most important problem you as an individual face ?"

and the distribution of responses were:

- " A. 8% irregular hours and ill-timed vacations
- B. 11% inability to relax at home; can't leave the job behind
- C. 57% not enough pay
- D. 16% little respect shown by others for my profession
- E. 3% gradual drifting away of nonpolice friends
- F. 3% marital difficulties connected with my work." ²

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg.101 and 160

² Ibid, pg. 100 and 160

THE THREE MAIN PROBLEMS FROM ITEM 77 SORTED BY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE

EXHIBIT VIII

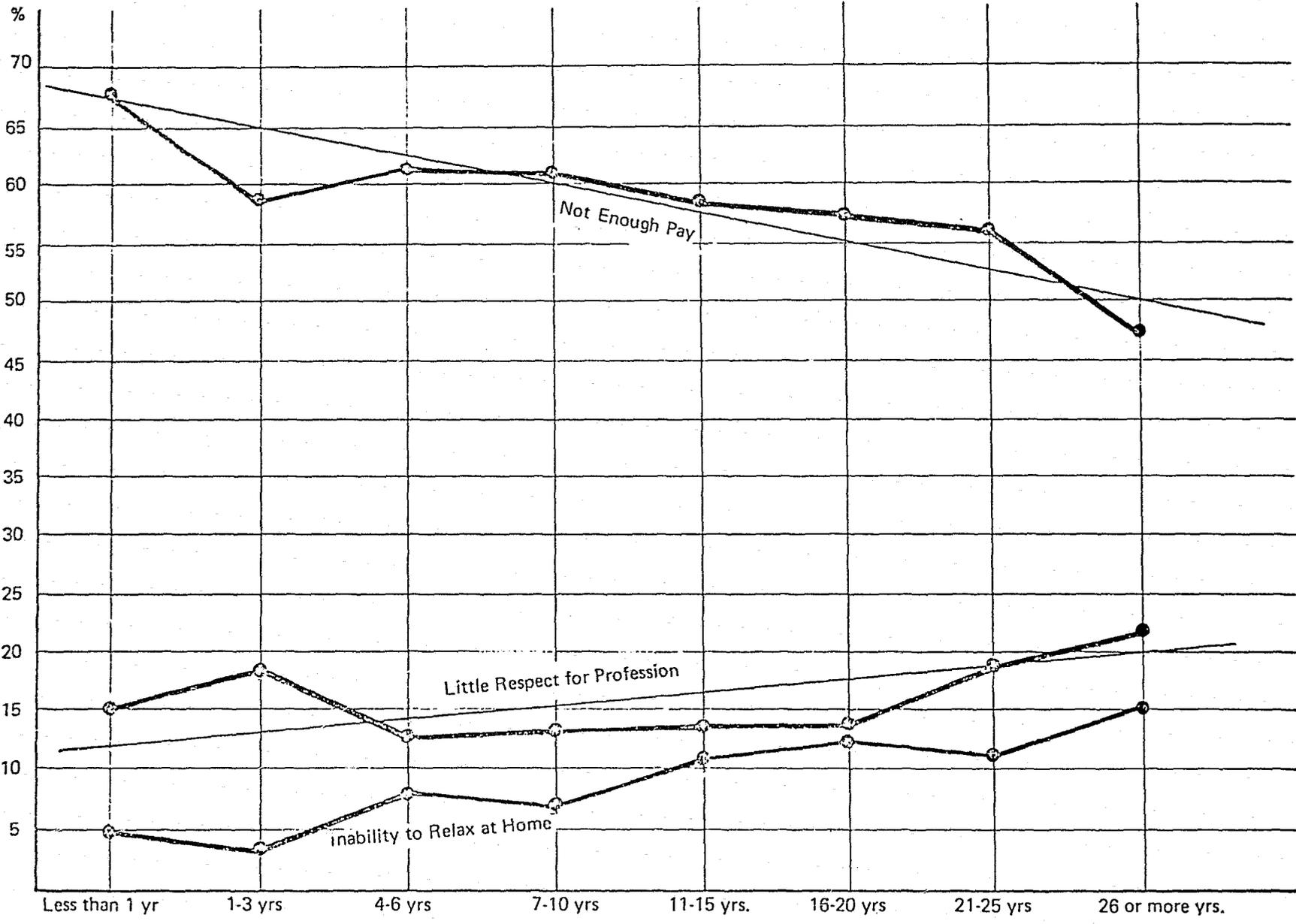


FIGURE 37

Source: Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 103

Insufficient pay seems to have been the overwhelming major personal problem. It is also of interest, but not surprising to note that only one out of twenty patrolmen responded to Question B. However, each person was only allowed one response, and there is no way of knowing what could have been the choice of the second most important problem.

The relationship of insufficient wages to years of experience (Exhibit VIII facing) is not surprising. This exhibit also shows a gradual increase of tension, an increasing inability to relax at home and an increasing perception of low public professional status.

These responses indicate dissatisfactions with factors that are clearly hygenic factors, such as pay, lack of training and some that are less clearly hygenic, such as lack of autonomy, ineffective supervision, and not enough chance for advancement. Indication of ego-involvement, the inability to leave the job at work appeared to be a greater problem for the administrators rather than the patrolman, although it is expected that senior people (police administrators) would be more ego-involved, it is an important factor for job performance. Those who are not ego-involved are not motivated to perform.

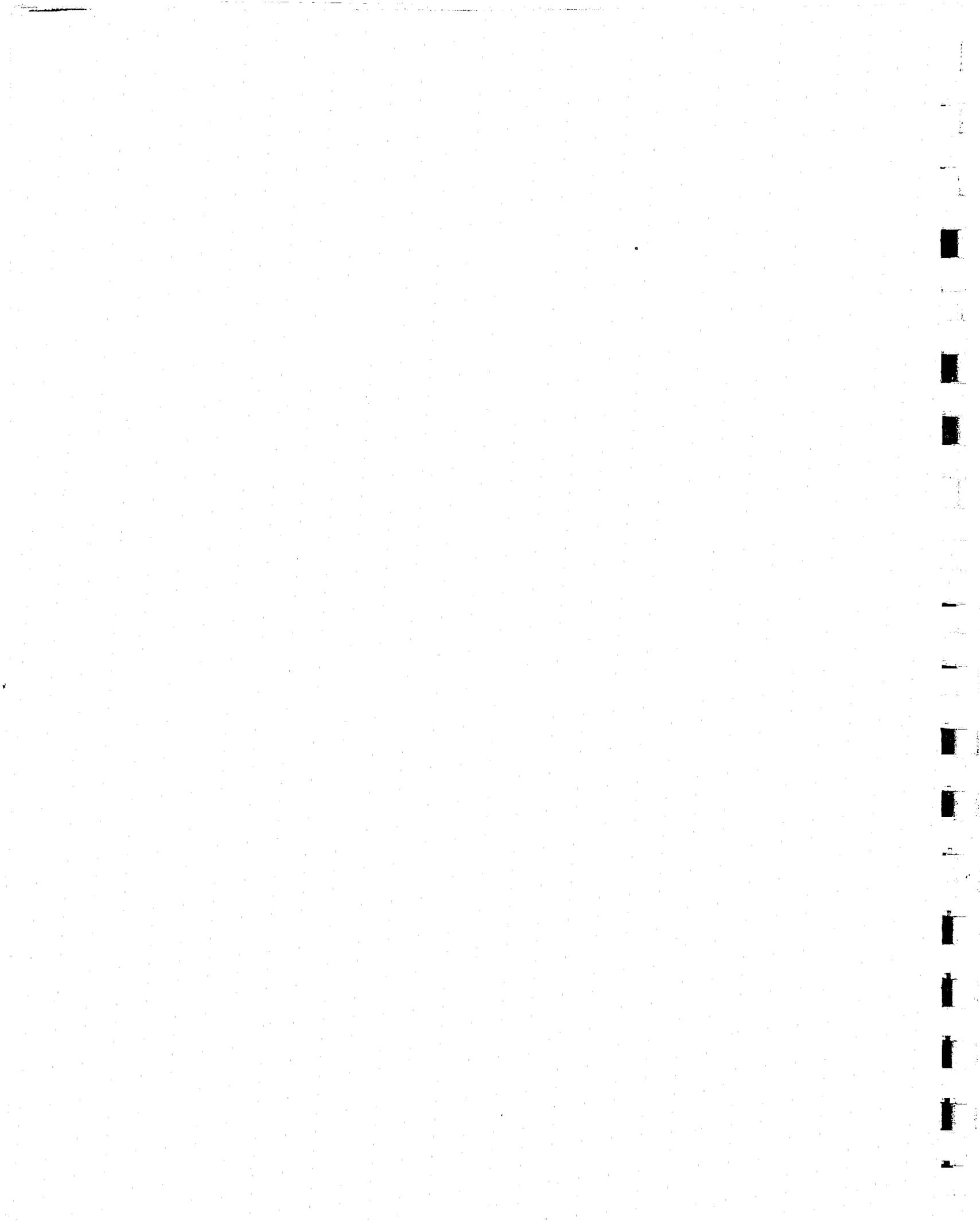
Symptoms of Dissatisfaction

The following selected comments were received spontaneously from a number of police officers prior to the formal questioning of this opinion poll. They are consistent with the defensive posture often taken in articles written by policemen, in conversation with policemen or observed in management training courses, where the instructors are "civilians". These comments are illustrative of some of the frustrations with the police role.

"The diminishing status of the police officer is well recognized. I definitely would not want (my sons) to become law enforcement officers. Most men are afraid to do anything. Most police departments are not being run by the chief, but by pressure groups."

"Too many committees and commissions who are supposed (to be) professionals with college training in law enforcement are making their views felt, but they don't really know the problem that faces the officer on the street alley somewhere. I wish these text book professionals would capture ... a dangerous felon and have him turned loose by the very liberal, do-gooder court of today."¹

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 8



"I think one of the worse things in police work today is the fact that department heads and other government officials allow militant groups to cause trouble without letting the police officer do his duty in respect to making arrests in order not to cause an incident."

"I think that police officials should worry more about their men instead of about citizens who come in and complain. It seems that the officials take the word of the citizen before (that of) the police officers."

"Irresponsible newspaper reporting is doing the entire nation a great injustice. We should print and pay for publishing, if necessary, a rebuttal to all stores placing us in a bad light, setting forth the facts that were omitted by the writer. Every (policeman) should file suit when he is made to seem at fault and no fault exists."

"When I testify in court, I feel like I am on trial."

"Stop brain washing the law enforcement agencies. If any person, group or organization violates the law, he and they should be punished."

"If you and all of the rest of the do-good white people would band together in one effort, the crime and race problem could be beaten and I don't mean by coddling the minority group thereby giving up the inherent rights of the majority. The majority is being victimized by the minority. This country was founded on the principle that the majority would rule and not be ruled as is now coming to pass. The Communist doctrine ... states that they will take over this country without firing a shot. This is being done by civil disobedience (and the breakdown) of law and order."

"We have officers in our department who refuse to respect the rights of other races. We have officers who can't bring a man in unless he is covered with blood no matter what the charge may be."

"I am ashamed at times to admit that I am a ... policeman."¹

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg.8

EXHIBIT IX

Taken from Toronto Globe & Mail, January, 1975

"90% OF MONTREAL POLICE FACE DIVORCE, STUDY SAYS

MONTREAL (CP) - A study prepared for the Montreal Police Brotherhood by an industrial psychologist says 90 per cent of Montreal Urban Community policemen see their marriages end in divorce.

The study by Dr. Pierre Poisson, based on personal observations and questionnaires filled out by 500 of the city's 5,000 policemen, said they blame the high divorce rate on working hours which prevent them from spending enough time with their families.

The study, released during the weekend, also said policemen are dissatisfied with their work because four out of five calls they investigate are not related to criminal activities but involve family matters.

Sixty-three per cent of policemen who answered the questionnaire said their children are not being raised properly, 93 per cent said they lack time to take their wives out and 69 per cent complained of a lack of daily family contact.

The report, prepared for presentation to the Quebec Police Commission, recommends improved police training and better working conditions."

"Anyone coming on this job now is either hard up for employment or a psycho. Those of us who stay are just plain psychos."

From these written comments, from a general reaction of the men during class discussions, and from the sentiments expressed in private interviews, it appears that many of these officers exhibit characteristics similar to those shown by a persecuted minority. They are very sensitive about criticism. They seem to feel that everyone is against them including their own commanding officers. They are hypersensitive and touchy about their status and their prerogatives."¹

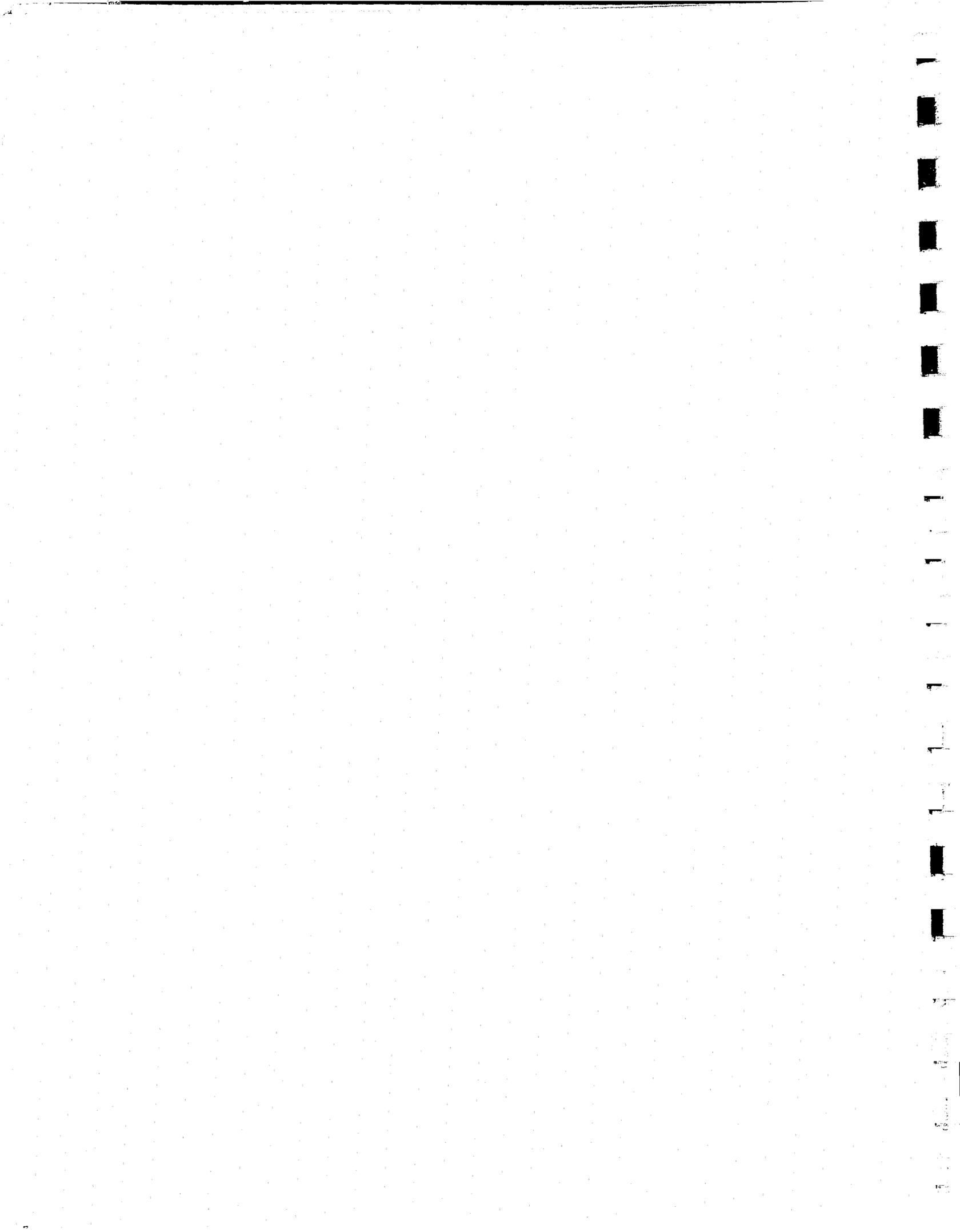
To what extent these frustrations result in symptoms of job dissatisfactions such as turnover rates, absenteeism and illness was not possible to establish for Canadian forces for this study. We understand however, that job leavings in Canada are fairly frequent for those with less than 2½ years service and for the better educated recruit. A recent Canadian newspaper article (Exhibit IX facing), suggested there was considerable individual stress for police in a large Canadian city.

An investigation² into job stress in an American city focused on 100 patrol car officers of the Cincinnati, Ohio Police Force. It identified those job stressors most bothersome to these officers.

In response to a question asking what they considered to be most bothersome about their job, the patrolmen ranked the problems as follows:

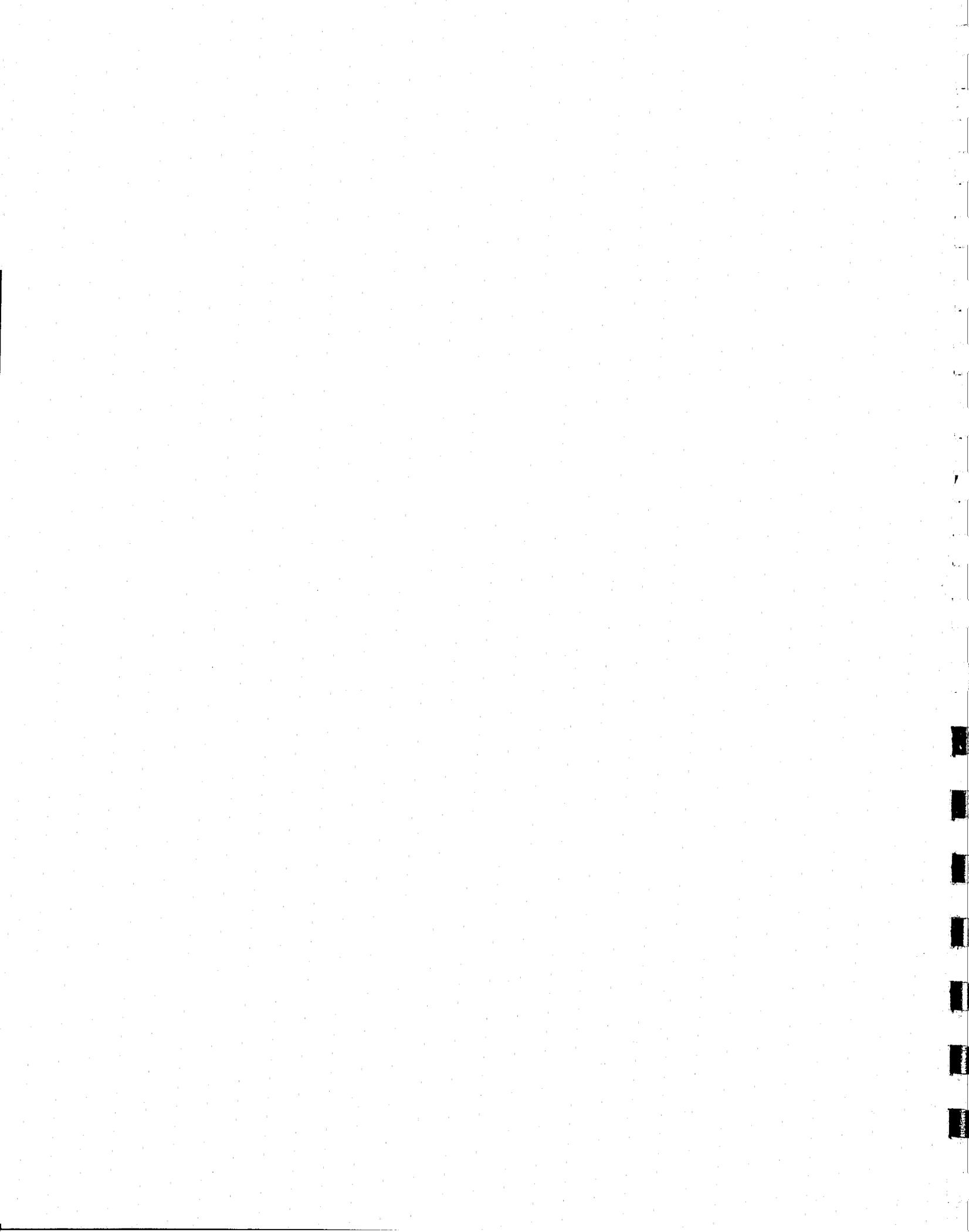
¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 8

² Kroes, William H., Bruce L. Margolis, Joseph J. Jr. Jurkell, *Job Stress in Policemen*, Journal of Police Science and Administration Vol 2, No. 2., U.S.A. 1974



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1 OF 2



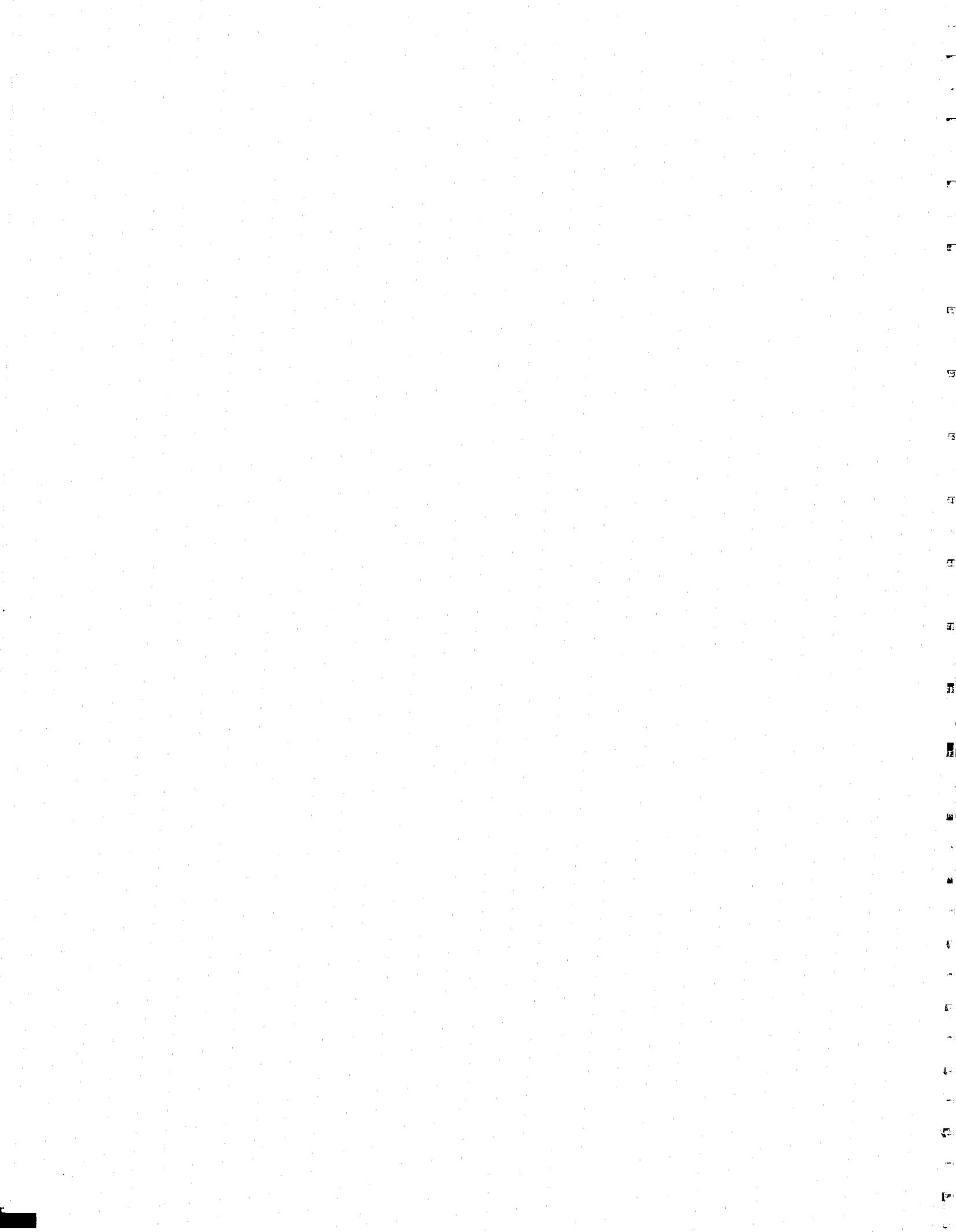
"Categorization of Responses to Job Stress

<u>Category</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u># of policemen perceiving stress</u>
Courts	Court rulings and procedures	56
Administration	Administrative policies and procedures and administration support of patrolmen	51
Equipment	Adequacy and state of repair of equipment	39
Community Relations	Public apathy, negative reaction to, and lack of support of policemen	38
Changing Shift Routine	Twenty-eight-day rotating shift work schedule	18
Relations with Supervisors	Difficulties in getting along with supervisor	16
Non-police work	Tasks required of officer which are not considered by respondent to be police responsibility	11
Other Policemen	Fellow officers not doing their job	8
Bad Assignment	Work assignment which the officer disliked	6
Other	Those stresses which did not readily fit into the above categories	5
Isolation/ Boredom	Periods of inactivity and separation from social contacts	3
Pay	Adequacy or equity of salary	2 ¹

The police respondents were then asked to comment on the importance of five stressors, selected by the interviewer. The stressors were ranked in order of significance as follows:

Administration
Crisis Situations
Changing Shift Routine
Isolation/Boredom
Relations with Supervisor

¹ Kroes, et al., *Op Cit.*, pg. 147-148



Stressors in police work that affected home life were identified by the married officers (81 of the 100 patrolman).

