CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Social Image of Police Officers

Before this work, I was like any other average citizen - a believer that the police officers have a job to do while protecting our community, yet at the same time could come across as being aggressive and unreasonable when dealing with the public. I never stopped to think about how they feel or the toll it must take on them when they must deal with the human negativity day after day. To me, police officers were nameless and faceless people separated from the rest of society, an idea based primarily on the job requirements -- to uphold the laws of the land. They are agents for the government, the enforcers of the laws, and supporters of what our society deems as appropriate behavior -- even if it contradicts what an individual officer believes.

In the media, it seemed that police officers were seldom praised, but rather criticized or harassed for overstepping civil rights boundaries. News reports are quick to accuse police officers for brutality when in fact police departments have in place set policies and procedures to ensure officer safety, even if it means physically restraining an unruly citizen. With such varying degrees of police conduct one day officers are publicized heroes, while on the next, portrayed as racist, brutal, and authoritarian. The lack of consistent public support appears to actually add to the stress of being a police officer because there is a negative and disrespectful image of law
enforcement officers in our society. When the public loses trust and are unwilling to cooperate with the police, they are making a police officer’s job not only more stressful, but also harder to perform safely and effectively.

Identifying the Police Culture

By speaking to other recruits, visiting with officers in his department, and going through the data collection, I learned about the unglamorous realities of police culture.

For one thing, they have an identical physical appearance by means of a uniform and haircut, as if they were products of the same machine. Just as military training transforms a civilian into a soldier, the police recruits are separating themselves from civilian life and are assuming their role as an officer. Each one has a duty belt, an issued uniform (complete with a badge, department patches and nametag), a hat, and shined black boots. Anyone who strays away from the required look will be in violation of the dress code, and will be disciplined accordingly -- either by being shunned or shamed by other officers or citizens for a poor appearance.

To further enhance the feeling of common identity, the recruits in the Academy are called by numbers or their last name only, while teachers and administrators are referred to as a “T.O.” (Training Officer). First names are used only between the recruits in off-times, never while on duty, or in the presence of superior Training Officers. In the Police Academy, recruits are all equals and whatever life experiences one may have encountered prior to becoming an officer does not make
a recruit any better or worse than the rest of the group. They are all blank slates that would be rewritten to reflect the training and conduct appropriate for police officers. Furthermore, the Police Academy is a time for bonding and learning to trust one another. The building of trust is important and thus the commonalities enhance the feeling of camaraderie. In addition to the common appearance, the recruits learn to understand the very specific language of the job. The police have their own set of radio codes that are used in communicating between the officers and the dispatchers. It is imperative that the recruits learn these codes since the job is conducted in this language. These codes, which are specifically used only in the police department, are also something of an adjustment for the recruits since they are nothing that would be used in civilian life. The most important aspect of the culture is that the recruits learn and accept the belief system and code of conduct of the police “family.” The police force is a top-down organization, where the chief of police holds the highest level of delegated authority to create, dictate, and enforce the actions of the officers within the department. Although authority is delegated throughout the “Brass” ranks, the recruits must adhere with utmost care that all levels of authority are properly addressed and given respect. Through Academy training, recruits learn about the “Chain of Command,” a systematized method of respectfully addressing superior officers, and they must learn to shift their mindset from ordinary civilian to an upholder of the law. Neither the Police Academy nor department is an organization that tolerates insubordination or unlawful practices by any of
their officers. Thus all officers must understand the consequences of their actions and act according to policies and procedures. In a sense, the recruits give up a certain level of personal freedom when they chose to join the police force, and thus they must learn to withhold their anger or dissent.

**The Colonial Footprints in Policing Culture in India**

The prevalent police culture in India derives from the primary colonial concepts of maintaining social control and maintenance of social order at any cost. The colonial state was not created on the basis of a separation and sharing of constitutional powers between democratic institutions but on the back of a unified, centralized, authoritarian, institutional structure. Inherent in the idea of such centralized, authoritarian structure was that the colonial state was the only source of any juridical authority and all other agencies operating under its command merely existed to help fulfill the colonial objectives. The notion of rule of law was a matter of political expediency and the interests of the colonial state assumed primacy over that of its subjects. Societal organisation dictated by colonial considerations posited the idea of securing colonial interests in the form of raw materials and revenue based on the colonial notion of ownership of private property. The collection of revenue in exchange for the granting of property rights to a select few was seen both in terms of a public good as well as a colonial necessity. The
shift in British character from being a trading company to a colonial retainer of a vast country promptly excluded any Rawlsian notion of equality and rule of law when it came to development of policing in the colonial state. Policing grew on the back of a presumption of the backwardness of the Indian social organisation and the ideological requirement of perpetuating a sense of cultural inferiority amongst the local population. The Indian Penal Code was drafted alongside the Indian Contract Act not so much out of concern for upholding the rule of law than as a codified body of rules outlining the British penal structure for the protection of British/European economic interests and facilitate a European/British social order. The idea of a colonial penal structure was predicated on the defense of property rights of Europeans/British traders and to primarily serve the British/European ruling class.
1.1 STRESS

The term stress appears regularly in our everyday discourse. It is also a leading topic of study in psychology. Stress plays a part in the lives of everyone. Some stress is not only inevitable, it can be good. For example, the physical stress of “working out” improves our cardiovascular system, and feeling pressure that causes us to study harder for an exam can improve our score. Police work is often considered to be a highly stressful occupation. Not only are police officers frequently exposed to the most violent, antisocial and mistrustful elements of society, they are also expected to exercise discretion under critical circumstances (Crank & Caldero, 1991; Violanti & Aron, 1994). Researchers have long argued that police officers’ job performance can be affected deleteriously when officers experience chronic stress (McGreedy, 1974; Goodman 1990). Police stress, however, refers to the negative pressures related to police work. Police officers are not super humans. According to Gail Goolkasian and others, research shows that they are affected by their daily exposure to human indecency and pain; that dealing with a suspicious and sometimes hostile public takes its toll on them; and that the shift changes, the long periods of boredom, and the ever-present danger that are part of police work do cause serious job stress.

Dr. Hans Selye’s classic *The Stress of Life* describes the effect of long-term environmental threats he calls “stressors.” Dr. Selye maintains that the unrelieved effort to cope with
stressors can lead to heart disease, high blood pressure, ulcers, digestive disorders, and headaches.

Stressors in police work fall into four categories:

1. Stresses inherent in police work.
2. Stresses arising internally from police department practices and policies.
3. External stresses stemming from the criminal justice system and the society at large.
4. Internal stresses confronting individual officers.

Police stress arises from several features of police work. Alterations in body rhythms from monthly shift rotation, for example, reduce productivity. The change from a day to a swing, or graveyard, shift not only requires biological adjustment but also complicates officers’ personal lives. Role conflicts between the job—serving the public, enforcing the law, and upholding ethical standards—and personal responsibilities as spouse, parent, and friend act as stressors. Other stressors in police work include:

- Threats to officers’ health and safety.
- Boredom, alternating with the need for sudden alertness and mobilized energy.
- Responsibility for protecting the lives of others.
- Continual exposure to people in pain or distress.
- The need to control emotions even when provoked.
- The presence of a gun, even during off-duty hours.
Administrative policies and procedures, which officers rarely participate in formulating, can add to stress. One-officer patrol cars create anxiety and a reduced sense of safety. Internal investigation practices create the feeling of being watched and not trusted, even during off-duty hours. Officers sometimes feel they have fewer rights than the criminals they apprehend. Lack of rewards for good job performance, insufficient training, and excessive paperwork can also contribute to police stress.

Further stress arises from perceived lack of support and negative attitudes toward police from the larger society. Stress also stems from distorted and/or unfavorable news accounts of incidents involving police. Women and minority officers face additional stressors. They are more likely to face disapproval from fellow officers and from family and friends for entering police work. Supervisors, peers, and the public question women officers’ ability to handle the emotional and physical rigors of the job, even though research indicates women can do so. The need to “prove themselves” to male officers and to the public constitutes a major stressor for women officers.

