

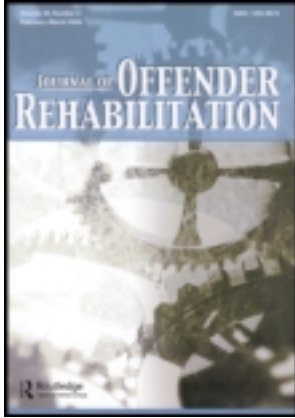
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Publisher: Routledge

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Journal of Offender Rehabilitation

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/wjor20>

Stress and Satisfaction Among Juvenile Correctional Workers

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Available online: 21 Sep 2008

To cite this article: Kristie R. Blevins, Francis T. Cullen PhD, James Frank, Jody L. Sundt & Stephen T. Holmes (2007): Stress and Satisfaction Among Juvenile Correctional Workers, *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 44:2-3, 55-79

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J076v44n02_03

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Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, Vol. 44 (2/3), 2006. Pp. 55-79.

Available online at <http://jor.haworthpress.com>

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doi:10.1300/J076v44n02_03

Stress and Satisfaction Among Juvenile Correctional Workers: A Test of Competing Models

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ABSTRACT During the past three decades, there have been increasing investigations of correctional employees' reactions to their work, especially in terms of job-related stress and satisfaction. The vast majority of this research, however, has been conducted in adult facilities. To help address this limitation in the literature, we use a secondary dataset to examine the levels and sources of work stress and job satisfaction among 195 juvenile correctional workers from across the state of Ohio. The results revealed that, overall, these workers experienced moderate to high amounts of job stress and satisfaction. Levels of work stress varied significantly based on work-related variables, while both individual and work-related variables were important in predicting levels of job satisfaction. doi:10.1300/J076v44n02_03 [Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <<http://www.HaworthPress.com>> © 2006 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]

KEYWORDS Juvenile corrections, correctional employees, work reactions, work stress, job satisfaction

Over the past 30 years, a growing body of research has explored how correctional employees react to their jobs, especially in terms of work

stress and job satisfaction (Britton, 1997; Cullen, Link, Wolfe, & Frank, 1985; Harris & Associates, 1968; Jacobs, 1978; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; Jurik, 1985b; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Toch & Klofas, 1982). However, the literature on the work reactions of correctional workers is still lacking in one important area. The vast majority of research on correctional facilities has been conducted in adult facilities; by contrast, assessments of those working in juvenile facilities are limited. The restricted number of investigations into those working in juvenile corrections is significant given that close to half a million juveniles are subject to time in detention each year (Flores, 2003). Further, it cannot be assumed that correctional workers in adult and juvenile facilities will share the same levels and sources of specific work reactions. The underlying focus on rehabilitation in the juvenile system alone might make the environment different in juvenile versus adult correctional facilities.

Indeed, workers in juvenile facilities may be called on to perform multiple roles. For example, they are often responsible for maintaining custody of the offender population and ensuring safety for themselves and others, while also participating in treatment efforts. That is, even if their primary role is custodial, correctional workers are often called upon to deliver human services because of limited staff (Johnson & Price, 1981; Lombardo, 1985). These dual roles may especially be problematic for those working in juvenile facilities because they may be obligated to provide extra services to youths—services that are more extensive than those administered in adult facilities—because of the underlying rehabilitative mission of juvenile justice (Dembo & Dertke, 1986; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988).

Using data from a sample of juvenile correctional workers in Ohio, the current study attempts to add to the literature on those working in juvenile corrections in two ways. First, we examine the levels of two important work reactions: (1) How much work stress do these workers experience? and (2) what are their levels of job satisfaction? Second, informed by theoretical frameworks used in previous investigations of adult employees, we explore what factors influence the job reactions of stress and satisfaction among juvenile correctional workers.

THEORETICAL MODELS: INDIVIDUAL/IMPORTATION VERSUS WORK-ROLE/PRISONIZATION

Researchers have examined the factors influencing inmate behavior and adaptation to prison life for more than half a century. However, it

was only in the 1980s that a body of research began to emerge that investigated the adaptations or reactions of those *who work in correctional settings*. These inquiries into correctional work have resulted in two competing models, similar to those used to explain inmate behavior.

The *individual experiences/importation model* is similar to Irwin and Cressey's (1962) importation model of inmate behavior and adaptation. This position maintains that reactions to correctional work are the product of different individual attributes and life experiences that employees bring with them into the job setting. That is, correctional employees import certain characteristics into their jobs that affect their beliefs and work experiences in general (Britton, 1997; Cullen, Lutze, Link, & Wolfe, 1989; Cullen, Latessa, Kopache, Lombardo, & Burton, 1993; Fry & Glazer, 1987; Hepburn & Knepper, 1993; Jackson & Ammen, 1996; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; Jurik, 1985b; Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd, 1997; Sundt & Cullen, 2002; Van Voorhis, Cullen, Link, & Wolfe, 1991).