<u>Problem</u>	<u># of policemen mentioning a specific problem</u>
Retards nonpolice friendships	48
Don't see enough of children	25
Miss weekends and holidays with family (unable to plan social events)	19
Pressures of job taken home	11
Wife worries for safety of husband	11
Poor public image of policeman affecting wife and kids	7
Wife dislikes being home alone at night	6
Hardens emotions, so less sensitive to family	2
No effect on homelife	2 "1

Of the six single officers previously married, three said their job had something to do with their divorce.

The last question asked the policemen to describe the last time he was uncomfortable in his job. The resulting 10 categories and frequency of response is presented below.

"Categorization of Negative Incidents as Reported
by 100 Policemen

<u>Category</u>	<u># of Incidents</u>
Administration	19
Line of Duty	18
Negative Public Reactions	17
Courts	14
Relations with Superiors	9
Racial Problems	7
Unable to help	5
Bad Assignment	4
Equipment	3
Other	5
Total	(100) "2

¹ Kroes, et al., *Op Cit.*, pg. 149

² *Ibid.*, pg. 149



The authors concluded potential stressors which are perceived as significant sources of stress in police work are (1) Courts, (2) Administration, (3) Equipment and (4) community relations. Their overall conclusions were summed up as,

"Specific stressors independent of any health consequences they may cause are worthy of attention in their own right. These stressors are causing problems which appear to affect job satisfaction, which in turn may affect how a policeman does his job. So, from the point of view of the effective functioning of the police department, as well as the effective functioning of the policeman, serious attempts at reduction of specific job stressors are warranted."¹

On the surface, the stressors, with the exception of poor equipment, appear to support the thesis that "conflicting pressures inherent in police role create tensions for the policeman".

To Not Perform

There is evidence of not only a lack of job satisfaction for performance, but motivators to not perform.

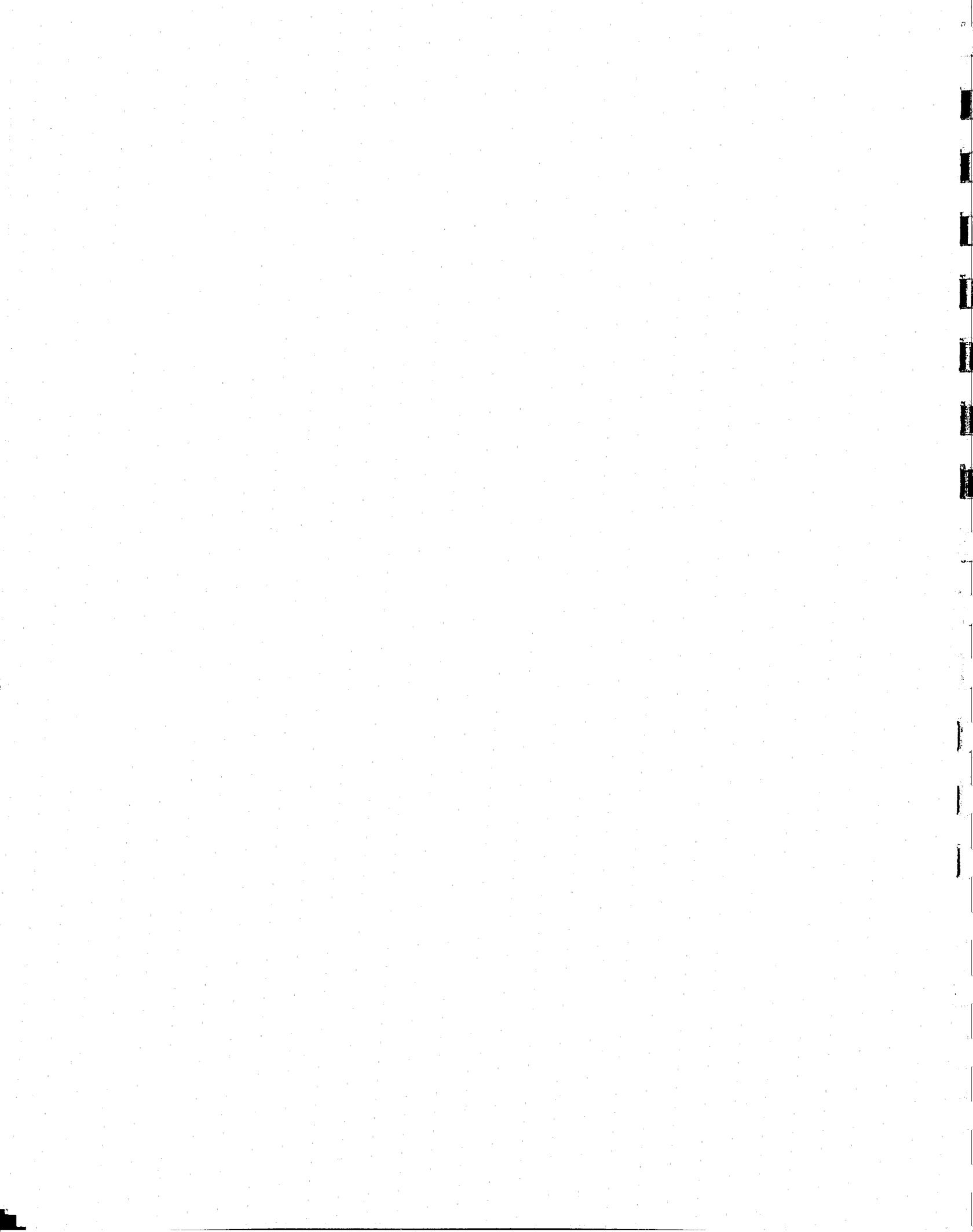
James Wilson explains this trend in terms of underenforcing the law.

"The young patrolman is taught "not to stick his neck out" and to "keep his nose clean." Penalties fall on the man who violates departmental procedures or who rushes into difficult situations; survival and security await the man who on procedural matters is "clean" and who on substantive issues plays it cool.

The most important consequence of this state of affairs is that, with respect to routine police matters, *the normal tendency of the police is to underenforce the law*. By "underenforce" is meant making substantially fewer arrests than observed citizen behavior in theory warrants and, on those arrests actually made, preferring the lesser rather than the maximum charges."²

¹ Kroes, et al., *Op. Cit.*, pg. 155

² Wilson, James Q., *Op. Cit.*, pg. 49



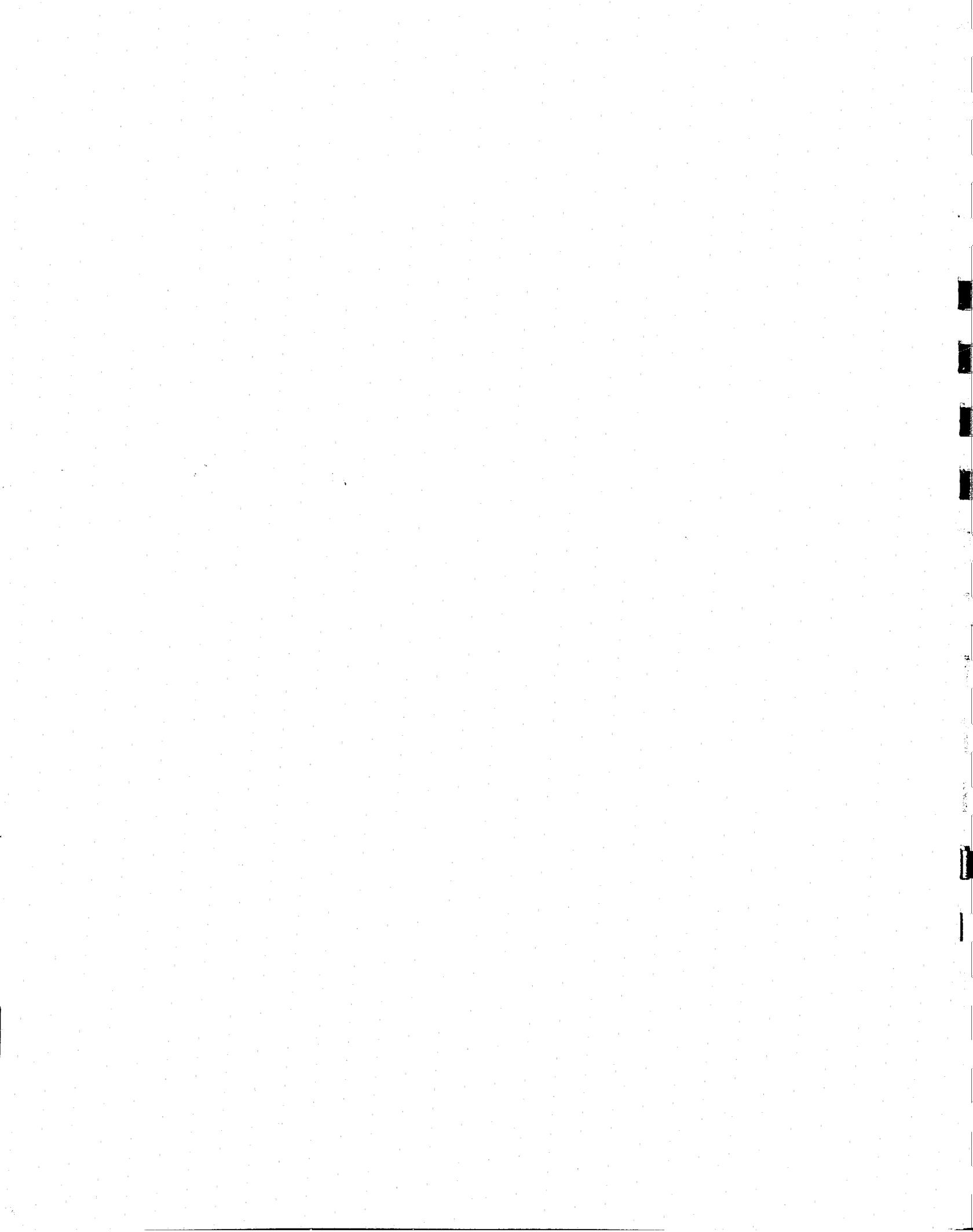
A longitudinal study on job attitudes in an urban American police department indicates not only a lack of second-order job satisfiers or long term job performance motivators, but a tendency not to perform. John Van Maanen¹, Assistant Professor of Organizational Studies, M.I.T., focused on the motivation, commitment and need satisfaction of patrol officers from the time they entered recruit training until they had spent 30 months with the department.

"Unlike several previous studies which postulated a strong compatibility between certain background characteristics and subsequent adaptation within the police milieu (Rokeach, Miller, and Synder, 1971; Wolfe, 1970; Rapaport, 1949), this study found no evidence to assert that the recruits' demography was in any way related to their eventual profile. Consequently, the police culture can be viewed as molding the attitudes -- with numbing regularity -- of virtually all who enter."²

"...The early states of the person's police career are marked by some rather vivid attitude changes. First, motivational attitudes drop considerably never to rise again. Only personal rewards remained associated with working hard. This seems to indicate a growing realization on the part of the recruits that a hard work ethic was not linked to most of the system rewards. Second, organizational commitment also fell sharply; yet, remained relatively high vis-a-vis several other occupations. Third, the recruits were somewhat dissatisfied -- relative to later phases of the socialization process -- with their experiences at the police Academy. The degrading nature of the recruits' role during the Academy's stress training serves to detach the newcomer from his old attitudes, resulting in a scaling down of high but unrealistic attitudes about the department. Hence, the Academy impresses upon the recruit that he must now identify with the new group -- his fellow patrolmen. Furthermore, he learns that when the department notices his behavior, it is usually to administer a punishment, not a reward. The solution to this collective predicament is to 'stay low and avoid trouble'.

¹ Van Maanen, John, *Police Socialization: A Longitudinal Examination of job attitudes in an Urban Police Department*. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol 20, June 1975.

² Ibid, pg. 215



....In large measure, the flow of influence from one generation to another accounts for the remarkable stability of the pattern of police behavior.

Importantly, those recruits who were least motivated to work hard tended to be ranked as better patrolmen. Clearly, while some zealousness may be tolerated early in one's career -- maybe even expected -- such attitudes must soon be altered if the recruit is to "make it" within the police milieu. Furthermore, the rookie discovers few connections between his efforts and the system rewards. In fact, he soon learns that the best solution to the labyrinth of hierarchy, the red tape and paperwork, the myriad of rules and regulations and the dirty work which characterize the occupation is to adopt the group norm stressing "staying out of trouble". And the best way to stay out of trouble is to minimize the set of activities he pursues. Those officers who persist in approaching their job from what police like to call a "gung-ho" perspective are distrusted and eyed cautiously by field supervisors. They may in fact be rated by their sergeants as less able policemen than their more prudent colleagues.

....By the sixth month of police experience the job-related attitudes of the recruits begin to approximate those of their more experienced colleagues. By becoming similar in attitude and behavior to his peers, the recruit avoids censure by the department, his supervisor, and, most importantly, his fellow patrolmen.

.... A peculiar interdependent combination of several factors seems to account for this motivational pattern: (1) punishment centered and particularistic supervision concerned primarily with "mistakes" made by patrolmen; (2) institutionalized rewards having little to do with everyday world or policing; (3) perceived public hostility of the police; (4) subcultural ethos emphasizing the "keep-a-low-profile" dictum; (5) an internalized and narrow



perception of "real" police work consisting of only preventing crime and apprehending criminals; and (6) conflicting role demands placed on patrolmen in which successful or good performance is viewed differentially by the various audiences which witness police work.

Expressed organizational commitment, while declining somewhat steadily, still remains relatively high and is presumably an object of concern for both one's supervisor and his colleagues in the patrol division. Perhaps by committing one's self to the department, a recruit demonstrates his willingness to share the risks of police work, his attachment and concern for the welfare of his fellow officers, and his appreciation and involvement of the expressed goals of the organization. In a sense, the level of expressed commitment may indicate the presence of a pervasive moral order within the Union City Police Department which, in Weberian terms, serves to legitimize the bureaucratic structure as well as the police task itself".¹

From the literature, and from experience and conversations with policemen of all ranks in a number of countries, factors affecting job satisfaction are fairly readily recognized. Insufficient pay, the importance of job security, lack of autonomy, lack of training, lack of promotional opportunities, ineffective supervision, too much paper work, a poor public image, these are the common complaints. Symptoms of individual stress, and the inability to relax are becoming more commonly discussed.

The reasons for examination and improvement of worker satisfaction with hygiene or work factors, is to improve the management of the human resource and thus productivity by reducing turnover, absenteeism, and individual stress. But such improvements are not expected to prevent or soften union negotiations for improved working conditions or to improve performance.

Conversely, improving the factors affecting work performance, or incorporating motivators to improve performance into the work situation, will not necessarily improve satisfaction with hygiene or work context factors. It will improve performance.

¹ Van Maanen, John, *Op. Cit.*, pg. 221-224



An evaluation of Cincinnati's Community Sector Team Policing makes this point.¹ This evaluation on job satisfaction was undertaken after the new team policing program had been in operation for one year. The evaluators found first, that the officers' ability to follow through on the task had improved. The policemen also felt strongly that they were doing a good or exceptionally good job at crime fighting and improving police/community relations. As well, the officers felt they had more task independence, more ability to influence decisions affecting them, greater freedom (ie. to express opinions, plan ahead), and more satisfaction with supervision.

And after one year;

"Satisfaction with work: The increased autonomy and feelings of accomplishment expressed by District 1 (Comsec) officers did not lead to increased job satisfaction, a change which had been expected."²

There is in these observations empirical evidence of the two levels of job satisfaction discussed in this report. Task satisfaction -- related to Comsec officers views concerning concepts such as satisfaction with performance and meeting their goals was observed. Yet first level satisfaction, related to the content of work, or work role was relatively unaffected.

It could be that in the transition to the Community Sector Team approach to policing first level need fulfilments were threatened. That is, membership in the police culture was previously contingent on a low performance work role.

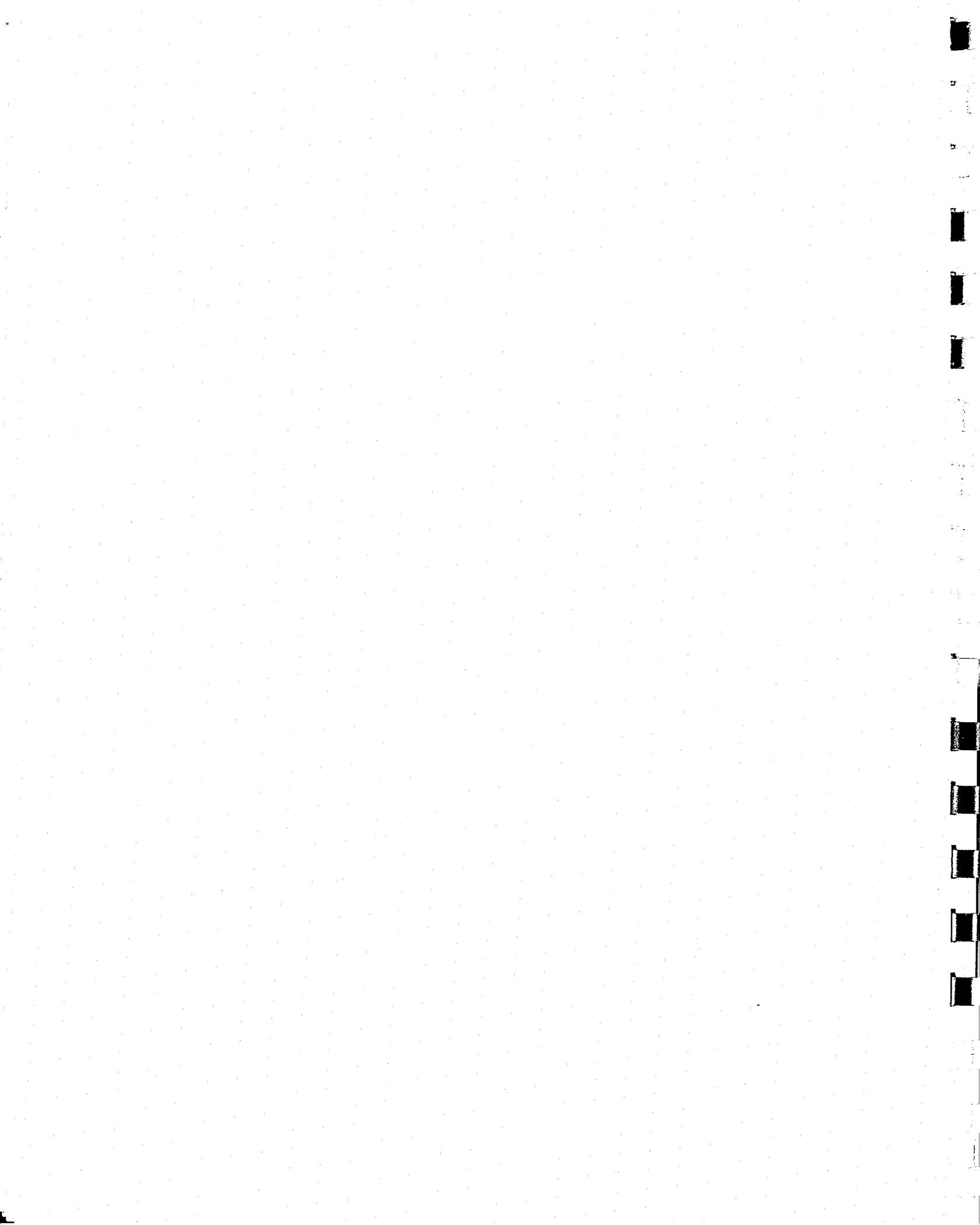
Or it could be that pay, promotion, advancement were not perceived to be tied to performance. Although the first order needs were met so that the men were able to perform, and the role was defined and goals were perceived to be met, second level motivators such as advancement and recognition may not have reinforced task achievements. Therefore, one might argue that long-term motivation for performance could not be maintained.

On the other hand, in the transition to the Community Sector Team approach to policing the additional effort needed to institute changes may be over valued and not have been perceived to be compensated.

Finally, it could be purely a matter of transition and attitude changes could still be lagging behind behavioural changes.

¹ Schwartz, A. I., et al, *Evaluation of Cincinnati's Community Sector Team Policing Program: A Progress Report: After One Year: Summary of Major Findings*, Washington, D.C., The Urban Institute, Working Paper 3006-18, March, 1975.

² Ibid, pg. 34



Conclusions

Generalities are Useful

The authors of the Police Opinion survey previously quoted in this paper express their concern with much of "contemporary literature". Their remarks are revealing of the conservative resistance of police themselves to the application of behavioural science principles of motivation.

