JOB SATISFACTION IN POLICEMEN AND ITS RELATION TO LOCUS OF CONTROL, EGO STRENGTH, AND PERFORMANCE

by

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CHAPTER I

POLICE WORK AND PERSONALITY

In our society, police are expected to maintain both law and order. In reality, they are trained primarily to maintain law, but the majority of their time is spent in maintaining order. Order maintenance includes intervention in family disputes, aid to the sick and injured, and participation in other medical, psychological, and social emergencies. Although many policemen and police authorities regard some order maintenance functions (e.g., intervening in family disputes, aiding those locked out of their homes, handling social deviants) as unimportant, time-consuming, or inappropriate (Wilson, 1968), in reality these functions are often vital to the community (Bard, Zacker and Rutter, 1972). Such tasks may involve complex, highly volatile interactions with people under stress, and policemen are neither trained to perform in these vital areas nor rewarded for good performance (Ahern, 1972).

Policemen are quite willing to provide these services as part of their order maintenance role when first recruited (Rubin, 1972). Once on the job, however,

> [their] tendencies in this direction are frustrated by a number of factors, beginning with the realization that there are no built-in rewards for good performance as a peacekeeper. Pats on the back, compliments about doing a good job, and other . . . rewards from the peer, supervisory, or command levels rarely follow the successful completion of a peacekeeping or community-service activity . . . Equally frustrating . . . is the insecurity which community service calls generate (Rubin, 1972, pp. 26-27).

Policemen feel frustrated by the service aspect of their job, and these feelings may affect their performance and job satisfaction. Personality characteristics may also influence job satisfaction. The present study will investigate the relationship of both job performance and personality characteristics to job satisfaction in policemen.

Police Performance and Job Satisfaction

The Police and Their Work

James Ahern, former police chief of New Haven, Connecticut, reports that:

> The cop in the squad car who is underqualified or undereducated or undertrained, who is subject to all the warping influences that society brings to bear on him, is the basic unit of police service (Ahern, 1972, p. 2).

Ahern is clearly concerned about the ability of patrolmen to function in a competent manner. He described recruit training as being highly inadequate and not reflecting the

actual work which will be performed. Much of this training concerns aspects of criminal law enforcement which the patrolman will not generally need since in most large police forces important criminal matters are relayed to one of the special service divisions. Thus the recruit begins his tenure as a patrolman by receiving training which Ahern terms "vacuous."

Once the new patrolman has completed his training, he comes face to face with situations for which the Academy has not prepared him. The actual police role is in conflict with both his and the public's view of the policeman as a gun-toting law enforcer. The policeman actually spends considerably more time maintaining order and providing services than in responding to criminal conduct (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice: Task Force Report: The Police, 1967). A survey of the way a patrolman's time is allocated disclosed that only 30 per cent of an officer's time is associated with criminal activity, while 70 per cent of his time is spent answering calls for service, providing information, and patrolling (U.S. Department of Justice, L.E.A.A.: Police Training and Performance Study, 1970).

Police work has been described by various authors as boring, routine, and superficial, as well as complex and ambiguous (Ahern, 1972; Rubin, 1972; Wilson, 1968). In

most situations the patrolman's function is limited to report writing. Because he usually responds to calls concerning an event that has already occurred, he may only record the victim's story and guard the crime scene while waiting for detectives to begin the job of investigation (Ahern, 1972). Wilson (1968) describes the police role as follows:

> In addition to catching criminals and preventing crime, he recovers stolen property, directs traffic, provides emergency medical aid, gets cats out of trees, checks on the homes of families on vacation, and helps little old ladies who have locked themselves out of their apartments (p.4).

Thus it is clear that the cops-and-robbers stereotype hardly describes the reality of the job as it exists for the patrolman.

Not only is the overall police role complex and ambiguous, but it is even complex when one examines that function commonly thought to be clear cut, i.e., law enforcement. Of particular importance here are issues regarding consensual crimes and the use of discretion. Consensual crimes are those commonly thought of as victimless. They include homosexual encounters between consenting adults, prostitution, gambling, and the use of drugs. Laws which define such behavior as criminal are selectively enforced. The law is constantly changing as ideas concerning fundamental human rights and obligations

are redefined. The ambiguity resulting from rapidly changing moral patterns causes police to function in what Ahern (1972) calls "grey areas" of the law.

The use of discretion is another ambiguous area. While many crimes are clear cut (murder, rape, burglary), many others (street fights, speeding motorists, fighting couples) are not. These "grey area" crimes call for the patrolman's discretion as to whether to intervene and, if so, in what way (e.g., make an arrest, issue a warning, question those involved). Thus those lowest in the police hierarchy, the patrolmen, are those who must exercise the most discretion. The patrolman, often alone, is frequently solely in charge of enforcing laws which are imprecise and ambiguous. Wilson (1968) declares that maintaining order involves "the exercising of substantial discretion over matters of the greatest importance (. . . morality, honor and dishonor, life and death) in a situation that is, by definition, one of conflict in an environment that is apprehensive and perhaps hostile" (p. 21). Wilson states that:

> The patrolman's role is defined more by responsibility for maintaining order than by his responsibility for enforcing the law. By "order" is meant the absence of disorder . . . Disorder . . . involves a dispute over what is "right" or "seemly" conduct or over who is to blame for conduct that is agreed to as wrong or unseemly. A noisy drunk, a rowdy teenager . . ., a loud radio in the apartment next door, a panhandler soliciting money . . ., all these

> are examples of behavior which "the public" . . . may disapprove of and ask the patrolman to "put a stop to." . . . On the other hand, a fight, a tavern brawl, . . . are kinds of behavior that even the participants are not likely to condone. Thus, they may agree that the police have a right to intervene but they are likely to disagree over who is to blame and thus against whom the police ought to act (pp. 16-17).

Lack of training can often lead to tragic results either for policemen or for the public. Ahern (1972) and Bard (1969) indicated that a disproportionate percentage of police injuries and fatalities occur while intervening in domestic disputes. When a patrolman enters the premises in which a family dispute is in progress, the man of the house may feel challenged by the officer's presence. Emotions are aroused; there may already have been violence between the disputants. Thus the policeman responding to a family dispute enters a potentially dangerous situation with minimal training in the subtle and skillful techniques of managing conflict. Bard adds that the intervening officer's behavior may inadvertently lead to the tragic outcome of either injury to himself or to the disputants. In these situations the patrolman has no real power to act, short of making an arrest. Policemen often leave peacemaking calls without a sense of accomplishment and with a feeling of frustration (Rubin, 1972).

Thus the patrol function involves exercising wide discretion over important and difficult human concerns in

an anxious and frequently hostile community. The young patrolman learns early in his career not to stick his neck out, and feels that it is only the brotherhood of his fellow officers that will support, protect, and befriend him (Wilson, 1968). This isolation, coupled with the difficulties discussed above, can be expected to affect policemen's job satisfaction.

The Black Policeman

When a police department has a large black population, there are additional factors to be considered. Alex's (1969) survey of black policemen gave some indication of why black policemen might be dissatisfied with police work. Policemen act as buffers between the criminals and the public, and between forces for change and forces for the status quo. Policemen also possess wide discretionary powers (Wilson, 1969). Wilson claimed that these wide discretionary powers may lead to the use of extra-legal power. Black citizens, feeling themselves victims of police excesses, are suspicious and ambivalent about the police. Their feelings of ambivalence result both from the policeman's buffer status and from fears that policemen will misuse their discretionary powers (Alex, 1969). Sensing citizen ambivalence about his role, the patrolman may view his job as having marginal status (Alex, 1969).

For the black patrolman, the job may involve even more conflicts than it does for the white patrolman. Like his white counterpart, the black patrolman must contend with the ambivalence of the community and the marginal status attributed to his occupation, but he must also contend with the bitter distrust of the black community, which sees him as a traitorous guardian of white society. He further has to contend with white co-workers who respond to him mainly as black rather than as another policeman (Alex, 1969).

Alex (1969) noted that lack of opportunities due to discrimination made police work attractive to the black policemen he interviewed. Because alternative opportunities are scarce, civil service jobs provide secure, well-paying positions, and selection is objective, these black men were attracted to police work. Thus Alex concluded that the motivation of black men to become police officers was mainly due to limited opportunities rather than to positive attraction to police work.

Job Satisfaction and the Police

Before discussing policemen's job satisfaction, it is necessary to examine some of the issues involved in measuring job satisfaction in general.

Traditionally job satisfaction has been viewed as a unidimensional concept, with satisfaction and dissatisfaction representing terminal points on a linear continuum. This view assumes that any positive element offering satisfaction would create dissatisfaction in its absence. Thus, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction were regarded as issuing from identical sources (Pallone, Rickard and Hurley, 1970; Wood and LeBold, 1970).

Measuring job satisfaction in a global or unidimensional form (Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969) requires the worker to make many complex discriminations and sum them all up in one rating. Interpretation of such ratings is risky without knowing what specific factors the worker was considering in making this judgment. Herzberg et al.'s (1959) two-factor theory was the first step toward a multidimensional description of job attitudes. Herzberg contended that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are triggered by different factors rather than by varying amounts of the same factor. Even this theory seems to be an over-simplification of the relationship between motivation and satisfaction (House and Wigdor, 1967; Pallone et al., 1970).

Current work regarding job satisfaction indicates that the concept is multidimensional (Wood and LeBold, 1970; Crites, 1969). When job satisfaction questionnaires are factor analyzed, at least five factors emerge (Smith et al., 1969). According to Smith and her co-workers, certain requirements should be met by any satisfaction inventory: level of verbal ability necessary for responding should be low enough to be used by almost any employable worker; the instrument should be inexpensive and not too time-consuming; standardization should be accomplished and norms be available; the various aspects of satisfaction should be separated so one can interpret the results more accurately; and the inventory should be reliable and valid.

There have been few investigations of policemen's job satisfaction. The first reported study indicated that policemen were moderately satisfied with their job and dissatisfied with the social status accompanying it (Kates, 1950). However, Kates's sample had only 25 patrolmen, selected by the department, making it difficult to generalize from the sample to the general population of policemen. In a later study, Reiss (1967) found police to be satisfied with the variety of work, work with people, and supervision and promotional opportunities; and dissatisfied with work schedule, pay, promotional examinations, and service ratings. However, Reiss did not

use a validated instrument.

Lefkowitz (1971) conducted the most comprehensive survey of policemen's feelings about their job to date. In data obtained from 80 per cent of the police department of a large, urban, industrial city (Dayton, Ohio), using a multidimensional satisfaction index, the Job Description Index (JDI), Lefkowitz found general police dissatisfaction. His subjects were compared to a normative group of 2,000 industrial workers. Policemen were more dissatisfied in all five areas sampled: work, promotional opportunities, supervision, co-workers, and pay.

What does this dissatisfaction mean in terms of how an officer functions during his tour of duty? What is the relationship between job satisfaction and performance? Knowledge about satisfaction can be of intrinsic value. Employers (and in the case of the police, society at large) are concerned with the relationship between satisfaction and productivity.

Work Performance and the Police

Early work in the field of job satisfaction was based on the assumption that improvement in job attitude would be reflected in increased productivity. It soon became apparent that this simplistic formulation (the better one likes his job, the harder one will work) was inadequate

(Vroom, 1964). However, for specific aspects of performance a relationship to satisfaction does exist. In reviewing the literature on the relationship between satisfaction and performance, Brayfield and Crockett (1955) and Vroom (1964) noted that when considering absence, accident, and employment stability, there is some evidence of a significant but complex relationship between employee attitude and absence. Svetlik, Prien and Barrett (1964) and Hulin and Smith (1965) obtained significant correlations between overall job satisfaction and tenure. Herzberg et al. (1957) found that positive job attitudes unequivocally related to the worker's tendency to come to work on a daily basis. They found some evidence to show negative correlations between job satisfaction and number of accidents. They also stated that the preponderance of data indicated that in almost one-half of the studies, workers with positive job satisfaction outproduced workers with negative satisfaction.

Crites (1969), summarizing the literature on satisfaction and performance, stated that the two variables have not been consistently and systematically associated with each other. The relationship which obtains between them seems to be complex, involving many factors. Dissatisfaction may sometimes be expressed by absences or job changing; or there may be no overt on-the-job expression. It is the

interrelationship of objective factors on the job, individual capacities and experience, alternatives available, and the values of the individual that can be expected to predict satisfaction and performance (Smith et al., 1969).

Performance criteria in industry pose many problems. Trying to find adequate performance criteria for patrolmen also poses many problems, some of which are due to the ambiguity and uncertainty of the job. The patrolman can be seen as a member of a craft (Wilson, 1968). As with other crafts, there is no body of written knowledge comprising a theory, nor is there a set of detailed rules. Learning occurs by apprenticeship on the job. Unlike members of a craft, however, the apprentice patrolman wishes to win respect from his colleagues, not his supervisors, possibly because police supervisors do not do the same job as patrolmen. Also, the tangible product which can serve as a criterion for most crafts is non-existent in police work. The police produce "a service the value of which is not easily judged" (Wilson, 1968, p. 238).

Existing means of evaluating job performance for the police are inadequate. Performance indexes such as awards, complaints, disciplinary actions, arrests, and sick days, while objective, have been rarely used. The police code of secrecy and police suspiciousness of outsiders

also accounts for the infrequency of objective investigation of police performance (Lefkowitz, 1971; U.S. Department of Justice: Psychological Assessment of Patrolmen, 1968).

In the Psychological Assessment of Patrolmen (1968) an analysis of the patrolmen's job was performed, and aspects of their background, motivation, and intelligence were assessed and related to performance. Two criteria used were number of absences and number of arrests. It was found that the relationship between other performance criteria and both arrests and absences was complex and did not accurately predict performance. Eight separate classifications of patrolmen ranging in performance from excellent to poor were identified. One type identified and rated as "excellent" averaged fewer absences, more arrests, more departmental awards, and extremely high supervisor ratings. Another group rated as "good" had fewer arrests and awards than a control group but was highly rated by their supervisors. These men had better attendance records than the control group and, in fact, had the best attendance record of all eight groups. Another group of men rated as "poor" by their supervisors made fewer arrests than the control group but were quite satisfied with their vocational choice. Good performance did not proceed from their high job satisfaction.