The *work-role/prisonization model* is based on the notion that prisons have effects on those working within them (Jacobs & Retsky, 1975; Thomas, 1977; Lombardo, 1981). This perspective posits that correctional workers' reactions are influenced by the institution's organizational factors and the work-role, not their own individual characteristics. According to this model, organizational factors and role demands virtually negate individual variations in shaping reactions and attitudes toward the job (Cullen et al., 1989, 1993; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; Jurik, 1985b; Jurik & Halemba, 1984). Correctional workers are therefore "prisonized," and organizational and structural conditions of the facilities, not individual attributes, shape reactions to the work.

Existing investigations into the determinants of job reactions of correctional workers suggest that the work-role/prisonization model is more influential in shaping job reactions such as stress and satisfaction. However, the amount of variance explained by each model is not consistent across studies (see Cullen et al., 1985; Jurik & Halemba, 1984; Jurik, Halemba, Musheno, & Boyle, 1987; Van Voorhis et al., 1991). Therefore, especially when examining new work contexts, it is important to continue to include predictors from both models when examining sources of work reactions.

Previous studies have highlighted five important individual characteristics in predicting reactions to correctional work: (1) Age, (2) education, (3) race, (4) gender, and (5) correctional orientation. While several inquiries into the job reactions of correctional workers have not included a measure of age because of co-linearity with correctional

experience (see Cullen et al., 1993; Dowden & Tellier, 2004), it has been shown to be positively related to job satisfaction (Blau, Light, & Chamlin, 1986; Saylor & Wright, 1992). However, it is generally not related to work stress among workers in adult facilities (Van Voorhis et al., 1991).

Education can affect reactions to correctional work in two distinct ways. First, higher levels of education may allow employees to more easily communicate and relate to coworkers, supervisors, and those in custody (Jurik, 1985a), which may lead to more positive work reactions. Conversely, Jurik et al. (1987) posit that higher levels of education can lead to negative work reactions when the skills required by correctional work do not meet those developed through more extensive education. Accordingly, the research is inconsistent concerning the effects of education. For example, Lindquist and Whitehead (1986) found a positive relationship between education and work stress, while others have found no relationship between levels of education and work stress (Cullen et al., 1985; Liou, 1995; Van Voorhis et al., 1991). Similarly, some researchers have found education to be negatively related to job satisfaction among correctional workers (Blau et al., 1986; Cullen et al., 1985; Cullen, Link, Cullen, & Wolfe, 1990; Jurik et al., 1987; Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986; Robinson et al., 1997; Van Voorhis et al., 1991), while others have found no effect of education on job satisfaction (Hepburn & Knepper, 1993; Rogers, 1991).

Previous research on correctional workers is also inconsistent in regard to race as a predictor of work reactions. Many studies have not found significant relationships between race and work stress (Cullen et al., 1985; Liou, 1995; Van Voorhis et al., 1991) or job satisfaction (Blau et al., 1986; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; Jurik et al., 1987; Wright & Saylor, 1992). However, other studies have consistently shown that white correctional workers are significantly more satisfied with their work than nonwhites (Britton, 1997; Cullen et al., 1985; Cullen, Link et al., 1990; Toch & Klofas, 1982; Van Voorhis et al., 1991), which may be an indicator of inequitable treatment in the workplace.

Studies exploring gender differences in reactions to correctional work have shown that males tend to experience significantly lower levels of work stress than females (Blau et al., 1986; Britton, 1997; Cullen et al., 1985; Van Voorhis et al., 1991; Wright & Saylor, 1991; Zupan, 1986). However, as Jurik (1985a) and Zimmer (1986) point out, the higher stress levels of females may stem from problems that fall outside the realm of actual job duties. For example, women are frequently employed at male prisons and may experience problems from male

coworkers and administrators that lead to stress. In spite of these consistent findings, there is generally no relationship between gender and job satisfaction (Blau et al., 1986; Britton, 1997; Cullen et al., 1985, 1990; Jurik et al., 1987; Jurik & Halemba, 1984; Jurik & Winn, 1987; Wright & Saylor, 1991), though Lambert (2004) found that females employed at a mid-western state correctional facility were more satisfied than males.