"In contemporary literature dealing with the police and the police job, as we have seen, various writers ascribe qualities and characteristics to policemen which should command serious attention by the law enforcement community. Implicit in these writings are important "direction signs" for police training and police administration. It behooves us to consider carefully such comments, particularly those of a highly critical nature, in order that we may correct any faults that do in fact exist. This is not to say that everyone who criticizes the police is right or that we must always admit to being at fault. After all, critics can be wrong, too. But we will be much more responsive in meeting our obligations if we objectively evaluate criticisms than if we dismiss them out of hand as inconsequential or biased."¹

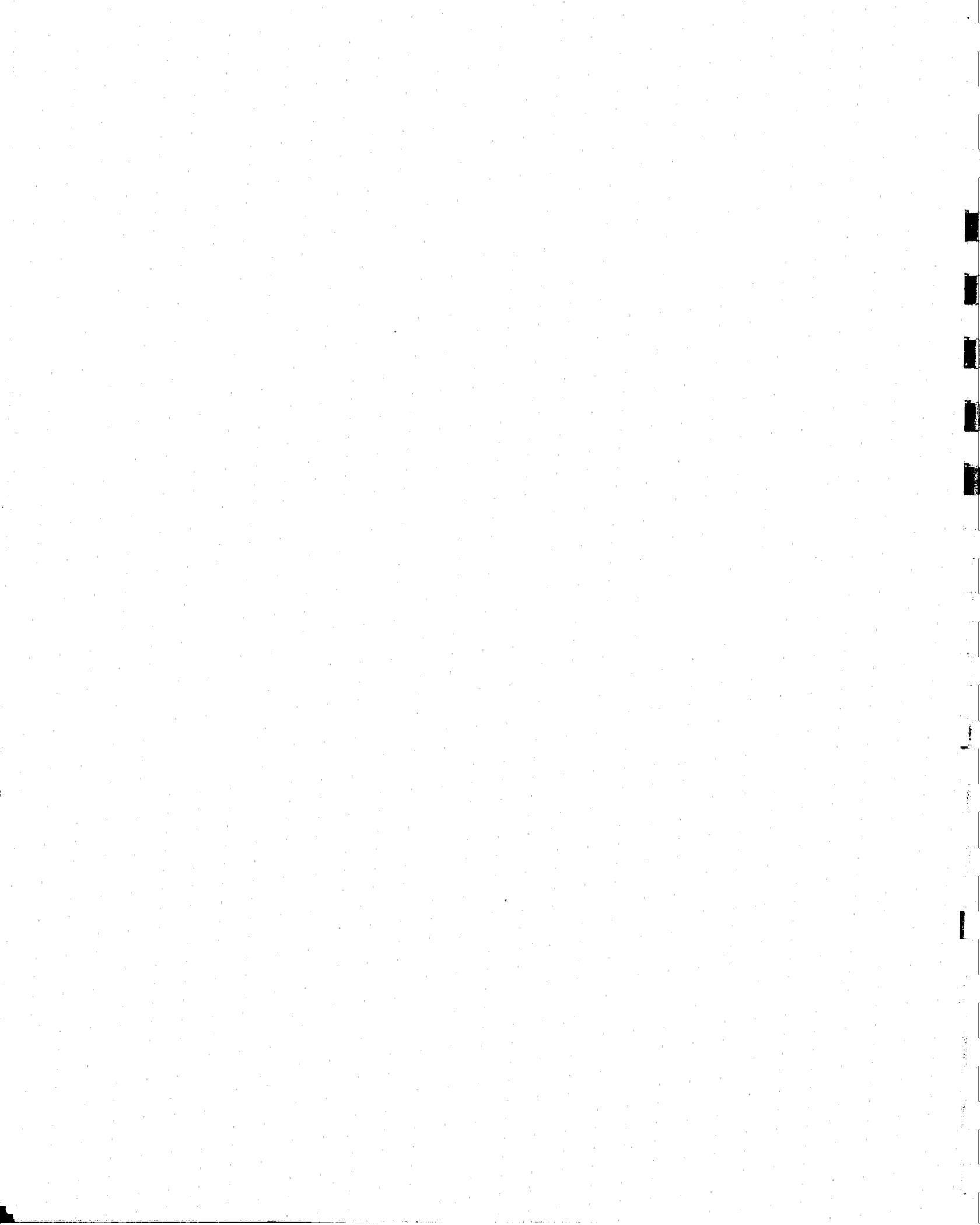
Vroom also cautions against oversimplified generalities,

"The apparent complexity of the problem as revealed in existing research results belies the oversimplified generalization so frequently found in writings on human relations and management."²

We would agree with the preceding authors. The police literature is limited. Also, we would agree that there is no single all encompassing theory that explains human motivation and task performance. We would agree that much of human-relation theory is based on oversimplification and generalization. However, we would argue that there has been no

¹ Sterling, James, N. A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 9

² Vroom, *Op Cit.*, pg. 266



evidence in the literature to date that has been inconsistent with the assumptions about work and work motivation as described by the behaviour scientists. On the contrary, laboratory and field studies support this approach. Management experience also supports the fundamentals of human behaviour as described by Maslow and Herzberg. However, many people, including police administrators have misunderstood these principles and have exhibited this misunderstanding by substituting positive rewards for negative rewards. They have rewarded the worker to achieve first level job satisfaction and have neglected the principles of motivation for performance, and second level job satisfaction.

That is, management people have substituted a positive reward, "the carrot" for "the stick", the negative reward. The "Do this or else!" approach has often been substituted with a "Do this and you will be well treated" approach, - well paid, well supervised, etc.

Do we want short-term results or long-term results?

Short term motivation of employees from work context motivators (ie. pay) has often been confused with long term motivation from job content motivators (ie. pay as a reward for achievement and recognition of effort, etc.). Herzberg refers to short term extrinsic work motivators as KITA. Negative KITA (kick him in the pants) stimulates movement on the part of the employee. Positive KITA, are positive "rewards" held out for employee performance, such as reduction of time spent at work, spiralling wages and fringe benefits. Human relations training and sensitivity training for managers have usually elicited only token superficial management responses. Such responses have resulted in token job participation and "one-way communications", such as suggestion boxes or surveys or employee counselling. - Positive KITA

Employees may be motivated to respond with short term effort or performance to negative or positive KITA, that is, to rewards that meet first level needs. On the other hand, employees responding to rewards that relate to second level needs may be motivated to respond with longer term effort and performance. Therefore, rewards in order to relate to the second level of need as described by Herzberg are intrinsic and are related to six factors, achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, advancement, and growth. Herzberg argues that improved job content itself will produce the necessary motivation. He calls this job enrichment. In our view the present confusion of police role is causing the policeman to be motivated to not perform, when paradoxically his role as originally conceived is becoming more challenging.



So for the policeman establishment of motivators for long term effort and performance requires definition of his role and the development of motivators/rewards that reinforce the performance of this role.

Token job participation may let the employees in on "big picture", or corporate goals, but what the policeman needs to know more urgently than the "big picture" is, "when I get out on the street what am I expected to do?". The Director of Research, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., says simply, "Tell me what the job is and we'll get it done".

Then he needs to know his performance will be evaluated on realistic and meaningful work goals, in relation to his specific work situation. To date, much of what has been introduced in response to the need for improved management of the human resource in police departments has been positive KITA.

Positive KITA is a First Step

Problems thought to be of concern to police departments were represented by a police opinion poll in 1969.¹ The greater number of respondents felt the area of human resource management was the most important problem facing the police profession and their police department.

The opinion poll elicited responses to a number of questions related to problems facing the police.

"What is the most important problem confronting our profession?"

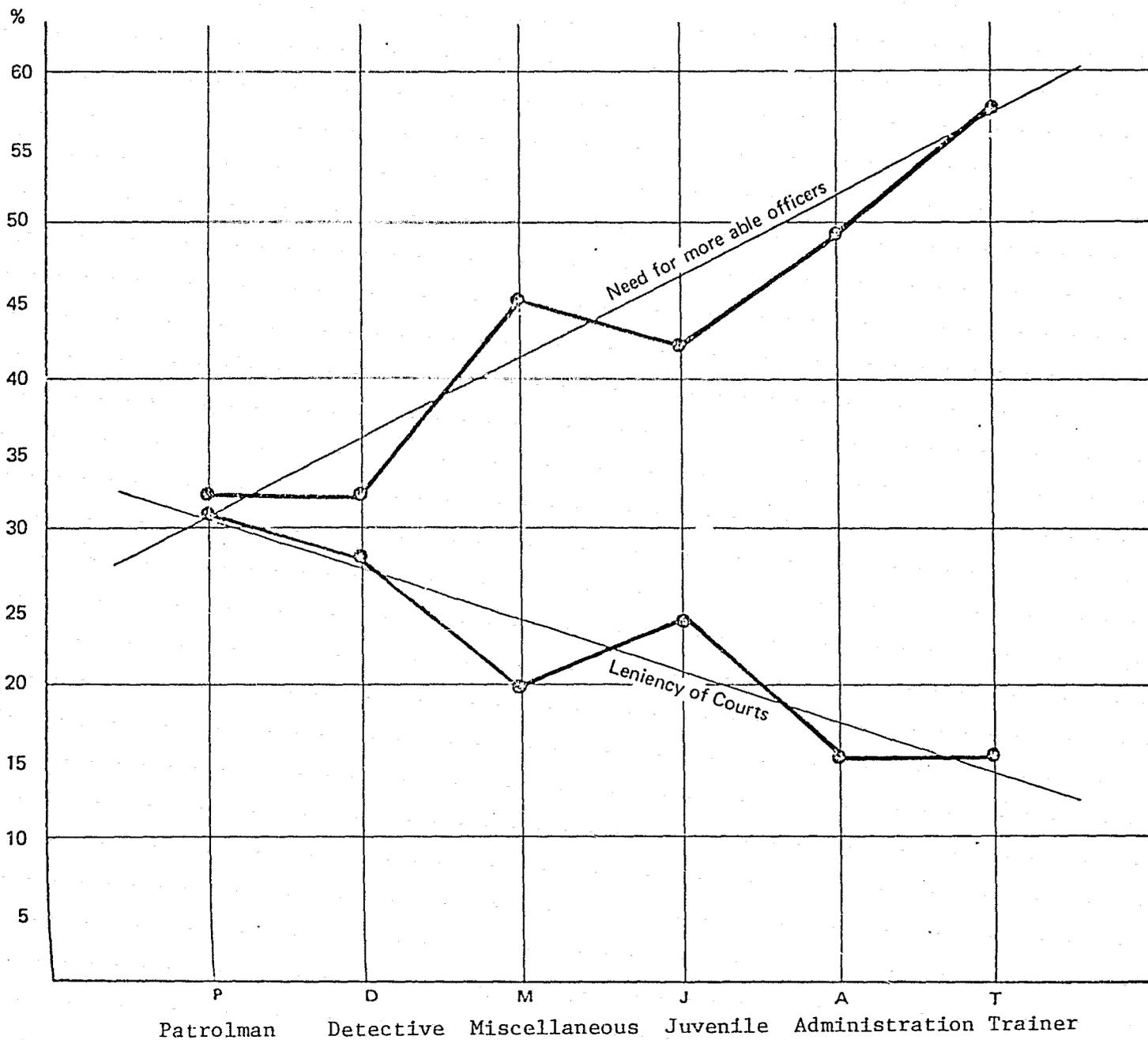
The proportion of respondents to each item shown as a percentage was,

- | | | |
|-----|------|------------------------------------------|
| "A. | 15%* | <u>group conflict and civil disorder</u> |
| B. | 0.3% | limitations on wiretapping |
| C. | 3% | citizen review boards |

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*

* Response as percentage of total number of officers

THE TWO MAIN PROBLEMS FROM ITEM 79 SORTED BY FUNCATIONAL ASSIGNMENT



Source: Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 98

- D. 25.5% leniency of the courts in sentencing
- E. 2% corruption
- F. 14.5% developing effective methods for
conforming to court decisions regarding
interrogations and searches
- G. 38% need for more dedicated and able
officers at all levels
- 2% no answer"¹

The results of the above question sorted by functional assignment, are shown in Exhibit XI and by educational level in Exhibit XII.

"The patrolman and detectives see problems relating to court decisions and related police procedures as being more important than do the administrators and trainers. The administrators and trainers, however, are more concerned about the need for dedicated and able officers."²

... At the higher levels of education, there is less concern with court decisions and related police procedures and more concern with dedication and basic ability".³

In total, the opinion of the officers surveyed saw the problem confronting the profession to be a need for more able and dedicated officers. This is perhaps a revealing commentary from members of the police culture. However, the greater number of those most closely adhering to the culture, did not see more able and dedicated officers as a major problem of first choice.

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 60 & 97.

² Ibid, pg. 97.

³ Ibid, pg. 100

EXHIBIT XII

THE TWO MAIN PROBLEMS FROM ITEM 79
SORTED BY EDUCATION LEVEL

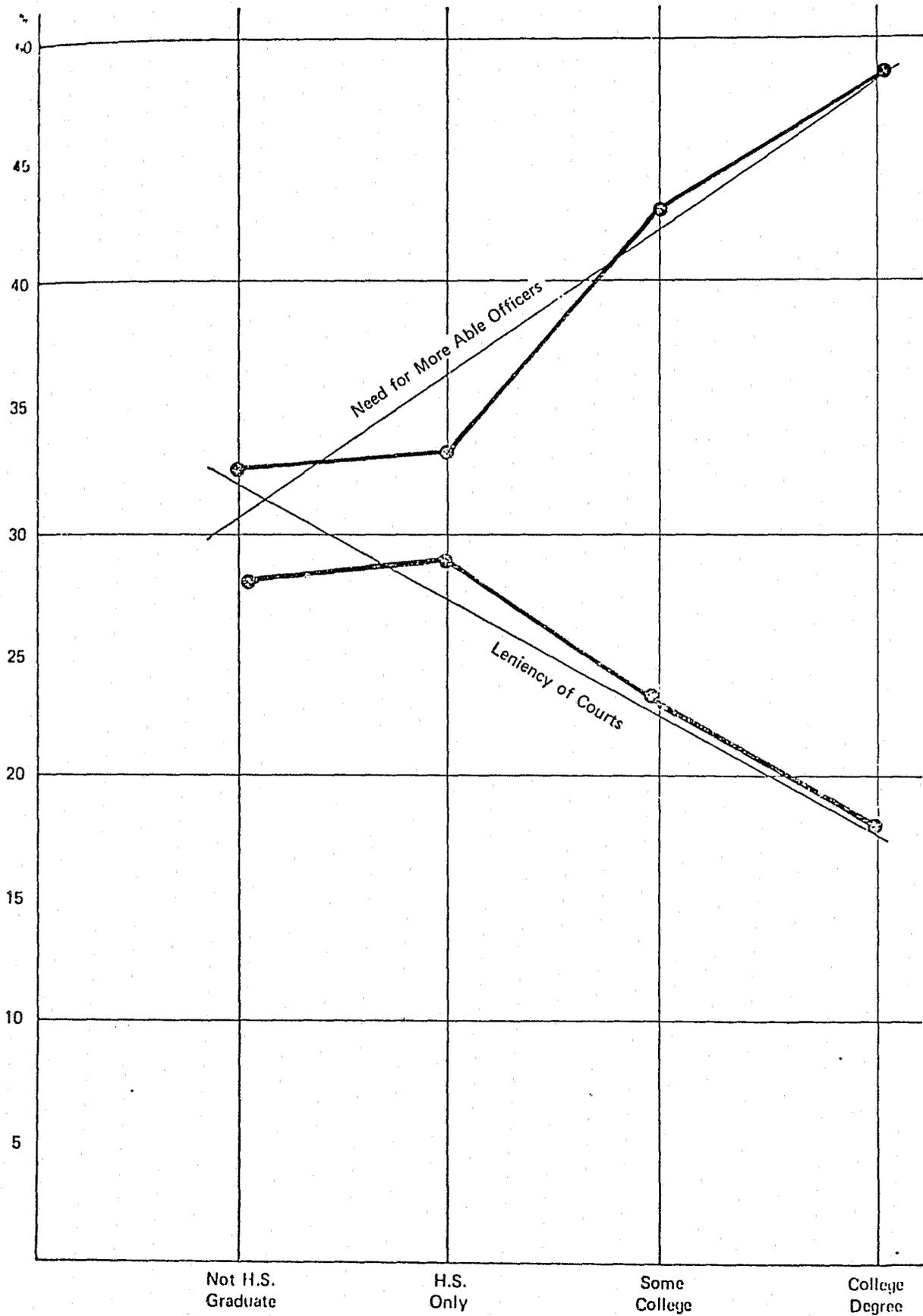


FIGURE 35

Lack of manpower was perceived to be the biggest departmental problem,

"What is the most important problem your department faces ?

-
- A. 47%* lack of manpower; inability to recruit
 - B. 7% inadequate equipment and facilities
 - C. 4% reliance on old fashioned methods and procedures
 - D. 3% lack of modern technological advances
 - E. 6% inadequate training
 - F. 14% lack of understanding and support by citizens
 - G. 5% lack of clear cut policies
 - H. 12% political interference in the operations of the department ."¹

The greater proportion of respondents choosing A were the least educated. The numbers responding to question F and H reflected regional differences.

The response to these types of concerns have been an emphasis in human resource management innovations in policing over the past 10 years. In the areas of recruiting, selection and training procedures; a positive KITA approach has predominated.

Implementation in police forces of some of the principles and practises of "good personnel management" as outlined by The Advisory Group on Productivity in Law Enforcement suggests the predominance of a positive KITA approach.

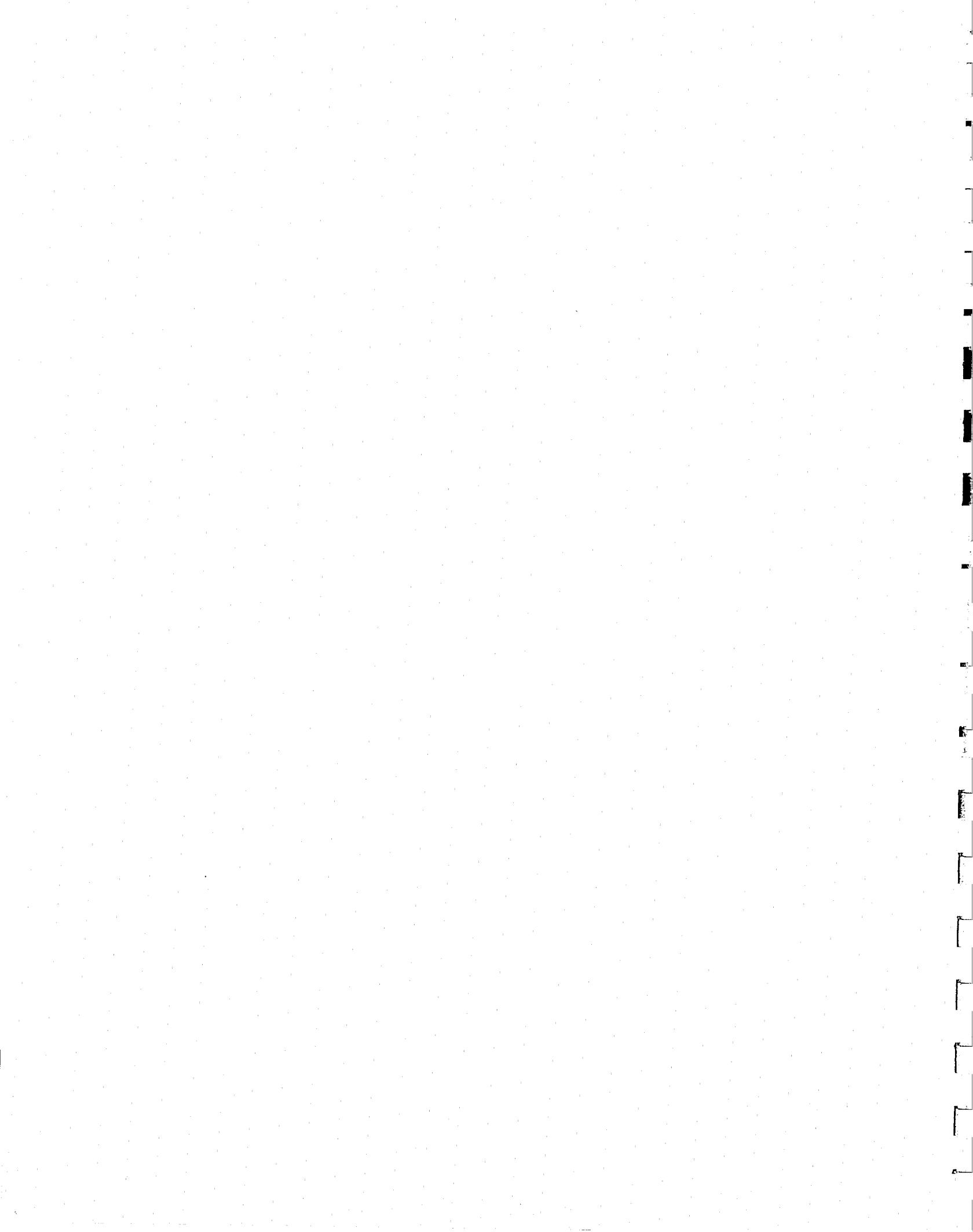
"Recruitment

Lateral Entry - A certain percentage of all open positions above sergeant or equivalent should be filled through lateral entry of sworn and nonsworn personnel..."²

*Response as percentage of total numbers of officers responding.

¹ Sterling, James W., Nelson A. Watson, *Op Cit.*, pg. 160 and 100

² Report of the Advisory Group on Productivity in Law Enforcement: *Opportunities for Improving Productivity in Police Services*, Washington, D.C., 1973. pg. 60



"Selection and Assignment

Career Path Choice - A program which permits a person some say and control over his career path helps to motivate him. Personnel at all levels should be presented with options for their preferences...

Every department should have some mechanism for identifying high-potential talent...

Training

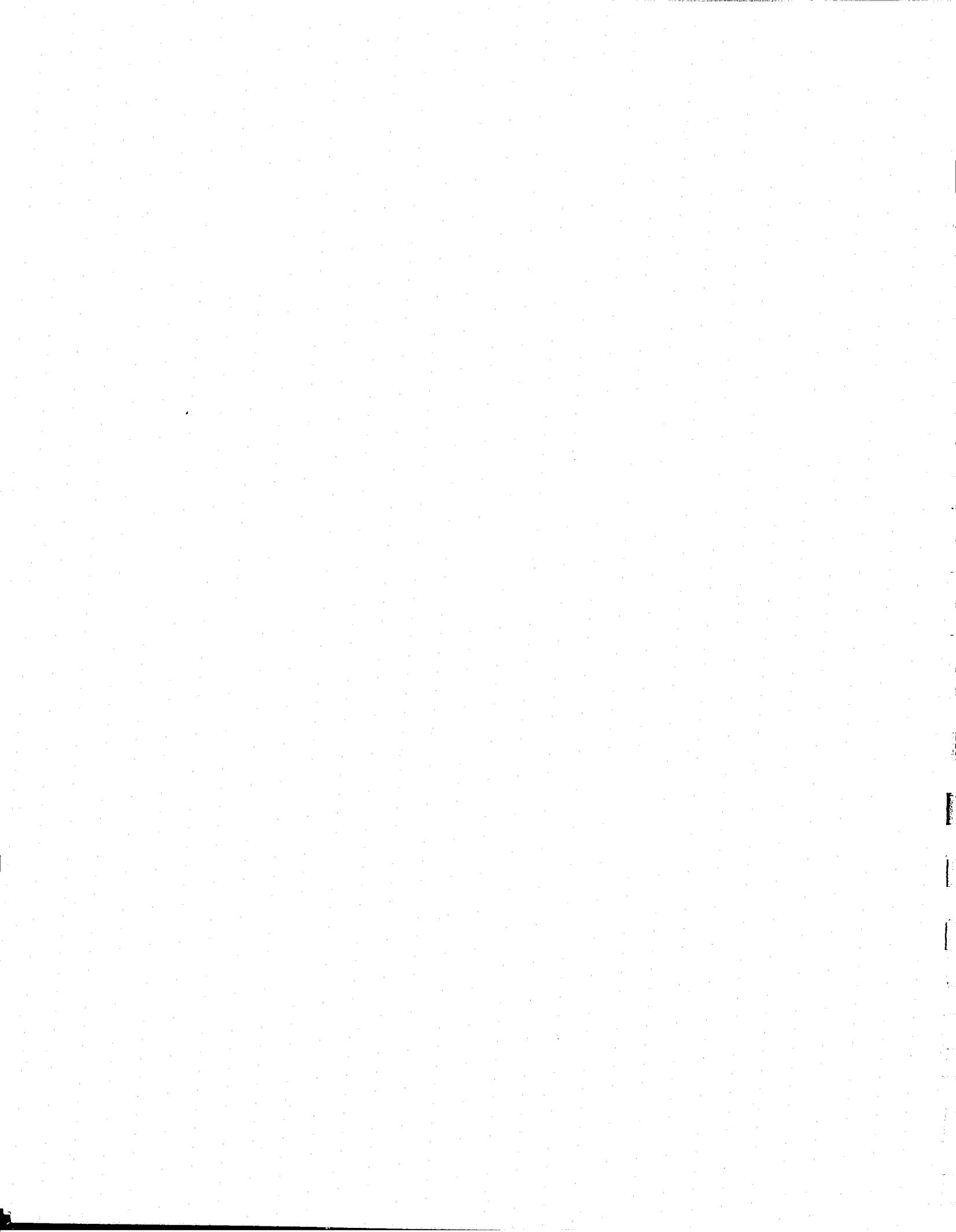
Supervisor as Developer of Personnel. To encourage supervisors to take an active role in developing the personnel under their command, they must be trained, evaluated, and rewarded. Training should include how to set objectives, establish performance criteria, create feedback, and develop learning styles. Performance appraisals should take into account supervisors' self-development as well as development of subordinates.¹⁸* Both the New York City and Kansas City Police Departments have instituted management development programs to develop supervisor and leadership skills...