Patrolmen themselves are very critical of available performance measures. Disciplinary decisions of their

superiors, considered by Wilson and other authors to be objective indices of performance, are likely to be regarded by the patrolman as arbitrary and capricious. Complaints against patrolmen, another performance index considered to be objective, may instead be arbitrary since a superior often must make a judgment based only on the word of the patrolman and that of the complainant (Wilson, 1968).

The area of complex interpersonal situations is even more difficult to evaluate. What, for example, would constitute an effective intervention in a family dispute? Preventing violence, or effecting an arrest, or making a referral to an appropriate social agency--all these could be considered successful outcomes. In some way the task parallels that of evaluating any complex interpersonal situation (e.g., the effects of psychotherapy). Because intervention in these interpersonal transactions comprises so much of a patrolman's job, evaluation criteria are necessary and should be heavily weighted in any overall assessment of police performance. At present, however, such criteria do not exist. Until they are developed, objective measures such as number of arrests, sick days, citations, and awards must be relied upon. However, it must be remembered that these criteria relate mainly to law enforcement and do not evaluate services performed on the job.

Personality Attributes and Policemen

As previously noted, a policeman must perform in both ambiguous and complex interpersonal situations. The ability to tolerate this ambiguous and complex environment is positively related to an important aspect of personality, ego strength (Barron, 1968). Therefore, patrolmen with high ego strength could be expected to be more effective in their work than patrolmen with lower ego strength.

In such complex and ambiguous situations a certain level of ego strength may be necessary to permit the ability to discriminate objectively, especially in the absence of adequate training. When an officer is required to intervene in a crisis such as a family dispute or a landlord-tenant altercation, he cannot know what has occurred before he arrived. His lack of training in interpersonal conflict may predispose him to approach the disputants in such a way as to further inflame them (Bard, 1969). His intervention may, in fact, lead to the violence he desires to prevent (Bard, Zacker and Rutter, 1972). A patrolman without adequate crisis intervention training must be governed by other factors. The patrolman's ability to deal with the complexities of his job, and perhaps even his satisfaction with the job, might be influenced by his personality.

However, personality factors that would enable a

police officer to function well are as yet undetermined. A start would be to focus on what factors determine effective functioning. Ford and Urban (1963), surveying theories of ego psychologists, described effective behavior as behavior that is fairly independent of the imperatives of the instincts. This autonomy is aided by the activity of conscious thoughts since thinking facilitates the individual's conscious control, enabling him better to direct his behavior. Thus policemen should be able to function more effectively when their behavior is under conscious control.

Ego Strength

Effective behavior may be to a large extent the result of a strong, healthy ego. Freud described the ego as being formed gradually as a result of the interaction of the individual with the real world. He used the term ego to refer to the most differentiated part of the personality which, on contact with the outer world, has learned how to function in accordance with the reality principle (Munroe, 1955).

In An Outline of Psychoanalysis, Freud (1949) wrote:

> The principal characteristics of the ego are these. In consequence of the relation which was already established between sensory perception and muscular action, the ego is in control of voluntary movement. It has the task of self-preservation. As regards external events, it performs that task by becoming aware of the stimuli

> from without, by storing up experiences of them (in the memory), by avoiding excessive stimuli (through flight), by dealing with moderate stimuli (through adaptation) and, finally, by learning to bring about appropriate modifications in the external world to its own advantage (through activity). As regards internal events, in relation to the id, it performs that task by gaining control over demands of the instincts, by deciding whether they shall be allowed to obtain satisfaction, by postponing that satisfaction to times and circumstances favorable in the external world or by suppressing their excitations completely (p. 15).

White (1963) further elaborates on aspects of ego functioning, defining and delineating the nature of the competence motive. He states (1959) that in adults, the competence motive is likely to express itself as a desire for job mastery and professional growth. Work may be one of the few remaining arenas in which man can match his skills against the environment in a contest that is neither too easy nor too difficult. Where such a contest is possible, the competence motive may be exercised and considerable rewards enjoyed. Where the competence motive is minimally possible, as in most routinized jobs, a strong competence motive leads to frustration while a weak one encourages resignation and dependency. White feels that a sense of competence probably plays an important part in feeling successful on the job.

Like White, Barron (1968) related the concept of the

competent ego to mastery of the environment in such areas as work. Barron maintains that among the characteristics collectively referred to as ego strength are "physiological stability and good health, a strong sense of reality, feelings of personal adequacy and vitality, permissive morality, lack of ethnic prejudice, emotional outgoingness and spontaneity and intelligence" (p. 131). He further states that the normal ego synthesizes early experiences of mastery, the most important outcomes of this synthesis being personal identity in work and in love. For Barron, as for White, productive work is intimately involved with a normal healthy ego.

Complexity, an important aspect of police functioning, has been examined in terms of ego strength. Barron found that persons differ in their preference for complexity, and he related complexity to a number of characteristics, many of which seemed to be related to ego strength. He found a preference for complexity related negatively to inflexibility, social conformity, subservience to authority, and conservatism, and related positively to originality and intellectual activity. Preference for complexity was also negatively related to lack of impulse control and failure of repression. He concluded that independence of judgment must be included in the general constellation of factors related to preference for the complex. It seems clear that the ability to tolerate complexity is related to

ego strength.

There is some indication that police work involves a seeking for complexity. Rubin's (1972) investigation found policemen to be assertive, with a high level of physical energy, and quite restless. Related to this restlessness is what Rubin called "stimulus hunger," the searching of the environment for perceptual stimulation to maintain alertness. Most of the men in his study indicated an aversion to routine. They sought activity that involved the discharge of impulses which Barron (1968) found to be related to the preference for complexity.

Bass (1965) states that many problems encountered in work are poorly defined. Such ambiguity results in solutions which depend considerably on the personality, motivation, and past experience of the individual worker.

Wilson (1968) related avoidance of ambiguity to police work. He claimed that many officers attempt to avoid patrol duty. A fundamental advantage of nonpatrol duty is that "the officer has a better sense of what is expected of him" (Wilson, 1968, p. 53).

Patrolmen with high ego strength would be expected to have the ability to deal competently with the ambiguous and complex aspects of the job. This study investigated whether patrolmen with high ego strength would be more satisfied with their jobs than those with low ego strength.

Internal-External Locus of Control

White (1963) stated that a strong ego is one with substantial competence in dealing with impulses and reality. This includes the ability to delay and tolerate tensions and is related to confidence in one's ability to influence the course of events. White states:

> When ultimate gratification is not entirely a matter of luck, but lies at least somewhat within the sphere of one's own effort, it is easier to put up with a frustration and wait for the expedient future . . . Being able to make valid judgments and to carry out one's intentions clearly relates to what has been accomplished through active exploration and the testing of reality. Intentions can be carried out to the extent that one has learned competence in dealing with the various exigencies that may obstruct them . . . It is by developing competence that the ego betters its position in relation to future threats (p. 138).

Related to White's notion of a competent ego is a concept which has evoked much research: internal-external locus of control. This construct pertains to some of the ego properties subsumed under ego strength. Locus of control refers to the "degree to which individuals perceive the events in their lives as being a consequence of their own actions, and thereby controllable (internal control), or as being unrelated to their own behaviors and, therefore, beyond personal control (external control)" (Lefcourt, 1971, p. 2).

The concept of locus of control was derived from social learning theory (Rotter, 1966). It refers to the relationship between how a person behaves and his perception of the consequences of his behavior. An external orientation is said to be manifested when the association between a reward and behavior are interpreted by the actor as being due to luck, chance, or fate rather than intention and skill. An internal orientation is said to exist when a reward is perceived as contingent on one's own behavior or personality (Rotter, 1966; Lefcourt, 1966). Behavior partially depends on a person's expectations. One who believes that there is no relationship between his acts and his achievements will act differently from one who believes his actions determine the consequences (Lefcourt, 1966).

Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969) relate locus of control to White's competence motive. Lefcourt (1971) also makes the connection between locus of control and competence, saying that competence is an assumed correlate of internal expectancy. Thus it seems that there is a relationship between an increased feeling of competence and increased perception of personal control (internal orientation).

An orientation toward internal control requires some success in avoiding obstacles and achieving desired ends--the ability to be goal directed. The experience of many

failures would be expected to increase self doubts and consequently lead to an increasingly external orientation. Internal, self directed behavior involves more active cognitive processing of information relevant to achieving a valued goal. Achieving such a goal is related to the types of cognitive strategies that come to characterize the person (Davis and Phares, 1967; Lefcourt, 1971; Phares, 1968). The research regarding cognitive activity and locus of control lends some support to the contention that those with internal control tend to be more cognitively active than those with external control (Julian and Katz, 1968; Rotter and Mulry, 1965).

Related to the cognitive differences between internals and externals is the ability to delay gratification. Ford and Urban (1963), in discussing the ego psychologists, stated that acquiring the capacity for delay is a crucial stage in ego development. Lefcourt (1971) stated that locus of control is related to the preference of either short or long term goals. Long delays between the expression of desires and their satisfactions are more usual for internals, whereas externals are more impulsive and prefer more easily obtainable immediate goals (Bialer, 1961; Walls and Smith, 1970).

Another relationship between locus of control and ego strength exists in the ability to resist coercion and to

maintain independence of judgment. Persons who are internally oriented are more cautious about allowing themselves to be influenced than are those who are externally oriented (Crowne and Liverant, 1963; Gore, 1962; Odell, 1959). Some of these studies used the Asch-type conformity situation also used by Barron (1968), who related independence of judgment to both complexity and ego strength.

Rotter (1966) also postulated a relationship between ego strength and locus of control. An investigation using Rotter's measure of locus of control and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory indicated a correlation between internality and ego strength and between externality and pathology (Burnes, Brown and Keating, 1971). Shybut (1970) also found a significant relationship between measures of internality and ego strength. Thus, locus of control appears theoretically and empirically related to ego strength.

In sum, internals not only show more initiative and effort in controlling their environment, but also can control their own impulses better than externals. Externals, in contrast, are more anxious, lower in self-esteem, higher in neuroticism, more aggressive, more dogmatic, and less trustful (Feather, 1967; Goss and Morosko, 1970; Hersch and Scheibe, 1967; Joe, 1971).

Summary

Studies have provided support for the conclusion that the person who believes that he can control his destiny is likely to be more alert to those aspects of the environment which provide useful information for his future behavior. Such a person, therefore, would be able to take steps to improve his environmental conditions, would place greater value on skill or achievement, and would be generally more concerned with his ability (Lefcourt, 1971).

Such skills and concerns are expressions of ego functioning. Ego strength involves, among other things, the ability to engage oneself effectively in the events of living. Work is one such event and is among the most important in life. A person's work attitude may reflect whether he is taking an active part in shaping his life and realizing important goals (internal orientation), or, conversely, may express helplessness and passivity (external orientation).

Such attitudes concerning work should have important implications for policemen. Police work, besides being dangerous, is extremely complex and often requires working in ambiguous conditions. It is expected that an officer's satisfaction with his job would be reflected in how well he performs it.

A policeman's feelings of satisfaction with his work may also be related to whether he perceives himself as being actively in control of his life or passively manipulated and controlled by outside forces. It was expected that internal locus of control would be positively related both to job satisfaction and to ego strength in policemen.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis I: It is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between high work satisfaction (as measured by the JDI-Work scale) and internal locus of control in policemen. It is expected that when a policeman experiences more control over his life, he will experience important aspects of his job as under his control. Therefore he should be more satisfied with his work.

Hypothesis II: It is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between work satisfaction (as measured by the JDI-Work scale) and ego strength (as measured by Barron's Ego Strength Scale) in policemen. When a man can effectively cope with the reality demands of his work in a competent manner and tolerate the tensions involved in a difficult and stressful job, he is more likely to achieve satisfaction in his work.

Hypothesis III: It is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between internal locus of control in policemen and ego strength (as measured by Barron's Ego Strength Scale). Ego strength and locus of control appear to be conceptually and empirically related. Therefore it is expected that the same relationship will apply to policemen.

Hypothesis IV: It is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between work satisfaction of policemen (as measured by the JDI-Work scale) and indices of performance (number of arrests and number of times absent). Evidence for a relationship between work satisfaction and performance is scant. However, number of arrests and number of times absent for a one-year period are both objective criteria which have been mentioned in the literature as hypothetically being related to satisfaction in this unique population.

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 120 experienced New York City Housing Authority patrolmen who were receiving a special program of training as Neighborhood Police Team personnel for housing projects in the south Bronx. Average age for the group was 34 years (S.D.=6.7), and they ranged in experience from 6 months to 15 years. The sample was composed of 84 Negroes, 26 Caucasians, and 10 Puerto Ricans. The marital status of the group was: single, 12%; married, 87%; divorced, 2%. Seventy-five per cent had children, with an average of 2, ranging from 1 to 5.

Demographic and other information was gathered to check comparability of this sample with other police samples reported in the literature. Information on place of birth was necessary for investigation of differences between black and white policemen and also to eliminate Puerto Rican subjects from any separate racial analysis which might be performed on a post-hoc basis. The Puerto

Rican subjects were not separately analyzed due to their small number (N=10).

Procedure

Subjects were presented with folders containing the Job Description Index (JDI), the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, the Ego Strength Scale, a face sheet requesting the subject's name, and a background questionnaire (see Appendix I). To reduce the subject's suspiciousness, each instrument contained only a code number for identification. The face sheet carried the subject's name and was collected separately so the officer could not be directly identified from his questionnaire.

The following instructions were read to the subjects: "I am interested in how people feel about their jobs, especially jobs which affect human welfare. I want to know how you feel about your job; not the one you're being trained now to do, but the one you did this year.