While the relationship between correctional orientation and work reactions has been investigated less frequently than other individual characteristics, there is evidence that correctional orientations do affect the work reactions of correctional employees. Specifically, Cullen et al. (1985) found that correctional officers with rehabilitative orientations had significantly lower levels of job dissatisfaction than those with more custodial orientations. Further, studies of those working in adult institutions have revealed that individuals with higher levels of treatment orientations experienced lower levels of job stress (Cullen et al., 1985; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Toch & Klofas, 1982). However, in one of the few studies focusing on juvenile detention workers, Liou (1995) found that individuals with treatment orientations experienced more job stress than those who were punishment oriented. The inconsistent result concerning the influence of correctional orientation on levels of work stress among those working in adult versus juvenile facilities may indicate that the type of population being served, or the objectives therein, affect work reactions.

The work-role/prisonization model has yielded at least four important variables: (1) Role conflict, (2) perceived dangerous, (3) correctional experience, and (4) amount of supervisory support. Correctional workers may experience role conflict when they are not sure of the means through which to maintain order in their facility or when they are forced to balance the dual roles of providing custody and rehabilitation (Cullen et al., 1985; Farkas, 2001). Both qualitative and quantitative investigations into those working in adult correctional facilities have shown positive relationships between levels of role conflict and work stress (Cheek & Miller, 1983; Cullen et al., 1985; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Shamir & Drory, 1982; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1986). Therefore, it is feasible to expect role conflict to be negatively related to job satisfaction. Still, research into the effects of role conflict on job satisfaction has not revealed significant relationships (see Cullen et al., 1985).

The constant fear of being victimized while at work is likely a source of stress for correctional workers and may lead to diminished levels of job satisfaction. While perceived dangerousness has rarely been measured in studies of job satisfaction among correctional workers,

Cullen et al. (1985) found that dangerousness was, in fact, positively related to job dissatisfaction among workers in adult institutions. Further, the majority of empirical investigations into sources of stress among correctional employees have shown that the perceived dangerousness and safety concerns are related to higher levels of work stress (Cullen et al., 1985; Grossi, Keil, & Vito, 1996; Jacobs & Grear, 1977; Jurik & Winn, 1987; Lombardo, 1981; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Triplett, Mullings, & Scarborough, 1996; Veneziano, 1984).

There are two different perspectives concerning the relationship between correctional experience and reactions to correctional work. First, more experience may lead to more positive work reactions because experience helps workers to develop means to succeed in their jobs. This positive relationship between experience and job satisfaction has been shown in several previous studies (Britton, 1997; Jurik & Halemba, 1984; Stevens, 1998; Van Voorhis et al., 1991). The second perspective is that correctional workers will eventually become tired of their work and ultimately experience burnout (Cheek & Miller, 1983). Consequently, experience should lead to negative work reactions. While correctional experience has not been shown to be negatively related to levels of job satisfaction, research has indicated that it is positively related to work stress (Blau et al., 1986; Britton, 1997; Cullen et al., 1985; Patterson, 1992; Van Voorhis et al., 1991; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1985; Wright & Saylor, 1991).

Support from supervisors may serve to reduce work stress and increase job satisfaction in virtually any occupation, including correctional work. Overall, research on those working in adult correctional facilities consistently shows supervisory support is positively related to job satisfaction (Cullen et al., 1985; Jurik et al., 1987; Van Voorhis et al., 1991) and negatively related to work stress (Cullen et al., 1985; Grossi et al., 1996; Liou, 1995; Van Voorhis et al., 1991).

RESEARCH STRATEGY

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, we explore the levels of work stress and job satisfaction experienced by this sample of juvenile correctional workers. Second, using multiple regression, we examine if variables from the individual experiences/importation model or the work-role/prisonization model are more important in predicting levels of work stress and job satisfaction among juvenile correctional workers.

Based on the previous research, we hypothesize that variables from each of these models will predict these two reactions to correctional work. However, the extant studies suggest that the work-role/prisonization model will have more consistent and stronger effects in explaining work stress and job satisfaction.

METHODS

Sample

The secondary dataset used in the present study comes from a survey of a sample of juvenile correctional workers throughout the state of Ohio. The information was gathered as part of a survey entitled "Ohio Department of Youth Services' Use of Force Questionnaire: Determining What Is Reasonable." These self-report surveys were distributed to staff members in county juvenile detention and treatment facilities across the state by the Ohio Department of Youth Services (DYS) staff from September 1998 through February 1999.