- . Preservice - procedures and policies of the department, basic skills, techniques, and human relations
- . Supervisory - how to manage people, delegation, motivation, feedback (minimum of 5 man-days)
- . Organization - administration, planning, decisionmaking, organization structure (minimum of 5 man-days)
- . Refresher courses - reviews for all personnel about 1 year after promotion (minimum of 2 man-days)
- . Specific skills program - e.g., drug control, community relations, juvenile crime, etc."¹

* As quoted in Report of the Advisory Group on Productivity in Law Enforcement: *Opportunities for Improving Productivity in Police Services*, Washington, D.C. pg. 61-63

¹⁸The full benefit of performance appraisals can be realized if they are used for individual developmental purposes. The appraisal should focus on the career goals of the subordinate, the identification of the skills and attitudes he needs to reach those goals, and the plans for the development (one step at a time) although a special assignment or other training program

¹ Ibid, pg. 61-63
Hickling-Johnston



The emphasis of these personnel procedures is largely directed at work context aspects of the job. The preceding principles however, do touch on a key motivator, -- influence in the decision making process -- and that is used in connection with choice of career path. Training programs in performance appraisals do not specify mutually agreed upon objectives, and therefore may be only positive KITA.

In Canada these areas are receiving attention from most police forces as well. However, such innovations as lateral recruitment, use of psychological testing in selection, increased emphasis on management theory of human relations theory in training classes, at best, are a token approach to performance. Any innovative personnel policies that cannot be reinforced by field practice are not going to be influential in assisting police organizations to adapt to a changing world.

From what we have outlined in our discussion of job satisfaction and job performance, it should be clear we are not suggesting work context satisfiers be ignored. We understand their importance. Job satisfaction can prevent impediments to job performance, but performance will depend on motivators.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals made recommendations that could be immediately developed to

"Make the most of human resources"¹

These recommendations were to do with work context factors such as,

- "Standard 10.1 Assignment of Civilian Police Personnel
- Standard 10.2 Selection and Assignment of Reserve Police Officers
- Standard 13.1 Police Recruiting
- Standard 14.1 Police Salaries
- Standard 14.2 Position Classification Plan
- Standard 15.1 Educational Standards for the Selection of Police Personnel
- Standard 16.3 Preparatory Training
- Standard 16.5 Inservice Training
- Standard 17.1 Personnel Development for Promotion and Advancement."²

The provision of these job satisfiers will improve the possibility of the successful implementation of innovators necessary for increased job performance.

¹ National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Task Force on Police*, Washington, D.C., January 1973. pg. 136

² Ibid, pg. 136

PRINCIPLES OF MOTIVATION FOR PERFORMANCETRADITIONAL POLICE ROLE AND
ACCOMPANYING NEGATION OF LONG TERM MOTIVATION

MOTIVATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. <i>The Job Content</i>
A job must be seen as a whole task, this includes a planning, controlling and evaluating aspect to the work over time.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Diminished role due to denial of 80% of role . Incompleteness of task, policeman is likened to an assembly worker who has had no part in creation of job, nor in the final solution, "a cog in the wheel" . Much of task is boring monotonous, repetitive and dull, and often lonely . First year patrolmen often suffer from "cultural shock" when meeting for the first time normative values of some societal groups. |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>2. <i>Optimum Level of Motivation</i> is one of <u>creative anxiety</u>. When worker is free from extremely uncomfortable work conditions.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Role confusion . Punitive aspect of supervisor ... do not perform . Constable is on readiness alert |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>3. <i>Supervision</i> is a motivator when mutually agreed performance criteria, based on specific work situation can be established by employer and employee; and when performance is evaluated it is related to these mutually agreed goals.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unrealistic rules and regulations . Autocratic command . Management concerned with particular incidents that may be an embarrassment to the force . Much effort is spent on controlling, i.e., inspections, appearances, lateness, etc., with negative sanctions. |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>4. <i>Influence in Decision Making</i>
Substantial evidence to support that participation in decision making increased performance. However, participation <u>doesn't imply joint decision making</u>.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Autocratic command |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>5. <i>Work Group</i>
Highly cohesive groups have an effect on level of performance of members.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Police officer often works alone . Peer group support outside work situation results in alienation from public he is serving, and strong adherence to police culture. . Police peer group pressure is to under perform to avoid attracting punitive rewards |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>6. <i>Growth or Advancement</i>
Promotion is related to growth and performance if promotions are perceived as related to level of <u>performance on the job</u>.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Opportunities for advancement not related to job performance for the constable . There are few promotional opportunities . The advancements are to be "promoted" out of constable role. . Abilities valued are related to crime-fighter role, 80% of role is maintenance of order. |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>7. <i>Ego-Involvement</i> - the likelihood of performance being self generating is higher if task requires abilities worker believes himself to possess.</p> | |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>8. <i>Knowledge of Results</i> is necessary for recognition of achievement by oneself or by others</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Public rewards, policing and legal systems give positive reward and support to a fraction (20%) of role. . 80% of role is ignored, except for applications of negative sanctions in case management is embarrassed. . Communications between senior officers and field officers are ineffective. Communications establishing priorities are ineffective in assessing results |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>9. <i>Recognition for Achievement</i></p> | |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |
| <p>10. <i>Responsibility</i></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Constables lack autonomy . "Police Administrators are not held accountable for the use of resources. Policemen have resisted being called into account by the public. The complexities of police role has not allowed accountability." |
| <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> | |

Job Performance - The Next Step

Provision of conditions needed for the improvement of job performance is the next step in improving human resource management. The provision of these conditions for patrolmen rests largely with their immediate supervisors, or with the middle police manager. Exhibit No. XIII, shows conditions we have discussed as necessary for improved job performance compared to our assessment that they are not only absent but negated for the police patrolman.

The effect of negating long term motivators for the individual constable is the same as for the worker in industry faced with an uninspiring job; he looks outside his work role for substitutes to second order job satisfaction. The emphasis on job context or on substitutes for satisfaction gained from actually doing the work becomes an end in itself. It is our view that demand for improving those satisfactions derived from the context of the job (i.e., personnel policies, wage, salary, etc.,) being reflected in the recent surge of labour union movements in U.S.A. and in Canada is a search for such a substitution.

Satisfaction of these factors or rewards external to the work role, not balanced by satisfaction within the role of doing the job itself, will become unsatiable. An analysis of New York's 1971 job action illustrates this point,

"Given a decline in morale, increasing militancy among policemen, and the emergence of new leaders, it becomes apparent that the ingredients for collective action were present and that the parity issue may be seen as merely a catalyst.

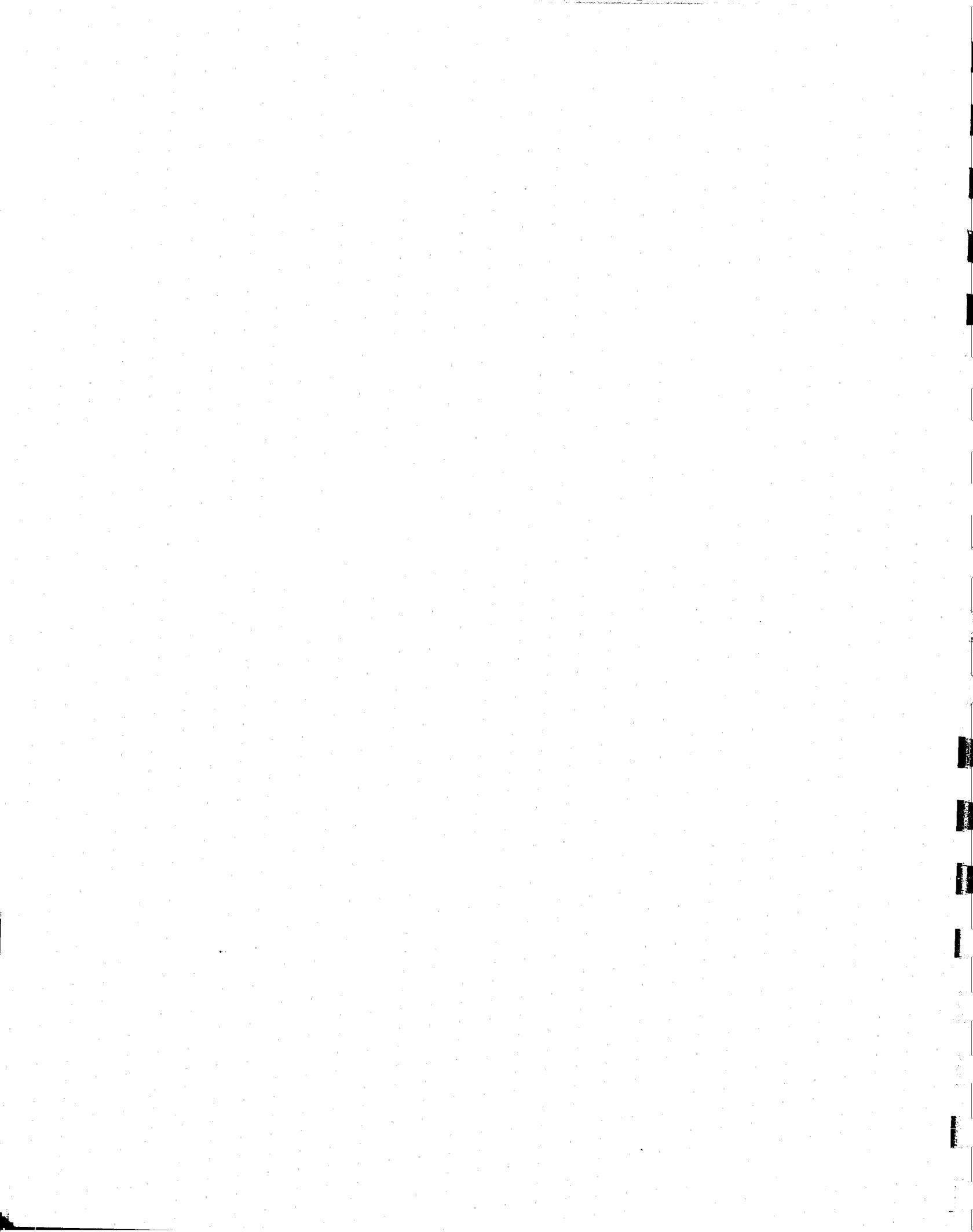
... Further, the strike was not merely the result of a court decision on the parity issue. It involved a great many underlying causes, not the least of which was a feeling of alienation by many policemen throughout the country".¹

It is the young patrolman who seems particularly dissatisfied,

... The impetus for the action has generally been placed in the hands of the younger patrolmen who usually have been on the force less than five years."²

¹ Ward, Richard, H., *The Psychology of a Police Strike: An Analysis of New York's 1971 Police Job Action, Police and Law Enforcement*, A.M.S. Anthology, New York, A.M.S. Press, 1972. p. 285, 287.

² Ibid.



"...The impact of the strike on the individual patrolman has been varied, and it would be virtually impossible to categorize the many opinions involved. Nevertheless, two distinct factors appear to have emerged. First, many patrolmen now see the value of collective action to attain goals. Secondly, the desire for job security -- a significant aspect of 'police thinking -- appears to have declined".¹

We have not found evidence to disprove our hypothesis that

On examination one might conclude that the conflicting pressures we have discussed presently inherent in the police role create work tensions for the policeman, especially the patrolman, that interfere with his job performance. Secondly, one might conclude that increasing work tensions increase a reactive, defensive stance by the police culture, and the police union which is not conducive to improving work performance.

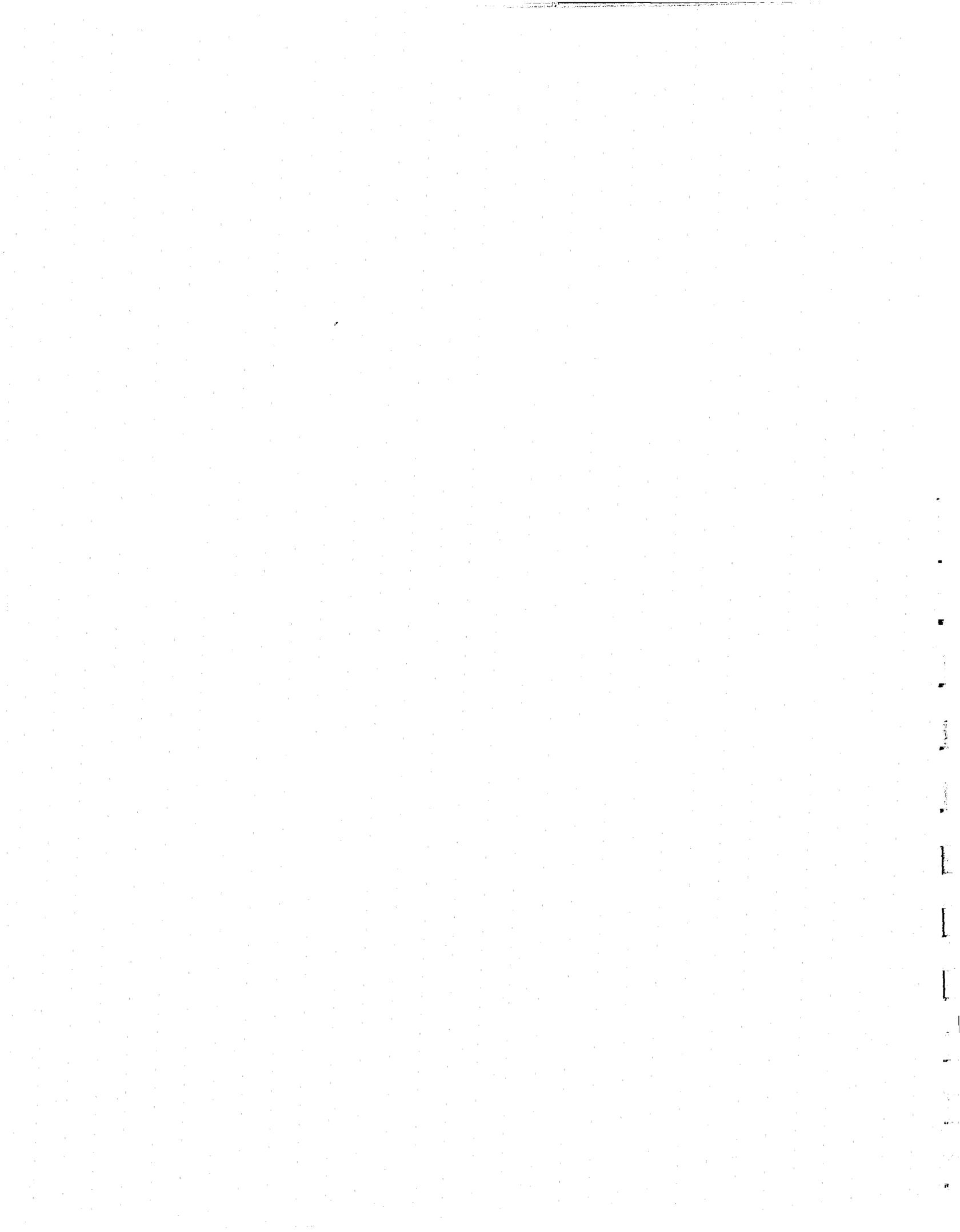
It is not enough for a policeman to be satisfied. He must, if he is to meet the challenge of the 70's, be motivated to perform.

Exhibit XIII showed a discouraging negation of long term motivation or second level job satisfiers in police work, especially for the patrolman. And paradoxically his job could become one of the most challenging and rewarding in the public service sector today. Improvement of the work content conditions in order to direct his work effort to the mutual benefit of organizational and individual goals implies the implementation of innovative management methods. In our view, this necessitates a holistic approach. Successful implementation of any innovations must incorporate second order motivating principles and this can be accomplished if it is remembered they can be applied to more than one role emphasis.

For example, a police chief in Syracuse, New York, approached the problem of job content and implementation of new management methods by emphasizing a crime control role.

"The number of diverse responsibilities that is delegated to individual policemen is more than any individual can be expected to discharge in an efficient manner. Because of these many and diverse responsibilities, it has been virtually

¹ Wård, Richard, op. cit., p. 287



impossible to establish a meaningful measurement system for evaluating the performance of individual policemen. Consequently, the individual policeman has tended to emphasize those activities that have immediate, direct and clearly observable results. Hence, the policeman becomes preoccupied with such tasks as filling out neat, detailed, textbooklike, correct reports, making moving traffic violation arrests, or locating dropped stolen cars. He performs these tasks at the expense of such activities as patrolling (in the true sense of the word) and gathering intelligence. The system has forced crime to take a secondary role as far as the individual policeman is concerned. (While the above remarks are made with a patrolman in mind, similar statements apply to an investigator's activities.) Thus, while crime is one of the major concerns of the nation, the organizational structure of the conventional police department has prevented it from becoming the only concern of a significant portion of the individuals in a police department. A second aspect of police activities under present organizational schemes is lack of accountability. For example, if a purse snatch occurs, the patrolman cannot be held accountable, since he was busy with a domestic dispute at the time. The investigator, likewise will not be held accountable since the victim was able to give only a hazy description of the snatcher. And the traffic policeman will not be held accountable, even though he was only a block away, since he was preventing a traffic jam at the time".¹

Jesse Rubin² agrees with this "specialized" role approach. She argues that the present expectation of role functions are too many for any one individual constable to handle and role specialization into a crime control role, or a community service role, would better serve the community.

¹ Elliott, J.F., Ph.D., Sardino, Thomas J., Chief P.D. *Crime Control Team, An experiment in Municipal Police Department.* Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1971, pg. 33,34

² Steadman, Robert E., Editor, *Op Cit.*

From the Examiner,
Barrie, Ontario,
Canada, April 1975

Zone policing: back to people

By DAVID SCOTT
Examiner Staff Writer

At midnight Sunday Barrie city police switched to a "zone-system" of law enforcement.

Police chief Ed Tschirhart said in an interview Monday: "We have divided the city into three areas. The responsibilities for each area will be assumed by the same police officers 24 hours a day.

"We are attempting to relate the policeman to the people in his area," he said.

"We've got to get back to the old principle of a policeman being involved in a community. It is not a new idea."

Modern community policing was developed by British police forces where officers in small "Panda" cars patrolled personally assigned areas.

MODIFIED IN U.S.

The system was studied by American law enforcement agencies and modified for Los Angeles and Kansas City police forces.

North Vancouver and Vancouver City police adopted a version of community police work which served as a model for the Calgary force.

Chief Tschirhart visited Vancouver and Calgary in June 1974 to determine the feasibility of such a system in Barrie.

Encouraged by his findings, the chief sent his deputy Reg Neathway, and staff sergeants Ralph Berry and George Winger for their assessment of the effectiveness of this method of policing.

The chief rejected the Calgary force's method of allowing officers to determine their own hours of duty. Barrie constables will continue to work rigid shifts he said.

Officers in each zone are supervised by a sergeant who, although responsible for the whole city, is mainly concerned with the administration of the law within his respective area.

THREE ZONES

Zone A, controlled by constables under Sgt. Francis Light, covers the city east of Bayfield Street. Zone B, under Sgt. Ray Lavey, is west of Bayfield and as far south as John Street. The remainder of the city is Zone C supervised by Sgt. Ken McKenzie.

Each sergeant will hold regular meetings with his constables

to discuss problems and ideas related to his zone of operation, chief Tschirhart said.

Every Barrie police officer is fully equipped with a personal two-way radio.

"The radio gets the men out of the cars and allows them to maintain full communication," the chief said. Previously officers relied on their car radio to request information or back-up assistance.

The Barrie force was the first in Ontario to be equipped with the new 19-ounce portable radios. Midland police followed suit. A similar system is being installed in Orillia and Innisfil Township police have placed an order for the radio equipment.

COST SHARED

Because of the experimental nature of the scheme, the Ontario Police Commission contributed to costs over normal operational expenses.

Seventy five per cent of the \$34,000 expenditure for radio equipment was handled by the OPC, the chief said.

With the aid of OPC systems specialists, Barrie Police is the pilot force for a new filing system. Having considered transferring records onto micro-film (the idea was later dropped because of \$20,000 cost), Chief Tschirhart asked the OPC for advice.

The resulting centralized uniform file system prompted the OPC to propose sending police students attending its courses on filing and records management to Barrie to observe the system in active operation.

Similarly, other Ontario police forces will send representatives to Barrie to study the community policing here.

MODEL FORCE

The changes that have made Barrie police a "model" force in Ontario are as a result of Chief Tschirhart's willingness to accept ideas and ask for advice.

"I'm open to suggestions and ideas," the chief said. "The OPC are willing to listen and help. If management in other police forces aren't willing to use the opportunity that's their problem."

These innovations are not costing the Barrie taxpayer. A recent report indicated the average per capita cost in Ontario for policing in 1974 was \$38.21. In Barrie the cost was \$23.49 per person for last year.

Others³ advocate zone policing, (Exhibit XIV) or neighborhood team policing, and a more generalist role for the policeman.

The common characteristic of these innovations is a clear definition of the police task which is responsive to community need and one which matches police abilities. In either case the methodology for accomplishing a clear role for a specialized or generalized police task is the concept of "Team Policing."

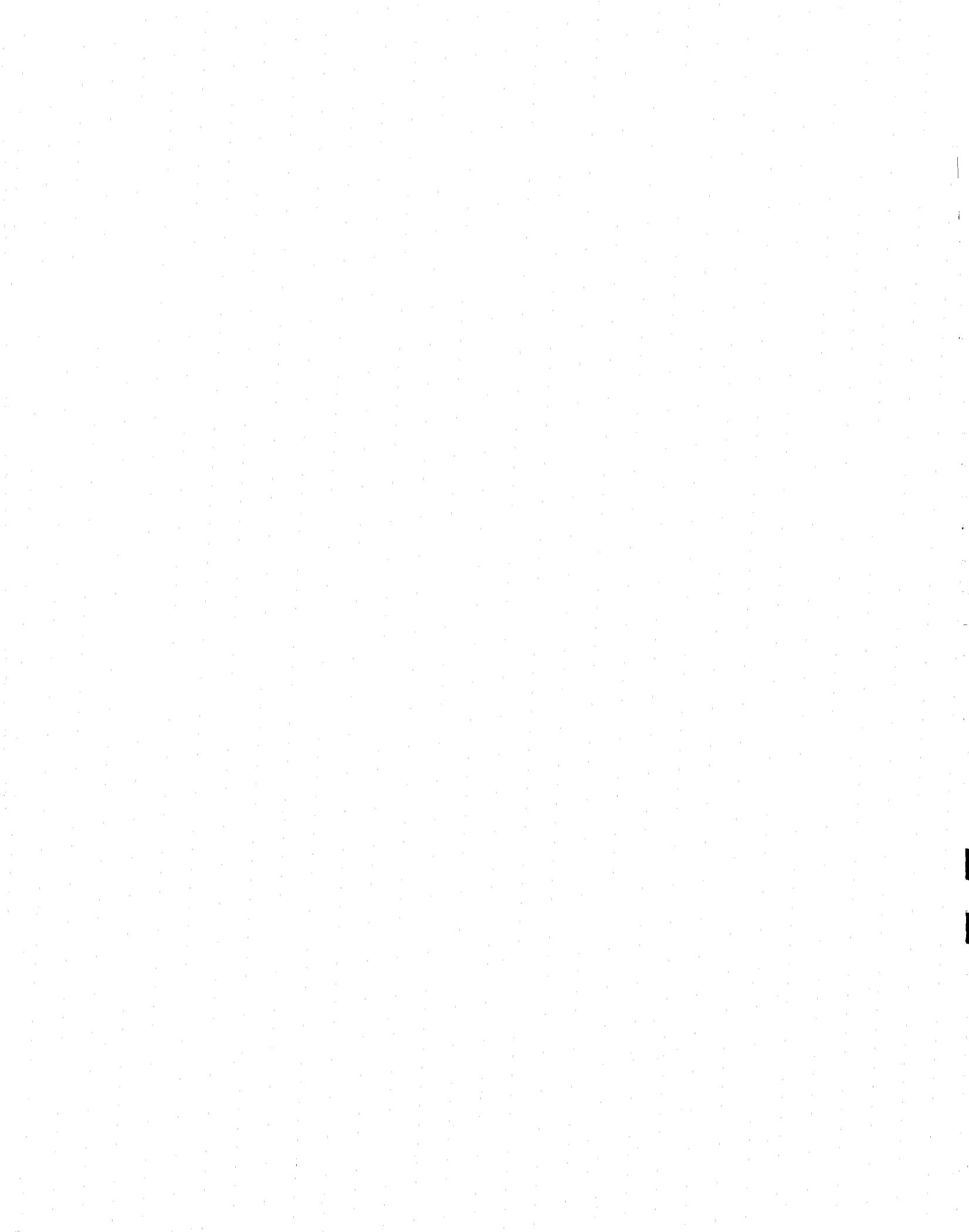
Proponents of Team Policing argue that there are major benefits to team policing methodology, including:

- the deceleration of the growth of crime,
- better service to the community through police/social agency cooperation,
- improvements in police/community relationships,
- better utilization of police human resources leading to significant cost and effectiveness benefits, and
- increase in police job satisfaction.