"What we are most interested in is how people feel about their jobs, and maybe you've wondered about this, too. Do people who like this work feel differently about life than people who like it less?

"Right at the start you have every right to wonder if what you write on the papers in these folders will hurt you. One way I thought to protect you each personally is that I am not asking you to put your names on the papers

themselves. I have put a code number on all the papers in each file. Therefore, if any paper should slip out of my hands, there will only be a number on it, and nobody will know whose it is.

"Please put your name on the first page of this folder. I'm going to pull that sheet immediately, and it will be kept separate.

"Your answers to the questions will be grouped together and not identified by any one name or even any code number because I am going to look at the group as a whole, not at individual answers. One particular person's answers are meaningless because they represent only him and cannot help us understand the group we're looking at. How a group of men feel, however, is very important. The Housing Authority has nothing to do with this research.

"Two of the questionnaires have nothing to do with jobs. For instance, there is a question about your appetite. It doesn't seem to have anything to do with how a man feels about the job. But people differ. We may find that men with good appetites like their jobs more than men without good appetites. Maybe how your body works is related to how you feel about your job. So liking being a policeman is a very complex issue, and we are trying to find out as much as possible about it. There are no right and wrong answers."

The Measuring Instruments

Job Description Index

The Job Description Index (JDI) measures the satisfaction expressed in five component areas of job satisfaction: Work, Pay, Opportunities for Promotion, Supervision, and Co-Workers. This instrument was developed by Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969) in the decade between 1959 and 1969 (see Appendix I). For each area of satisfaction there is a list of adjectives or short phrases. The subject indicates with yes, no, or question mark whether each adjective or phrase applies to each area of his job. This format reportedly minimizes response set which might arise if response alternatives were printed in a fixed order on the page.

The item pool from which the JDI originated contained items selected from other job satisfaction inventories and available lists of adjectives. A list of adjectives was compiled to describe the aspects of job satisfaction to be studied, resulting in 30 to 40 items per scale. Preliminary JDI scales were administered to various groups of employees to see if adequate response data could be obtained from subjects in a wide range of occupational groups.

In early research on the JDI, three descriptions were obtained from each worker: 1) his present job; 2) the job he would most like to have (best job); and 3) the

job he would least like to have (worst job). Comparison of a subject's descriptions of his present job with those of his best and worst jobs enabled a judgment to be made for the scoring of the adjective. Also, it was possible to see the discrepancy between his present job and his best and worst jobs on the assumption that if a worker used an adjective as descriptive of his best job and not his worst, then the presence of this characteristic on his present job is a source of satisfaction. The triadic scoring system was used to determine scoring directions for each item.

The first item analysis was performed on responses of 317 subjects. For each item, response frequencies were computed for descriptions of the subject's present job, his best job, and his worst job. All items which failed to show significant differences between best and worst jobs were discarded. If an item could not differentiate between the subject's present job and best job, or present job and worst job, it was judged to be of little importance.

Revised scales were then administered to 81 subjects. Subjects were asked why they disliked the jobs chosen as worst and why they liked those chosen as best. Several new adjectives were added from these responses.

In the next analysis, the JDI was administered to 163

male and 73 female subjects randomly chosen from three business companies. For each scale the sample was divided into a satisfied and a dissatisfied half on the basis of the total scores on each scale. Proportional differences in item responses between the high and the low halves were computed after adding the undecided (question mark) responses to the smaller (either yes or no) category. All items retained after this analysis were those which showed a significance of .05 or better.

Scales were thus developed with items which covered the different areas of satisfaction thoroughly and yet were internally consistent in terms of ability to discriminate between best and worst possible jobs and satisfied and dissatisfied workers.

Another scoring method devised and tried along with the traidic method was the direct scoring method, which used information on the workers' anchor jobs (best and worst jobs). If an item was endorsed more frequently by the group for the best job than for the worst job, it was scored positively. If it was endorsed by the group more frequently for the worst job than for the best job, it was scored negatively. Once direction is validly determined using this method, the tester need only ask for information about the present job.

Preliminary work showed that JDI triadic scores correlated with supervisory ratings of employees and

employees' rankings of job satisfaction.

In a factor analytic study, 148 employed undergraduates and 18 community people were given the JDI. Other ratings (a graphic and interview rating) were obtained from each subject. All subjects completed the JDI with reference to their current, best, and worst jobs. The results of this study yielded four job satisfaction factors. Factor I clearly represented satisfaction with the work one does; Factor II clearly involved both Pay and Promotion. Factor III involved all measures of satisfaction with Supervision, and Factor IV involved satisfaction with Co-Workers. The more complex triadic scoring method failed to show superiority over the direct scoring method.

In a second study using employees of a farmers' cooperative as subjects, the same factors emerged; but in this study the Pay and Promotion factor emerged as two separate factors. Thus there were five distinct satisfaction factors. The direct scoring method again showed excellent discriminant and convergent validity.

In the next study a field test of the final version of the JDI was made using as subjects 81 male employees from two large electronic manufacturers. Each scale was shortened to its final version. The subjects were given the JDI containing 18 Work items, 9 Pay items, 9 Promotion items, 18 Supervision items, and 18 Co-Worker items. These

scales were balanced as nearly as possible between favorable and unfavorable items. Five factors again emerged which accounted for 75 per cent of the total variance. Each factor was very clearly associated with all measures for satisfaction for a single area, and each contributed approximately equally to the total variance.

In another study the JDI was administered to 80 male employees of a large bank. Again, the individual items discriminated adequately and loaded highly on their respective factors.

The JDI was also found to correlate significantly with a behavioral measure--the decision to quit or leave the job (Hulin, 1966).

In summary, the results give strong support to the claim that the differentiation of job attitudes results from discriminable responses to specific aspects of the job.

The JDI appears to have acceptable reliability, as reported by Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969). The split-half reliability of each factor was above .80 in a study using 80 subjects drawn from two plants. There are numerous correlations above .70 and .80 between JDI measures and other satisfaction measures either tested concurrently or separated by short time intervals. The test-retest data over a long period (three years) are adequate (from

.45 to .75), especially since during that time the company from which the subjects were drawn, a farmers' cooperative, underwent a major change, which probably affected the attitudes of the subjects.

The JDI has several strengths. It is directed toward specific areas of satisfaction which must be measured separately if any substantial understanding of job satisfaction is to be achieved. It does not require a high level of reading ability, an ability to make abstractions, or an ability to understand long, vague sentences. It does not ask directly how satisfied the respondent is, but rather asks him to describe his work, thus providing information from which to infer his satisfaction. Order of presentation does not seem to make a difference in responses, and there is no evidence of response set on the instrument.

The intercorrelation of the scales ranges from .28 to .42. However, each scale does measure discriminably different areas of satisfaction. This intercorrelation may be an indication of a "general satisfaction" factor found by some researchers (Herzberg et al., 1959; Wood and LeBold, 1970).

The male norms for the JDI were based on a sample of nearly 2,000 workers from 21 plants obtained from a pool of available firms by stratified random sampling. Each plant selected was the subject of an intensive field study concerning job satisfaction. The workers sampled were mainly

35 years and older, blue collar or non-supervisory white collar workers. Approximately 22 per cent were unskilled, 30 per cent semi-skilled, 18 per cent skilled, 13 per cent white collar, and 17 per cent supervisory.

The numerical scoring was evolved empirically. Traditionally, the "?" response is thought of as lying halfway between the positive and the negative responses. To test this assumption, Smith et al. (1969) divided the industrial samples into satisfied and dissatisfied halves on the basis of their total scores, with "Y" scored as 3, "?" scored as 2, and "N" scored as 1. The average number of "?" responses per person per item on each scale was computed. The dissatisfied group gave more "?" responses per person, per item, than the satisfied group ($p. < .006$). Thus the "?" response appears to indicate more dissatisfaction than otherwise, and it was assigned the weight of 1, with "Y" retaining the weight of 3 and "N" assuming the weight of 0. The range of scores for each scale was 0-54 (the Pay and Promotion subscale scores are doubled).

Several minor changes in the standardized JDI were made by Lefkowitz (1971) in his research in job attitudes among policemen. Those changes were incorporated in this study in order to make the JDI more relevant for administration to police officers. An item with respect to Pay was changed from "satisfactory profit sharing" to "satisfactory maintenance

allowance for uniform and equipment." The item "insecure" was eliminated from the Pay scale. The item "good opportunity for advancement" on the Promotions scale was changed to "good opportunities for promotion."

Ego Strength Scale

The Ego Strength Scale was originally developed by Barron in 1953 to predict the response of neurotic patients to short-term psychotherapy. However, when the scale was considered in relation to the correlations with other instruments, it became apparent that the scale was effective in predicting successful outcome in treatment because it was able to pick up something more which Barron concluded was related to the psychoanalytic notion of a healthy, functioning ego. In the almost twenty years since the scale originated, overwhelming corroborative support for its use as an ego measure has resulted (Crumpton, Cantor and Batiste, 1960; Barron, 1968).

The scale consists of 68 items from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) selected on the basis of ability to differentiate between patients in an outpatient clinic who improved after brief psychotherapy and those who did not (see Appendix I). The MMPI was administered before and after short-term (six months) psychotherapy. The patients were judged as clearly improved or not improved by qualified judges, and the MMPI items

which differentiated these two groups were then selected. The mean of the improved group of patients was almost twice that of the unimproved group.

Barron (1953) hypothesized that his scale was measuring "a general factor of capacity for personality integration of ego strength." The contents of the items of the scale seem to indicate that the strengths of the patients who improved in psychotherapy are the strengths associated with a well-functioning ego.

To cross-validate the scale, Barron used three different samples. The first was a clinic sample (N=77) seen for diagnostic purposes; the second, a sample of 160 Air Force officers; the third, 40 male graduate students. To assess the meaning of high and low scores on the Ego Strength Scale, skilled observers evaluated the subjects on an adjective check list. Adjectives checked for those subjects scoring highest were compared with adjectives for those scoring lowest on the Barron Ego Strength Scale. The adjectival differences, significant at the .05 level, gave the impression of greater resourcefulness, vitality, and self direction in the high scorers, and effeminacy, inhibition, and affectation in the low scorers. Those with high scores on the Ego Strength Scale emerged from the adjective check list and general staff impression as more adequate physically, more at ease socially, and somewhat broader culturally (Barron, 1953).

The reliability on the Ego Strength Scale is adequate. Odd-even reliability with a clinic population of 126 patients was .76. The test-retest reliability after three months was .72 with a sample of 30 patients (Barron, 1953).

Since ego functions include perceiving, planning, synthesizing, and in general bringing the person into an adequate relationship with reality, Barron (1968) felt it appropriate to expect that the Ego Strength Scale should correlate significantly with intelligence. The cross-validation samples mentioned above were given various intelligence tests, which were correlated with the subject's Ego Strength score. The correlations ranged from .39 to .52. Thus even with a highly restricted range of intelligence in the samples, there seems to be a relationship between general intelligence and ego strength as measured by a wide variety of IQ measures (Barron, 1953).

Adorno et al. (1950) stated that high scorers on the ethnocentricism scale show a lack of differentiation of the ego. Barron found that the Ego Strength Scale correlated -.47 with ethnocentrism and -.35 with the prejudice scale of the MMPI. These results add weight to the notion that what is being measured is general excellence of ego functioning.

The scale related negatively to the various pathological measures of the MMPI, suggesting that the Ego Strength Scale is picking up a general factor of psychopathology reflecting

degree of maladjustment irrespective of differential diagnosis.

Validity has been examined by a number of different authors. Many confirmed Barron's findings (Gottesman, 1959; Himelstein, 1964; Kleinmutz, 1960; Quay, 1955; Silverman, 1963; Wirt, 1955). Others, however, have failed to verify Barron's findings. These failures take the form of inability to discriminate between such clinical groups as neurotics and psychotics, or inability to predict outcome of psychotherapy (Getter and Sundland, 1962; Quay, 1963; Sullivan et al., 1958; Tankin and Klett, 1957).

Stein and Chu (1967), in attempting to explain the measure's failure to distinguish between their neurotic and psychotic subjects, noted that their paranoid schizophrenic subjects might have given more socially desirable responses while their anxiety neurotics might have over-emphasized their symptoms, thus eliminating differences in these groups on the Ego Strength Scale.

Two factor analytic studies have been done on this scale. Crumpton, Cantor, and Batiste (1960) isolated 14 factors of varying degree of interpretability. The results were inconclusive due to both the omission of six items from the Ego Strength Scale and also because the patients and control group were not equated for age and education.

Barron's Ego Strength Scale appears to have many shortcomings. One is an inability to discriminate between varying degrees of pathology. According to Frank (1967),

a comparative evaluation of the Ego Strength scores of psychotic and neurotic subjects should reveal significant differences, and most of the studies he reviewed indicated that the Ego Strength Scale could not distinguish neurotic from psychotic groups. The scale can distinguish, however, between degree of improvement of patients (Wirt, 1955); and Frank (1965) concludes that the research shows that the Ego Strength Scale can distinguish between pathology (neurotic or psychotic) and non-pathology.

Another difficulty with the Ego Strength Scale is that the scores are affected by the social desirability of the items (Frank, 1967). People tend to respond in terms that are socially acceptable rather than in terms of how they perceive themselves. Thus the Ego Strength Scale appears to measure the degree to which a person is willing to ascribe to himself statements which might reflect pathology.

Frank (1967) notes that Freud's concept of ego strength tends to be negative and equated with absence of pathology. The research indicates that the Ego Strength Scale also is measuring the absence of pathology rather than the presence of psychological health. Thus this important aspect of ego strength is not reflected in the Scale, and its absence reduces the Scale's usefulness.

Internal-External Locus of Control

The Internal-External Locus of Control (I-E) Scale

is composed of 29 forced-choice items (Rotter, 1966). Scores range from 0 to 23, with low scores indicating an internal orientation and high scores an external orientation. Six items are fillers designed to mask the true intent of the test. The subject is presented with 29 pairs of statements and is instructed to indicate for each pair which statement he agrees with most (see Appendix I).