While DYS officials disseminated surveys to employees, they did not record the total number of surveys distributed, making it impossible to report a response rate for completed surveys. Therefore, this research is best viewed as an exploratory study in an area—the job reactions of juvenile workers—that heretofore has been under-researched. Nevertheless, the sample is composed of a diverse group of juvenile correctional workers, employed at both county detention centers and long-term treatment facilities. Further, the results of the data analyses report findings largely consistent with previous studies of correctional workers, thus suggesting that the nature of the sample did not produce any obviously biased relationships. Finally, as discussed later, the survey contained a wide array of measures that make its use advantageous.

In all, there were 195 juvenile correctional workers in the sample after omitting individuals that indicated their work was purely clerical or involved only indirect contact with juveniles. Most of the respondents were white (68%) and male (67.5%), which, according to the U.S. Department of Labor (2006) is comparable to the demographic composition of all correctional workers in the U.S. (72% male and 72% white). The average age of respondents was 35.38, and the mean level of education was just over 15 years. Further, respondents had been employed with their current agency an average of almost 7 years, and almost three quarters of the sample were line officers with no supervisory duties.

Measures

Work stress measure: To measure work stress, we used a four-item additive index ($\alpha = .80$) previously used in a study by Cullen and his colleagues (1990). Each of the items in this scale gauged general feelings of work stress. None of the items assessed specific tasks relating to working in juvenile corrections. Rather, they were designed to give a broad perspective in beginning to understand the amount of work stress experienced by these workers. Sample members were asked to respond to each item using a six-item Likert-scale ranging from “Strongly agree” to “Disagree.” The items composing this measure are presented in Table 1. Scores on this index ranged from 4 to 24, with an average of 12.92. Higher scores on the index indicate higher levels of work stress. As with the other measures in the survey, sample members who failed to respond to an item in the scale were excluded from the analyses.

Job satisfaction measure: The five items used to measure job satisfaction are presented in Table 2. These items were originally drawn from the *Quality of Employment Survey* (Quinn & Shepard, 1974) and have been used in other corrections research (e.g., Cullen et al., 1985, 1993;

☐ Table 1: Items Composing Work Stress Scale, Percentages Reported						
Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I usually feel that I am under a lot of pressure when I am at work.	5.8	18.3	25.1	18.3	22.0	10.5
2. When I am at work, I often feel tense or uptight.	4.2	10.0	27.9	14.2	31.1	12.6
3. I am usually calm and at ease when I am working.	11.6	41.1	23.7	14.7	7.4	1.6
4. There are a lot of aspects about my job that can make me pretty upset about things.	14.1	22.5	25.7	12.6	21.5	3.7
Work Stress Scale Range				4-24		
Work Stress Scale Mean				12.92		

□ **Table 2: Items Composing Job Satisfaction Scale, Percentages Reported**

Variable	Percentage	Number
1. All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?		
Not satisfied at all	0.0	0
Not too satisfied	9.9	19
Somewhat satisfied	57.8	111
Very satisfied	32.3	62
2. Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to take the job you now have, what would you decide?		
Decide definitely not to take the same job	3.1	6
Have second thoughts about taking my job	24.9	48
Decide without hesitation to take the same job	72.0	139
3. In general, how well would you say your job measures up to the sort of job you wanted when you took it?		
Not very much like the job I wanted	13.0	25
Somewhat like the job I wanted	52.8	102
Very much like the job I wanted	34.2	66
4. If a good friend of yours told you he (or she) was interested in working in a job like yours for your employer, what would you tell him (or her)?		
Advise my friend against taking the job	2.1	4
Have doubts about recommending this job	35.4	68
Strongly recommend the job	62.5	120
5. If you were free to go into any type of job you wanted, what would your choice be?		
Prefer some other job to the job I have now	33.9	65
Want to retire and not work at all	16.1	31
Keep the job I now have	50.0	96
Job Satisfaction Scale Range		1-5
Job Satisfaction Scale Mean		3.69

Van Voorhis et al., 1991). Like the work stress index, this scale ($\alpha = .78$) is intended to measure general feelings of job satisfaction. That is, there were no specific measures of satisfaction concerning items such as particular job duties, relationships with coworkers, and salary.

Each item in the job satisfaction measure was coded by assigning each response a numeric value specified by Quinn and Staines (1979). Responses for each case were then summed and averaged. The final scale ranges from 1 to 5, with higher scores designating higher levels of

job satisfaction. The average job satisfaction score for this sample was 3.69.

Independent variables: Of the five individual characteristics measured in this study, four items were each measured with a single indicator. Specifically, age, years of formal education, race (0 = black; 1 = white), and gender (0 = female; 1 = male) were all measured by asking respondents to indicate the appropriate individual attribute. It should be noted that race was measured through an open-ended question that asked respondents to report their race. Members of the sample all classified themselves as either black or white.