1.1.1 Sources of stress

The sources associated with stress in police work are well documented by scholars and practitioners (Symonds, 1970; Cucose & Rubin, 1973; Kroes et al., 1974; Reiser, 1974; 1976). Major sources of police stress that are frequently highlighted in the literature include:
1. Stress from the work environment

2. Availability of peer support and trust

3. Bureaucratic characteristics of police organization

4. Social and family influence

5. Accessibility of coping mechanism

1. **Stress from the work environment**: The first major source of stress identified in police work is associated with the unique work environment of police officers. The danger associated with police work is usually highlighted in surveys of law enforcement officers where police officers are asked to rank-order a list of possible stressors. Not surprisingly, the death of a partner or having to take a life in the line of duty is typically among the top stressors identified by officers (Coman and Evans, 1991; Violanti and Aron, 1993). Other elements of stress often mentioned in the literature include making violent arrests, and gruesome crime scenes (Violanti and Aron, 1993). Overall, violent and unpredictable incidents involved in police work are commonly considered to be the leading sources of both psychological and physical stress among law enforcement officers.

2. **Availability of peer support and trust**: A substantial body of literature addresses the important role of peer support and trust of co-workers and supervisors in buffering the effects of stress related to police work (House and Wells, 1978; LaRocco *et al.*, 1980; House, 1981; Dignam *et al.*, 1986; Ganster *et al.*, 1986; Quick *et al.*, 1992; Morris *et al.*, 1999).
Researchers have argued that peer support is especially salient to police officers because the nature of their work requires them to place their lives in the hands of fellow police officers in dangerous situations, and because work-related stress may only be completely comprehensible to fellow police officers (Ellison and Genz, 1983; Graf, 1986). Further, research indicates that police officers who perceive themselves as having a strong work-related peer support system, also perceived their jobs as being less stressful (LaRocco et al., 1980; Graf, 1986).

3. Bureaucratic characteristics of police organization: Bureaucratic characteristics of police organizations are identified as a third major source of stress among police officers (Violanti and Aron, 1993). Studies have identified the unique characteristics of police agencies as a significant factor predicting stress among police officers (Spielberger et al., 1981; Maslach, 1982; Martelli et al., 1989; Brown and Campbell, 1990). Organizational stressors include the events precipitated by police administration that are troublesome to members of the organization.

Given the bureaucratic nature of police organizations (such as impersonal rules, and a distinct chain of command) individual input at the workplace is often reduced to a minimal level (Coman and Evans, 1991). Furthermore, Golembiewski and Kim (1991) make the argument that the quasi-military nature of police organizations tends to breed alienation among police officers. This is especially problematic as police officers are required to exercise considerable discretion while being
tightly controlled by a plethora of administrative rules surrounding their work.

4. **Social and family influence:** The fourth major source of stress in police work involves work/family relationships. Research on work/family interface have long recognized that the personal lives of police officers are affected by the unique nature of police work which, in turn, makes officers perceive their job as more psychologically and physically stressful (Hughes *et al*., 1992; Galinsky *et al*., 1993; 1996). Several studies have identified work-family conflict as an important predictor of psychological burnout among police officers (Jackson and Maslach, 1982; Burke, 1989; 1993). This is particularly true for female officers because the demands of their domestic role as wife and mother are greater than those of male police officers (Martin, 1980, p. 200). For example, research findings suggest that marriage is distinctly beneficial for most husbands but much less for most wives (Bernard, 1972), and married women experience more strain than do married men (Gove and Tudor, 1973). However, very few studies have empirically examined this issue within the context of gender and police work.

5. **Accessibility of coping mechanism:** The final source of police stress concerns the availability and choice of coping mechanisms adopted by male and female police officers in order to reduce their stress. Although coping literature is replete with varied definitions of the concept of coping, most researchers agree that only the conscious use of a cognitive or behavioral strategy that is intended to reduce perceived
stress or improve a person’s resources to deal with stress reflects the coping process (Evans et al., 1993; Anshel, 2000).

An element of truth that says an awful lot about police work. Police work, by its very nature, calls for an incredible amount of restraint, continual restraint, and draining restraint. It is stressful. The demands on police officers to show ever greater restraint have been increasing over the years, and not so coincidentally have the effects of stress on police work. With the recent attention that police suicide has received in the media there have been a number of reviews on police suicide. I came across an interesting statistic. Between 1934 and 1960 police suicide rates were half that of the general population. Between 1980 to the present, suicide rates in some departments almost approach double. If we take a quick overview of police work and look at the research of what the biggest stressors are, we find:

- Killing someone in the line of duty.
- Having you partner killed in the line of duty.
- Lack of support by the department/bosses.
- Shift work and disruption of family time/family rituals.
- The daily grind of dealing with the stupidity of the public.

Interestingly, physical danger is ranked low on the list of stressors by police officers! One of the worst effects of stress on police officers is of course suicide.

With suicide there seem to be four factors:

1. Divorce.
2. Alcohol - not alcoholism.

3. Depression.

4. A failure to get help. (Most officers who commit suicide have no history of having sought counseling).

All four factors are symptoms that can stem from an officer's stress levels. Police suicide is more directly related to relationship problems than to job stress of the police personnel. Police officers going through a divorce are 5 times more likely to commit suicide that and officer in a stable marriage! Relationship problems, however, are highly related to job stress. The circle is complete, If we consider that officers have an important relationship with their department, we can examine the effect of that relationship gone badly. Officers who get serious trouble on the job, suspended or facing termination, are 7 times more likely to commit suicide. So we see that stress has a profound effect on police officers lives, especially their home lives. Studies have called police work a "high risk lifestyle". Not high risk in terms of the physical dangers of the job, but a high risk in terms of developing attitudinal problems, behavioral problems, and intimacy and relationship problems.

Stress contributes not only to the physical disorders previously mentioned, but also to emotional problems. Some research suggests that police officers commit suicide at a higher rate than other groups. Most investigators report unusually high rates of divorce among police. Although
researchers have exaggerated the divorce rate among police, interview surveys demonstrate that police stress reduces the quality of family life. A majority of officers interviewed reported that police work inhibits non police friendships, interferes with scheduling family social events, and generates a negative public image. Furthermore, they take job pressures home, and spouses worry about officers' safety. Systematic studies do not confirm the widely held belief that police suffer from unusually high rates of alcoholism, although indirect research has established a relationship between high job stress and excessive drinking. Finally, officers interviewed cited guilt, anxiety, fear, nightmares, and insomnia following involvement in shooting incidents.

In the past, departments either ignored officers with problems or dealt with them informally by assigning them to desk jobs. During the 1950s, some departments began to formalize their responses, usually by incorporating officer-initiated Alcoholics Anonymous groups made up exclusively of alcoholic officers. In the 1970s, departments instituted “employee assistance” programs to deal with problem officers, particularly those suffering from alcoholism. These programs have expanded into a broad range of responses to police stress. Some programs focus on physical fitness, diet, relaxation, and biofeedback to cope with stress.

Stress that results from a negative workplace environment and interactions at work has been recognized as a major problem for police officers. While some stress can be a positive motivator, it is generally regarded as destructive and
even life threatening. Officers who experience high levels of stress commonly have poor health (Cooper and Davidson, 1987; Fletcher, 1988; Kirkcaldy et al., 1995), are frequently absent from work (Wright and Saylor, 1991), experience burnout (Brown et al., 1996; Burke and Deszca, 1986; Crank et al., 1995; Lord, 1996; Stotland and Pendleton, 1989), are dissatisfied with their jobs (Norvell et al., 1998), and suffer from increased chronic stress, depression, heart disease, stomach disorders, and alcohol and drug use and abuse (Anshel, 2000; Biggam et al., 1997; Dietrich, 1989; Lord, 1996; Walker, 1997). It is, therefore, essential to understand the influences on stress, and to understand whether these influences vary between subgroups. By understanding group-specific differences in the influences on stress, it is possible to develop interventions that would reduce the workplace problems that are most related to job-related stress experienced by particular groups of officers.