Item validity for the I-E Scale was computed from results of a study by Seeman and Evans (1962) on tuberculosis patients. Items were eliminated which either had a high correlation with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, were endorsed more than 85 per cent of the time, had a nonsignificant relationship with other items, or a correlation approaching zero with the validation criteria. The original longer scale was reduced to the present 23 items.

The items deal with the subject's belief about the nature of the world. They are concerned with the subject's expectations about how reinforcement is controlled. Thus the test is considered to be a measure of generalized expectancy.

Reviews of the research on the I-E Scale conclude that it is consistently and acceptably reliable (Hersch and Scheibe, 1967; Lefcourt, 1966; Rotter, 1966). Reliability tests were done by test-retest and internal consistency methods and results varied from .49 to .83, averaging at approximately .70.

Relationships with social desirability, need for approval, and adjustment were low for samples Rotter studied. Correlations with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale ranged from -.07 to -.35, with the median at -.22. Correlations with intelligence were low (Ladwig, 1963; Strickland, 1965). Rotter (1966) found this to be an indication of good discriminant validity.

A contrast with early findings on the I-E Scale concerns the low but consistent relationship with both need for approval (Lefcourt and Wine, 1969) and social desirability (Joe, 1971). Contrary to Rotter's assertion that the I-E Scale is not responded to in terms of the social desirability of the item, Joe (1971) found that 15 of the 23 paired items were rated as significantly different in social desirability and that in general it was the internal statement which was more socially desirable.

Early factor analyses indicated that much of the variance was included in a general factor (Franklin, 1963; Rotter, 1966). However, later factor analyses raised doubts about this assumption of unidimensionality (Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie, 1969; Lao, 1970; Mirels, 1970). These researchers feel that the scale can be meaningfully defined as two related but separate concepts. Lefcourt (1971) hypothesized that when the I-E Scale was first introduced, this distinction was not apparent.

Mirels's (1970) factor analysis of the I-E Scale

yielded two factors: Factor I concerns the importance of ability and hard work as contrasted to luck for personally relevant outcomes; Factor II focuses on feelings of whether the person has some control over political events. Responses to Factor II are contingent on the respondent's opinions about prevailing social institutions (Mirels, 1970).

Gurin et al. (1969), using a different subject population, employed 16 of the original 23 items from Rotter's scale, but rewrote the other items to make them more relevant for black subjects. Gurin and her associates also included items from a personal efficacy scale and added other items specially written for their study. Gurin's factor analysis revealed two factors similar to Mirels's (1970). Factor I deals with perceived personal control; Factor II with perceived ideological control concerning a person's beliefs about what influence he has on society at large.

Gurin reported that the two factors were independent. The personal control factor enabled prediction of achievement-related behavior, while the ideological factor predicted civil rights activity and preferred mode of social action (participation in collective movements rather than a concern with individual change). The two-factor advocates (Gurin et al., 1969; Mirels, 1970) believed that behavioral prediction would be enhanced if the factors were separated into different measures.

The implications of an external orientation may be different for different racial groups. Almost all studies have shown that black subjects and lower-class subjects are more external than white and middle-class subjects (Lefcourt, 1971; Rotter, 1966). Lessing (1969) found black children more external and less willing to delay gratification than white children and their school achievement lower than that of white children. Jessor, Graves, Hanson and Jessor (1968) found that objective access to opportunities in a community was positively related to perceived control.

Gurin and her associates (1969) noted that it might not be functional for black groups to have an internal orientation. Being restricted by environmental barriers and subjected to limited material opportunities should lead to the development of an external orientation. Gurin et al. argue that a belief in external control which is based on reality can be appropriate and useful for black people, thus focusing on external discrimination and the way that society, in fact, structures one's fate. Gurin et al. state that:

> When internal-external control refers to Negroes' conception of the causes of their condition . . . and these conceptions are related to more innovative coping criteria, it is the external rather than the internal orientation that is associated with the more effective behaviors (p. 47).

Adams-Webber (1963) compared the I-E scores of

subjects to scores from a story-completion test. The story involved a character who initiates an "immoral" course of action. Scoring was based on whether the consequences of this act appeared to follow from the individual's behavior, were caused by it, or were more a function of external conditions. Analysis of variance indicated a highly significant difference among the groups. The I-E scores of the subjects were significantly related to the projected tendency to see punishment as externally imposed or as being the result of immoral behavior.

In another validity study done by Cardi (1962) ratings from a semistructured interview developed to measure internal-external locus of control correlated .61 with I-E scores obtained at an earlier time.

An important way to assess construct validity of the I-E dimension involves attempts people make to better their life conditions. Seeman and Evans (1962) did the first study of this type when they investigated the behavior of patients in a tuberculosis hospital. They measured how much the patients knew about their own condition, how much they questioned the doctors and nurses about it, and how satisfied they were with the amount of feedback received about their medical status. The subjects were 43 pairs of internal and external patients matched for occupational status, education, and ward placement. As

predicted, internals knew more about their condition, questioned the medical staff more, and expressed less satisfaction with the amount of feedback from hospital personnel than externals.

Gore and Rotter (1963) obtained signed commitments from students at a Southern Negro college regarding activities to be undertaken in the civil rights movement. Students who were willing to march on the state capitol or to join a freedom riders' group were significantly more internal than those willing only to attend a rally. Willingness to take part in attempts to change the environment in which one lives seems related to one's generalized expectancy that behavior could affect one's life. Strickland (1965) investigated black activists and nonactivists matched for education and socio-economic status. She found a significant difference, with black activists more internal than nonactivists.

Seeman (1964) did a cross-cultural study with the I-E Scale translated into Swedish. Using the instrument on a sample of Swedish working people he found that membership in unions versus nonmembership, activity within the union, and general knowledge of political affairs were all signficantly related to internality.

Related to the feeling of ability to control the environment is the ability to control oneself. Straits

and Sechrest (1963) found that nonsmokers were significantly more internal than smokers. James, Woodruff and Werner (1965) found that after the Surgeon General's report, male smokers who quit and did not return to smoking were more internal than those who believed the report and did not quit.

Rotter (1966) states that the research generated by the I-E Scale strongly supports the hypothesis that a generalized expectancy that one can affect the environment through his own behavior is present in at least two different cultures, can be reliably measured, and is predictive of logical behavioral construct referents.

Background Questionnaire

The background questionnaire explores the biographical variables of the subjects in order to assess the comparability of these men with other policemen reported in the literature (see Appendix I). The questions were drawn, with some modifications, from Richard (1968).

The following descriptions were typical of policemen in Richard's (1968) study: They generally held full-time jobs before they joined the force; most had been in the military and had found the experience worthwhile; they left their previous jobs because of lack of security or uninteresting work; they were mainly the oldest child or in-between; they joined the force for interesting work and

security followed by possibility of advancement. The ability to work independently ranked very low. The jobs held by the subjects before they joined the force were mainly semi-skilled or unskilled. Interest in police work did not crystallize until other jobs had been tried and rejected.

Performance Criteria

The performance criteria used in the present study were number of arrests and number of times an officer called in sick over a one-year period. As previously noted, these criteria have been thought to reflect effective police work. Bard, Zacker and Rutter (1972) state that ". . . sick time probably [reflects] factors related to morale, that is, the need for relief from danger on the job. Working (often alone) in high crime areas could be considered to exact a toll expressed in tension-related absenteeism" (p. 122). Bard, Zacker and Rutter felt that number of arrests reflects the objective danger faced by policemen. These two indices are considered by authorities on the police to be objective measures of performance.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

For all hypotheses, two methods of data analysis were used: 1) Pearson's Product Moment Correlation (Hays, 1963), employed to determine the extent and direction of the relationship between variables; and 2) one-way Analysis of Variance, Weighted Means Solution (Winer, 1971). For the Analysis of Variance one of the variables was designated as the independent variable and divided into low, medium, and high scores; the other was the dependent variable. This method was used to further determine the relationship between the two variables being examined.

The Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between satisfaction with work and internal locus of control in policemen. When the work aspect of the JDI was examined with relation to I-E scores, the correlation was significant in the direction hypothesized ($r=.16$, $df=118$, $p < .05$). Patrolmen scoring toward the internal end of the I-E Scale tended to like their work more than did patrolmen scoring toward

the external end. There were no significant relationships between I-E scores and the remaining JDI variables (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 here

Two Analyses of Variance were computed, neither of which was significant. When I-E scores were the independent variable and JDI-Work scores were the dependent variable, the result was $F=1.65$ ($df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 2). When JDI-Work scores were the independent variable and I-E scores were the dependent variable, the result was $F=1.42$ ($df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 3).

Insert Tables 2 and 3 here

The data provide some support for Hypothesis 1, indicating a positive relationship between satisfaction with work and internal locus of control. However, this relationship accounts for only a small amount of the variance.

Hypothesis 2: It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between satisfaction with work and Ego Strength in policemen. The correlation between

TABLE 1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN JDI SCORES WITH I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL, EGO STRENGTH (E.S.), ARRESTS, AND ABSENCES

Variables	Correlations				
	Work	Supervision	Pay	Promotion	Co-Workers
I.E.	-.16[a]	-.14	-.04	-.10	-.02
E.S.	+.13	+.09	+.10	+.13	+.10
Arrests	+.18[a]	-.13	-.07	-.13	+.03
Absences	+.02	-.11	-.05	-.17[a]	-.07

[a] r of .155 is needed for significance at the .05 level.

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP OF WORK SATISFACTION WITH I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL, EGO STRENGTH (E.S.), ARRESTS, AND ABSENCES

Variable	Level		N	Satisfaction with JDI-Work	
				Mean	S.D.
I-E	I	(1-6)	24	49.33	3.82
	mid	(7-13)	68	47.16	4.72
	E	(14-19)	28	47.43	6.16
E.S.[a]	low	(30-45)	33	27.45	7.87
	mid	(46-51)	62	26.02	9.30
	high	(52-59)	25	31.84[b]	8.94
Arrests[a]	zero	(0)	28	29.50	8.83
	some	(1-7)	67	25.57[b]	8.74
	many	(8-31)	28	30.76	9.08
Absence	few	(0-2)	29	29.21	8.36
	some	(3-8)	68	26.51	9.39
	many	(9-30)	23	28.61	8.82

[a]F is significant at $p < .05$.

[b]Significantly different from other means in this variable.

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP OF I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL TO JDI-WORK SATISFACTION AND EGO STRENGTH (E.S.)

Variable	Level	N	I-E Locus of Control	
			Mean	S.D.
JDI-Work	low (7-19)	26	10.46	3.99
	mid (20-33)	67	10.39	3.81
	high (34-48)	27	8.75	4.26
E.S.	low (30-45)	33	10.92	3.52
	mid (46-51)	62	9.45	3.94
	high (52-59)	25	10.68	4.22

Ego Strength and JDI-Work satisfaction was not statistically significant ($r=+.13$, $df=118$, $p > .05$). There were no significant correlations between Ego Strength and the other JDI variables (see Table 1).

Two Analyses of Variance were computed to further test this hypothesis. When Ego Strength was the independent variable and JDI-Work the dependent variable, the resulting F was significant ($F=3.77$, $df=2/117$, $p < .05$, see Table 2). When the JDI-Work was the independent variable and Ego Strength was the dependent variable, the resulting F was not significant ($F=0.89$, $df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 4).

Insert Table 4 here

Unplanned Scheffe comparisons (Hays, 1963) computed for the significant analysis determined that two of the comparisons were significant: 1) patrolmen with high Ego Strength scores had higher JDI-Work scores than patrolmen with mid-range Ego Strength scores; and 2) patrolmen with high Ego Strength scores had higher JDI-Work scores than the combined Work scores of patrolmen with middle and low range scores. Thus men with high ego strength liked their work significantly more than men with either middle ego strength or an average of middle and low ego strength (see Table 2).

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP OF EGO STRENGTH TO JDI-WORK SATISFACTION AND I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL

Variable	Level	N	Ego Strength Scores	
			Mean	S.D.
JDI-Work	low (7-19)	26	47.69	4.01
	mid (20-33)	67	47.24	5.59
	high (34-48)	27	48.83	3.86
I-E	I (1-6)	24	49.33	3.82
	mid (7-13)	68	47.16	4.72
	E (14-19)	28	47.43	6.16

An eta square analysis (McNemar, 1949) was computed to determine what proportion of the variance was accounted for by the significant relationship between ego strength and JDI-Work scores. The analysis indicated that 6 per cent of the variance is accounted for by this relationship.

The data provide some support for Hypothesis 2, indicating a positive relationship between ego strength and satisfaction with work. However, this relationship only accounts for a small amount of the variance.

Hypothesis 3: It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between Ego Strength and Internal Locus of Control. The correlation between these variables was not significant ($r=.12$, $df=118$, $p > .05$).

Two Analyses of Variance were computed, but neither F obtained significance. When Ego Strength was used as the independent variable and I-E scores treated as the dependent variable, the result was $F=1.74$ ($df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 3). When I-E scores were the independent variable and Ego Strength scores the dependent variable, the result was $F=1.71$ ($df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 4).

The data do not provide support for Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4: It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between JDI-Work and number of arrests and a negative relationship between number of times sick and JDI-Work.

There was a significant positive correlation between JDI-Work and number of arrests as hypothesized ($r=+.18$, $df=118$, $p < .01$). Men who were most satisfied with their work had made more arrests than men who were less satisfied. There was no significant relationship between JDI-Work satisfaction scores and number of times sick ($r=+.02$, $df=118$, $p > .05$).

There were some significant relationships between other JDI variables and the performance criteria (see Table 1). There was a significant negative correlation between JDI-Opportunities-for-Promotion and number of times sick ($r=.17$, $df=118$, $p < .05$). Thus, the better a patrolman feels about promotional opportunities, the lower the incidence of sick calls.