The fifth individual characteristic, correctional orientation, was assessed with two measures. Research has shown that support for punishment and rehabilitation should not be conceptualized as mutually exclusive (Cullen et al., 1989; Cullen, Fisher, & Applegate, 2000). That is, correctional workers, as well as the general public, often believe that offenders should be both punished and rehabilitated. Therefore, two measures were used to assess correctional orientation, one measuring support for rehabilitation and one that measured support for custody.

Borrowing from prior attitudinal research (see Cullen et al., 1985, 1989; Cullen, Skovron, Scott, & Burton, 1990; Van Voorhis et al., 1991), the additive index measuring support for rehabilitation contained nine items ($\alpha = .82$). Members of the sample were asked to respond to each item using a six-item Likert-scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Each of the items was coded so that higher values indicate higher levels of support for rehabilitation. The items composing the scale are presented in the appendix.

Seven items were used to explore support for custody. These items were originally used by Poole and Regoli (1980) but have since been used in several other studies (Cullen et al., 1985, 1989; Cullen, Skovron et al., 1990; Van Voorhis et al., 1991). The same six-item Likert-scale was used for these items, and responses for each item were coded so that higher values designate more support for custody ($\alpha = .72$). Items composing the custody index are listed in the appendix.

Five work-role/prisonization variables were measured in this study. First, as a gauge of experience in juvenile corrections, sample members were asked how many years they have worked at their present agency. While this variable only measures experience at the current facility (i.e., not overall correctional experience), it does not share a significant correlation with age in the current dataset.

Second, a five-item index ($\alpha = .80$) previously used by Cullen et al. (1985, 1989) and Van Voorhis et al. (1991) was used to measure

perceptions of dangerousness while on the job (see appendix). Again, responses were based on a six-item Likert-scale, and responses for each item were coded so that higher numbers represent higher levels of perceived dangerousness.

The third variable measured in the work-role/prisonization model was role conflict. An additive index composed of four items ($\alpha = .72$) originally drawn from Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman's (1970) research on role conflict in complex organizations was used in this study (see appendix). The same six-item Likert-scale was used for this index, with higher scores representing more role conflict.

The fifth work-role/prisonization variable used in the present study was supervisory support. Using the same six-item Likert-scale, sample members responded to three items concerning supervisory support ($\alpha = .69$). Borrowing from Cullen et al. (1989), respondents were presented with three statements regarding the extent to which their supervisors emphasized that their job was important, were encouraging to them, and tried to mediate any work-related disputes in a friendly way. The items composing this scale are presented in the appendix.

The last work-role prisonization variable assessed was job title. An open-ended question asked respondents to specify their job title. Answers to this question made it possible to discern between line officers and those with supervisory responsibilities. For that reason, this dichotomous variable is included in the analyses to examine potential differences in work reactions between those with and without direct supervisory duties over other employees. Line officers include respondents that classified themselves as correctional officers, youth supervisors, and youth leaders. Supervisors included unit coordinators, shift managers, supervisors, and directors.

RESULTS

As shown in Table 1, juvenile correctional workers in the sample experienced a moderate amount of work stress. Almost half of the respondents, for example, at least slightly agreed that they are under a lot of pressure while at work (item 1) and feel tense or uptight when they are at work (item 2). Additionally, 62.3 percent at least slightly agreed that a number of aspects about their jobs make them upset (item 4). While these descriptive statistics indicate these workers experience a moderate amount of stress while at work, comparison data based on the same index were not available to surmise whether their levels of work stress are

higher or lower than those working in adult correctional facilities. However, the average composite score for the work stress index was 12.92, which is close to the midpoint of the possible range of scores (i.e., 4-24). In Liou's (1995) study of juvenile detention workers, the overall level of work stress was also near the midpoint of his stress measure.

Table 3 contains the results of the OLS model regressing the work stress measure on the sample's individual characteristics and work-related variables. The first model included only individual characteristics and was not significant ($F = 1.568$). None of the individual

□ **Table 3: Work Stress Regressed on Individual Characteristics, Work-Related Variables, and Correctional Orientation**

Variable	Work Stress					
	Model 1: Individual Characteristics		Model 2: Work-Related Variables		Model 3: Combined Model	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
<i>Individual characteristics</i>						
Age	-.012	-.030	-	-	-.008	-.021
Education	.225	.093	-	-	.299	.125
Race (White)	.009	.002	-	-	.534	.055
Gender (Male)	.091	.010	-	-	.103	.011
Rehabilitative orientation	.136	.142	-	-	.091	.095
Custody orientation	-.100	-.138	-	-	-.060	-.083
<i>Work-related variables</i>						
Years at present agency	-	-	.049	.087	.075	.135
Dangerousness	-	-	.257	.290**	.261	.287**
Role conflict	-	-	.425	.418**	.377	.381**
Supervisory support	-	-	-.147	-.098	-.163	-.109
Job title (Supervisor)	-	-	.030	-.070	-.010	-.024
F/df	1.568/170		17.029/181		7.187/165	
Significance	.159		.000		.000	
R ²	.054		.326		.344	
Adjusted R ²	.020		.307		.296	
*p < .05, **p < .01.						

characteristics, including correctional orientation, were significant predictors of work stress.