The concept of Team Policing usually encompasses the following characteristics:

1. Sectors -- Each policing area is divided into sectors, each with a stable complement of police officers.
2. Command Responsibility -- The sector commander is responsible for the sector 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
3. Management Style -- Greater delegation, management-by-objectives and group centred participatory planning and problem solving.

³Heywood, Robert, R.C.M. Police, Inspector, *To Meet the Needs of the Future, Examination of Police Roles*, North Vancouver, B.C., 1970.



In our view the Team Policing approach is an example of a managerial philosophy that goes beyond job satisfaction and incorporates many aspects of the principles of long term motivation for improved job performance.

The following list highlights some characteristics of the Team Policing concept as related to the principles of motivation. The list is necessarily for illustrative purposes only, as in actual practice the principles of motivation are highly interdependent and interrelated and cannot be separated from one another.

1. The Job Content

A job must be seen as a whole task, this includes a planning, controlling and evaluating aspect to the work over time.

- . Team approach and accompanying positive reinforcement of long term motivation.
- . The team approach implies continuity of area assignment and of team membership. Thus the team most familiar with the needs of a particular area can, in conjunction with senior management, establish realistic team objectives. Further, individual tasks can then be identified keeping in mind the team goals, and individual goals and abilities.
- . The performance of the tasks then are periodically evaluated and revised according to changing needs.
- . Reduction of boredom because of manpower allocation matched to need and increased community contact is encouraged with individuals with community groups and action organizations to develop sources of information and community support.
- . Varied assignments.
- . "...greater emphasis on the importance of the service activities which take about 85 percent of an officer's time. At present, these activities often are considered by many officers to be a diversion from 'more important' crime control activities. Under neighborhood team policing, service activities are considered essential and rewarded appropriately."¹

¹ Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Neighborhood Team Policing, Prescriptive Package, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C., 1973, p.10.



2. Optimum Level of Motivation is one of creative anxiety when work is free from extremely uncomfortable work conditions.
- . Improvement of police/community relations is a goal of neighborhood team policing.
 - . Increased and consistent communications with community individuals and groups.
3. Supervision is a motivator when mutually agreed performance criteria, based on specific work situation can be established by employer and employee, and when performance is evaluated it is related to these mutually agreed goals.
- . Development of mutually agreed upon goals creates a positive rather than punitive aspect to supervision.
 - . A team approach can be based on the use of the patrolman and his knowledge of local problems to develop reasonable and responsive programs for the area.
 - . Reliance on officers judgement and his contribution as a basic unit of task formulation.
4. Influence in decision making, substantial evidence supports the fact that participation in decision making increases performance, however, participation doesn't imply joint decision making.

"The team concept rejects the undesirable features of the "quasi-military" model through which commanders give orders and the troops respond. It is that model which caused one New York City patrolman to complain that he was constantly involved in making life and death decisions but that he was treated like a Boy Scout by his superiors.

The team concept also rejects the need for the mountains of written orders found in some departments. The orders often become so voluminous that no one will read or follow them. Instead of treating the officer as a robot which performs a required set of procedures, neighborhood team policing makes the officer responsible for doing his work as his judgement dictates."¹

¹ Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 8.



and further,

"One way to increase an officer's job satisfaction is to treat him with respect. His ideas should be heard and his useful suggestions accepted. The commander should invite criticism of his actions in order to gain a clearer picture of how the team is reacting to his leadership.

The team commander should not always assume he knows the best way to do things. Whenever possible, he should let team members do things their way -- waiting until afterwards to make constructive suggestions. On the other hand he should be aware that his suggestions may be very useful to team members. Team members should be invited to ask for help whenever they are unclear about how to proceed. Suggestions should be offered freely -- providing that there is no implication that the suggestions are intended to be binding."¹

5. Work Group, highly cohesive groups have an effect on level of performance of members.

- Team approach provides support to individual constable in the work situation. For example, regular team meetings (i.e. 60 minutes once a week) provide opportunities for useful exchange of information and ideas as they relate to team goals.

"The principle subjects of the meetings should be:

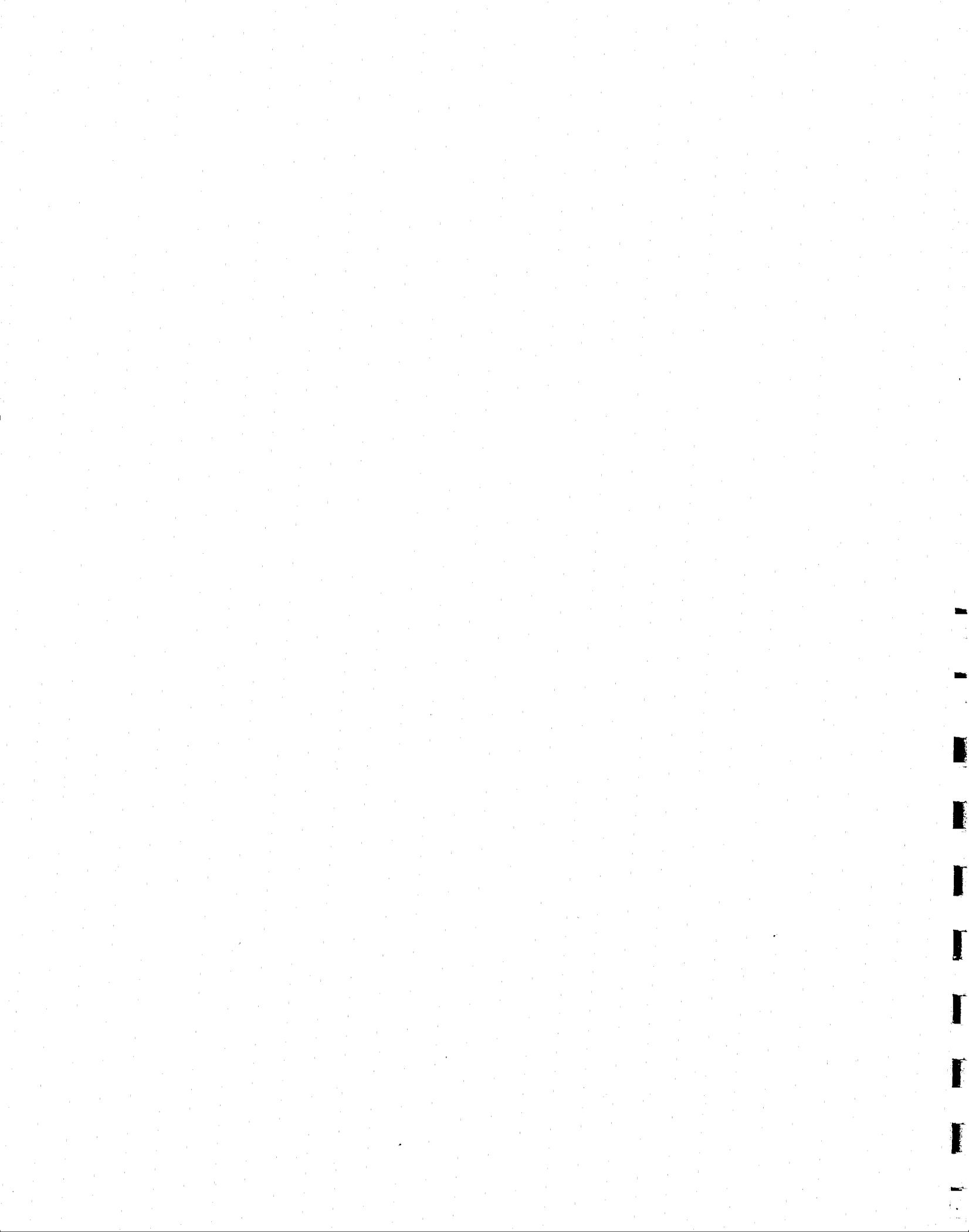
- Experiences or cases which team members want to discuss because they experienced difficulty and would like opinions on how to perform better another time;
- Information about crime patterns or perpetrators, so that the team will be able to cooperate in a joint program and in devising strategies or tactics;
- Ideas about improving team performance in any area of police service;
- Training programs designed for the entire team."²

6. Growth or Advancement

Promotion is related to growth and performance if promotions are perceived as related to level of performance on the job.

¹Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 81

²Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 94



Identification and assessment of special skills by evaluating performance permits follow-up training to reinforce special skills and abilities.

"Training and education are crucial in neighborhood team policing for two reasons. First, training and education is necessary to reorient and improve the skills of officers who are used to traditional methods. Second, the existence of a team and team commander creates an opportunity for them to work together with a trainer to implement an inservice training program. A well-designed, on-the-job program will be immediately useful to team members and may therefore be superior to classroom instruction, which often seems divorced from the practical world of police experience."¹

7. Ego-Involvement

The likelihood of performance being self generating is higher if task requires abilities worker believes himself to possess.

Allocation of tasks to team members who are most suited to them.

"The team concept, with its professional approach, is designed to increase the police officer's contribution to the formation of policy. It also recognizes the importance of the officer's information and judgment.....satisfaction from their contributing to the completion of the police mission should increase.

....They (police officer) will identify more with the police department's mission, as defined by their team, and will devote more effort to furthering that mission..."²

8. Knowledge of Results

Is necessary for recognition of achievement by oneself or by others.

- Development of mutually agreed upon results and realistic measures of results within the team.
- Evaluation of results between senior officers and each individual officer.

¹Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 9.

²Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 9 & 10.



- Periodic evaluation, review and revision of performance.

9. Recognition for Achievements

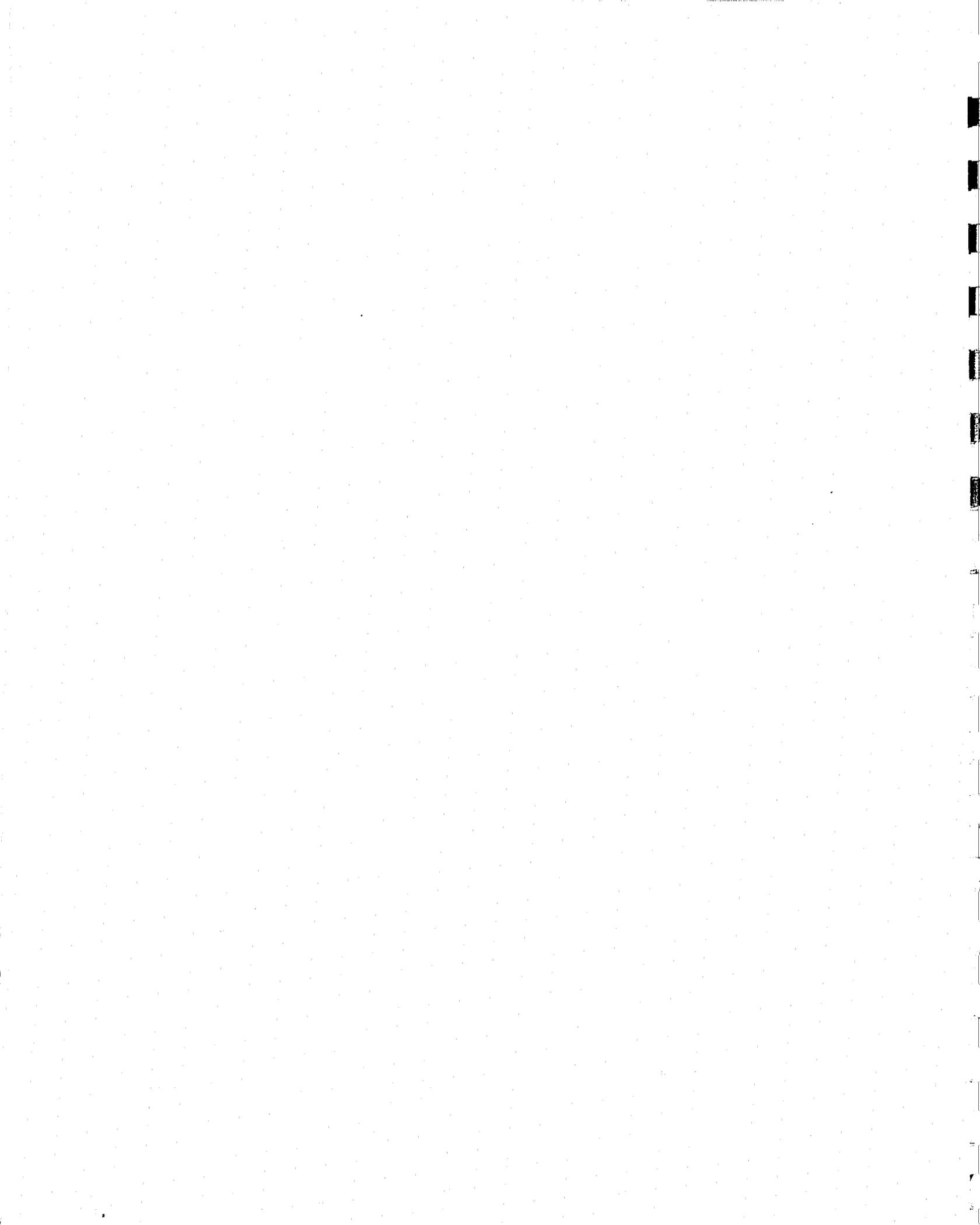
- Rewards can be tied to performance.
- Overtime pay may be used as a reward.
- Hours of assignments (i.e. weekends, shift assignments, etc.).
- Contributions to team goals are seen and approved by team members.

"On a periodic basis, the team commander and other supervisors within the team should evaluate team members. The evaluation procedure must recognize contributions made to the team goals, whether by making arrests, handling tense situations, increasing the flow of information, or other essential activities. The traditional count of arrests and traffic tickets is not sufficient to provide the proper incentive for improving community service.

It is important that good personnel evaluation procedures be implemented and used. Patrolmen doing a good job should be rewarded without being reassigned to some specialized bureau or to a supervisory position. Providing that detectives are assigned to teams, promotion to the rank of detective -- within the same neighborhood team -- may be an appropriate reward.

Good supervision also should be recognized, perhaps by creating new grades within the rank of lieutenant or sargent. Accomplishments of the team should be part of evaluation of team commander."¹

¹Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 10



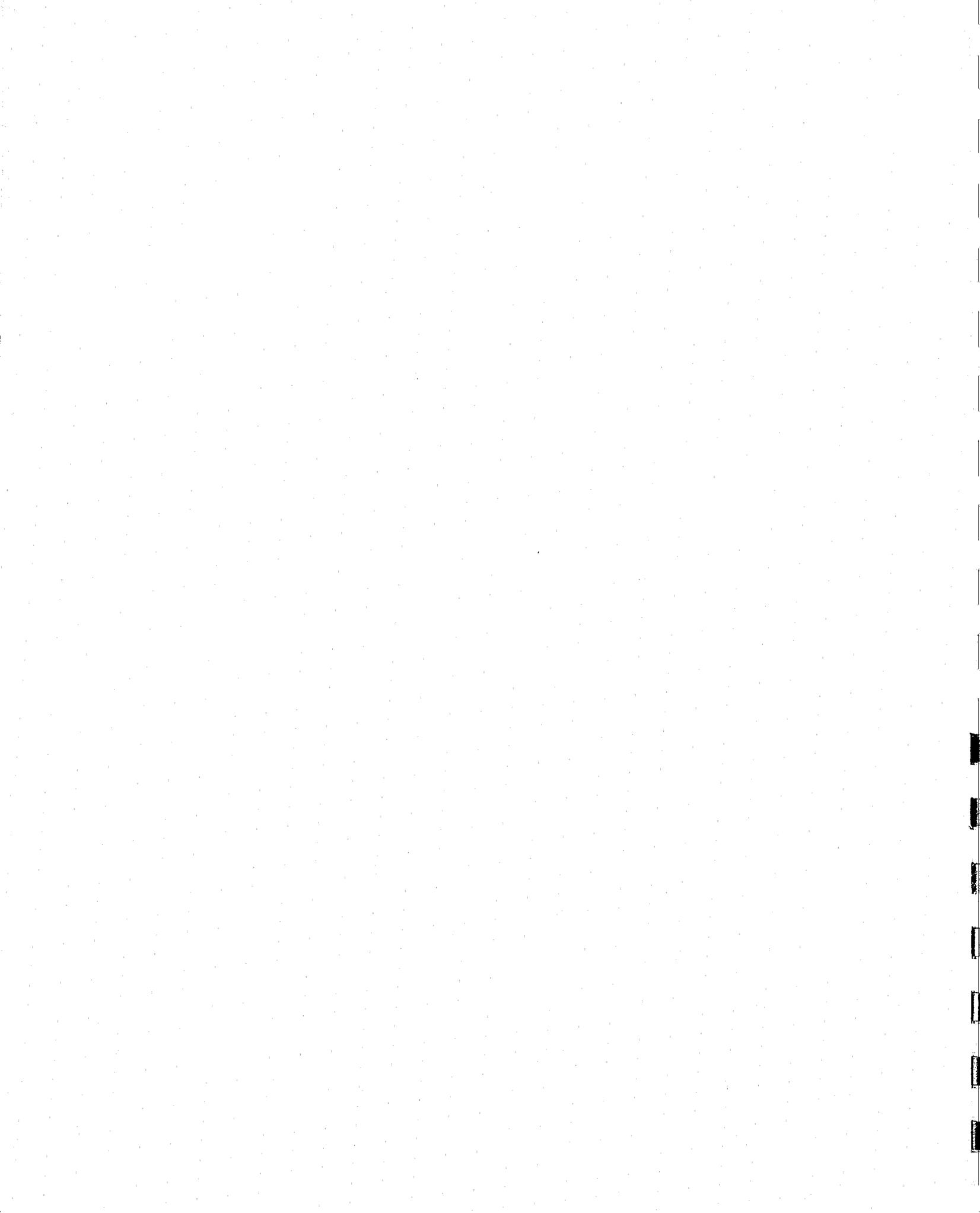
10. Responsibility

- The team commander is responsible and accountable for his team's operations.

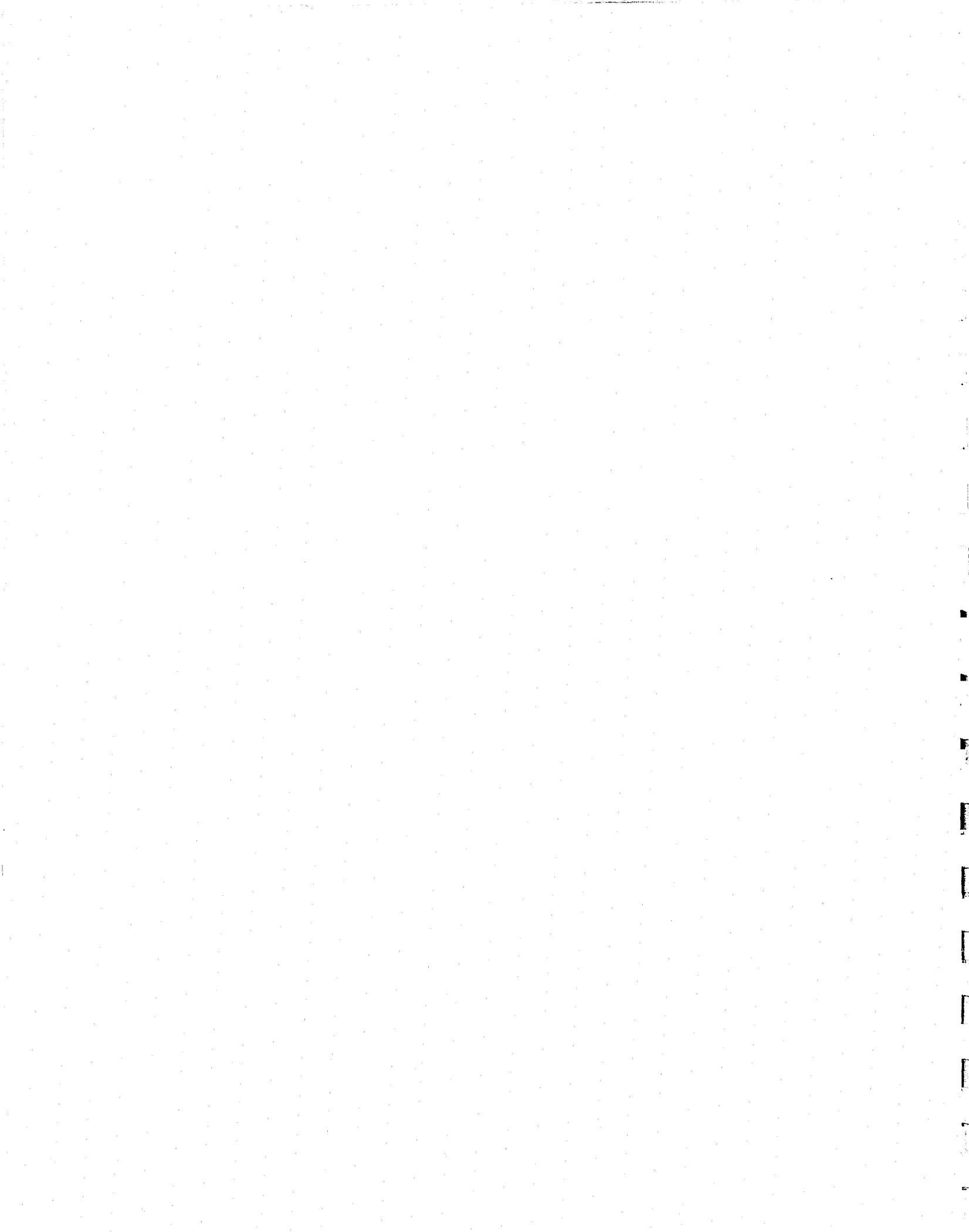
"The supervisor should, therefore, encourage his officers to develop a sense of personal responsibility. He should rarely take over the direction of an incident he supervises. Unless the officer is incapable of handling the situation, the supervisor should observe how the officer performs and subsequently offer suggestions to guide the officer in similar situations in the future. He also should encourage the discussion among officers of situations in which they have been involved so that the officers will learn from their experiences."¹

Support of "action research" programs or implementation of programs specially related to the mission of a particular police force or department can provide the connecting link between behaviour theory and practice, and allow the police leaders to develop strategies suitable to the police world. The development of a number of "connecting links" is, in our view, the next step in the development of the human resource in police organizations. Innovations of new approaches to human resource management on a pilot project basis is not a new concept in Canada. However, better use may be made of the experiences gained by these projects if they were viewed as Action Research Projects, featured well structured experimental design, had provision for evaluation, and led to materials which could ease in the application to other forces of methods which prove successful.

¹Bloch, Peter B., David Specht, Op.Cit., p. 9.



APPENDIX A



JOB CONTEXT -- SATISFACTION AT THE FIRST LEVEL

The motivators that are job context related are the work persons' attempts to satisfy basic needs through (environment related) work conditions. The motivator factors that are extrinsic to the job are company policy and administration, supervision, relationship with supervisor, working conditions, salary, relationship with peers, personal life, relationship with subordinates, status, security. Satisfaction of these "hygiene" needs causes an employee to stay in a job, and prevents avoiding behaviours, i.e., absenteeism. Job context satisfaction has, apparently little or short term impact on job performance.