Analyses of Variance were performed to test Hypothesis 4. Number of arrests and number of times sick were each used as the independent variable subdivided into low, medium, and high scores. The JDI-Work scale was the dependent variable. The Analysis was not significant when timessick were compared with JDI-Work scores ($F=1.06$, $df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 2). The results were significant when number of arrests (divided into zero, some, and many) were compared with JDI-Work satisfaction scores ($F=3.92$, $df=2/117$, $p < .05$).

Unplanned Scheffe comparisons indicated that two significant comparisons emerged: 1) policemen who made

many arrests were more satisfied with their work than those who made some arrests; and 2) both policemen who made no arrests and those who made many arrests like their work significantly better than those who made some arrests (see Table 2).

An eta square analysis was computed to determine the variance accounted for by the significant relationship between number of arrests and JDI-Work satisfaction. The analysis indicated that 6 per cent of the variance is accounted for by this relationship.

The Analysis of Variance using number of arrests as the dependent variable and JDI-Work scores as the independent variable was not significant ($F=2.96$, $df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 5). There were also no significant results when JDI-Work scores were the independent variable and number of times sick was the dependent variable ($F=1.37$, $df=2/117$, $p > .05$, see Table 5).

Insert Table 5 here

Analysis with JDI scores other than Work indicated the following: 1) when number of arrests was the independent variable, no significant relationships emerged; 2) when number of times sick was the independent variable, there were two significant Analyses of Variance, one associated with

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARRESTS AND ABSENCES TO JDI-WORK SATISFACTION

JDI-Work	N	Arrests		Absence	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Low (7-19)	26	4.19	3.83	5.58	2.98
Mid (20-33)	67	4.24	4.68	5.64	4.97
High (34-48)	27	7.03	9.36	6.17	4.69

JDI-Pay satisfaction and the other with JDI-Opportunities-for-Promotion (Pay: $F=3.08$, $df=2/117$, $p < .05$; Promotion: $F=3.11$, $df=2/117$, $p < .05$).

The Scheffe comparisons indicated that men who rarely called in sick were significantly more satisfied with their pay and with opportunities for promotion than other men (see Table 6).

Insert Table 6 here

For Hypothesis 4, the data indicate a positive relationship between satisfaction with work and one of the performance criteria, number of arrests. However, the hypothesis is not confirmed for the performance criteria number of times sick. Thus Hypothesis 4 is partially confirmed.

Racial Comparisons

In order to ascertain any interracial differences in the subject population for each variable in this study, t-Tests were computed comparing mean scores for the black patrolmen with those for the white patrolmen (see Table 7). Only two of these comparisons were significant: 1) mean Ego Strength score for the white patrolmen ($\bar{X}=49.54$) was significantly higher than the mean Ego Strength score for the black patrolmen ($\bar{X}=47.26$); and 2) black patrolmen

TABLE 6

SATISFACTION WITH PAY AND WITH PROMOTION
IN TERMS OF TIMES OUT SICK

Number of Times Out Sick		Satisfaction with Pay		Satisfaction With Promotion	
	N	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Few (0-2)	29	21.52[a]	12.32	26.96[a]	15.40
Moderate (3-8)	68	16.26	11.80	20.08	14.52
Many (9-30)	23	13.64	10.82	17.40	14.34

[a]Significantly different from other means in this variable.

had higher JDI-Co-Worker scores ($\bar{X}$=42.70) than white patrolmen ($\bar{X}$=37.77), indicating that they liked their fellow workers more than white patrolmen did.

Insert Table 7 here

TABLE 7

MEANS AND S.D.'S FOR RACIAL SUBGROUPS ON ALL VARIABLES AND *t* VALUES BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE GROUPS

Variables	Black Subgroup (N=86)		White Subgroup (N=26)		*t*-Test
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
I-E	10.60	3.75	9.38	4.49	1.88
Ego Strength	47.26	5.27	49.54	2.82	2.08[a]
JDI-Work	27.86	8.95	25.46	10.24	1.14
JDI-Supervision	27.62	11.82	25.23	9.48	0.93
JDI-Pay	16.59	12.00	16.76	12.29	0.88
JDI-Promotion	21.83	15.15	18.76	15.65	0.89
JDI-Co-Workers	42.74	9.47	37.77	10.57	2.03[a]
Arrests	4.76	6.13	6.42	6.80	1.17
Times Out Sick	6.05	4.90	4.42	3.28	1.60
Age	34.73	6.22	32.65	7.55	1.40
Tenure	6.04	3.71	6.42	6.81	0.14

[a] *t* of 1.96 is significant at $p < .05$.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Job Satisfaction in Policemen

This study was concerned with personality and performance characteristics associated with job satisfaction in policemen. Before considering the actual hypotheses, the variable of job satisfaction as it appeared in this study will be examined. Since this variable has not been fully explored, particularly with reference to the police, these results are valuable because 1) they add to the limited data available on job satisfaction of policemen; 2) a reliable and standardized instrument was used; and 3) there has been no research reported in the literature to date concerning job satisfaction of black policemen.

In assessing policemen's job satisfaction we are making the implicit assumption that this variable is important, not only to the man who wears the uniform, but also to society at large. We now have evidence from two quite different police departments (Dayton Police Department and New York Housing Authority Police Department) that policemen are indeed more dissatisfied with their job

than is the average working man. The implications of this dissatisfaction may have widespread repercussions.

The New York Housing Authority policemen not only did not like their job, but they were significantly less satisfied with all measured aspects of their work than the normative, stratified sample consisting of nearly 2,000 male industrial workers (Smith et al., 1969; see Appendix II, Table A, for comparisons and t-Tests).

The New York Housing Authority policemen were also less satisfied with both the Work and the Supervision aspects of their job than were the Dayton policemen surveyed using the same instrument (Lefkowitz, 1971). But the New York policemen were more satisfied with their Pay and Promotional Opportunities than were the Dayton policemen (see Appendix II, Table B, for the comparisons and t-Tests). However, both the New York policemen and the Dayton policemen were dissatisfied with their pay. This could be due to contract negotiations, underway in both cities at the time of both testings, in which pay was an important issue. This dissatisfaction with Pay may be due in some part to the elimination of one item from the Pay subscale in order to make it more appropriate for police. When an extrapolation was performed to equate the shortened subscale as it appears in the literature, however, the New York Housing Authority policemen remained lower in satisfaction

with pay than the normative sample.

The New York policemen's average satisfaction scores for both the Work and Supervision subscales were significantly lower ($p < .001$) than those for the Dayton policemen tested two years earlier. There are many differences between the two departments, some of which may be due to the two-year hiatus between studies, the geographic locations, and the structure of the departments. One prominent difference is that the Dayton policemen were almost exclusively white while the New York policemen were predominantly black.

There is almost no empirical research concerning job satisfaction of the black worker. With accountants as subjects, Slocum and Strawser (1972) found black workers less satisfied with their jobs than white workers. To determine whether black policemen are less satisfied with their work than white policemen, mean satisfaction scores of black and of white policemen for the five areas measured were compared. Only one significant difference emerged: Black policemen were more satisfied with Co-Workers than white policemen were. The white sample (N=26) was heavily outnumbered by their black co-workers (N=84), and two observations of the examiner may be relevant to the difference in Co-Worker satisfaction: 1) the white policemen tended to group together and to isolate themselves from their black co-workers; and 2) the black policemen openly and freely expressed their negative views of white people.

From the comments of all the men in this sample, it became clear that they were not happy with their work. They spoke angrily about what they considered to be limitations of their power, restrictions by the courts, and constant criticism from both the public and the Housing Authority. They were highly critical of many of the services they were routinely called upon to perform (intervening in family disputes, where they saw themselves as being bouncers; and performing lock-out services for "careless" tenants). This group of policemen seemed to have an enormous reservoir of hostility towards their parent agency, the Housing Authority, which they experienced as unresponsive to their needs for safety and their need for respectful treatment both from their clients and their supervisors.

The men were eager to express their dissatisfaction with their job and with the Housing Authority. When advised that their questionnaire responses would be treated confidentially, many requested that opinions about their job be relayed to the "higher-ups." Their eagerness to make their dissatisfaction known may have further depressed the satisfaction scores for this sample.

Among the causes of policemen's dissatisfaction with their job may be their perception of society's ambivalence about one of their major functions, i.e., the exercising of control over citizens in order to keep the peace. The job

requires them to become involved in some of the most unpleasant, socially undesirable aspects of society. When society conveys the message that police are hired to shield society from its own ugliness, this could reduce policemen's satisfaction and perhaps diminish effectiveness of their performance.

Another cause of policemen's dissatisfaction may stem from society's double standard concerning police corruption. Many citizens equate police corruption with criminal activity, disregarding the fact that when an "honest" citizen offers a policeman money to avoid a traffic citation, this is an instance of corruption, a corruption initiated by the "non-criminal" citizen. In either case it is the man in blue who is generally considered corrupt, not the citizen. Such an attitude could lead to dissatisfaction and cynicism on the part of policemen.

The policeman's job also includes performing life and death services for society, and this researcher feels that it is here that inadequate training may contribute most to job dissatisfaction. When officers must intervene in highly volatile and complex interpersonal crises, their inadequate training for effective crisis management and third-party intervention, not surprisingly, may lead to bitterness, frustration, rigidity of approach, and, at times, iatrogenic violence (Bard, Zacker and Rutter, 1972).

When one is not trained in a particular fashion, one may assume that it is not part of one's role. In the present study, this conflict centers around what can be called the "social worker controversy."

As voiced by the subjects in this survey, the social worker controversy involved a conflict about what the policeman's job should consist of. Some men felt strongly that anything not involving "fighting crime" was not in their domain. They argued that since they didn't expect a social worker to stop a robbery, why were they expected to perform what they felt was clearly a social worker's job, such as intervening in family disputes. These policemen would frequently idealize the "good old days" when policemen were crime-fighters. They were resistant to the contention of other policemen that there never had been any "good old days" since the police job had always involved all the service functions now performed. There were men in each of the training groups (the subjects for the present study) who clearly felt that policemen were, and should be, socially oriented in their crime-fighter role, but they were a minority.

There is dissatisfaction in every large system, including police departments. Indications are that policemen in general are dissatisfied, and it is clear that the New York Housing Authority policemen are even more dissatisfied. These men are regarded as second-class policemen by the public, by the New York Police Department, and by their parent agency,

the Housing Authority. They receive less training than New York City policemen. Their equipment is less adequate They rarely have partners, while New York City policemen almost always do. When a Housing Authority policeman apprehends a suspect, he must bring that suspect to a New York police department precinct because his own department does not have the necessary facilities to process the arrest. Frequently he must wait for hours until his arrest is processed. His supervisors are often treated disrespectfully in the precinct by New York Police Department personnel. If his arrest appears in the news, he is rarely identified as being from the Housing Authority force. To many citizens, Housing Authority policemen are considered guards, and the "real" policemen are those of the New York City Police Department.

Another important concern voiced repeatedly by the Housing Authority patrolmen involved their personal safety. Working alone, patroling in huge high-rise buildings, they must depend on portable two-way radios for contact with their department. Theroetically these radios transmit to a nearby switchboard from which help can be dispatched quickly. The reality is somewhat different, however, for the radios frequently do not work properly. There may not be enough radios for each man on patrol, or there may be no batteries available. The radio is often the only lifeline between the lone patrolman and his colleagues, and when it is absent or non-functioning, the danger the patrolman faces

in his daily routine is greatly increased. It is not surprising that these men are unhappy with their job.

These disadvantages notwithstanding, the Housing Authority Police Department has some unique positive aspects. The Housing Authority offers high salaries and jobs with both security and possibilities for promotion for personnel, many of whom are from minority groups. Minority personnel may work in an environment similar to that in which many of them grew up, which might stimulate empathy and rapport. Furthermore, particularly for the black patrolman, there may be a feeling of being helpful to one's own people, in serving predominantly minority group citizens, in being able to serve as an intermediary between the minority group citizen and white society. Minority group Housing policemen may well experience less role-conflict than minority group members who serve in predominantly white police departments and/or white neighborhoods.

Because Housing patrolmen assignments, unlike the New York Police Department assignments, are usually permanent, the patrolmen's interpersonal relationships with the public can be compared to those found in a small town. The patrolmen get to know the people; and since they must return to the same assignment, they are less likely to use force and punitive methods. While the police system in general does not reward effective interpersonal behavior, the "small-town" interpersonal situation encountered by the Housing Authority

patrolmen provides unofficial but very real intrinsic rewards from the citizens. For instance, a patrolman who intervenes in a family dispute will probably see these same family members on the street the next day. Thus the citizens become known to the officers; and equally important, the officers are more likely to become known to the people and not seen merely as anonymous figures in uniform. Thus there is less anonymity for the Housing Authority patrolman.

Work Satisfaction and Locus of Control

Hypothesis I examined the relationship between Work Satisfaction and Locus of Control in policemen. The results indicate that a small but significant relationship does exist. As hypothesized, men who were internally oriented were more likely to express higher work satisfaction than men with an external orientation.

In a recent comprehensive review of the locus of control literature, Lefcourt (1971) provided some insight which might clarify the relationship obtained in this study. He concluded that the I-E Scale, when used as a sole predictor of behavior, is necessarily a limited approach, and that, in general, only relationships of low magnitude appear. In spite of this shortcoming Lefcourt states:

> With occasional exceptions, I-E is found to be a relevant predictor . . . However, in almost all investigations discussed, there was considerable room for improvement in the prediction of criteria (44).

The present study indicates that work satisfaction is positively related to an internal orientation. This relationship could have implications for police work.

Policemen often find themselves in situations which have implications for life and death (attempted suicide, homicide, and even family altercations). They are daily in situations which require a large amount of discretion as well as the ability to quickly comprehend and act in complex, ambiguous situations. The job may not be perceived as extremely threatening by people who have a sense of control over their own lives. It may be that internally oriented policemen can better deal with the enormous variety of situations of which their job consists since a relationship exists between seeking complex situations and internal locus of control. People who are internally oriented are better able to use available information than are those with an external orientation. Thus for those with an internal orientation, the situations which occur in the life of a policeman may not seem as ambiguous and thus be less dangerous; or the internally oriented person may feel better able to tolerate the ambiguity.