Stressful life events, stress and strain have been found to be associated with high incidence of certain psychological disturbances e.g. anxiety, depression, coronary heart disease, hypertension, migraine, chronic headache, post-traumatic stress disorder etc. In a study on Punjab Police, high level of mental stress is found among Punjab Police Personnel. It is said that the high level of stress is adversely affecting their professional, physical and psychological well-being. Further observation says that because of continuous and high level of stress, the police officials are getting more prone to depression, alcoholism, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder.
etc. a variety of stressors such as frustration, conflicts, pressures, life events, daily hassles etc. have been identified. A sizeable body of literature has been developed over the years, which have examined police stress from a variety of perspectives.

Police official perceived the criminal justice system as a source of frustration and found the public attitude towards the force as hostile. One of the empirical studies on job stress in policemen found lack of administration support as a potent source of stress. Cooper (1982) examined the sources of stress among 200 British supervisory officers working at various ranks and found work overload, lack of personal recognition, frustration, and autocratic management as prominent stressors. Quantitative work overload, under load, lack of control over job, excessive task demands and long working hours, role ambiguity and excessive role responsibilities have been reported as significant stressors amongst the police personnel. Fatigue emanating from job, separation from family, not being able to attend important domestic work have been reported as perennial sources of stress among the police officials.
1.2 WORK-LIFE BALANCE

Work/Life Balance: A state of equilibrium in which the demands of both a person’s job and personal life are equal.

As we move in the 21st century, both work and life are changing along multiple dimensions. Today’s workforce brings expectations that create a demand for job in which people can succeed in all aspects of their lives. The pressures of work have intensified in recent decades. Factors such as the advance in information technology and information load, the need of speed for response, the importance attached to quality of customer service and its implication for constant availability and pace of change with its resultant upheavals and adjustment, all demand our time and can be sources of pressure. Employees can be adversely affected both physically and emotionally resulting in increased health care cost, higher divorce rates, and employees’ burnout.

For both private and public sectors to stay competitive in today’s global market, an effort must be made to address work-life balance. Challenges such as work schedules, children and adult care, time concerns, work gaining administrative support, meeting family needs, and work expectations are becoming increasingly more complex for employees in the private sector throughout the world.

The pressures of work have been intensifying in recent decades. Intensity was measured through subjective responses to questions about the proportion of time spent working at very
high speeds and to tight deadlines. As a result, as the argument goes, the demands of work begin to dominate life and a sense of work-life imbalance ensues. In the industrial society we live in an unparalleled era in which a higher proportion of women from all social classes are engaged in paid employment than ever before. In addition, the pressures and demands of work, reflected in longer hours, more exhaustion and the growth of evening and weekend work leave less scope for “quality” family time. It is nevertheless argued that the demands of work contribute to a reduced participation in non-work activities resulting in an imbalance. The third area concerns the attitudes and values of people in work.

The issue of work-life balance has been stimulated by writers advocating the arrival of Generation X (Tulgan, 1996), a cohort of workers who give greater priority to seeking a balance between work and the rest of life. The conflict between the demands of work and the decline of work as a central life interest results in an imbalance between work and the rest of life. Much of the general analysis about the causes and consequences of work-life imbalance is speculative and based on limited convincing evidence.

1.2.1 Conceptualizing ‘work-life balance’

This section will provide a summary of the main themes arising in the literature around attempts at conceptualizing ‘work-life balance’.

The term “work-life balance” is a contested term, with many alternatives suggested, such as “work-life integration”, “work-
life interface”, “work-life mosaic”, “work-life reconciliation” or “work-life coordination. (McPherson, 2007). While many argue with the use of the term work-life balance, mainly on the basis that it may be interpreted as work not being a part of life, or that balance is not the aim of some but rather integration, arguing that the two cannot be compartmentalized and separated, others dislike the term integration as they want separation and boundaries between their work life and the rest of their life. While the terminology is debated by academics, work-life balance is the terminology in popular usage in both social and human resource management literature and the popular media. The work–life balance, as a general issue, attracts scholars in various disciplines such as sociology, psychology, social work, policy studies or economics, and has been studied using different approaches. Mothers feel the dissonance between traditional values and what they do as mothers and fathers also have trouble with the gap between their belief that fathers should be as heavily involved in the care of their children as mothers and their actual behaviours (Pocock 2003: 239–240) Unchanging workplaces that still have at their centre the ideal of a worker who is care-less help to retain working conditions that do not consider the necessity of care, thus causing the collision (Pocock 2003: 1, 38). These collisions result in a declining quality of life, loss of community and pressure on those careers still at home and on grandparents. To address these issues, women try to shorten their working hours by choosing part-time work with poor job security and a lower rate of benefits relative to full-time work
(Pocock, 2003: 4,) this overall picture contains complicated interacting issues that can fit into the following categories:

(1) Difficulties in life, such as childcare

(2) Division of labour in housework and care

(3) Male work issues (long work hours and/or unsocial work hours) and female work issues (their rising labour force participation and the insecurity of part-time/casual work

(4) Loss of community

These categories are related and mutually influential, but a single study such as a journal article usually focuses on one of them and refers others as a related factors. Furthermore, depicts historical changes and continuity, the differences between individuals in contemporary society are also an important focus of research and most research, in fact, adopts this kind of cross-sectional approach.

The forth category, which relates work–life issues to community issues, is very important, but there are few existing studies that focus on it. In the following section, short review of existing studies for each of the other three categories listed above. The first two categories focus on the family, and many articles that fall in these categories appear in Family Matters and the Journal of Family Studies. The former focuses on the stress and well-being of workers and/or their families, while the latter deals with power or role relationships such as the division of domestic labour and childcare in terms of workload and responsibility. As each topic has accumulated a rich body
of research in Australia, as it has in Japan and other countries, I review each separately, paying special attention to the effect of (paid) work on these issues because it is the focus of the current article.

1.2.2. Difficulties in life and the way of working

The topic of work–life balance is based on a concern about the negative impact, symbolized by long working hours, of the workload on life. However, examining whether longer working hours really result in worse effects on workers and their families remains a research question even in recent studies. Some quantitative studies assert that longer work hours cause greater stress (Alexander and Baxter 2005), while others conclude that they are not necessarily related to well-being (Gray et al., 2004). Most of these studies, partly because of limits of the data, focus only on the stress and well-being of workers themselves, paying little attention to family stress. On the other hand, there are studies like Pocock (2006) where the impact of parental work on children is examined through interviews with students at primary and high school.

1.2.3 Division of labour at home

Men’s participation in housework and child rearing and its determinants has been an important theme in the sociology of family, even before the rising concern on work–life balance. Thus, a number of studies on this topic have already been conducted in Australia. Whilst many of these criticize persisting inequality, in which women take a larger proportion than men of workload, especially the responsibilities related to
domestic work and childcare (Bittman, 1998; Craig, 2006a, 2006b; Dempsey, 2000a, 2000b; Pocock, 2003), some emphasize changes, showing examples of men who are involved in most of domestic labour and childcare (Grbich, 1995; Talbot, 2005). Overall, it seems to be agreed that men spend more time in domestic labour and childcare than before. However, women spend still more time than men in such work, as shown by indices measuring the distribution of childcare responsibilities when each partner each is in sole charge of the children. Thus, an uneven distribution of the workload at home in favor of men persists (Craig 2006b; Dempsey, 2000b). It is all the same noteworthy that a substantial number of men are stay-at-home dads or primary care-givers. While most of these studies show that the employment conditions and working hours of women affect the extent of their partners’ involvement in childcare; they rarely show the effect of the working conditions of men themselves. Although one study shows that long working hours deprive children of time with their fathers and that full-time mothers whose partners work long hours feel lonely and “residualness” (Pocock, 2003: 141–144), I failed to find research analyzing the relation between men’s work hours and their participation in childcare using a large national-level sample.