Model 2 contained only work-related variables and was significant ($F = 17.029$). Two of the five work-related variables were significant predictors of work stress. Consistent with previous research in adult facilities (Cullen et al., 1985; Grossi et al., 1996; Lombardo, 1981; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Shamir & Drory, 1982; Triplett et al., 1996; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1986), perceived dangerousness and role conflict were significantly and positively related to work stress, indicating that those who perceived their job to be more dangerousness and those who experienced more role conflict have higher levels of work stress.

Both individual characteristics and work-related variables were included in the third model. The overall model was significant ($F = 7.187$) and explained almost 30 percent of the variance in work stress. Variance inflation factor (VIF) scores for each variable fell below 1.689, indicating no problems with multicollinearity. Significant effects of each variable in Model 3 reflected the effects in the two basic models, though education did approach significance in the combined model. As with adult correctional workers (Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986), those with more years of formal education seem to have higher levels of work stress. This result might be an indicator that formal education is not valued within the facilities. Another possibility is that individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to be employed in decision-making positions, which may add to their work stress.

Consistent with prior research, the combined scores for the job satisfaction scale indicate that members of the sample had a moderate to high level of job satisfaction. As shown in Table 2, more than 90 percent of sample members were at least somewhat satisfied with their current job (item 1), 72 percent said they would take the same job again without hesitation (item 2), and 87 percent stated that their position at least somewhat measured up to what they anticipated their job would be (item 3). Further, half of respondents said they would choose the same job if they could have any type of job (item 5), and 62.5 percent would strongly recommend their job to a good friend (item 4).

Table 4 shows a comparison of selected job satisfaction items for these detention workers, correctional officers in adult facilities, prison wardens, and a national sample of employed adults. When compared with samples of correctional officers in adult facilities (Cullen, Link et al., 1990), prison wardens (Cullen et al., 1993), and the employed public (Quinn & Staines, 1979), these detention workers had higher

□ **Table 4: Selected Job Satisfaction Items for Detention Workers Compared to Correctional Officers in an Adult System, Prison Wardens, and a National Sample of Employed Adults, Percentages Reported**

Items	Samples			
	Detention Workers	Correctional Officers	Wardens	Employed Public
1. All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?				
Very satisfied	32.3	25.5	66.0	46.7
2. Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to take the job you now have, what would you decide?				
Decide without hesitation to take the same job	72.0	50.7	78.4	63.9
3. In general, how well would you say your job measures up to the sort of job you wanted when you took it?				
Very much like the job I wanted	34.2	24.3	68.3	52.5
4. If a good friend of yours told you he (or she) was interested in working in a job like yours for your employer, what would you tell him (or her)?				
Strongly recommend the job	62.5	42.8	72.5	61.8
5. If you were free to go into any type of job you wanted, what would your choice be?				
Keep the job I now have	50.0	31.1	72.6	38.1
Job Satisfaction Scale Mean	3.69	3.12	4.26	3.66

overall levels of job satisfaction than both the general public and other correctional officers (see Table 4).

While the comparisons presented in Table 4 suggest that members of this sample found their work to be more satisfying than correctional officers in adult facilities and the general public, the dataset did not provide information that would indicate why these workers experience particular levels of satisfaction. Future research should include specific measures about certain aspects of working in juvenile corrections (e.g., job duties, salary, and relationships with coworkers) to help clarify this question. For example, items measuring satisfaction concerning particular job duties, relationships with coworkers and supervisors, and salary would be helpful.

The OLS models regressing job satisfaction on the sample's individual characteristics and work-related variables are presented in Table 5. Model 1 included only individual characteristics, and was not significant ($F = 1.036$). Race was the only significant predictor of job satisfaction, with whites reporting more job satisfaction than blacks.