The ability to discriminate objectively in ambiguous situations in the absence of adequate and appropriate training also may be aided by an internal orientation. Internally oriented persons may function more effectively since their behavior is less dependent on their instinctual demands and more under their conscious control. The relationship between competence and internality of control suggests that policemen with internal control may feel more competent and thus like their work better than those who experience control from external sources.

Despite the apparent desirability of an internal orientation, it is possible that the police system encourages an external orientation. The police system as a whole has been described by various authorities (Wilson, 1968; Niederhoffer, 1969) as a quasi-militaristic system. This designation seems to apply to the Housing Authority police department as well. This department appears to encourage externality in patrolmen. For example, the men in this survey were undergoing "voluntary" special training. However, the men made it very clear to the examiner that they did not feel free to refuse the special training. Men who had put in many years working in a particular location and who wanted to remain there feared they would be sent to an undesirable outlying location if they did not "volunteer." Thus, while on paper the training was voluntary, in fact more than a few of the men felt compelled to receive it.

Another example appeared in the expectations the men had about any training they would be receiving from the Housing Authority. Their orders were to bring notebooks and pens with them to the training center, and they expected to be lectured on "How to . . ." This occurred even though the captain and his sergeant had been involved for close to six months in the planning of the training, which in fact was action-oriented and had almost no lectures.

Another indication of the encouragement of externality in police comes from the impressions gained by this investigator, who noted that the men felt hampered by the

need for strict adherence to departmental rules and procedures. At the same time these men routinely exercise discretion in dealing with situations in which rules may be non-existent, ambiguous, or difficult to enforce; yet every decision they make while on duty may in future be placed under microscopic scrutiny in the event of a citizen complaint, an injury to either the patrolman or a citizen, and especially a death. Even more detrimental to independent, internally directed behavior is the existence of "shoo-flies"--policemen whose job is to check on the work of the patrolman in the field. The patrolman never knows when this special examiner is around. If the patrolman acts on his own discretion, he may selectively enforce laws in the interest of making his enforcement appropriate to the particular community in which he works. If this selective enforcement is noted by a special examiner unfamiliar with that community, the patrolman may receive a departmental complaint, which is entered on his record and may follow him through his entire police career. Thus the policeman is encouraged toward externality because he is in fact under the influence of "powerful others" in his decision-making and may feel hesitant about relying on his internal sense of appropriate behavior.

While the relationship which emerged in this study

between Work Satisfaction and internality is not very strong, the indication is that it is nonetheless real. As previously noted, the literature abounds with low but significant correlations between internality and related behavior.

Work Satisfaction and Ego Strength

Hypothesis 2 examined the relationship between Work Satisfaction and Ego Strength in policemen. The results partially confirmed the hypothesized positive relationship between these two variables. Patrolmen with high Ego Strength scores were more satisfied with their work than those with either medium or low Ego Strength scores. It should be noted, however, that this relationship accounts for only a very small amount of the variance.

The relationship of Work Satisfaction to Ego Strength may indicate that those men with high Ego Strength (those who cope most effectively with both reality and with their impulses) are better able to deal with the myriad problems posed by police work. However, one may also postulate the reverse. Perhaps being employed in a satisfying position increases a person's ability to cope, which in turn increases his ego strength. This possibility was not supported, however. When Work Satisfaction was the independent variable and Ego Strength the dependent variable, there was no significant difference in Ego Strength

for men who liked their work very much, moderately, or hardly at all.

There are difficulties encountered in using the Barron Ego Strength Scale, some of which are common to any paper and pencil instrument. Paper and pencil tests require the subject's willingness to be truthful. A subject may wish to make a "good" impression and thus may avoid endorsing any items which indicate pathology, even though they are appropriate for him. Or he may wish to give a "bad" impression, and thus endorse items indicating pathology even though they are not really appropriate for him.

Another difficulty is that the Barron Ego Strength Scale has not been subjected to a great deal of psychometric scrutiny. Thus the existence of a small relationship may have a different meaning from a comparable relationship obtained with a scale such as the I-E Scale.

A third difficulty in discussing the results is this examiner's doubts concerning the accuracy of the responses given. As previously noted, a subject responding to the Ego Strength Scale may give the answers he feels will be most beneficial to him whether or not they are appropriate. This may be especially so for the policemen in this study. It is reasonable to wonder if they would risk expressing themselves openly on an instrument which asks them to admit to pathology. The issue of confidentiality may have

been in doubt. Since the policemen were aware that the Housing Authority had permitted the examiner to present these insturments, they may have felt that the Housing Authority would have access to the data, even though they had been assured that their responses would be completely confidential. It seems likely both from their resistance (expressed verbally as well as by attempting to leave parts of this particular questionnaire unfinished) and from the fact that the Authority had given permission for the examiner to ask these questions that this was not an instrument they felt could be trusted.

There was a small but significant difference between the mean Ego Strength scores for black and for white patrolmen, with black patrolmen scoring slightly but significantly lower (2 points) than white patrolmen. The Police Training and Performance Study (1968), using another instrument, also found white policemen had significantly higher ego scores than black policemen. The authors noted that the black policemen behaved more impulsively and in a more outgoing manner than the white policemen. The black Housing Authority patrolmen also were more friendly, impulsive, and outgoing. Since the concept of locus of control has different implications for a black population than it does for a white population (Lefcourt, 1971), it is possible that the ego strength

concept also has different implications for a black than for a white population. (There is no research reported in the literature on this subject.)

The results of this study indicate that the Ego Strength Scale was able to differentiate only between those highly satisfied with their work and all other policemen rather than being able to differentiate between those highly satisfied from those moderately satisfied and those moderately satisfied from those dissatisfied. The research on the Ego Strength Scale summarized earlier indicates the probability that this scale is able to reliably differentiate only grossly (as between those people who are patients and those who are not). Thus a more sensitive measure of ego strength than Barron's Scale is needed.

With regard to police, Zacker (1972) noted that recruits do not appear to have those characteristics which are particularly conducive to sensitive interpersonal interaction. If a more sensitive measure of ego strength were available, men with high ego strength might be more easily recruited, and these men then might be more effective in their interactions with people. Police work is stressful; and since the ability to deal with stress, and recovery from stress are positively related to Ego Strength (Grace, 1960), it would be appropriate to recruit those persons who possess high ego strength.

Ego Strength and Locus of Control

Hypothesis 3 examined the relationship between Ego Strength and Internal-External Locus of Control. It was expected that policemen with high Ego Strength would be more internally oriented than those with low Ego Strength. The results indicate that no relationship between these two variables existed for the policemen surveyed. Previous findings (Burnes, Brown and Keating, 1971; Shybut, 1970) indicated that such a relationship did exist for both a college-student sample and a sample of adult male volunteers for a rescue squad. Perhaps special characteristics of policemen may account for these different findings; for example, the subjects for whom the relationship existed and the policemen studied in this research differed both in social class and race. These variables must be carefully investigated to determine their effect on both instruments. As previously noted, this was done in relation to the Locus of Control Scale but not for the Ego Strength Scale.

Why was there no relationship between Ego Strength and Locus of Control in this sample? One factor may be the previously noted suspiciousness of the personality questionnaire. The Ego Strength Scale asks one to admit to such revealing statements as "I have strange and peculiar thoughts," and the subjects had clearly indicated their lack of confidence in how these personality measures were

to be used.

These policemen obtained relatively high Ego Strength scores (their mean was higher than all samples reported except two: graduate students and Air Force captains). It is probable that the results obtained from these last two samples were valid because the Air Force captains and the graduate students were two samples used by Barron (1968) in his validation studies for the Ego Strength Scale. Their responses to the scale were checked against evaluations obtained by a trained staff during the subjects' participation in a week-long assessment situation in which they were confronted with stressful situations and difficult tasks. Thus the validity of their responses is less doubtful than that of the police subjects. Also, the students surveyed by Shybut (1970) and the volunteer rescue workers (Burnes, Brown and Keating, 1971) may not have felt as threatened by the instrument. The police subjects' suspiciousness is likely to have altered their Ego Strength scores, which may have vitiated the relationship between the Ego Strength Scale and the I-E Scale.

Related to this issue of suspiciousness is the finding reported by Hamsher, Geller and Rotter (1968) that external males were more suspicious than internal males. In general, the policemen in this sample were externally oriented and openly expressed more suspiciousness. Thus

they were likely to have been more guarded in their response to the Ego Strength Scale. The issue of suspiciousness is particularly relevant for policemen since it may be appropriate and even desirable for them to be suspicious.

This sample scored in a more external direction than the samples reported by Rotter (1966). Joe (1971) reports that a linear relationship exists between I-E scores and adjustment, in which externals were more maladjusted than internals. If this is the case, and our subjects reported themselves as having high Ego Strength, this adds additional weight to the assumption that the policemen were not altogether truthful in their responses to the Ego Strength Scale.

Another issue, raised by Zacker (1972), concerns the generalized distrust of authority that policemen seem to have. This distrust may have been expressed through their responses to the Ego Strength Scale. The subjects left out more items on this scale than on any other instrument presented. While responding to the instruments used in this study, the men openly expressed their dislike and fear of this one scale. It is possible that when one is investigating policemen's attitudes, more care must be taken with the selection of appropriate instruments. Unlike college sophomores, these men are likely to be distrustful of psychological instruments.

Another difficulty with using the Ego Strength Scale on a population of policemen concerns its lack of face validity for them. Perhaps if the Ego Strength Scale had been more applicable to the police experience, there would have been less resistance to this instrument.

An issue raised in Chapter II, but which applies to the present discussion as well, is the relevance of the locus of control concept to black subjects. This predominantly black sample scored in a more external direction than many of the samples reported in the literature. Gurin et al. (1969) noted that the literature interprets internal beliefs as representing a positive characteristic. This interpretation neglects any negative implications which can arise from an internal orientation. When associated with success, an internal orientation can lead to feelings of competence: when associated with failure, however, it can lead to feelings of inferiority. For lower-class black people an internal orientation may reflect intra-punitiveness rather than a belief in their own competence. Thus the concept should be reevaluated when used with a black population (Gurin et al., 1969).

The fact that this hypothesis concerning the relationship between the Locus of Control Scale and the Ego Strength Scale was not confirmed may not reflect a lack of relationship between the two constructs. It is possible, as Zacker (1972) suggested, that paper and pencil instruments are less appropriate for this

population, which is generally lower in socio-economic status than the ubiquitous college sophomores on whom most psychological instruments are standardized. Also, it is possible that if the sample had been composed mainly of white policemen, the relationship between I-E scores and Ego Strength would have obtained.

Performance and Work Satisfaction

Hypothesis 4 examined the relationship between Work Satisfaction and performance in policemen. The performance criteria used were 1) number of arrests during one year, and 2) number of times absent during one year. This hypothesis involves two assumptions: 1) there would be an inverse relationship between Work Satisfaction and number of times an officer was sick, and 2) there would be a positive relationship between Work Satisfaction and number of arrests. The results partially confirmed this hypothesis. There was a positive relationship between Work Satisfaction and number of arrests, but no relationship emerged between Work Satisfaction and times out sick.

As hypothesized, men who were most satisfied with their work made more arrests than men who were less satisfied with their work. However, this relationship was not a simple one. Among the patrolmen sampled, approximately 25 per cent had made no arrests during the year. These men expressed very little difference in

average Work Satisfaction from those who made many arrests. The patrolmen who liked their work least were those who made some arrests. These men liked their work less than men who made no arrests or men who made many arrests.

To determine if the relationship between arrests and Work Satisfaction had relevance for either black or white patrolmen separately, a post-hoc racial analysis was performed. There were no significant relationships for the white patrolmen. However, for the black patrolmen a curvilinear relationship existed ($F=6.10$, $p < .01$).

Black patrolmen who made many arrests liked their work more than those who made some arrests, and black patrolmen who made some arrests liked their work less than both those who made no arrests and those who made many arrests (see Appendix II, Table C).

Satisfaction with work was associated with both low and high productivity as measured by number of arrests. This raises the question of what work satisfaction means. One possibility is that there is more than one kind of job satisfaction for policemen. One man might be satisfied with the job because he genuinely enjoys police work. His arrests might be an indication that he was out aggressively working, not "cooping" (staying someplace safe to avoid patrol). Another man might be satisfied with his work because of the ease with which he can avoid working hard at it. Patrolmen who made no arrests might

have been on special assignment, or they might have been active in a positive manner through assertive preventive patrol, reducing the necessity of making arrests. The Psychological Assessment of Policemen (1968) confirms the impression that patrolmen could be rated high on performance even when they made very few arrests. That assessment identified one type of patrolman who, while making few arrests, was very highly rated by his supervisors, which suggests that these patrolmen were not guilty of inactivity.

Another possibility is that arrests might be made for different reasons when made by highly satisfied policemen than when made by unsatisfied policemen. Policemen who like their job may make arrests reflecting enthusiastic and diligent police work. Those who did not like their work might make arrests reflecting hostility towards their clients. Unfortunately, the kind of arrest (felony, misdemeanor, etc.) and the quality of the arrest was not identifiable for the Housing Authority patrolmen surveyed. Of course, many arrests for slight infractions might be either an indication of poor performance or a response to a supervisor's requirements for better departmental statistics.

The use of number of arrests as a performance criterion for policemen may not be suitable for any department in which a large portion of men are assigned to administrative work which does not afford them the opportunity to make

arrests.[1] However, the men in this study were "front-line" men, and this criterion seems appropriate for the patrolmen who were subjects.

The second assumption of Hypothesis 4 involves the relationship between job satisfaction and number of times absent. It was hypothesized that there would be a negative relationship between Satisfaction with Work and number of times sick. This assumption was not confirmed.

There was some relationship between this performance measure and Satisfaction with Pay and with Promotional Opportunities. Those men who were rarely absent were more satisfied with the pay and promotional opportunities of their job than were other policemen.