1.2.4 Determinants of working conditions

Lastly, some important findings from the literature analyzing the determinants of working hours, employment status and access to family-friendly provisions for women and men either
separately or comparatively. Concerning the working conditions of mothers of young children, it is frequently asserted that their employment status is unequally insecure, compared to fathers or other employed women. According to Baxter and Gray (2006), using a large panel survey data set, the longitudinal study of Australian children conducted by the Australian Institute of Family Studies, overall, only 38 percent of mothers with an infant (aged from three to 19 months) are in paid employment and a further 10 per cent are on maternity leave. Employment in part-time work is much more common for mothers of infants than it is for the broader population of employed women. Although somewhat longer part-time hours are more often associated with higher status, very short hours are often associated with lower status and casual work. Employed mothers of infants have a higher rate of self-employment than other employed women. Self-employed mothers are more likely to work non-standard hours than employees, and they are more likely to be in lower status occupations than those permanently employed, while they report a greater level of flexibility in their work hours.

In addition to studies on working hours are studies that examine accessibility to family-friendly practices at workplaces (Gray and Tudball, 2003). The distinguishing feature of the data of the Australian workplace industrial relations survey used in this article is that it is a large data set in which we can link information on employees and employers. Making the best use of this feature, they showed that there are larger differences within, rather than between, workplaces in access
to family-friendly work practices, such as control over the start time and finish time and permanent part-time employment. These differences are based on levels of skill, employment statuses and the investment levels by firms. The implications of these results, according to the authors, are that employees who are most likely to be able to negotiate successfully with employers over work conditions are those with skills in short supply, and that policymakers need to focus on extending to all employees the availability of such practices.

Guest (2001), amongst others, takes the term work-life balance apart and analyses each of the concepts - balance, work and life - thus highlighting the complexities and dangers in the loose use of metaphor. He refers to the term work-life balance as a misnomer and one that serves simply as convenient shorthand for work and the rest of life. In a short article titled ‘Work and the meaning of life’, Guest (2002:1) begins as follows:

A number of analysts (e.g. Lewis et al., 2003, Rapoport et al, 2002 and Taylor, 2002) suggest work-personal life integration as a working terminology to capture the synergies and connections between the different parts of life and the ways in which they flow into each other. A further problem identified relates to the assumption in the literature that imbalance arises due to the intrusion of work into non-work. In reality there are many situations where the flow can be the other way around. On a similar theme, yet another point is that research has concentrated on the demands of work rather than those of ‘home’ which results in only a partial understanding of the
issues in work-life balance debates. Research must therefore incorporate a fuller understanding of life outside work in order to be meaningful. The meaning of work/life balance has chameleon characteristics. It means different things to different groups, and the meaning often depends on the context of the conversation and the speaker’s viewpoint.

1.2.5 Definitions on work-life balance

The following are working definitions of terms used regarding work/life balance; some definitions overlap and some are continuing to evolve.

**Work/family**: a term more frequently used in the past than today. The current trend is to use titles that include the phrase *work/life*, giving a broader work/life connotation or labeling referring to specific areas of support (e.g., quality of life, flexible work options, life balance, etc.)

**Work/family conflict**: the push and pull between work and family responsibilities.

**Work/life balance from the employee viewpoint**: the dilemma of managing work obligations and personal/family responsibilities.

**Work/life balance from the employer viewpoint**: the challenge of creating a supportive company culture where employees can focus on their jobs while at work.

**Family-friendly benefits**: benefits that offer employees the latitude to address their personal and family commitments,
while at the same time not compromising their work responsibilities.

**Work/life programs:** programs (often financial or time-related) established by an employer that offer employees options to address work and personal responsibilities.

**Work/life initiatives:** policies and procedures established by an organization with the goal to enable employees to get their jobs done and at the same time provide flexibility to handle personal/family concerns.

**Work/family culture:** the extent to which an organization’s culture acknowledges and respects the family responsibilities and obligations of its employees and encourages management and employees to work together to meet their personal and work needs.

Typically, studies have focused on employed men and women who are married or living with a partner or those with children. Omitted from research are single-earner mothers and fathers, single and childless employees with extensive responsibility for eldercare, blended families with children from both partners’ prior marriages, families with shared custody of children, and grandparents raising their grandchildren.

**What constitutes ‘good’ work-life balance or work-life imbalance?**

Work-life balance then is about making choices and exerting some control over our lives. Indeed some analysts question where the locus of intervention to improve work-life
balance lies? Is this the responsibility of the individual, the family, the employer, the community or the state?

Guest (2001) reports on some of the variables found to cause imbalance from the results of the annual UK CIPD (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development) surveys. Imbalance was a factor for those in managerial positions, on higher incomes, working longer hours, for women rather than men, for those with dependent children; and for multiple jobholders. On the other hand, fewer imbalances were reported by those who experienced a friendly climate in the workplace and who had autonomy and opportunities for direct participation. Interestingly, from a policy perspective, the presence of ‘family friendly’ practices was not associated with a reported work-life balance. This implies that they were either ineffectually implemented or that they may have merely lessened the problem. This last point is further corroborated by American research (Clark, 2000), which looked at the experiences of employees with regard to temporal flexibility, which gave workers control over when they worked. The research also looked at their experiences with regard to operational flexibility, which gave control over how they worked through autonomy, flexibility, supportive supervision and fewer ‘rules’. Somewhat contrary to expectations, the research showed that operational flexibility and not temporal flexibility was associated with better-reported work-life balance. The culture of the workplace is therefore an important determinant and far more important than work-life balance policy bundles. There is research (e.g. Hochschild, 1997) to suggest that the use of
progressive human resource practices to generate commitment to work can risk making work almost too attractive. For example, there are ever increasing demands made on parents’ time ranging from transporting children to various events to devoting ‘quality time’ to family. In such circumstances, work, particularly where the social and physical environment is attractive and there is a degree of autonomy and scope for development, can appear particularly appealing.

There are also arguments that suggest that work-life imbalance is a symptom of an affluent society or that it is relevant only for a particular social class. Drew et al (2002:123) state, in relation to Irish society, that ‘at present those on low pay and in low level jobs are not able to participate in work-life balance because of the loss of pay involved and the minimum cost savings occurring for these groups.’

**Frameworks for understanding work-life balance issues**

Trying to determine the nature of ‘good’ work-life balance further highlights the complexities of the issues involved. A number of frameworks, which can be used as means for understanding and analyzing work-life balance issues, are discussed here. The first set of models, attempts to describe the relationship between work-life and life outside work, thus providing an overview. The second model takes account of the individual level of analysis, and finally a model is presented which looks at work-life balance issues at the level
of the organization. It is this last model that is of most interest in this project, a central aim of which is to evaluate work-life balance culture in the organization (NUIM).

**The relationship between work-life and life outside work**

As previously suggested, attempting to conceptualize ‘work-life balance’ necessitates an understanding of the relationship(s) between work life and non-work life. Work analysts note that there are typically five main descriptive models that can be drawn on in this respect (Zedeck and Mosier, 1990; O’Driscoll, 1996; Guest, 2001). A brief overview of these models follows.

1. **The segmentation model:** The first is the *segmentation model* which holds that work and non-work are two distinct spheres of life that are lived separately with neither one having influence on the other.

2. **The spillover model:** In contrast, the *spillover model* hypothesizes that either world can influence the other in positive/negative ways.

3. **The compensation model:** The third model, a *compensation model*, suggests that what may be lacking in one domain in terms of demands and satisfactions can be made up for in the other. For example, work may be repetitive and routine but this is compensated for by a major role in local community activity outside work.