Model 2 contained only work-related variables. This model was significant ($F = 12.679$) and explained almost 25 percent of variance in levels of job satisfaction. Further, three of the five variables emerged as significant predictors of job satisfaction. As expected, correctional workers with lower levels of perceived dangerousness and role conflict,

□ **Table 5: Job Satisfaction Regressed on Individual Characteristics, Work-Related Variables, and Correctional Orientation**

Variable	Job Satisfaction					
	Model 1: Individual Characteristics		Model 2: Work-Related Variables		Model 3: Combined Model	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
<i>Individual characteristics</i>						
Age	.056	.156	–	–	.092	.256**
Education	–.045	–.021	–	–	–.135	–.064
Race (White)	.034	.011*	–	–	.698	.200**
Gender (Male)	–.761	–.095	–	–	–.758	–.096
Rehabilitative orientation	.019	.075	–	–	.025	.030
Custody orientation	.028	.043	–	–	.053	.081
<i>Work-related variables</i>						
Years at present agency	–	–	–.036	–.072	–.114	–.230**
Dangerousness	–	–	–.212**	–.271	–.177	–.219**
Role conflict	–	–	–.166**	–.186	–.145	–.166**
Supervisory support	–	–	.438**	.335	.464	.356**
Job title (Supervisor)	–	–	.039	.108	.029	.076
F/df	1.036/171		12.679/179		7.519/164	
Significance	.404		.000		.000	
R ²	.036		.267		.597	
Adjusted R ²	.001		.246		.309	

*p < .05, **p < .01.

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as well as those with higher levels of supervisory support, had higher levels of job satisfaction.

The third model included both individual characteristics and work-related variables. As shown, the overall model was significant ($F = 7.519$) and just over 30 percent of the variance in job satisfaction. Again, there appears to be no problem with multicollinearity, as the highest VIF score in the model was 1.704. With the exception of job title, all of the work-related variables were significant. The significant effects of perceived dangerous, role conflict, and supervisory support were the same as they were in the second model, but the number of years at present agency is only significant in the combined model. The model indicates that those with fewer years at their present agencies had more job satisfaction, lending support to the hypothesis that correctional employees will burnout and have less job satisfaction as their years of experience increase (see Cheek & Miller, 1983). These results are comparable to those in many previous studies of adult correctional workers (e.g., Cullen et al., 1985; Grossi et al., 1996; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Hepburn & Knepper, 1993; Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986; Wright & Saylor, 1992; Van Voorhis et al., 1991; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1986).

Of the individual characteristics, the effects of race remained the same and age became significant in the combined model. Again, neither type of correctional orientation was a significant predictor of job satisfaction. This result stands in contrast with Cullen et al.'s (1985) finding that adult correctional officers with a rehabilitative orientation had significantly lower levels of job satisfaction.

Though work stress and job satisfaction were treated as two independent outcome variables in this study, there is some evidence that work stress affects job satisfaction and that job satisfaction predicts levels of work stress (see Castle, 2005; Castle & Martin, 2006; Dowden & Tellier, 2004; Grossi et al., 1996; Lambert, Hogan, & Barton, 2002). Because our data are cross-sectional, we were unable to definitively establish which work reaction would be causally prior to the other. Therefore, we conducted two exploratory analyses in which we examined the effects of these two variables on each other. To do so, we added job satisfaction to the combined work stress model and vice versa. As expected, work stress and job satisfaction shared a significant negative relationship. That is, individuals with higher levels of job satisfaction ($B = -.223, p = .014$) experienced lower levels of work stress, and those reporting higher levels of work stress ($B = -.177, p = .014$) had lower levels of job satisfaction. However, the effects of the other variables in

the model remain consistent in both models, and the level of explained variation in each model is increased by less than half a percent.

DISCUSSION

Consistent with previous research on adults (Cullen et al., 1985; Grossi et al., 1996; Poole & Regoli, 1980), the variables from the work-role/prisonization model did a better job of explaining variations in both work stress and job satisfaction than variables from the individual experiences/importation model. These findings from the work-role/prisonization model appear to have relevant policy implications. Thus, especially to improve job satisfaction among employees, administrators should encourage employee support on behalf of supervisors. Further, administrators should work toward reducing role conflict, perhaps by clearly defining work responsibilities and operating procedures. Additionally, levels of perceived dangers can be decreased by learning about and addressing the staff's specific safety concerns. More generally, the findings suggest that the *quality* of work conditions will intimately shape the stress and satisfaction juvenile workers experience in their daily lives.