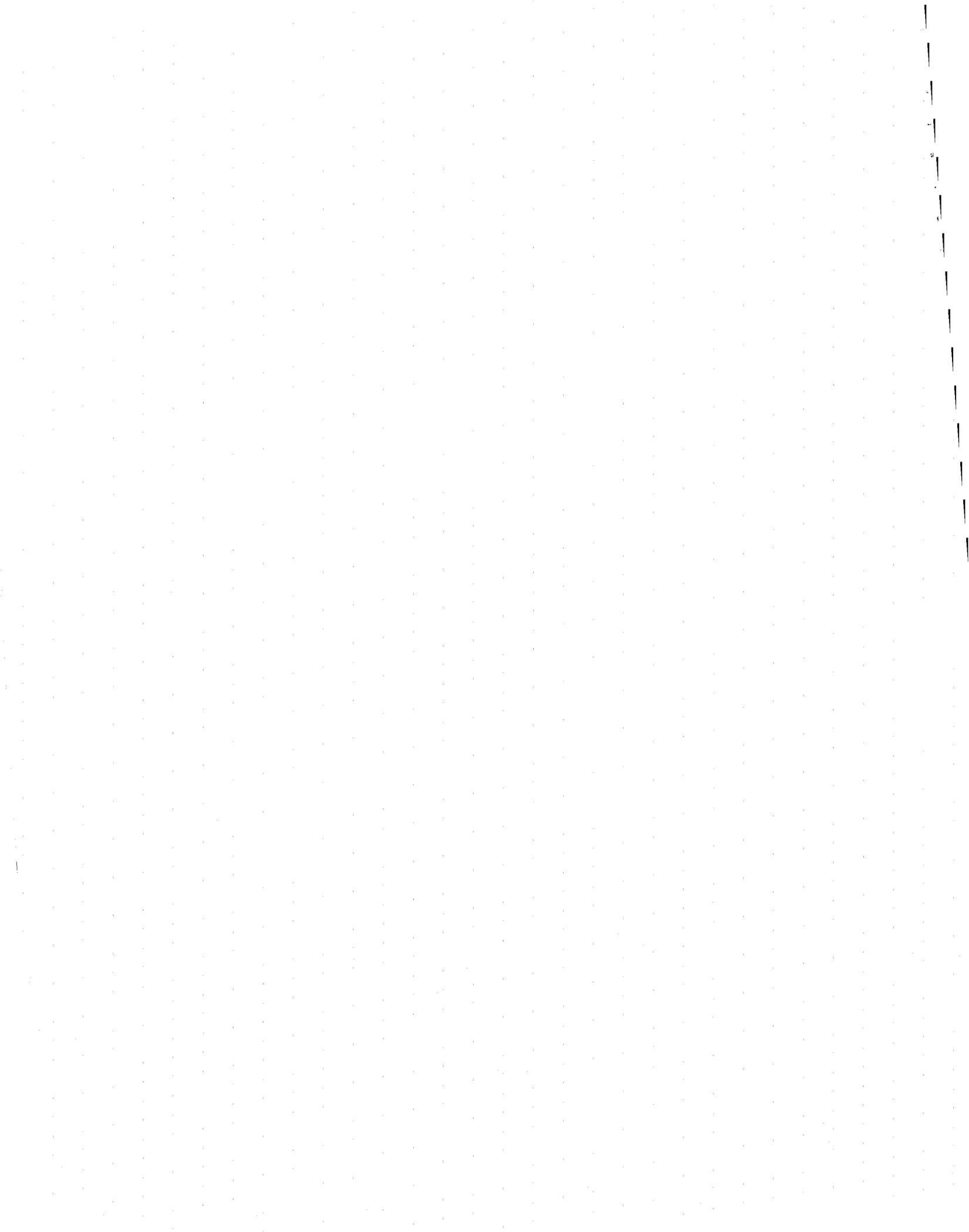
Conclusions drawn by Vroom 1964 after examining the field of quantitative literature on first level job satisfaction as distinct from job performance found,

"... that the amount of satisfaction with their jobs reported by persons is directly related to the amount of pay they receive (Thompson, 1939; Miller, 1941; Barnett, Handelsman, Stewart, and Super, 1952); to the amount of consideration that they report receiving from their supervisors (Fleishman et al., 1955; Halpin and Winer, 1957; Seeman, 1957; Likert, 1961); to their reports concerning the probability of their promotion (Morse, 1953; Sirota, 1959); to the extent to which they can interact with their co-workers (Sawatsky, 1951; Richards and Dobryns, 1957); to the amount of their acceptance by co-workers (Van Zelst, 1951; Salesnick, Christensen, and Roethlisberger, 1958); to the number of different operations that they perform (Wyatt, Fraser, and Stock, 1929; Walker, 1950; Walker and Guest, 1952; Elliot, 1953; Guest, 1957); to the extent to which they control over their pace of work (Walker and Mause 1951; Marriott and Denerley, 1955); and to the extent to which they can influence decisions that have future effects on them (Jacobson, Baumgartel, 1956; Morse and Reimer, 1956; French, Israel and Bell, 1960; Vroom, 1960a)."¹

Factors affecting job satisfaction according to Vroom,

"The tendency to view job satisfaction as environmentally caused rather than a reflection of personality mechanisms within the individual has been discussed by Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960).

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Work and Motivation*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1964, pg. 279



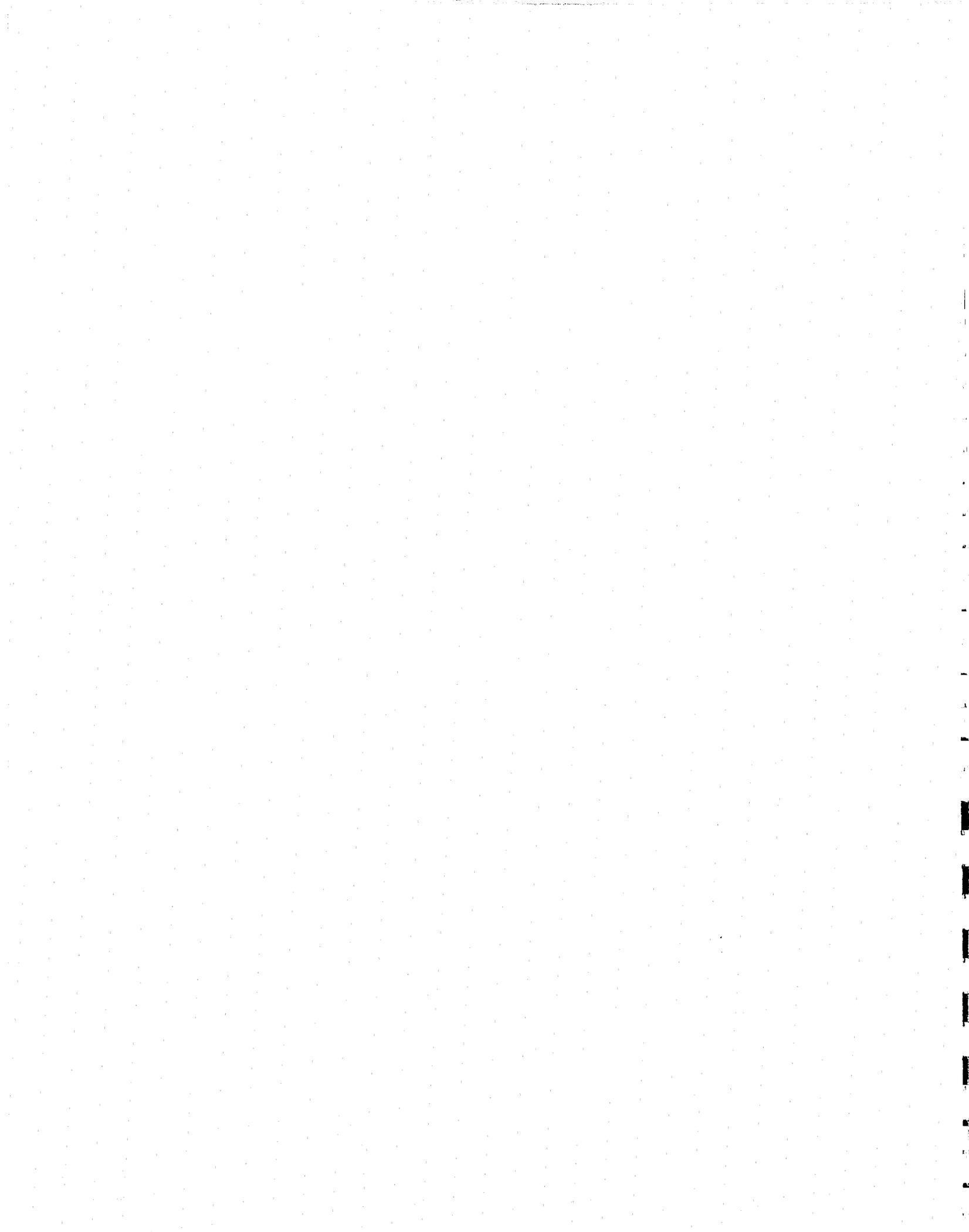
They point out that negative attitudes toward the job are thought to reflect an "unhealthy situation" rather than a lack of personal resources in the person. Therefore, attempts to solve job frustrations typically involve changing the work situation rather than attempting to effect personality changes in the dissatisfied individual.

The assumption that job satisfaction is environmentally determined has been rather useful. Despite the frequent use of rather imprecise research methods, investigators have tended to find the correlations and differences between groups that they have predicted. These findings, although usually statistically significant, are seldom very impressive. In correlational studies, the amount of the variance in job satisfaction attributable to any single work role variable is quite small, and in experiments the variance among subjects exposed to the same condition is typically quite large. We might argue that these negative cases are due to errors of measurement or to other methodological weaknesses, but it is more likely that they are due to an oversimplified theory which does not do justice to the complexity of the phenomena with which it purports to deal."¹

Studies of personality factors as they influence job satisfaction.

"There has been little attempt to deal with the relationship between personality variables and job satisfaction in theoretical terms and most of the empirical work represents an effort to establish a relationship between measures of adjustment or neuroticism and job satisfaction. A large number of methods of measuring adjustment have been used, including personality inventories (Heron, 1952, 1955), interviews (Kornhauser and Sharp, 1932; Hoppock, 1935; Smith, 1936), situational tests (Heron, 1955), and projective tests (Kates, 1950). Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson, and Capwell (1957) summarize the results with the following descriptions of satisfied and dissatisfied workers:

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 159-160



The satisfied worker is, in general, a more flexible, better adjusted person who has come from a superior family environment, or who has the *capacity to overcome the effects of an inferior environment*. He is realistic about his own situation and about his goals. The worker dissatisfied with his job, in contrast, is often rigid, inflexible, unrealistic in his choice of goals, unable to overcome environmental obstacles, generally unhappy and dissatisfied (1957, p.20)..

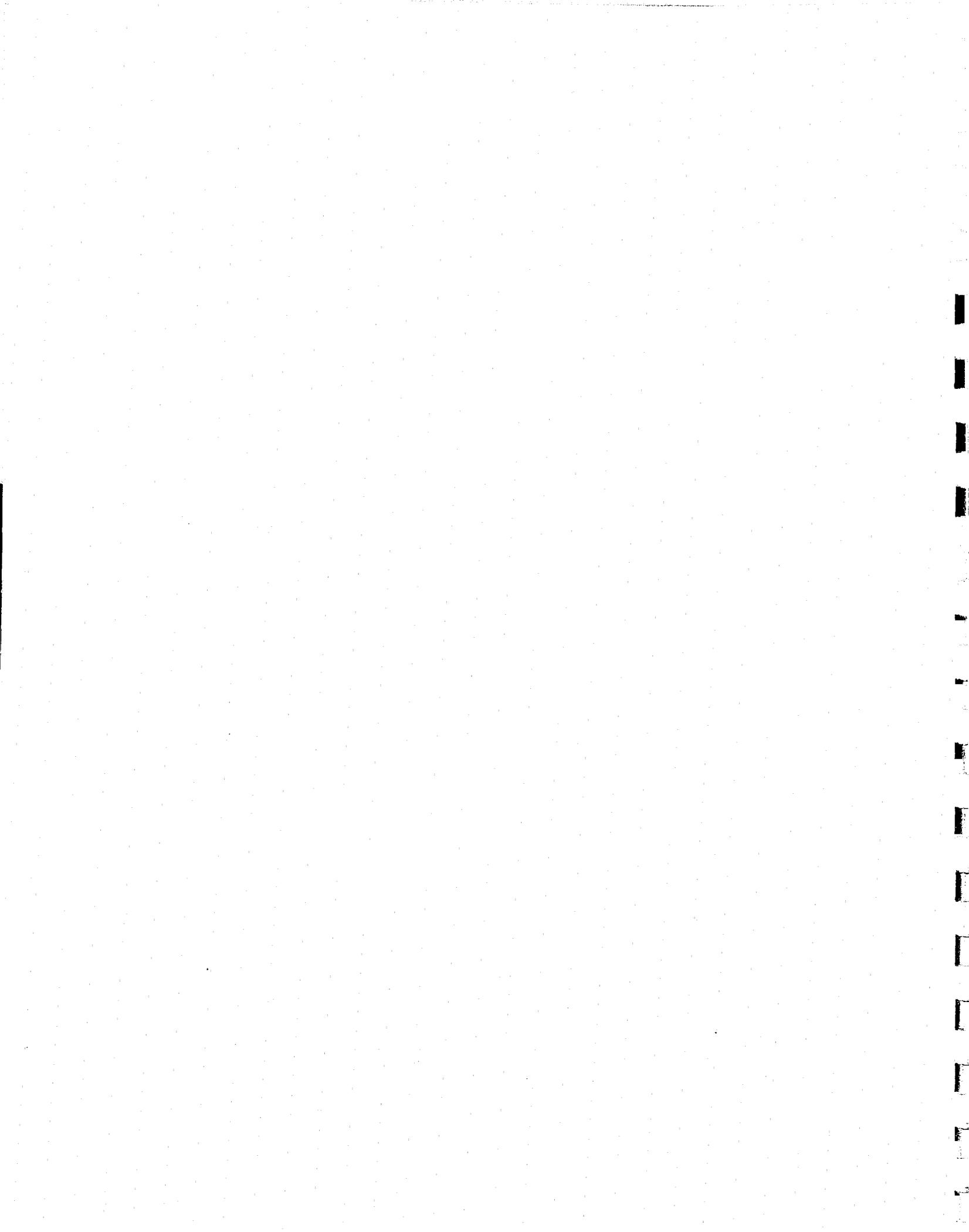
The assumption that dissatisfaction with one's job reflects a more basic maladjustment forms the basis for the field of employee counseling which had its origins in the program developed at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). By creating a warm and permissive atmosphere, the counselor encourages the person to express his anxieties and feelings. This expression is assumed to permit the worker to gain greater insight into the inner problems and conflicts which form the basis of his dissatisfaction with his work."¹

Individuality in work roles, another approach --

"This approach assumes that explanations of satisfaction require the use of both work role and personality variables. It further asserts that there are important interactions between these two types of variables which can be revealed only if they receive simultaneous behavior, or any other characteristic of a work role on job satisfaction, represents only average effects for the population studied and obscures the fact that, within that population, different people react in markedly different ways to the same environmental conditions. Similarly, relationships between personality variables and job satisfaction may be expected to vary markedly depending on the nature of the job and work environment.

The last ten years have witnessed the proposal, by a number of different researchers, of theories regarding the causes of job satisfaction which encompass both work role and personality variables. In these theories, the satisfaction that an individual derives from a work role, or more precisely the valence of a work role to

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 161



its occupant, is assumed to be a function not only of the objective properties of that work role but also of the motives of the individual. Insofar as people differ in their motives, the "optimal" or most satisfying work role will differ for each person.

Morse (1953) stated this point of view as follows:

At first we thought that satisfaction would simply be a function of how much a person received from the situation or what we have called the amount of environmental return. It made sense to feel that those who were in more need-fulfilling environments would be more satisfied. But the amount of environmental return did not seem to be the *only* factor involved. Another factor obviously had to be included in order to predict satisfaction accurately. This variable was the strength of an individual's desires, or his level of aspiration in a particular area. If the environment provided little possibility for need-satisfaction, those with the strongest desires, or highest aspirations, were the least happy (1953, pp. 27-28).

Schaffer presented a similar point of view in the following hypothesis:

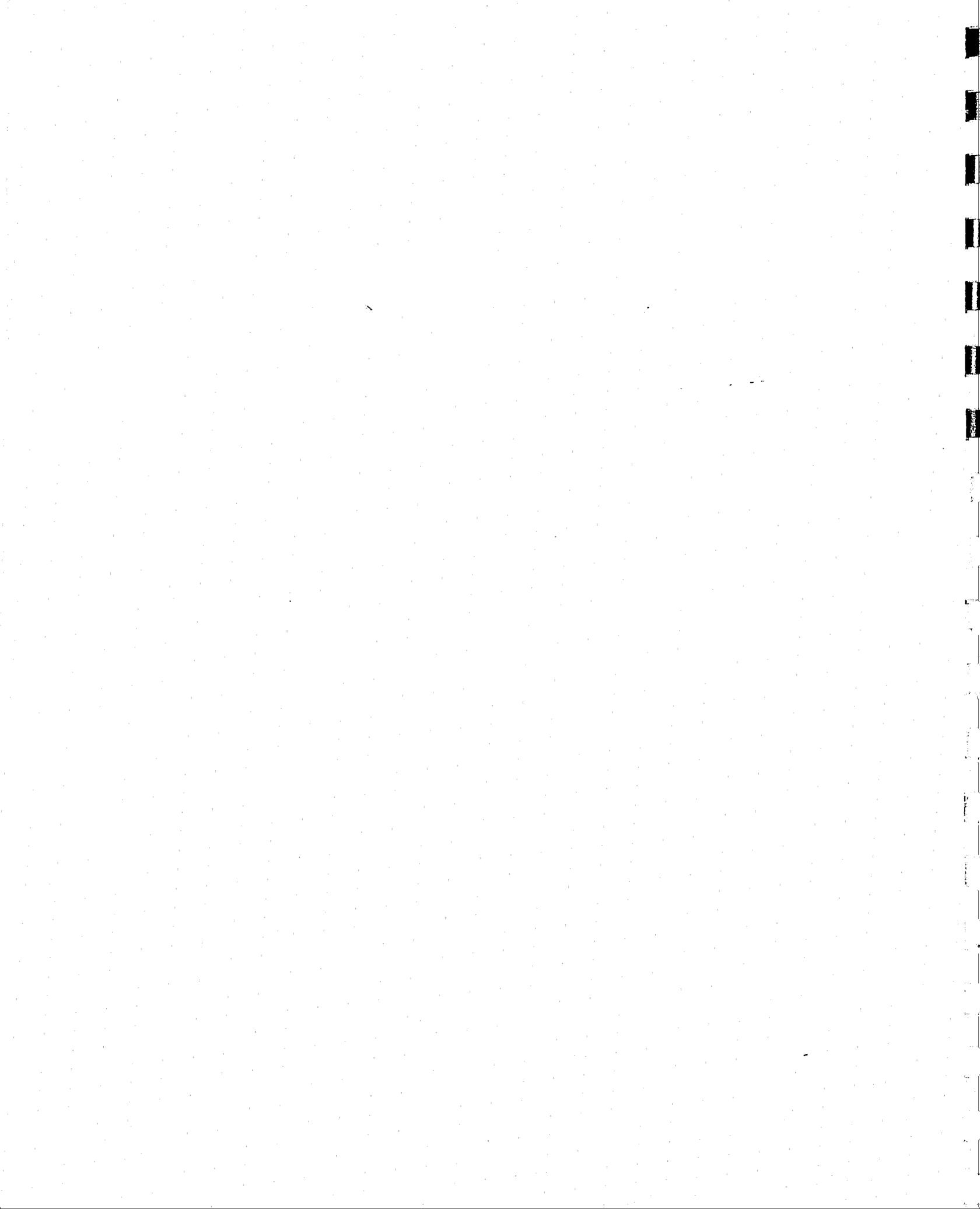
Over-all job satisfaction will vary directly with the extent to which those needs of an individual which can be satisfied are actually satisfied; the stronger the need, the more closely will job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment (1953, p.3)."¹

Level of reward --

"A (similar) process is apparent in research on level of aspiration. The results of this research have been summarized by Lewin, Dembo, Festinger, and Sears (1944). They conclude:

The experiments show that the feeling of success and failure does not depend on the absolute level of achievement. What for one person means success means failure for another person, and even for the same person the same achievement will lead sometimes to the feeling of failure and sometimes to the feeling of success.

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 162



What counts is the level of achievement relative to certain standards, in particular to the level of aspiration ... (pp. 374-375)."¹

"The question of speed of adaptation to changed levels of reward is one on which there has been little work in industrial psychology. We have no firm empirical basis in the applied literature on which to judge whether increases in reward are adapted to more quickly than decreases, whether speed of adaptation is inversely related to the amount of change, or whether the whole process is a slow or a lengthy one."²

Concept of equity --

"In effect, this point of view would lead us to regard job satisfaction as a function of the amount of difference between the amount of reward that the person believes he should receive and the amount of reward which in fact he does receive. The greater the difference between these two amounts, the greater the tension or disequilibrium experienced by the person."³

A more elaborate and detailed conception of equity has appeared in,

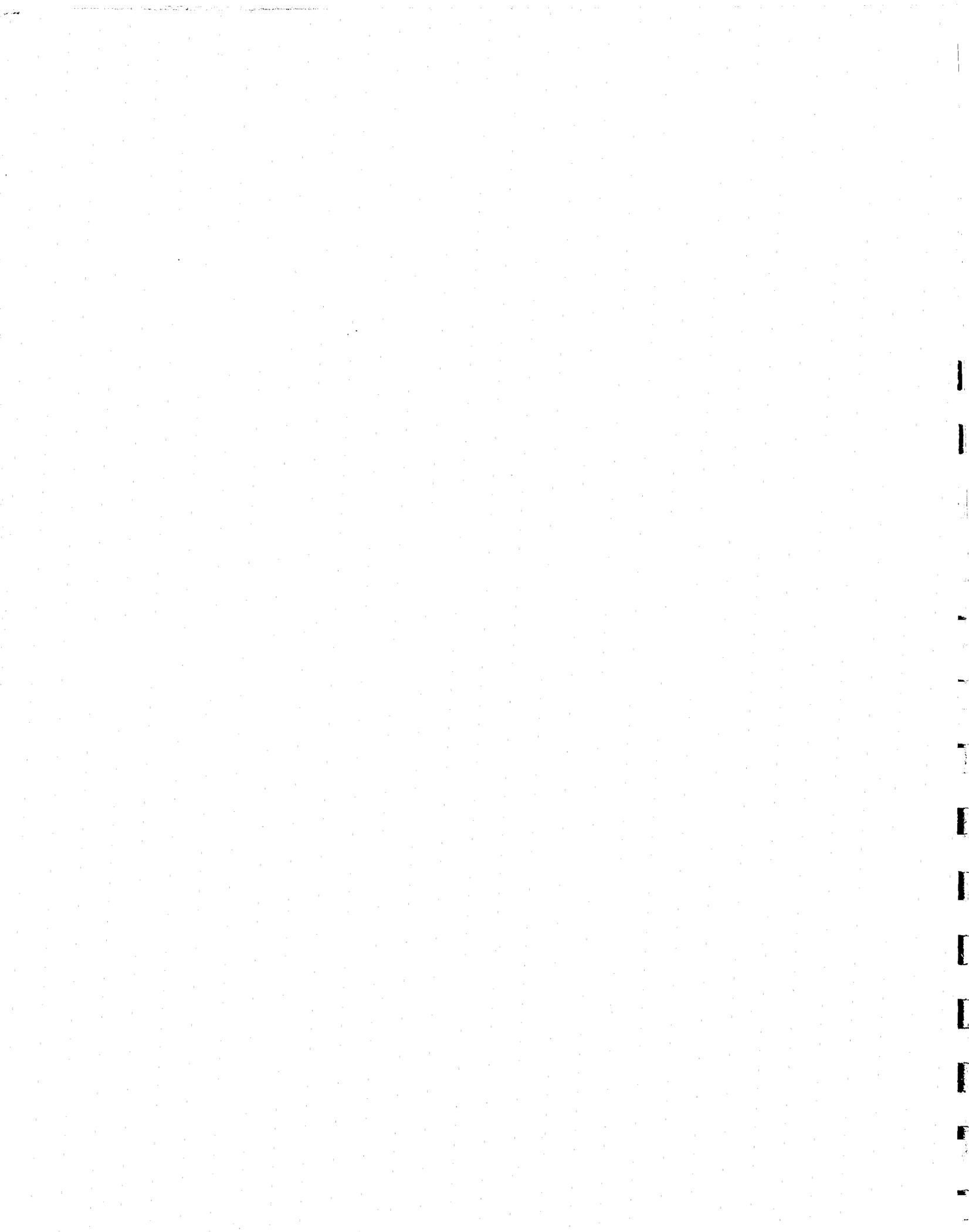
"recent writings. Equity and its opposite, inequity, are defined in relative rather than absolute terms. Inequity is assumed to result, not from a discrepancy between rewards received from and investments made in one's job, but from discrepancies in the relative magnitudes of rewards and investments of a person and those of other persons with whom he compares himself. An individual's perception of the rewards and investments of others is thought to provide him with a standard against which he judges the fairness and equity of rewards which he himself receives.