4. **The instrumental model:** In the fourth model activities in one sphere facilitate activities in the other. This is the
instrumental model. An example here is of an instrumental worker who will work long hours to maximize earnings, even if it means working in routine jobs, to allow him/her to purchase house/car for a young family.

5. The conflict model: The final model is the conflict model. This proposes that when there are high levels of demand in all spheres of life, difficult choices will have to be made which will often result in conflicts.

Guest (2001) argues that while these models provide us with ways of viewing the relationships between work and non-work, further research needs to provide frameworks for the analysis of the boundary between work and the rest of life. He suggests that one such approach may be to draw on border theory (Clark, 2000). It argues that people are daily border crossers as they move between home and work. This opens up a rich vein of analysis of the nature of borders, their permeability, and the ease with which they can be managed or moved and so on.

**Analysis of work-life balance at the level of the individual**

While the models outlined above provide a way of conceptualizing the relationships between work life and non-work life they are unable to easily address the question of what constitutes a balance between work and the rest of life. Such research might begin, for example, from concerns arising from the spillover or conflict models as described above. In order to develop a meaningful analysis of work-life balance, researchers agree that we need to separate the
nature, causes and consequences of a more or less positive work-life balance. This provides a number of variables for this purpose and is presented from a work-organisational psychology perspective to take account of the individual level of analysis.

The model incorporates the main issues that need to be addressed in the analysis of work-life balance. The determinants are situated in the work and home (life outside work) contexts. The demands of work may be too high or too low and the work culture may be unsupportive. For example the organisation may not have policies or practices to support flexible working or may have a 'long hours’ culture. The demands of home refer to commitments outside of work which may be family, community or leisure oriented.

As well as contextual determinants individual factors affecting perception of work-life balance must also be considered. These include orientation to work and in particular the degree to which work (or ‘home’) is a central life interest and a major aspect for self-identity. Similarly aspects of personality such as need for achievement and work involvement need to be considered. Energy levels, particularly in the case of high demand, will influence perception, and this includes the capacity to cope with pressures of competing demand. Gender will often be a factor, particularly amongst women with children, and age, life-stage and career-stage issues all influence willingness to tolerate certain kinds of demands at work and at home. Finally, there may be psychological factors that help to explain why some people
perceive imbalance while others, in similar situations, do not. Psychologists incorporate social information processing, cognitive resource and dissonance theories to try to explain these differences. There are numerous possible outcomes of work-life balance and some are listed here in the work, home and personal spheres. While this model was developed by Guest as a framework for a possible research agenda, it is useful in this project to illustrate the main dimensions and variables in the nature, causes and consequences of work-life balance. It provides us with one means of conceptualizing work-life balance issues, particularly from the point of view of the individual.

1.2.6 Work/Life Theories

1. Work/life border theory (Clark, 2000; Singh, 2002)

2. Work/life expansion theory (Barnett, 2001)

3. Theory of work-family enrichment (Greenhaus, 2006)


The contribution of Border theory to understanding work/life issues is underlined by Hyman (2004), who places the issue of boundary management at the core of work/life balance, stating that it is a necessary element for securing balance between work and non-work. Clark’s (2000) definition of borders encompasses psychological categories and tangible boundaries that divide the times, place and people associated with work versus family. Work/Life Border Theory
distinguishes three types of boundaries between work and non-work domains:

1. Physical
2. Temporal
3. Psychological.

Clark’s (2000) theory offers a set of eight propositions relating to the strength and weakness of borders and the similarity and differences of domains. It contends that borders and domains must work in tandem for balance to take place and those changes to borders (e.g. flexibility) require analogous changes to the domain’s culture and values (accountability, deadlines, support). Other propositions are that control and influence within a domain increase control over borders, and levels of in-domain support increase work/life balance. It draws on the work of Nippert-Eng (1996) which explores issues of control over placement and transcendence of work and non-work boundaries. Perlow (1998), in a study of a work unit comprising seventeen professionals in a high-technology firm, explored the nature of the temporal boundary between work and life outside of work. Whilst the study focused on the imposition of temporal demands at work, it also considered the effects on the structuring of both work time and non-work time and made the observation that while all employees in the study faced boundary control, some were acceptors and others resistors. Spouses, also included in the study, had either acceptor or resistor reactions.
Singh (2002) uses Clark’s (2000) Work/Family Border Theory, repositioned as Work/Life Border Theory, to underpin research into managers’ strategies for work/life balance and maps these strategies according to levels of accommodation or negotiation with the organisation or with the family—an approach which draws on Perlow’s (1998) categorizations (above). This line of research appears to offer insight into both the action of management and the process of effecting work/life balance, and, as such, offers useful insights into the research questions. Barnett (2001) proposes a Work Family Expansionist Theory in which multiple roles are seen to be beneficial for men and women. Performance in one role, it is argued, can facilitate performance in other roles. Barnett also questions whether some gender and work/life balance theories may be outdated, contending that opportunity structures at work and role quality, which did not differ by gender, are associated with stress and work/life balance.

Work-Family (or Work-Life) Enrichment (Greenhaus, 2006) describes a theoretical model that identifies the types of work and family resources that have a capacity to promote work-family enrichment. It describes the pathways by which work and family resources can promote work-family enrichment and the moderator variables under which resources in one role are most likely to enrich the quality in another. In this theory, resources and experiences generated in one role (work or non-work domain) can improve the other, in relation to:

- Skills and perspectives (such as interpersonal, coping, multi-tasking skills, trust)
• Psychological and physical resources (such as self-efficacy, self-esteem, hardiness, optimism, hope and physical health)

• Social-capital resources (such as influence and information)

• Flexibility (meaning discretion and control over time and place where role requirements are met)

• Material resources (for example, financial reward).

This theory also identifies the paths by which resources create an effect in work and non-work roles and identifies the factors that moderate the effect of the above resources—salience of the role (perceived importance of the role to an individual); perceived importance of resources to the role in question, and the match between the resources and the requirements and norms of the work or non-work role.

One example of a theory or approach which deals with the process of managing the work/life interface is presented by Limoges (2003). The theory describes the following actions as those determining the successful balancing of work and personal life:

• Drawing on a wide range of managerial and personal strategies and applying them in the work and non-work domains

• Ensuring workload is manageable and off-setting new tasks by letting go of less important ones

• Placing importance on nurturing relationships and involvement in non-work activities
• Engaging fully in work and non-work domains.

**Quality of Life**

The main theme of the literature concerns quality of life debates that have only recently been associated with WLB given the concern over the long and varied working hours and because the focus of attention has shifted from the quantity to the quality of jobs, as unemployment has fallen across most Western countries. Traditionally the issue of quality of life has not been seen as relevant to WLB (Jones, Kinman & Payne, 2006), yet there is an extensive amount of literature concerning the negative impact of long working hours on individuals, families, communities and workplaces that should provide an extremely compelling argument for the need of WLB initiatives. The impact of long hours and the perception that work is increasingly intense has a negative overall affect on individuals in terms of their physical and mental well being. Dawson, McCulloch and Baker (2001) have published an extensive review of the large body of well supported quantitative literature examining the consequences of long work hours on health and mental functioning. They suggest that the most prominent issue relates to fatigue and exhaustion because of insufficient recuperative sleep as people become trapped in a ‘work/eat/sleep’ cycle (Pocock et al., 2001). This affects mental functioning as people may experience lapses in concentration, the inability to comprehend complex situations, and increases the likelihood of people engaging in risk-taking behaviours (Dawson, McCulloch & Baker, 2001). In addition, long working hours are
also indirectly associated with negative health outcomes, including: high blood pressure and heart problems; excessive food and alcohol consumption; smoking; weight loss or gain associated with poor physical exercise, unbalanced nutrition and irregular meals; and illnesses induced by high levels of stress (Dawson, McCulloch & Baker, 2006; Jones, Kinman & Payne, 2006; Pocock et al., 2001). This inevitably impacts on people’s perception of their quality of life and general life satisfaction. Research findings, largely based on qualitative interviews, highlight that the pressures of work reduce opportunities for people to spend time with family, friends, or to pursue their own interests, which inevitably leads to the erosion of support networks and can lead to moodiness, loneliness and depression (Gambles, Lewis & Rapoport, 2006; Pocock et al., 2001).