While the literature gives some indication of a relationship between job satisfaction and absence, the relationship has been seen as complex. Brayfield and Crockett (1955) found only two indices of performance which reflected satisfaction: absence and tenure. Vroom (1964) stated that while there is:

> a consistent negative correlation between job satisfaction and the probability of resignation . . . there is a less consistent negative relationship between job satisfaction and absence. (p. 187)

Thus we can conclude that absence by itself is not a good predictor of satisfaction for this population and has only

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[1]James T. Curran, personal communication

been a marginal predictor for other populations.

Why did the policemen studied show no relationship between Work Satisfaction and absence? One possible explanation was suggested by Bard, Zacker and Rutter (1972). They regarded absences as related to on-the-job tensions caused by working alone in high crime areas. Since most of the men in this study did work alone and in high crime areas, this explanation of absences could cut across all levels of satisfaction, affecting those who liked their work very much as well as those who disliked their work.

The Psychological Assessment of Patrolmen (1968) states that the black patrolmen tested had significantly different scores from the white patrolmen on all performance measures except times absent. White patrolmen received more departmental awards, while black patrolmen made more arrests. Also, black patrolmen had more disciplinary actions taken against them and a greater number of complaints sustained against them. In the present study, the same racial differences were observed for the two performance criteria used.

Job performance is very difficult to evaluate, particularly for men who, like policemen, do such varied work. Policemen often work alone and with a minimum of supervision. The scheduling of work days and duty tours for both patrolmen and supervisors makes it unlikely that

a patrolman will have the same supervisor for the entire work week. Because of a shortage of supervisors in the Housing Authority police, it was not unusual for one sergeant to supervise all the patrolmen in one or two boroughs. (New York City is divided into five borough.) Such loose supervision makes it difficult for supervisors to evaluate their subordinates' work.

Another difficulty in evaluating policemen's performance is that they spend considerably more time providing services than in fighting crime (Task Force Report: The Police, 1967). Objective performance criteria in most instances do not evaluate this major portion of their work. While number of arrests is used as an index of performance, it bears no relation to how a patrolman performs interpersonal services. Number of absences is not as biased a measure of performance as it reflects performance in general rather than only crime-related performance.

Lefkowitz (1971) indicated that criteria utilized in studies predicting patrolmen's job success show that objective indices such as "awards, complaints, disciplinary actions, or arrest record" (p. 55) were used infrequently. The present study attempted to add information on some of these objective criteria.

The Performance Paradox

There seems to be little doubt that problems exist in finding effective means of appraisal for the police. Curran (in press) states that the code of secrecy which exists in police departments stands in the way of appraising an agency's effectiveness.

Ahern (1972), as well as other police specialists, is concerned with the issue of rewarding good performance. Ahern states that it is more important to reward effective performance in situations that occur daily than it is to reward bravery. Unfortunately, even if rewards were given for good performance in providing service to the community, they would tend to sabotage the very performance they reward because those who perform well are promoted and thus taken out of the areas in which they had originally performed so well. Wilson (1968) discusses the performance paradox:

> It makes little sense for a department that takes seriously its order maintenance function to reward officers who perform it well by making them law enforcement specialists. At present the principal rewards are promotion, which takes a patrolman off the streets, or reassignment to a detective or specialized unit, which takes him out of order maintenance altogether . . . The administrator, accordingly, must enable patrolmen to rise in pay and rank without abandoning their function. (pp.292-293)

More problems have been identified in this search for appropriate criteria for judging police effectiveness than

have been removed. This highly complex problem needs further analysis. Perhaps the kinds of rewards provided by the police system may need to be changed before valid performance criteria can emerge.

Implications for Future Research

The investigation of job satisfaction in policemen is important not only for the men on the job but also for the public. Job satisfaction might be further examined in ways which could provide a more extensive exploration of the data obtained. One area of investigation might be a further examination of the correlates of job satisfaction. What makes a man satisfied with his work? Would increased responsibility have any effect on satisfaction? These issues could be examined in relation to any situation in which policemen are studied. One method of examination is in-depth interviewing of both internal and external patrolmen. This data might yield more extensive information about the parameters of job satisfaction than do questionnaires. One might determine which aspects of the job are experienced as providing satisfaction and which as provoking dissatisfaction in each group.

An experimental study would be more informative than a correlational one. The literature indicates that when situations are changed, there may be a change in locus of control. This study found a positive relationship between internal locus of control and job satisfaction. Thus, one

might examine the effects of altering the police system so as to encourage and reward internal orientation among policemen. An experimental treatment which might help alter the police system so as to promote internality might involve training in interpersonal conflict management such as that developed by Bard, Zacker and Rutter (1972).

It seems clear that the performance measures now being used for police work are for the most part inadequate. New criteria must be developed to reflect the complex aspects of an officer's work when dealing with critical interactions with people in trouble. A more complete knowledge of parameters of a patrolman's job could lead to more appropriate performance criteria. Investigators of police systems may well be in an ideal position to help determine which behavior to reward and in which ways performance could be better evaluated. Perhaps policemen, like workers in the mental health field, could accept and incorporate the concept of supervision, particularly if it were not from one's boss but from an outside consultant provided for the policemen. A product of both new and more appropriate performance criteria as well as supervision might be better job performance and a more satisfied police force.

While the relationship of ego strength to police work was not revealed as a strong one, the measuring instrument (Barron's Ego Strength Scale) may have been

the cause of this weak relationship. The measurement of ego strength must be made in such a way as to encourage policemen to respond truthfully. It may be that questionnaires are useless as measuring instruments for this variable in this population. Perhaps one needs to design in vivo situations such as those discussed by Mills, McDevitt and Tonkin (1966) for a better examination of ego strength in relationship to policemen's job satisfaction.

When using policemen as subjects it is necessary to attempt to find ways to diminish their lack of trust. The one instrument that the policemen in this study seemed open about and eager to respond to was the job satisfaction questionnaire. Perhaps this was partly due to the clarity of its intent (face validity), making it seem neither irrelevant nor threatening. This was the one instrument designed mainly for blue collar workers rather than college students, and this fact may have contributed to its success.

It is clear that research into police work in general has only begun to identify parameters for further study. There is much that remains unknown about policemen's job satisfaction and how it relates to various personality characteristics as well as to performance. Some of the problems of investigation of the police have been discussed. One particular problem area is evaluation of police work. Until adequate and appropriate measures of police performance

can be devised, any understanding of the results of investigation into job satisfaction will be hampered. Although in the literature limited relationships have been noted between satisfaction and performance, this investigator believes that if criteria of police performance accurately and fully reflected the work policemen do, and if policemen were trained and supervised in a supportive way, a positive relationship between job satisfaction and performance would emerge.

Implications for Society

Increased interest in police work among social scientists and the public has recently become apparent. Although many police specialists are beginning to point to deficiencies in present police systems, both police and society still call for the traditional solution, "more policemen." This solution imposes a tremendous financial burden on society; but more important, it is questionable whether adding men without changing both society's and the police system's attitudes toward policemen and police work would be effective. For example, legitimatizing the preventive aspect of police work would be a radical departure from current practice.

The attitude of society affects the police system and vice versa. If society were to become more aware of the real, day-to-day essence of police work, rather than the

misleading stereotypes fostered by TV and movies, it is possible that police organizations would be more open to change. One helpful educative approach might be dissemination to the public of information on what police work is really like.

When policemen do not like their work and do not provide appropriate caring services for citizens, society suffers. When society and the police system demonstrate their view that policemen and police work should remain as it has been, then the policeman is not likely to see growth and change as essential components of his job. This might promote the feelings of anomie and cynicism reported by so many police researchers. Difficulties such as these lead to inadequate services to society, completing the vicious circle.

Implications for Change in the Police System

It seems desirable for police systems to make some major changes in order to respond more appropriately to the needs of both society and policemen. The police system should become more teaching oriented than authoritarian. That is, supervision should be changed from the traditional punitive approach to one of learning and sharing experiences, and the service aspect of the patrolman's job should be recognized as one of the most important aspects of his work.

One modification that could prove useful relates to promotional policies. Rather than removing by promotion to

other duties the patrolman who provides effective service, it would seem more desirable to promote within the patrolmen ranks, perhaps using different grades of patrolmen with promotion based in part upon recognition of effective conflict management and prevention of crime and disorder.

Alternative approaches to the current police system have been springing up in recent years. One such alternative is the Neighborhood Police Team, which is intended to improve police effectiveness through decentralization of authority. Team structures combine patrol and investigation under a unified local command, with flexible assignments and attempts to motivate policemen and the community to take more initiative in controlling local conditions. Among other things, the team concept acknowledges the need for the police system to change from an authoritarian system to a more democratic, flexible system stressing individual initiative, responsibility, and cooperation.

The Neighborhood Police Team concept stresses the value of close supervision with nonpunitive aspects. Another possible supervisory model would use trained nonpolice personnel to provide specialized supervision, for example, in conflict management or crisis intervention. It is also possible that outside consultants could train members of the department to provide such professional supervision.

Today professionalism has become a goal of many police systems. The hallmark of a professional is that he has been taught how to use discretion and has the respect that comes from the ability to use this discretion effectively. Unfortunately, policemen are not trained or expected to function in this way, and are not seen as professionals by either the system or the public. It is ironic that the very men who make life and death decisions are not taught how to make them professionally.

Patrolmen are not trained in professional decision-making, and they are not respected for the decisions they do make. The patrolman is the man on the spot. He knows what is going on and what the job is about. But when he has valid and important criticisms, suggestions, or vital needs, there is often no way he can effectively communicate his ideas to those who could implement them. The system tends to discourage or ignore ideas which involve change, and frequently both the patrolman and his ideas are treated disrespectfully. This would seem to lead to conformity, passivity, an external orientation, and eventually to job dissatisfaction. Thus this situation may perpetuate conditions which result in less adequate service to the public. Conformity, passivity, and lack of job satisfaction are partly engendered by the traditional police academy training, which fosters obedience and strict rule-adherence, and are reinforced by supervision which is punitive and stifling rather than oriented toward teaching and

understanding (i.e., a more professional model of supervision).

Police job requirements call for active decision-making in complex situations. Training that enhances active participation has a different effect on job performance than training which promotes passive participation (the typical Police Academy training). Zacker and Bard (in press) found that the daily performance of patrolmen trained in active participation was more effective than that of officers traditionally trained. These investigators also noted that police training is typically geared to producing "technicians" through minimizing individual training in decision-making. They suggest that the passivity fostered by such training is the opposite of the active decision-making required in effective police work.

Further recommendations deriving from the present study are that police departments 1) should listen to and where possible attempt to rectify what their men are unhappy about; 2) should attempt to recruit men who are both high in ego strength and internally oriented; and 3) should attempt to institute training procedures specifically designed to encourage an internal orientation in their men.

Implications for the Housing Authority Police Department

The Housing Authority is in the unique position of being a landlord (with well over half a million tenants) with its own police force. The major responsibility of this police force as perceived by the officers is protection of the Housing Authority's property. However, another responsibility of the Housing Authority Police Department is protecting the tenants and providing them with the customary police services.

The Housing Authority, however, is relatively insensitive to the needs of the tenants, and the Housing Authority Police Department, being an arm of the landlord, is advised to place the protection of property above the performance of routine police duties involving services to the tenants. Thus the Housing Authority patrolman must enforce the relatively insensitive and sometimes punitive rules and regulations of the landlord. For example, as an arm of the landlord, when a Housing patrolman responds to a tenant dispute, he must inform the Housing Manager, who may then fine the tenant. This leads both to tenant dissatisfaction with the Housing police and to conflicts between the New York Police Department and the Housing Authority Police Department. The former may be called by tenants simply so that the

tenants' dispute will not be placed on record with the landlord. The responding New York City policeman may then feel resentment because "I have to do the Housing cop's job." It is no wonder that the Housing patrolman is dissatisfied with his job: he is caught between the demands of the landlord and the needs of the tenant.

Another source of Housing patrolmen dissatisfaction indicated by the subjects of this study was that both their own department and the Housing Authority administration denigrated them and were deaf to their grievances.

This study suggests that one source of dissatisfaction for white Housing patrolmen is that they are outnumbered by their black co-workers. It is possible that more white patrolmen are needed on this force to get optimum white patrolman satisfaction with co-workers. Perhaps a study of the satisfaction of groups of patrolmen stationed at different projects would determine whether there are different satisfaction levels for white and for black patrolmen depending on their percentage at the project and the race of the citizens they serve.

The black Housing policeman suffers from the role conflict of being both black and a representative of the mainly white management. He is conspicuously aware of the fact that most of the people in command are white. This could be a source of dissatisfaction for him.

In the area of conflict management, Bard, Zacker and

Rutter (1972) have shown that active-experiential training for Housing Authority patrolmen led to decreased community dissatisfaction with the Housing police. Thus better and more appropriate training produced an improved attitude towards police, which might also increase policemen's job satisfaction.

It is recommended that both the Authority and the command structure of the Housing Authority Police Department more actively recognize and consider the grievances of the police officers. Upgrading training to better equip the men with the invaluable skills can make their jobs more productive and satisfying. Also, as noted previously, the supervisory structure should be geared towards training professionals rather than punishing infractions.

Implications for Housing Authority Patrolmen

The Housing Authority patrolman who wants to survive on a daily basis, like patrolmen in other police departments, may simply stay out of trouble and do only what is expected of him. This could result in the development of the anomie and cynicism noted by Niederhoffer (1969). Is it necessary for policemen to feel so uniformly cynical? Perhaps if the men took some initiative in exploring the problems of the system, they would feel less hopeless about effecting change. It is true that the system has the power, but the men are not as completely helpless as they feel; and they could attempt to modify the system through their own

benevolent association or other organizations. It is possible that awareness of the nature of their problems would make them less cynical. Lack of awareness of the system's manipulations makes the patrolman more vulnerable to these manipulations. It is the men who shape the department as well as the department which molds the men.