There are many examples in social psychology of persons and groups who have reported being much more or much less satisfied than one would have expected from a knowledge of their actual situation. Such findings have typically been interpreted, in an *ad hoc* fashion, in terms of reference groups, i.e., groups which serve as comparison or reference points when individuals make judgements of an evaluative nature.

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 167

² IBID, pg. 167

³ IBID, pg. 168

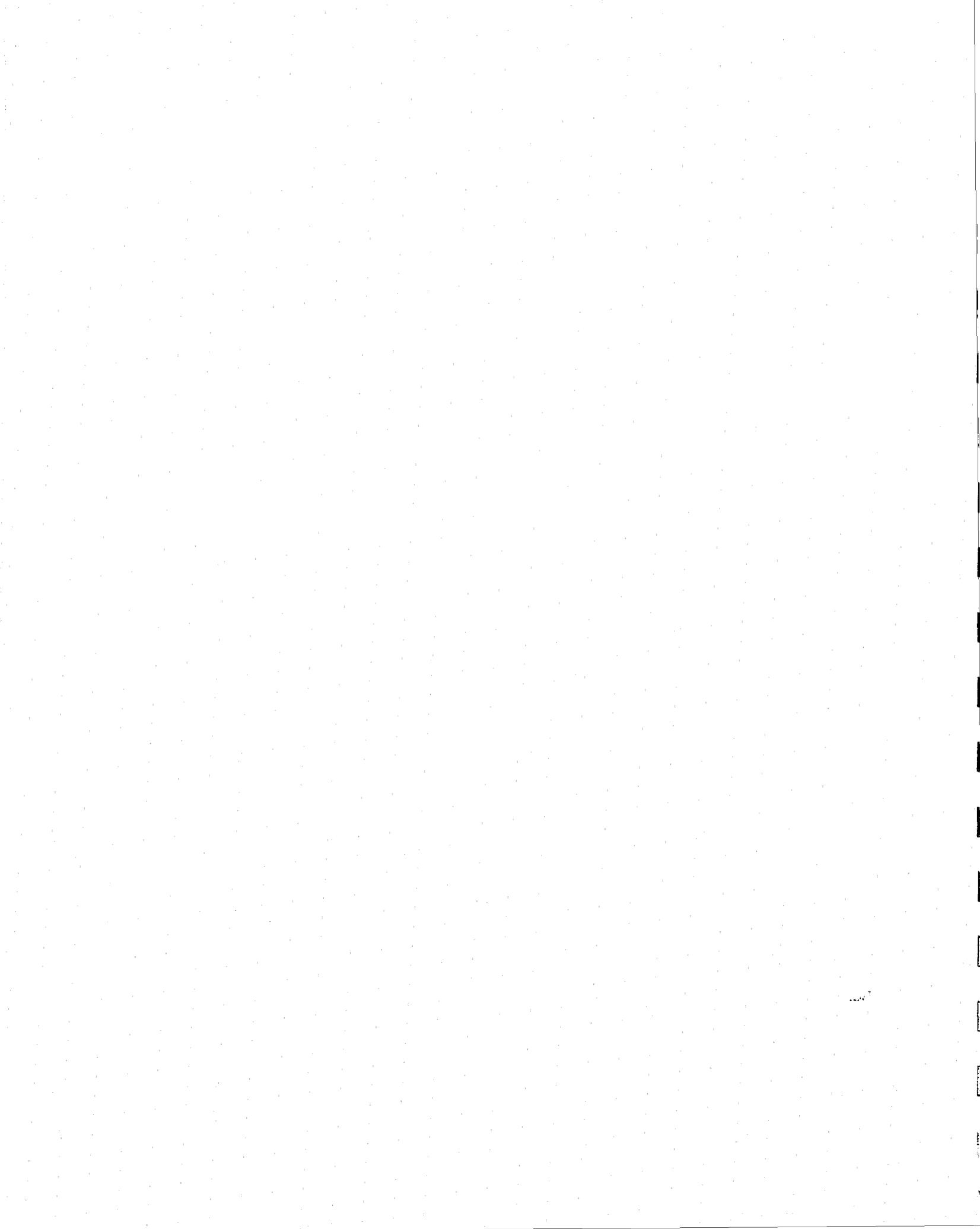


For example, the authors of *The American Soldier* (Stouffer et al., 1949) noted that the job satisfaction of noncombat soldiers overseas was much higher than expected. They suggest that this finding reflects the tendency of these soldiers to compare their situation with that of the combat troops.

In general, it is of course true that the overseas soldier, relative to soldiers still at home, suffered a greater break with home ties and with many of the amenities of life in the United States to which he was accustomed. But it was also true that, relative to the combat soldier, the overseas soldier not in combat and not likely to get into combat suffered far less deprivation than the actual fighting man. If he was in war areas of an active theater he could be, and was, thankful that he was escaping the risks of death and the gruelling life of the front lines (pp.172-173)."¹

"If we assume that equity is reflected in satisfaction with a work role and inequity is reflected in dissatisfaction, we can use the kind of model described above as the basis for predictions about the determinants of job satisfaction. The conditions which affect the employee's assessment of the equity of the exchange between himself and his employer would also be expected to affect the employee's job satisfaction. However, attempts to use equity theory as a basis for explaining differences in job satisfaction are hindered by the large number of variables which it encompasses, the complexity of the interactions among these variables, and the relative inadequacy of our operational definitions. Following the statement of equity theory set forth by Adams (and substituting job satisfaction for equity) would lead one to predict that the job satisfaction of a worker would be a function of: (1) his beliefs concerning the degree to which he possesses various characteristics;

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 170



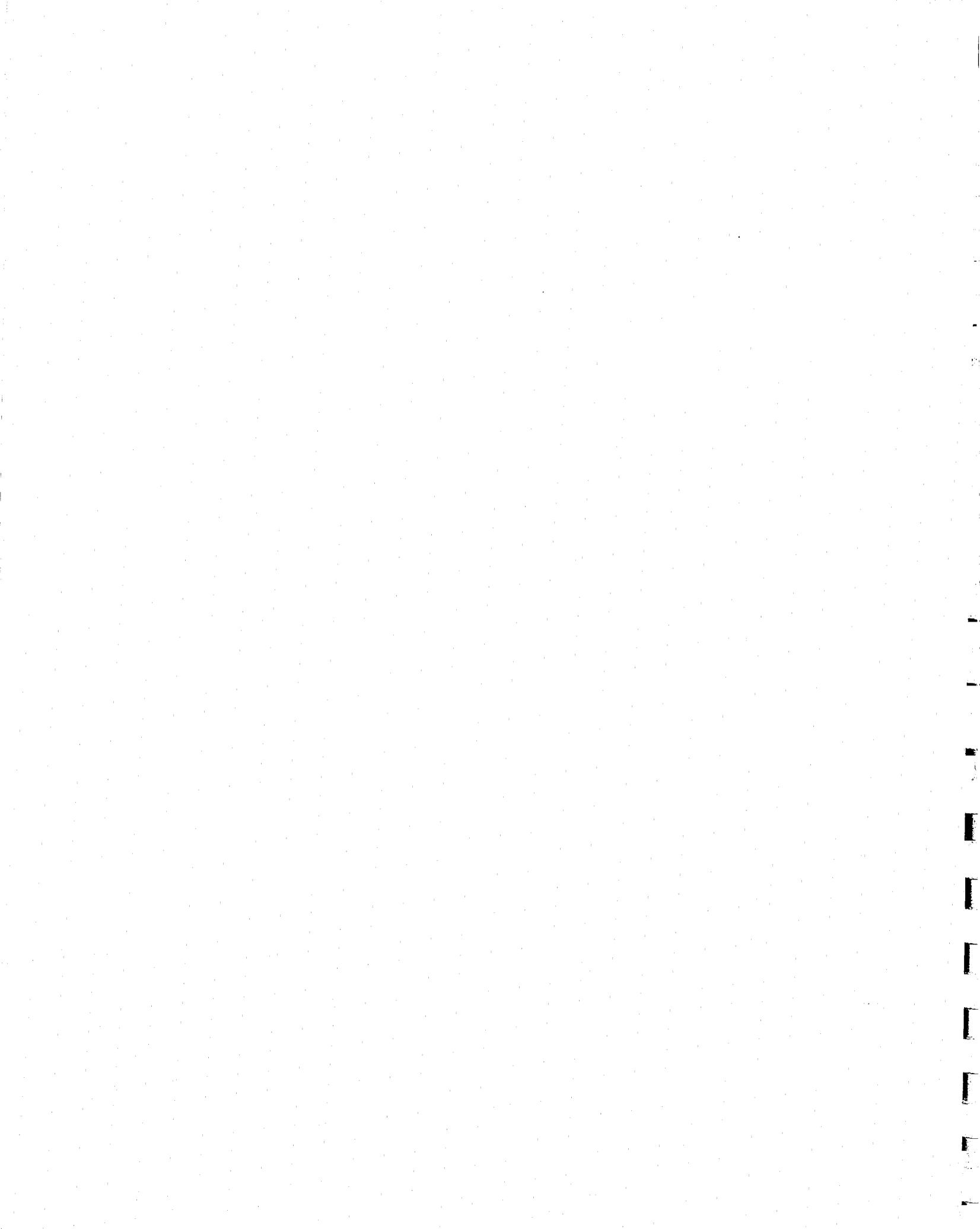
(2) his convictions concerning the degree to which these characteristics should result in the attainment of rewarding outcomes from his job, i.e., their value as inputs; (3) his beliefs concerning the degree to which he receives these rewarding outcomes from his job; (4) his beliefs concerning the degree to which others possess these characteristics; (5) his beliefs concerning the degree to which others receive rewarding outcomes from their jobs; and (6) the extent to which he compares himself with these others. None of the functional relations between these six types of variables and job satisfaction is simple; the effect of each variable depends on a number of the others."¹

Summary of job satisfaction at first level

"In this chapter we have focused on the determinants of job satisfaction. For more than twenty-five years social scientists have been using quantitative methods in an attempt to ascertain the events and conditions which result in different levels of job satisfaction. The prevailing assumption guiding investigations of this problem is that differences in job satisfaction reflect differences in the nature of the jobs or work situations of individuals. Using a variety of methods, researchers have attempted to establish the nature of the effects on job satisfaction of such aspects of work roles as the nature of supervision the worker receives, the kind of work group of which he is a member, the content of his job, the amount of his wages, his chances for promotion, and his hours of work. Research of this type has certainly been useful. A large number of work role variables have been isolated and the general nature of their effects on job satisfaction determined. The outcome of this research has been a general picture of a "satisfying work role"."²

¹ Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 171-172

² IBID, pg. 172



JOB CONTENT -- SATISFACTION AT THE SECOND LEVEL

The motivators according to Herzberg, that are job content related are the work persons' attempts to satisfy growth needs by work itself.

"The growth or motivator factors that are intrinsic to the job are: achievement, recognition for achievement, the work itself, responsibility, and growth or advancement.

... The very nature of (growth need) motivators, as opposed to hygiene factors (basic work motivators), is that they have a much longer term effect on employees' attitudes."¹

Attempts to satisfy growth needs can result in longer term self initiated search for improved performance.

Vroom discusses a number of studies whose findings,

"are consistent with the view that workers perform most effectively when performance is a means of attaining goals which are extrinsic to the content of work; higher wages, promotions, and acceptance by co-workers."²

We would suggest performance for these extrinsic rewards are short term job context satisfiers and in reality, the possibility of completely separating extrinsic and intrinsic rewards is impossible.

He supports a theory of intrinsic rewards when he reviews studies which show performance levels are not obviously related to either formal or informal organizational responses.

"This suggests that performance may be an end as well as a means to the attainment of an end, i.e., that individuals may derive ineffective performance regardless of the externally-mediated consequences of performance."³

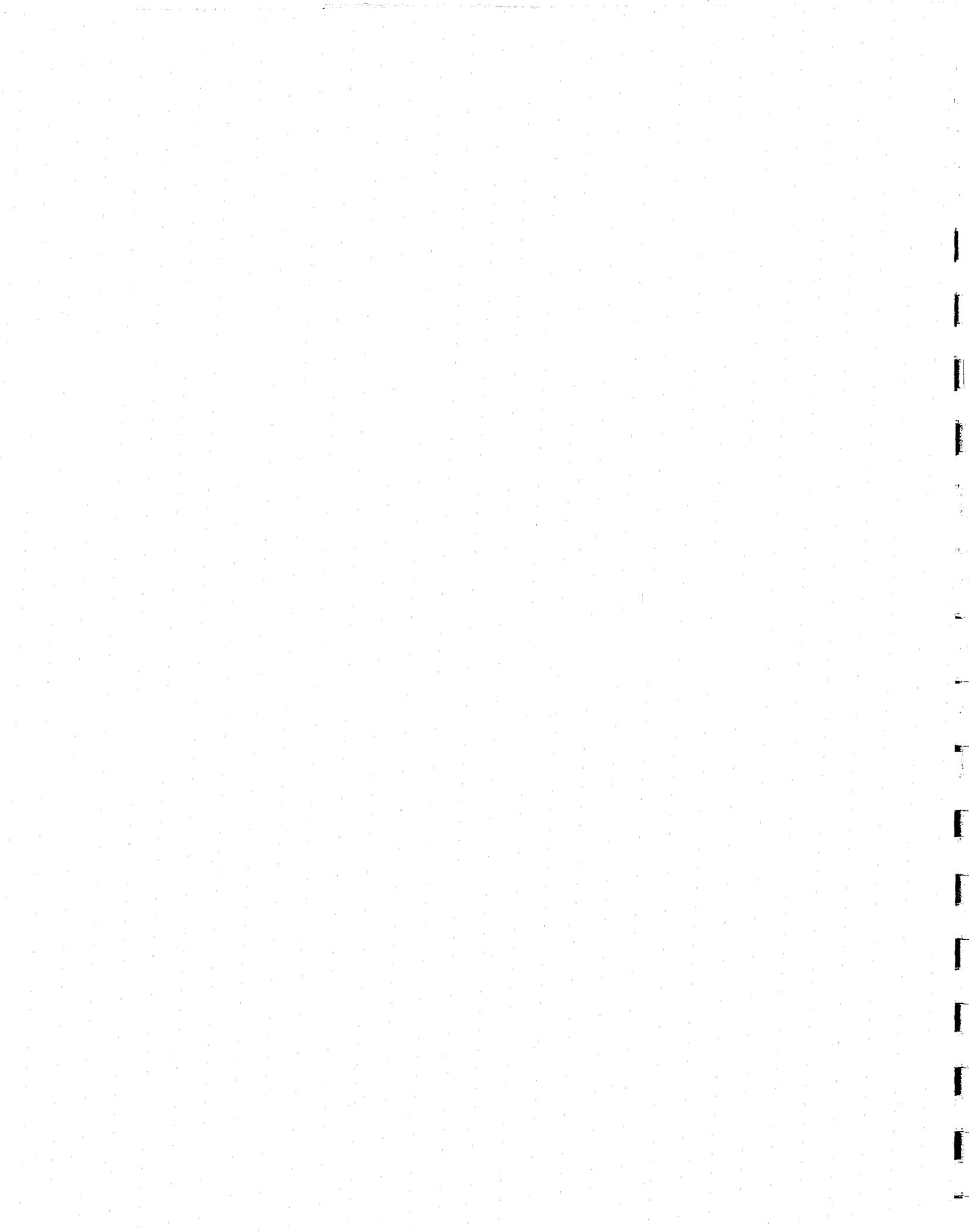
He concludes that,

"There is no single theory which can encompass all of these observations. Much more data is needed before we can claim to understand adequately (these) determinants of performance.

¹ Herzberg, Fredrick, *Op Cit.*, pg. 57

² Vroom, Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 266

³ IBID, pg. 267



It appears that a person's desire to perform effectively on a task cannot be completely understood through an examination of the social reward and punishment systems used to control behavior. Effective and ineffective performance may have affective consequences *per se*; the magnitude of these consequences is a function of the nature of the task, the "personality" of the worker, and their interrelation."¹

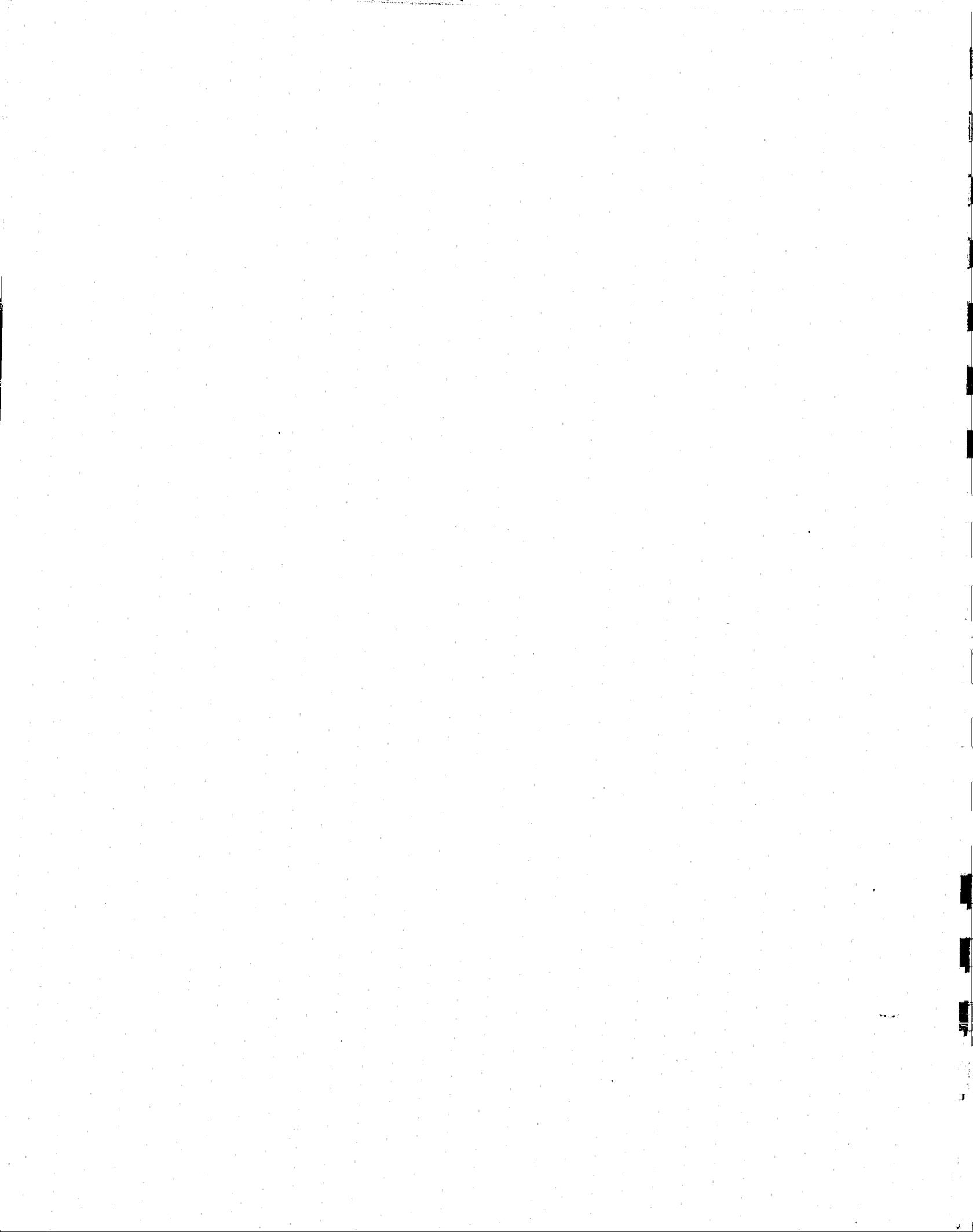
The quotes from literature sources were easily footnoted. However, it was impossible to credit the numbers of insights given over the past several years during casual conversations with policemen of all rank, geographically across Canada and in the U.K., and Europe, and the U.S.A. Recently an opportunity to observe some police interviews inquiring into a single complaint of brutality involving almost thirty policemen has allowed an insight into the ambiguities facing a patrolman.

For this project, scope of the current literature was discussed with researchers at I.A.C.P., Police Foundation and the Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement Research Branch in Washington D.C. They are concerned with productivity and are emphasizing the development of performance criteria for police service.

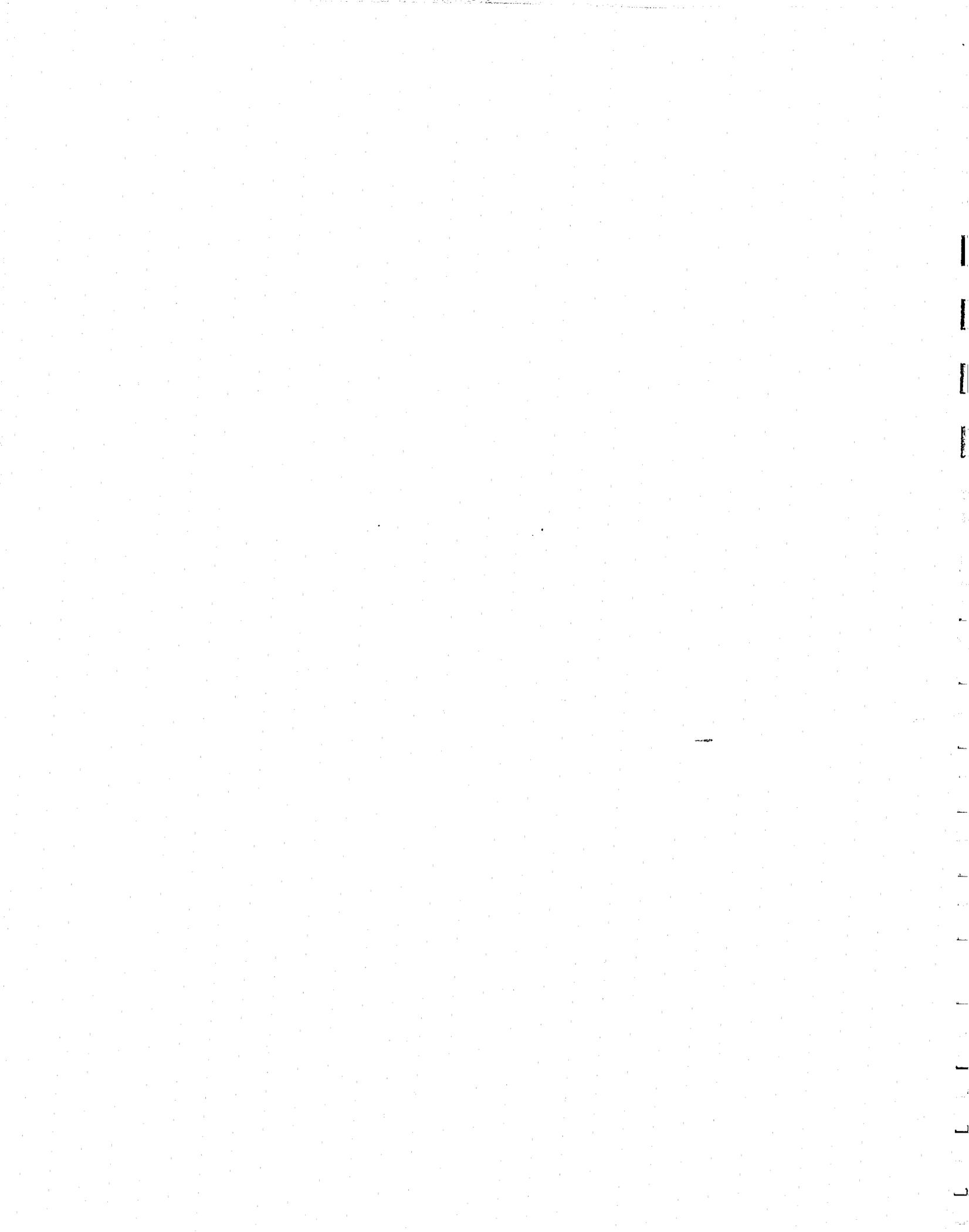
The conclusions of this project rest on the framework of personal interviews as well as a literature search.