Emerging literature suggests that working long hours also has adverse affects on family members and relations. Gornick and Meyers (2003) assert that the earliest concern related to issues about child development in the absence of a parent in the home. Increasingly children and dependents are being cared for in institutional settings as opposed to the home and more fundamentally undermining traditional family values of time, love and care (Pocock, 2003). Yet, people who are unable to spend time with their children and other family members are often left with a sense of irreparable loss and guilt (Gambles, Lewis & Rapoport, 2000; Jones, Burke & Westman, 2006; Pocock et al., 2001). However, it is often noted that when people do have the opportunity to socialize
they are often too tired to spend quality time with family. Ultimately the invasiveness of paid work can contribute to divorce and family break-ups (Gambles, Lewis & Rapoport, 2006; Pocock et al., 2001). In addition, it is increasingly recognized that longer working hours mean a declining interest and participation in local communities and civic activities, which threatens community sustainability, civic spirit and most importantly the care of community members (Lewis, Rapoport & Gambles, 2003). The care of children, the elderly and people with disabilities is often dependent on volunteers, especially in an environment where governments are trying to increase community care and reduce institutionalization. Consequently, there is concern that the most vulnerable members of the society will suffer (Guest, 2002; Pocock et al., 2001).

In their comprehensive review of the impact of long work hours, Dawson, McCulloch & Baker (2001), also review how the consequences of long work hours impact on the workplace. The physical and mental side effects of work excess previously mentioned, such as exhaustion, lapses in concentration, the inability to comprehend complex situations, and increases the likelihood of people engaging in risk-taking behaviours, have serious implications for the workplace. Specifically, they impact on productivity, absenteeism, raise concerns about health and safety, liability and the costs of accidents and injuries (Dawson, McCulloch & Baker, 2001).

The extensive amount of literature concerning the negative impact of long working hours on individuals, families,
communities and workplaces should provide an extremely compelling argument for the need for WLB initiatives.

1.2.7 Main determinants of work life balance

The number of hours you work: If you reduce work hours, you may reduce conflict, but you also may reduce the family-related benefits of employment as well as some of the possible net gains” in outcomes such as physical health and marital satisfaction.

Job autonomy: Clark (2001) found that flexibility of the work itself was associated with increased work satisfaction and increased family well-being. Flexibility of work times was unassociated with any work or personal outcome. Supportive supervision was associated only with increased employee citizenship “In being able to take control at work, you learn some skills that you can apply in your family domain and you have the flexibility to be able to meet the needs of family responsibilities,” explains Grzywacz. In addition, new research in *Psychosomatic Medicine* (Vol. 64, No. 3) reports that workers who have high-decision latitude on the job have longer life spans than employees with few decision-making powers—even if the job with decision latitude is high stress.

Social relationships: Friedman and Greenhaus (2000) also reported that people who engaged in extensive networking on the job were more satisfied with their family life and child-care arrangements, and had children who did better in school and were healthier.
Similarly, Grzywacz (2003) has found that employees who have more social support at work are less likely to report that family interferes with work and more likely to say their family life benefits their job.

Moreover, those who decrease their social involvement outside of work to meet family demands experience more work-family conflict than couples who either increase their emotional resources or prioritize their work and family responsibilities.

**Family:** Not surprisingly, workers who are married or have children report more family-to-work conflict than their unmarried or childless counterparts. However, they also report that their family life has far more positive effects on work (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). For example, participants with spouses or children were more likely to report that talking with someone at home helps them deal with work problems and that support at home makes them feel confident about themselves at work.

**Gender:** While most studies have found that men and women report about the same levels of work-family conflict and positive spillover, there is one caveat: Women still spend significantly more time caring for family. Women were also more likely to make certain work accommodations for family, such as reducing the number of hours they work or taking more flexible jobs.

**Setting work-family boundaries:** Especially for professions such as psychology—in which home offices, e-mail, and thoughts about clients or students, paper drafts and grant
proposals can blur the line between work and home—it’s important for workers to understand how to walk that fine line. Overall, say the experts, to find a happy balance, workers should decide which roles are the most important and will get more attention—and understand that their importance may change over time.

1.2.8 Consequences of Work-Life Balance

There has been a much larger body of research on the consequences of forms of work-life imbalance and in particular various manifestations of work spillover and conflict. O’Driscoll (1996) identifies research on work and life satisfaction, on well-being, mental health and physical health and on individual performance in organizations. For example, there is a large body of research on women’s careers that explores the consequences of various types of family commitment. Similarly, there is extensive research on dual career families. Such studies usually take into account the demands and rewards in both the workplace and the home. Most of the stressors spilled over into marital satisfaction via job exhaustion and its impact on psychosomatic health. Work-family conflict and time pressure had a stronger effect than other stressors such as leader relations and job insecurity. However, this affected each partner independently and did not spill over into the marital satisfaction of the other partner. In other words the women partner may have experienced work-family conflict; this had an impact on exhaustion and health which in turn had a negative impact on her marital satisfaction.
but despite this work spillover, the study detected no marital spillover from the satisfaction of one partner to the other.

Another typical example is the research of Vinokur, Pierce and Buck (1999) who examined the impact of work and family stressors and conflicts on the mental health and functioning of women in the US Air force. This goes a step further than the Finnish study by incorporating family as well as work stressors in the analysis. Both job and marital distress and family-work conflict had adverse effects on mental health. High involvement in job and family had a beneficial impact on distress but a negative impact on work-family conflict.

Employee health – both physical and mental is vital to the successful functioning of an organization. Healthy employees contribute to increased productivity and reduced medical costs in the workplace. However, employees are often too busy worrying about their work to worry about their health. The irony is that one needs to be healthy to be able to work effectively in the first place. Stress and ill health in employees result in abusiveness and intolerance, and employees seem less able to engage in complex intellectual tasks, requiring creativity and open ended thinking, as well as reasoning abilities. They may often assume a dictatorial supervisory style, leaving the employees with a sense of dissatisfaction, and a dampened teamwork spirit.

Wellness is more than the absence of illness. Health has been defined as a position on a continuum, from illness and premature death on one end to wellness, or optimal health, on the other. Wellness is multi-dimensional and involves a
person’s entire lifestyle. Wellness programs focus on positive health behaviors that enable people to move from their current state of health to a higher level of well-being. Recognizing the relationship between health and productivity, many employers in the U.S. now provide wellness programs for their employees. A 1992 national survey of worksites with 50 or more employees found that 81% offer one or more health promotion activities (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993).
1.3 COPING STRATEGIES

Coping strategies represent the efforts, both behavioral and cognitive, that people invest in order to deal with stressful encounters (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping has been differentially conceived in several ways (Livneh, Antonak & Gerhardt, 2000):

1) Both as personality trait and situationally determined response;
2) A dynamic process and a static construct;
3) A strategy, that is mature, adaptive and flexible, but also a reaction, that is neurotic, maladaptive and rigid;
4) A global, generally dichotomous concept, but also an intricate, hierarchically structured, multilevel concept.

The most familiar and widespread coping taxonomy is the one proposed by Folkman and Lazarus (1980). These authors described coping as either problem-focused or emotion-focused.