Summary

In few vocations can a practitioner's behavior have such a great impact upon a citizen, for better or for worse, as in police work. Yet typical police recruitment and training procedures do not seem conducive to effective decision-making by the police officer. Police work requires rapid decision-making and the exercise of discretion in complex and ambiguous situations which often involve critical interpersonal interactions.

A patrolman having a greater expectation of his ability to control his own destiny will probably be more alert to information useful for his future behavior than a patrolman without such an expectation. The former should be more actively concerned about his job skills, a concern which would seem likely to result in both greater skill and increased job satisfaction. Ego strength, which is related to engaging oneself effectively in the events of living and working, may well be related to a police officer's competence and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis I: There will be a positive relationship between high work satisfaction and internal locus of control in policemen.

Hypothesis II: There will be a positive relationship between work satisfaction and ego strength in policemen.

Hypothesis III: There will be a positive relationship between internal locus of control in policemen and ego strength.

Hypothesis IV: There will be a positive relationship between work satisfaction of policemen and indices of performance.

The subjects for this study were 120 experienced patrolmen, of whom 84 were Negro, 26 Caucasian, and 10 Puerto Rican. These represent approximately 10 per cent of the total patrol force of the New York Housing Authority Police Department.

The experimental instruments were: the Job Description Index (JDI), the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, the Barron Ego Scale, and a background questionnaire.

The study revealed that the patrolmen were very dissatisfied with their work when compared to a stratified sample of workers.

Among the proposed causes of policemen's dissatisfaction were society's ambivalence concerning the exercise of control over citizens, inadequate training in complex interpersonal crisis management, and dislike of service functions.

There was a small but significant relationship between Work Satisfaction and Locus of Control. Men more internally oriented were more likely to express higher work satisfaction than men with external orientation. Implications of this relationship for police work were discussed, and indications that the police system itself encourages externally oriented behavior in its officers was examined.

A partial confirmation of the positive relationship between Work Satisfaction and Ego Strength was obtained. Patrolmen with high Ego Strength scores were more satisfied with their work than those with either medium or low Ego Strength scores. Difficulties encountered in using Barron's Ego Strength Scale were discussed, most notably doubts about the candidness of responses given by the subjects.

The hypothesized positive relationship between Ego Strength and Internal Locus of Control was not confirmed. Possible reasons included doubts about the validity of the responses to the Ego Strength Scale and its lack of face validity for policemen.

The relationship between performance and Work Satisfaction yielded mixed findings. Men who had made many arrests and men who had made no arrests at all were quite satisfied with their work. The men who liked their work least had made some arrests. The issue of what work satisfaction involves was discussed.

The expected relationship between number of times absent and work satisfaction was not obtained. Thus absence by itself was not a good predictor of satisfaction for this population.

The difficulties of evaluating job performance for policemen were discussed, among them inadequate supervision and performance criteria which rarely reflect the major

aspects of the officers' work (providing services).

New performance criteria are needed to reflect the complex aspects of police work. Ways of diminishing policemen's lack of trust must be found. Implications for society, police departments, the Housing Authority Police Department, and the Housing Authority patrolmen were discussed.

Hypotheses I, II, and part of IV were confirmed.

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Appendix I

QUESTIONNAIRE II

Directions: This questionnaire consists of numbered questions. Read each statement and decide whether it is true as applied to you or false as applied to you. If a statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE, as applied to you, place an X next to the T. If a statement is FALSE or NOT USUALLY TRUE, as applied to you, place an X next to the F. Remember to give your own opinion of yourself. Do not leave any blank spaces if you can avoid it.

1. T___F___ I have a good appetite.

2. T___F___ I have diarrhea once a month or more.

3. T___F___ At times I have fits of laughing and crying that I cannot control.

4. T___F___ I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.

5. T___F___I have had very peculiar and strange experiences.

6. T___F___ I have a cough most of the time.

7. T___F___ I seldom worry about my health.

8. T___F___ My sleep is fitful and disturbed.

9. T___F___ When I am with people I am bothered by hearing very queer things.

10. T___F___ I am in just as good physical health as most of my friends.

11. T___F___ Everything is turning out just like the prophets of the Bible said it would!

12. T___F___ Parts of my body often have feelings like burning, tingling, crawling, or like "going to sleep."

13. T___F___ I am easily downed in an argument.

14. T___F___ I do many things which I regret afterwards (I regret things more or more often than others seem to).

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15. T___F___ I go to church almost every week.

16. T___F___ I have met problems so full of possibilities that I have been unable to make up my mind about them.

17. T__F___ Some people are so bossy that I feel like doing the opposite of what they request, even though I know they are right.

18. T___F___ I like collecting flowers or growing house plants.

19. T___F___ I like to cook.

20. T___F___ During the past few years I have been well most of the time.

21. T___F___I have never had a fainting spell.

22. T___F___When I get bored I like to stir up some excitement.

23. T___F___ My hands have not become clumsy or awkward.

24. T___F___ I feel weak all over much of the time.

25. T___F___ I have had no difficulty in keeping my balance in walking.

26. T___F___ I like to flirt.

27. T___F___ I believe my sins are unpardonable.

28. T___F___ I frequently find myself worrying about something.

29. T___F___ I like science.

30. T___F___ I like to talk about sex.

31. T___F___ I get mad easily and then get over it soon.

32. T___F___ I brood a great deal.

33. T___F___ I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.

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34. T___F___ My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others.

35. T___F___ I have had blank spells in which my activities were interrupted and I did not know what was going on around me.

36. T___F___ I can be friendly with people who do things which I consider wrong.

37. T___F___ If I were an artist I would like to draw flowers.

38. T___F___ When I leave home I do not worry about whether the door is locked and the windows closed.

39. T___F___ At times I hear so well it bothers me.

40. T___F___ Often I cross the street in order not to meet someone I see.

41. T___F___ I have strange and peculiar thoughts.

42. T___F___ Sometimes I enjoy hurting persons I love.

43. T___F___ Sometimes some unimportant thought will run through my mind and bother me for days.

44. T___F___ I am not afraid of fire.

45. T___F___ I do not like to see women smoke.

46. T___F___ When someone says silly or ignorant things about something I know about , I try to set him right.

47. T___F___ I feel unable to tell anyone all about myself.

48. T___F___ My plans have frequently seemed so full of difficulties that I have had to give them up.

49. T___F___ I would certainly enjoy beating a crook at his own game.

50. T___F___ I have had some very unusual religious experiences.

51. T___F___ One or more members of my family is very nervous.

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52. T___F___ I am attracted by members of the opposite sex.

53. T___F___ The man who had most to do with me when I was a child (such as my father, stepfather, etc.) was very strict with me.

54. T___F___ Christ performed miracles such as changing water into wine.

55. T___F___ I pray several times every week.

56. T___F___ I feel sympathetic towards people who tend to hang on to their griefs and troubles.

57. T___F___ I am afraid of finding myself in a closet or small closed place.

58. T___F___ Dirt frightens or disgusts me.

59. T___F___ I think Lincoln was greater than Washington.

60. T___F___ In my home we have always had the ordinary necessities (such as enough food, clothing, etc.)

61. T___F___ I am made nervous by certain animals.

62. T___F___ My skin seems to be unusually sensitive to touch.

63. T___F___ I feel tired a good deal of the time.

64. T___F___ I never attend a sexy show if I can avoid it.

65. T___F___ If I were an artist I would like to draw children.

66. T___F___ I sometimes feel that I am about to go to pieces.

67. T___F___ I have often been frightened in the middle of the night.

68. T___F___ I very much like horseback riding.

OPINIONS

Directions: Circle "a" or "b" for each item, whichever you think is more true. Respond to every item. For example: in question 1 decide whether "a" or "b" best expresses your feelings and then circle that one. Do this for each numbered item.

1.a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2.a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3.a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4.a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5.a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6.a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7.a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8.a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

(please turn page)

9.a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10.a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

11.a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12.a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13.a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14.a. There are certain people who are just no good.
b. There is some good in everybody.

15.a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16.a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17.a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18.a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

(Please turn page)

19.a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20.a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21.a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22.a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23.a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24.a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25.a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26.a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27.a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28.a. What happens to me is my own doing.
b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29.a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicans behave the way they do.
b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

JDI WORK

Directions: Put Y beside an item if the item describes the work aspect of your job, N if the item does not describe that aspect, or ? if you can not decide.

____Fascinating

____Routine

____Satisfying

____Boring

____Good

____Creative

____Respected

____Hot

____Pleasant

____Useful

____Tiresome

____Healthful

____Challenging

____On your feet

____Frustrating

____Simple

____Endless

____Gives sense of accomplishment

JDI SUPERVISION

Directions: Put Y beside an item if the item describes the supervision aspect of your job, N if the item does not describe that aspect, or ? if you can not decide.

____Asks my advice

____Hard to please

____Impolite

____Praises good work

____Tactful

____Influential

____Up-to-date

____Doesn't supervise enough

____Quick tempered

____Tells me where I stand

____Annoying

____Stubborn

____Knows job well

____Bad

____Intelligent

____Leaves me on my own

____Lazy

____Around when needed

JDI PAY

Directions: Put Y beside an item if the item describes the pay aspect of your job, N if the item does not describe that aspect, or ? if you can not decide.

____Income adequate for normal expenses

____Satisfactory maintenance allowance for uniform and equipment

____Barely live on income

____Paid

____Income provides luxuries

____Less than I deserve

____Highly paid

____Underpaid

JDI PROMOTION

Directions: Put Y beside an item if it describes the promotion aspect of your job, N if the item does not describe that aspect, or ? if you can not decide.

____Good opportunity for promotions

____Opportunity somewhat limited

____Promotion on ability

____Dead-end job

____Good chance for promotion

____Unfair promotion policy

____Infrequent promotions

____Regular promotions

____Fairly good chance for promotion

JDI CO-WORKERS

Directions: Put Y beside an item if the item describes the co-worker aspect of your job, N if the item does not describe that aspect, or ? if you can not decide.

____Stimulating

____Boring

____Slow

____Ambitious

____Stupid

____Responsible

____Fast

____Intelligent

____Easy to make enemies

____Talk too much

____Smart

____Lazy

____Unpleasant

____No privacy

____Active

____Narrow interests

____Loyal

____Hard to meet

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age_____

2. Birthplace_____
   If not New York City, number of years living here _____

3. Birthplace of parents:
   Father_____
   Mother_____

4. Number of years of police experience_____

5. Are you: _____single
   _____married, no children
   _____married with children (how many?____)
   _____other (explain_____)

6. When you were growing up were you:
   _____the only child
   _____the oldest child
   _____the oldest male child
   _____the youngest child
   _____in-between child

7. Have you ever been in the Armed Forces? ___Yes ___No.

8. If you were in the Armed Forces, what was your military job (no MOS)_____

9. How did you feel about the army?
   _____I really liked it
   _____it wasn't so bad
   _____I couldn't wait to get out

10. When did you definitely decide to become a policeman:
    _____before high school
    _____during high school
    _____while in school or college after high school
    _____while in the military
    _____while working at another job

11. Were any of your friends or relatives police officers?
    ___Yes ___No

12. If yes, what was the relationship(ex. friend, uncle?

    Did he (they) advise you to join? Yes___ No___
    Did he (they) advise against joining? Yes___ No___

(Please turn page)

13. Which of the following [illegible] reasons were most important to you in deciding to join the force. Place #1 in the blank most important, #2 after the second and #3 after the reason that was third for you.

Put an X next to the reason least importnat to you in joining.

Rank Order	Job Factor
_____	Security (steady work, sure of a job, pension, etc.)
_____	prestige (a job that is highly respected)
_____	Salary (highly paid)
_____	Interesting work (a job I enjoy)
_____	Advancement (a chance to get ahead, promotions)
_____	Chance to be with people (to help people)
_____	Independence (be my own boss or work on my own)

14. How many arrests did you make during the last year (estimate if you don't remember exactly)?_____

15. How many times did you have an illness that kept you out during the past year?_____

16. How many days did you miss from work due to sickness last year (estimate if you don't remember exactly)?_____

Appendix II

TABLE A

COMPARISONS BETWEEN MEAN JDI SCORES FOR THE NEW YORK HOUSING POLICE SAMPLE WITH THE NORMATIVE SAMPLE OF 2,000 MALE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

JDI Variables	N.Y.H.P.D.		Normative Sample		t-Test
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Work	27.57	9.12	36.57	10.54	29.03[b]
Supervision	27.20	11.18	41.10	10.58	44.84[b]
Pay[a]	17.05	12.06	29.90	14.53	35.40[b]
Promotion	21.02	14.98	22.06	15.77	2.74[c]
Co-Workers	41.24	10.21	43.49	10.02	7.50[b]

[a]Comparison for Pay is underestimated due to the elimination of one item, which reduces the average score anywhere from 0 to 6 points.

[b]$p < .001$.

[c]$p < .01$.

TABLE B

COMPARISONS BETWEEN MEAN JDI SCORES FOR THE NEW YORK HOUSING POLICE SAMPLE AND A SAMPLE OF DAYTON POLICE[a]

JDI Variables	N.Y.H.P.D.		D.P.D.		t-Test
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Work	27.57	9.12	33.71	11.20	17.06[c]
Supervision	27.20	11.18	40.65	13.68	32.80[c]
Pay[b]	17.05	12.06	15.15	12.07	5.00[c]
Promotion	21.02	14.98	18.40	14.65	6.24[c]
Co-Workers	41.24	10.21	41.42	12.74	0.47

[a]Five-sixths of this sample is patrolmen; one-sixth is officers.

[b]Pay scores are underestimated for both samples due to the elimination of one item, which reduces the average score anywhere from 0 to 6 points.

[c]$p < .001$.

TABLE C

SATISFACTION WITH WORK ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ARRESTS FOR BLACK POLICEMEN

Arrests	Satisfaction with Work		
	N	Mean	S.D.
Zero (0)	22	29.73	9.40
Some (1-7)	44	24.93	8.31
Many (8-31)	18	32.72	6.92