¹ Vroom Victor H., *Op Cit.*, pg. 267

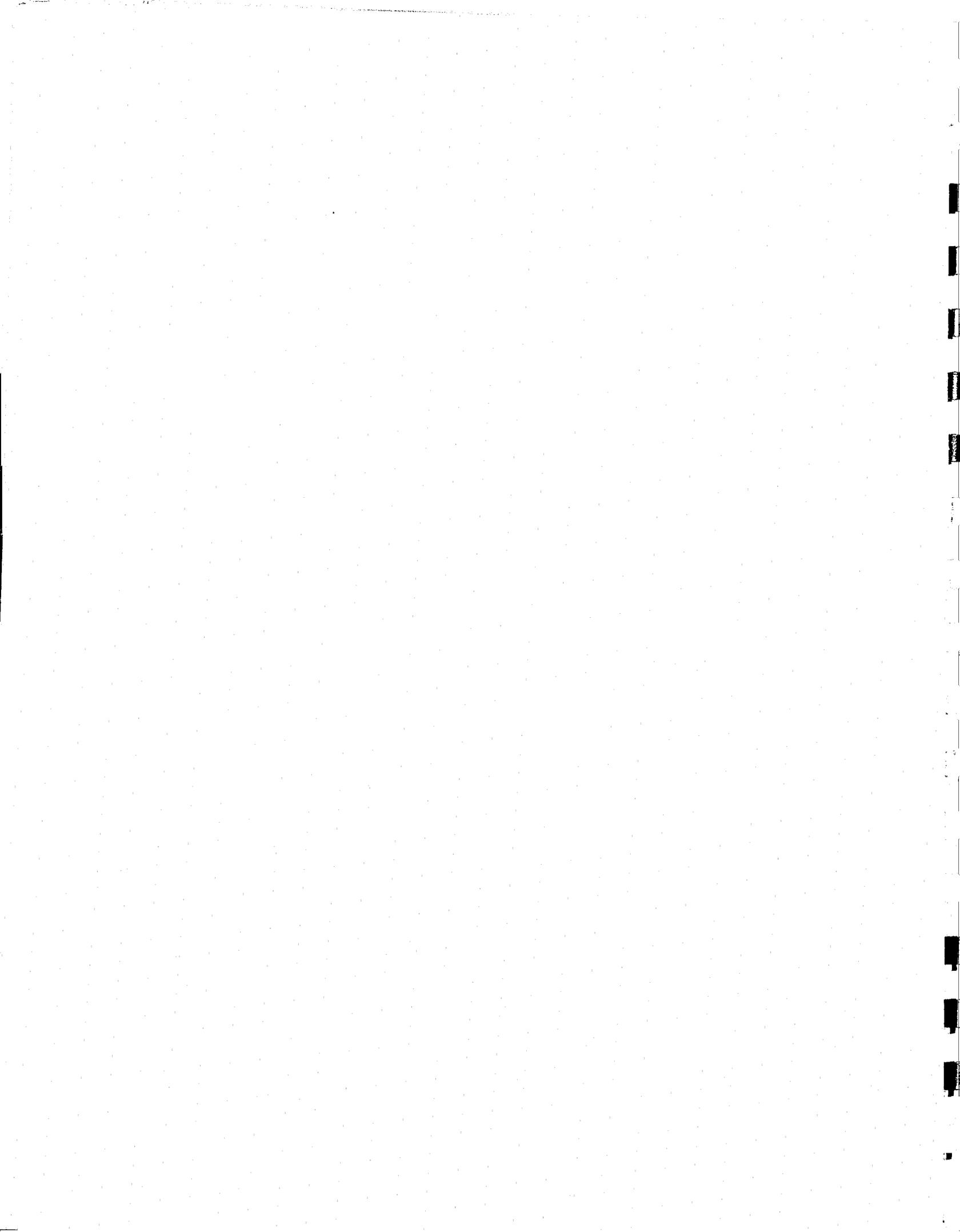




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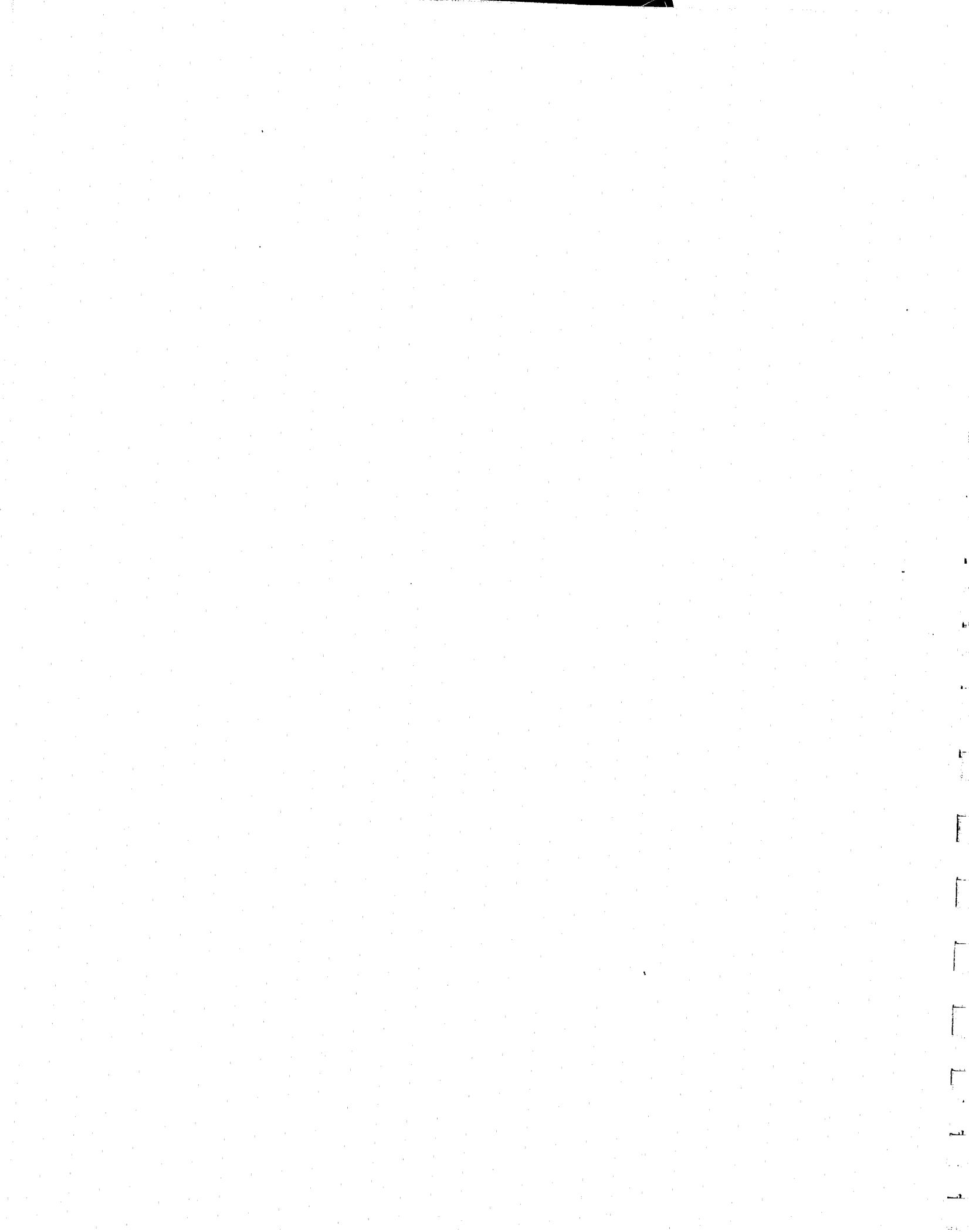
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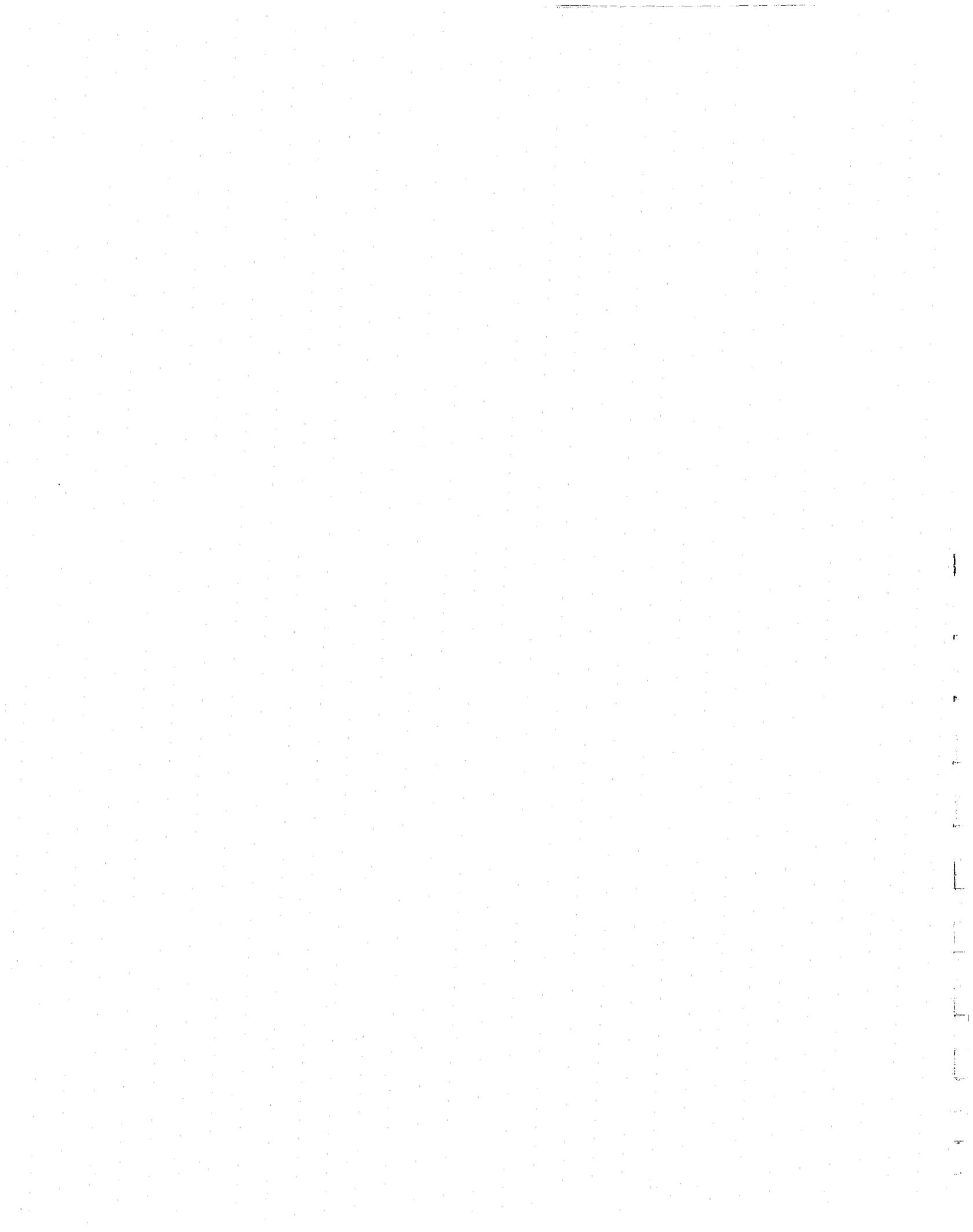
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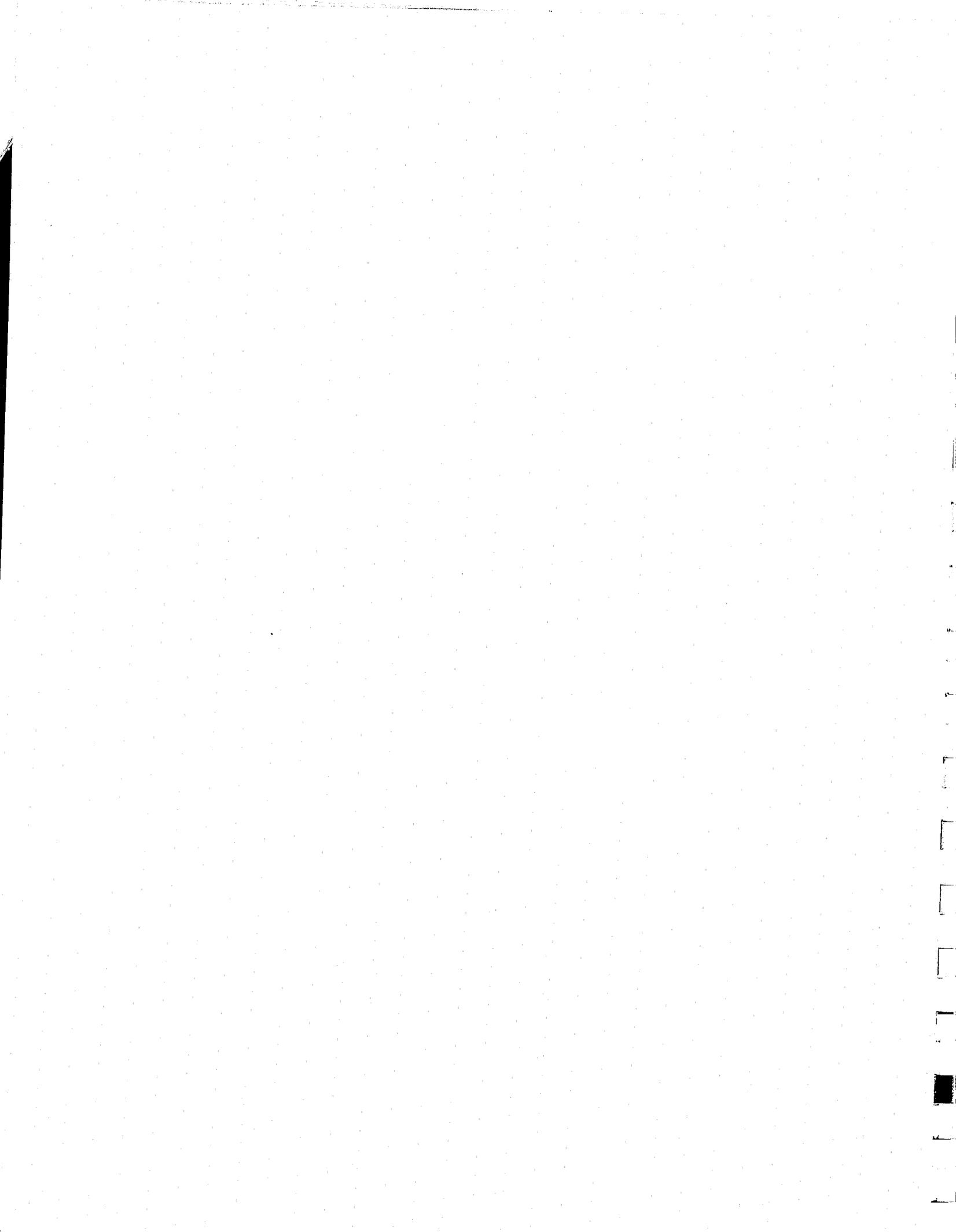
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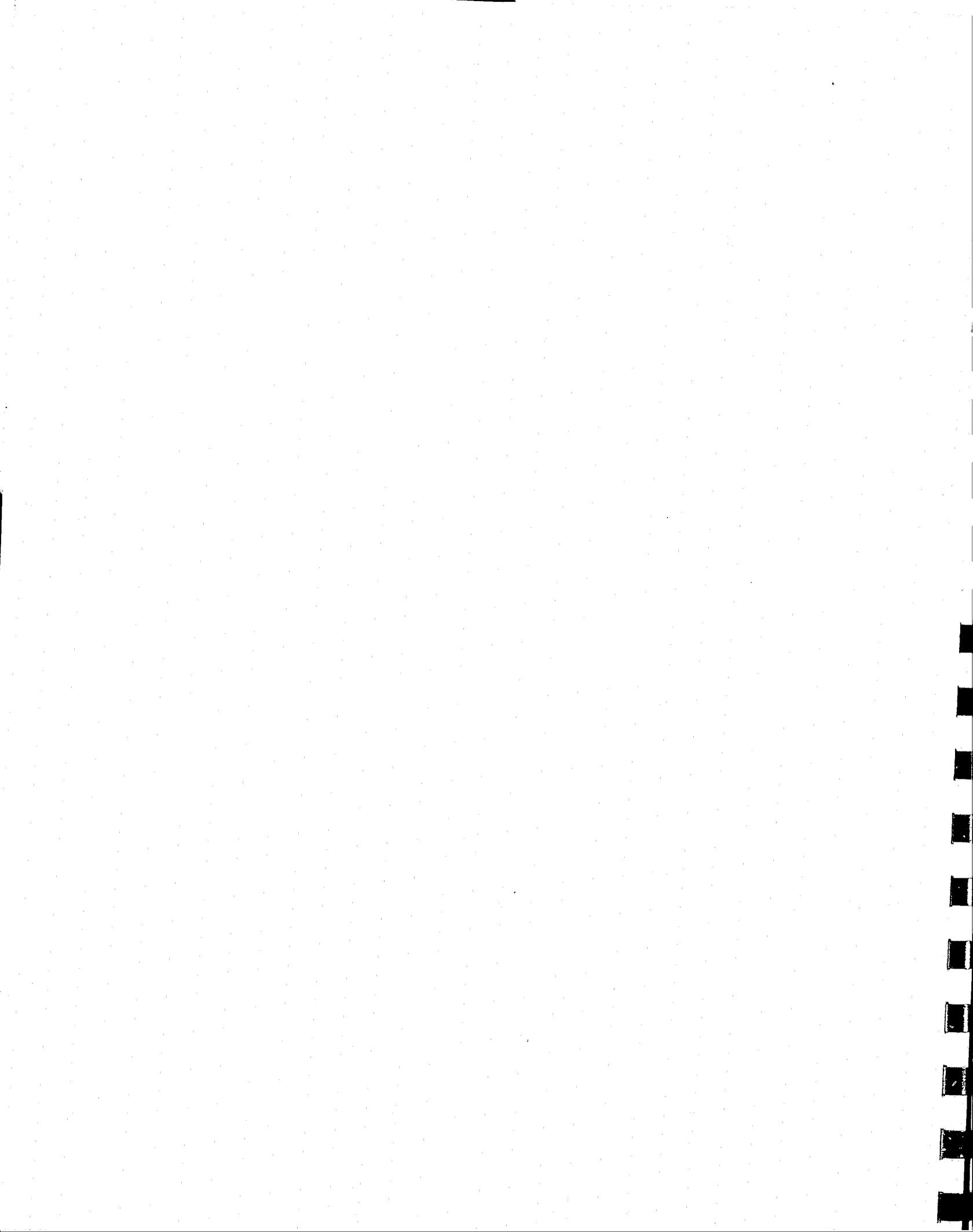
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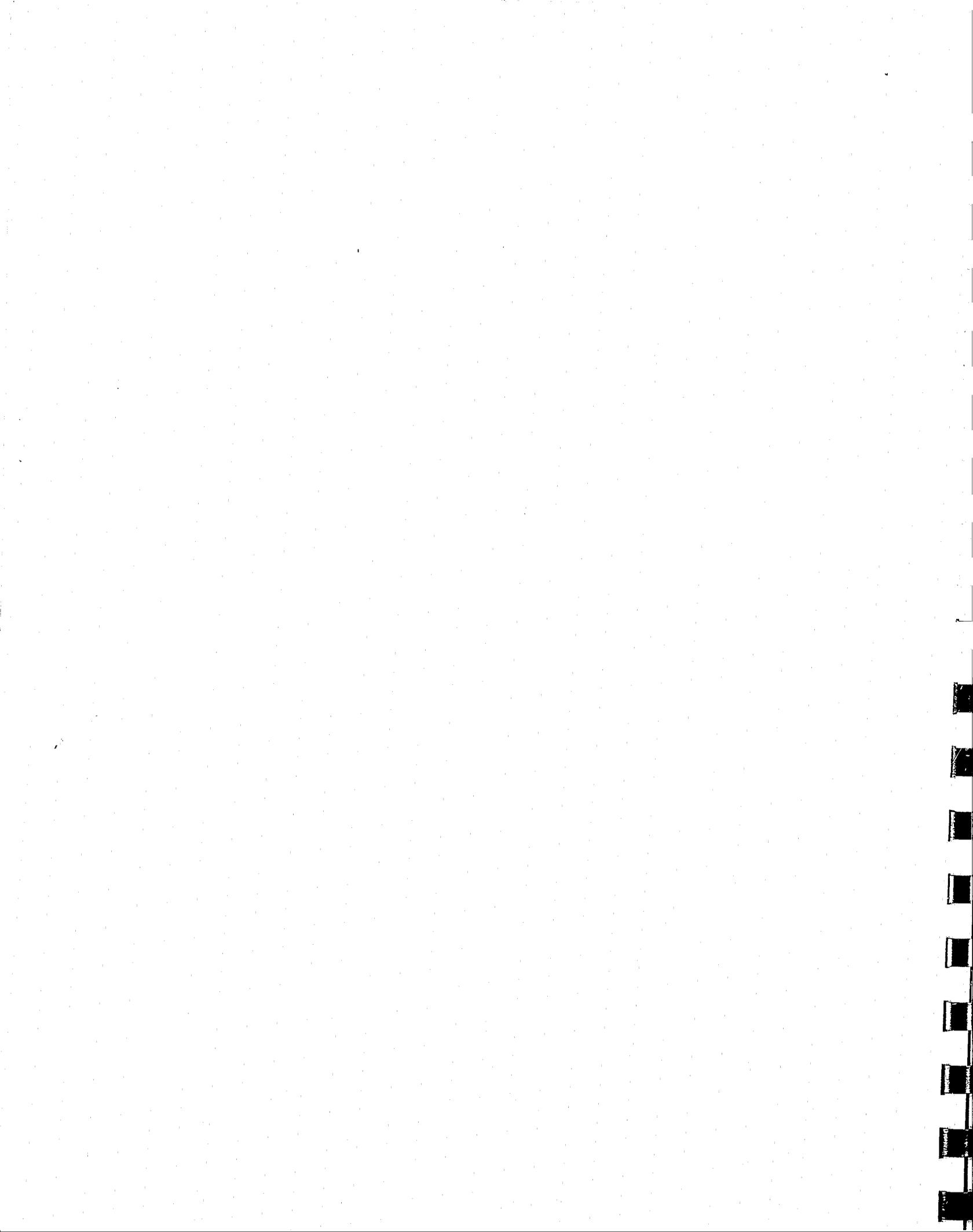
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Burpo, John	Consultant for Labour Negotiations, International Association of Chiefs of Police
Danzigger, Martin	Director, United Mine Workers, formerly Director, National Institute in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C.
Farmer, David John	Director of Research, Police Complaints, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Administration
Heaphy, John	Director of Research, Productivity Programs, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C.
Murphy, Glen, PHd.	Director of Research, International Association of Chiefs of Police
Ruth, H.	Special Prosecutor, Watergate Investi- gation, Washington, D.C.
Staufenberg, Richard	Programs Officer for Personnel Issues, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C.

OCTOBER 1975

Van Maanen, John	Associate Professor, Organizational Sociology, Massachusetts, Institute of Technology
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