Parker and Endler (1992) demonstrated that these dimensions have been recovered in nine out of 13 studies. Problem-focused coping strategies aim at actively dealing with the problem. In contrast, emotion-focused coping is directed at dealing with the emotional distress that is evoked by the problem. They suggest that the third basic strategy that may be used in coping with stress is avoidance. Avoidance can include either person-oriented or task-oriented strategies. Avoidance differs from problem- and emotion-focused coping in that avoiding a situation actually removes the person from the stressful situation, whereas problem- and emotion-focused
coping might help the person manage the stressful situation while he or she remains in it (Kowalski & Crocker, 2001).

In the police stress literature, Evans, Coman, Stanley and Burrows (1993) define effective coping as (a) the efficacy with which individuals deal with their emotional responses to stressors and act to resolve the stressors, and (b) the cost of their effectiveness to individuals. The important issue is the extent to which police officers emphasize the use of one coping strategy over the other (Billings & Moos, 1984; Hart, Wearing & Headey, 1995).

Studies on coping of police members have conceptualized and measured coping strategies in various ways, but several significant patterns have emerged (Patterson, 1999). Maladaptive behaviours such as excessive alcohol intake, drug use, smoking and overeating have been found to be ineffective and maladaptive as coping strategies among the police (Burke, 1993; Dietrich & Smith, 1984). It has also been stated that poor coping skills appear to be a significant factor in determining the intensity with which stress is experienced in police work (Anshel, 2000). The use of maladaptive coping skills in police work leads to the experience of chronic, long-term stress (Hurrel, 1995; Nordlicht, 1979), and often results in job burnout and police members leaving the profession. Evans et al. (1993) showed that police officers tend to use more problem-focused coping strategies (aimed at changing stressful occupational events), and less emotion-focused coping strategies (aimed at regulating their distress). Violanti (1992) found that the use of emotion-focused coping strategies result in higher levels of psychological distress,
while the use of problem-focused coping strategies resulted in lower levels of psychological distress. Police officers probably compound stress by avoiding emotion-focused strategies, and when using such strategies, it only acts to exacerbate psychological stress, because the expression of emotion is not allowed in the policing environment (Kop & Euwema, 2001). The nature and context of a stressor, the range of coping responses available and the emotional reaction of individuals might also be influenced by the differing role that race and culture plays in their lives (Coyne & Gottlieb, 1996; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary & Gowda, 1991). Dominant cultural scripts concerning coping through self-reliance, support seeking and religiosity could have an effect on coping strategies. In this regard, some variability has been demonstrated due to subculture and ethnicity (Ball, Warheit, Vandiver & Holzer, 1980).

1.3.1 Categories of coping strategies
Coping strategies can be categorized according to the source of the responsibility: The individual officer, or the department (Waters et al., 1982, p. 25).

a) Individual coping strategies
   It includes:
   - a regular exercise program with a minimal time expenditure of 30 minutes a session;
   - a diet that contains elements necessary for optimal functioning and excludes
   - elements that have negative values (e.g. a high fat diet);
the development of other activities that provide for recreation, change of focus and positive feedback;
- regular vacations;
- muscle relaxation exercises;
- meditation;
- the use of biofeedback; and
- Participation in self-help groups.

b) Departmental strategies

It includes:
- realistic job-related training in police functions;
- open communication channels between officers and supervisors;
- opportunities for meaningful input into departmental decisions whenever possible;
- reassessment of shift hours;
- constructive feedback on job performance;
- workshops on dealing with marital conflicts, good parenting procedures, and preparation for retirement, etc.;
- training for supervisors in good management techniques;
- opportunities for “debriefing” sessions at the end of the shift; and
- stress management training.

Since not all strategies will fit the lifestyles of all officers. Each individual must select those techniques that are appropriate to his/her needs. More than one strategy is necessary to deal with the stresses of contemporary life.
Many variables, including personal attributes, cognitive appraisal, coping strategies and social support, may modify stress reactivity in any given situation, and can account for the different response of two individuals exposed to the same stressors.

If coping strategy is considered, it is the conscious use of cognitive or behavioural strategies to reduce perceived stress (Lazarus and Folkman, 1991). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) described “problem–focused” and “emotion-focused” coping strategies. More recently Anshel (2000) described “approach” and “avoidance” coping strategies.

**a) Problem-focused or approach coping strategies**

Typically involve information gathering in an attempt to control or better understand the situation at hand, and are used most often when situations are perceived as amenable to change and control (Anshel, 2000); Anshel et al., 1997; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Problem-focused or approach coping strategies confront the source of stress, hoping to control the situation or improve one’s resources available to compact the stress through personal empowerment (Anshel, 2000).

**b) Emotion-focused or avoidance coping strategies**

Are typical when the situation is perceived as being beyond one’s capacity, or low control situations. These coping strategies include cognitive efforts to change the meaning of the situation, avoiding unpleasant thoughts by distancing one’s self from the situation, or reinterpreting the information in a more positive light. According to Anshel (2000), emotion-focused or avoidance coping allows a
police officer to maintain attentional focus and move on to the next task. Coping strategies have been related to the cognitive appraisal of a situation (Peacock et al., 1993: Larson et al., 1988), while several studies have investigated the use of coping strategies by police officers (Anshel, 2000; Haarr and Morash, 1999; Anshel et al., 1997; Biggam et al., 1997; Kirkcaldy et al., 1995; Burke, 1994).

A review of the literature on stress reveals that individuals in a variety of professions usually take two approaches to reduce psychological and physical stress (Burke, 1993). The first approach focuses on positive coping strategies that usually involve gaining family and social support in an attempt to reduce stress. A few examples of positive coping strategies include support group meetings, sharing stressful experiences with others (including family members), and religious-based support groups. The second approach used to cope with stress includes negative coping strategies. Generally, negative coping strategies involve self-destructive methods to reduce stress, including increased cigarette smoking, and avoidance of friends and family members. Violanti et al. (1985) also observed that certain stress-related job “demands” of policing are also associated with alcohol use. They argued that psychological and physical stress is directly or indirectly related to alcohol use. Similarly, Haar and Morash (1999) found that male and female officers use
different coping methods, attempting to reduce their stress at the workplace.

Not surprisingly, positive coping mechanisms are considered to be the more appropriate approach to reduce psychological and physical stress. Several studies indicate that improper or maladaptive coping contributes to the intensity of perceived stress instead of reducing stress levels (Lazarus, 1990; Aldwin, 1994). In addition, failure to cope effectively with stress can lead to long-term and chronic stress (Loo, 1984). Police officers who use maladaptive coping skills (e.g. excessive alcohol intake, smoking, overeating, or drug use) are more likely to experience chronic, long-term stress (Hurrel, 1986). Consequently, ongoing and long-term police stress can result in burnout, reduced motivation and, ultimately, withdrawal from police work (Violanti and Aron, 1993).
1.4. JOB SATISFACTION

Job satisfaction describes how content an individual is with his or her job. The happier people are within their job, the more satisfied they are said to be. Job satisfaction is not the same as motivation, although it is clearly linked. Job design aims to enhance job satisfaction and performance methods include job rotation, job enlargement and job enrichment. Other influences on satisfaction include the management style and culture, employee involvement, empowerment and autonomous work groups. Job satisfaction is a very important attribute which is frequently measured by organizations. The most common way of measurement is the use of rating scales where employees report their reactions to their jobs. Questions relate to rate of pay, work responsibilities, variety of tasks, promotional opportunities the work itself and co-workers.

1.4.1 Definitions

Job satisfaction has been defined as a pleasurable emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job an affective reaction to one's job and an attitude towards one's job. Weiss (2002) has argued that job satisfaction is an attitude but points out that researchers should clearly distinguish the objects of cognitive evaluation which are affect (emotion), beliefs and behaviours. This definition suggests that we form attitudes towards our jobs by taking into account our feelings, our beliefs, and our behaviors.
Job satisfaction refers to the extent that the working environment meets the needs and values of employees and the individual’s response to that environment (Camp, 1994; Lambert, 2004; Tewksbury & Higgins, 2006). Lambert (2004, p. 210) defines job satisfaction as “the degree to which a person likes his/her job,” while Lambert, Barton, and Hogan (1999, p. 97) define the term as “the fulfillment of gratification of certain needs that are associated with one’s work.

1.4.2 Models of job satisfaction

Affect Theory

Edwin A. Locke’s Range of Affect Theory (1976) is arguably the most famous job satisfaction model. The main premise of this theory is that satisfaction is determined by a discrepancy between what one wants in a job and what one has in a job. Further, the theory states that how much one values a given facet of work (e.g. the degree of autonomy in a position) moderates how satisfied/dissatisfied one becomes when expectations are/aren’t met. When a person values a particular facet of a job, his satisfaction is more greatly impacted both positively (when expectations are met) and negatively (when expectations are not met), compared to one who doesn’t value that facet. To illustrate, if Employee A values autonomy in the workplace and Employee B is indifferent about autonomy, then Employee A would be more satisfied in a position that offers a high degree of autonomy and less satisfied in a position with little or no autonomy compared to Employee B. This theory also states that too
much of a particular facet will produce stronger feelings of dissatisfaction the more a worker values that facet.

**Dispositional Theory**

Another well-known job satisfaction theory is the Dispositional Theory. It is a very general theory that suggests that people have innate dispositions that cause them to have tendencies toward a certain level of satisfaction, regardless of one’s job. This approach became a notable explanation of job satisfaction in light of evidence that job satisfaction tends to be stable over time and across careers and jobs. Research also indicates that identical twins have similar levels of job satisfaction.

A significant model that narrowed the scope of the Dispositional Theory was the Core Self-evaluations Model, proposed by Timothy A. Judge in 1998. Judge argued that there are four Core Self-evaluations that determine one’s disposition towards job satisfaction: self-esteem, general self-efficacy, locus of control, and neuroticism. This model states that higher levels of self-esteem (the value one places on his/her self) and general self-efficacy (the belief in one’s own competence) lead to higher work satisfaction. Having an internal locus of control leads to higher job satisfaction (believing one has control over her/his life, opposed to outside forces having control). Finally, lower levels of neuroticism lead to higher job satisfaction.
Two-Factor Theory (Motivator-Hygiene Theory)

Frederick Herzberg’s Two factor theory (also known as Motivator Hygiene Theory) attempts to explain satisfaction and motivation in the workplace. This theory states that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are driven by different factors – motivation and hygiene factors, respectively. An employee’s motivation to work is continually related to job satisfaction of a subordinate. Motivating factors are those aspects of the job that make people want to perform, and provide people with satisfaction, for example achievement in work, recognition, promotion opportunities. These motivating factors are considered to be intrinsic to the job, or the work carried out. Hygiene factors include aspects of the working environment such as pay, company policies, supervisory practices, and other working conditions.

While Hertzberg’s model has stimulated much research, researchers have been unable to reliably empirically prove the model, with Hackman & Oldham suggesting that Hertzberg’s original formulation of the model may have been a methodological artifact. Furthermore, the theory does not consider individual differences, conversely predicting all employees will react in an identical manner to changes in motivating/hygiene factors. Finally, the model has been criticised in that it does not specify how motivating/hygiene factors are to be measured.
Job Characteristics Model

Hackman & Oldham proposed the Job Characteristics Model, which is widely used as a framework to study how particular job characteristics impact on job outcomes, including job satisfaction. The model states that there are five core job characteristics (skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback) which impact three critical psychological states (experienced meaningfulness, experienced responsibility for outcomes, and knowledge of the actual results), in turn influencing work outcomes (job satisfaction, absenteeism, work motivation, etc.). The five core job characteristics can be combined to form a motivating potential score (MPS) for a job, which can be used as an index of how likely a job is to affect an employee’s attitudes and behaviors. A meta-analysis of studies that assess the framework of the model provides some support for the validity of the JCM.

1.4.3 Link between job stress and job satisfaction

Several studies have tried to determine the link between stress and job satisfaction. Job satisfaction and job stress are the two hot focuses in human resource management researches. According to Stamps & Piedmonte (1986) job satisfaction has been found significant relationship with job stress. One study of general practitioners in England identified four job stressors that were predictive of job dissatisfaction (Cooper, et al., 1989). In other study, Vinokur-Kaplan (1991) stated that organization factors such as workload and working
condition were negatively related with job satisfaction. Fletcher & Payne (1980) identified that a lack of satisfaction can be a source of stress, while high satisfaction can alleviate the effects of stress. This study reveals that, both of job stress and job satisfaction were found to be interrelated. The study of Landsbergis (1988) and Terry et al. (1993) showed that high levels of work stress are associated with low levels of job satisfaction. Moreover, Cummins (1990) have emphasized that job stressors are predictive of job dissatisfaction and greater propensity to leave the organization.

Sheena et al. (2005) studied in UK found that there are some occupations that are reporting worse than average scores on each of the factors such as physical health, psychological well-being, and job satisfaction. The relationship between variables can be very important to academician. If a definite link exists between two variables, it could be possible for a academician to provide intervention in order to increase the level of one of the variables in hope that the intervention will also improve the other variable as well (Koslowsky, et al., 1995). Herzberg’s two-factor theory of motivation (as cited in Zhao et al., 1999) has also provided a theoretical framework for scientifically assessing police officers’ job satisfaction.

Herzberg’s theory claims that the work environment determines police officers’ job satisfaction and identifies three main sources of job satisfaction in the work environment: the work itself, the responsibility one has in the work, and recognition received from performing the work (Brody, DeMarco, & Lovrich, 2002; Zhao et al., 1999). Various studies have examined the predictors of job satisfaction among police
officers and correctional personnel (Blau, Light, & Chamlin, 1986; Brough & Frame, 2004; Brunetto & Farr-Wharton, 2003; Cullen, Latessa, Kopache, Lombardo, & Burton, 1993; Lambert, 2004; Lambert et al., 1999; Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 2002; Zhao, Thurman, & He, 1999). As Zhao et al. (1999) indicate, two distinct models of job satisfaction are apparent in these studies. The first model focuses on demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnicity/race, educational level, rank, and years of service within the organization. The second model places emphasis on the individual’s work environment. The work environment model consists of various dimensions of the work performed: skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback (Zhao et al., 1999). In studies Camp (1994) and Lambert (2004) conducted, correctional worker job satisfaction was measured as fulfillment from work, pay, coworkers, supervision, and promotion. Another common measure maintains that job satisfaction is associated with five dimensions, namely skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback (Glisson & Durick, 1988). Glisson and Durick note that of these five dimensions, only three—task significance, role ambiguity, and skill variety—strongly predict levels of job satisfaction. Models that empirically measure job characteristics and their relationship to job motivation and satisfaction have been applied to various work environments in different occupations. Some researchers rely on the response of individuals in assessing overall job satisfaction, whereas others calculate the complex measures of job satisfaction from different dimensions of the job. Each
approach has its strengths and weaknesses. Measuring the different dimensions helps to identify problem areas within the organization. For example, employees may point out that they are pleased with the salary but may be unhappy with other aspects of the organization such as how they are supervised (Camp, 1994). This study suggests that similar predictors of positive or negative job satisfaction found among police or corrections officers will be found among probation/parole officers due to the commonalities all criminal justice personnel share, e.g., they are in contact with individuals who have broken society’s laws. Further, criminal justice personnel are continually asked to perform their jobs in under-resourced conditions and sometimes within unsafe environments. It also is likely that many of the issues related to low levels of job satisfaction among non-criminal justice personnel apply equally to probation and parole officers. For example, the more general literature suggests that employees are better satisfied with their jobs when they are adequately recognized for a job well done and when they have an opportunity to contribute to policies and procedures of the organization (Slate, Wells, & Johnson, 2003). The current study examines the predictors of job satisfaction among probation and parole officers, drawing on the methodologies and findings of previous studies that examined both criminal justice and non-criminal justice related organizations.