While the overall work-role/prisonization model explained more variation in the both work reactions than the individual experiences/importation model, individual characteristics should not be ignored in future research. Importantly, in the current study, race and age exerted significant effects on levels of job satisfaction. Specifically, consistent with prior research in adult institutions (e.g., Britton, 1997; Cullen et al., 1985; Cullen, Link et al., 1990; Van Voorhis et al., 1991), whites had significantly higher levels of job satisfaction than blacks. Although these data did not allow for more detailed analyses, the significant relationship between race and job satisfaction might be an indicator of differential treatment of black and white employees. Additionally, the results indicate that older individuals had more job satisfaction, which has also been shown in studies of adult correctional workers (Blau et al., 1986; Wright & Saylor, 1992). Contrary to several previous studies (e.g., Cullen et al., 1985; Jurik et al., 1987; Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986; Robinson et al., 1997; Van Voorhis et al., 1991), education was not significant in the model.

Neither correctional orientation was significant in predicting the two work reactions, a finding that is inconsistent with most studies of adult correctional workers (Cullen et al., 1985; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988;

Poole & Regoli, 1980; Toch & Klofas, 1982). That is, studies of those working in adult facilities generally indicate that individuals with rehabilitative orientations have significantly less work stress than those with custodial orientations. However, in Liou's (1995) sample of juvenile detention workers, individuals with rehabilitative orientations had higher levels of work stress than those with more punitive orientations.

The contradictory findings in past research concerning correctional orientation and job stress between those working with adults and juveniles might be indicative that there is something distinctive about working in juvenile facilities that leads to certain correctional orientations and/or levels of work stress. For example, Liou (1995) suggested that juvenile detention workers with rehabilitative orientations might experience more work stress because custodial and security concerns limit their ability to participate in rehabilitative efforts. Detailed information regarding the objectives of these facilities and workers, along with how they spend their time at work would make it possible to examine this hypothesis. Additionally, there might be differences in individuals' correctional orientations based on whether they are referring to juveniles or adults. The correctional orientation measures in this study were very general, not specifying directly referring to either adults or juveniles. If the items clearly referred to custodial or rehabilitative sentiments toward juveniles in particular, results might have been substantially different. Accordingly, more information about the respondents' particular job duties and the objectives of the facilities from which the sample was drawn might have offered more insight into these two work reactions. Theoretically, if staff members with a great deal of involvement in treatment objectives do not support rehabilitation, treatment efforts will probably not be effective (Gordon, 1999; Lariviere, 2001), and these workers might experience additional job dissatisfaction and work stress because their correctional orientations are inconsistent with their job duties. Therefore, it is important that future studies include measures of job responsibilities and the extent respondents are involved in rehabilitation.

Further, future research into work reactions of juvenile correctional workers would benefit from the use of longitudinal data. Since cross-sectional data were used in this exploratory study, issues of causal ordering may arise. For example, some earlier cross-sectional research in this area has argued that job satisfaction is a significant predictor of a rehabilitative orientation (e.g., Arthur, 1994; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989, 1992), whereas other research has contended that correctional orientation predicts levels of job satisfaction

(e.g., Cullen et al., 1985). Similarly, previous research has suggested that work stress may be a source of work dissatisfaction and vice versa (e.g., Castle, 2005; Castle & Martin, 2006; Dowden & Tellier, 2004; Grossi et al., 1996; Lambert, 2004). Longitudinal data would be instrumental in establishing if one or the other of these factors predicts the other or whether stress and satisfaction are related reciprocally.

Overall, individuals in this sample reported being satisfied with their jobs. Importantly, these juvenile correctional workers had higher levels of job satisfaction than correctional officers in adult facilities (Cullen, Link et al., 1990) and the general public (Quinn & Staines, 1979). Still, it is not clear *why* these workers experience more job satisfaction. A valuable inquiry into juvenile correctional workers would be an examination of what characteristics associated with the job makes it more satisfying than working in adult corrections.

Further, analyses revealed that workers in this sample experienced a moderate amount of work stress. Unfortunately, a lack of comparison data made it impossible to compare overall levels of work stress between these workers and other correctional employees. Exploring whether levels of work stress differ between adult and juvenile correctional workers is an important issue for future research.

We are hopeful that this study is the first of many to investigate the work reactions of correctional employees working with juveniles and that this research has successfully identified some important issues that should be considered in the future. Exploring these issues can lead to implications that will help to improve the quality of work for juvenile correctional workers, which, in turn, will benefit the juveniles within their custody. Whether the objective of juvenile facilities is to rehabilitate or simply to incapacitate these juveniles, it is imperative that they are protected and not subjected to psychological or physical abuse while incarcerated. Therefore, it is important to continue exploring the attitudes and reactions of the “keepers” of these youths.

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doi:10.1300/J076v44n02_03

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APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF COMPOSITE MEASURES FOR CORRECTIONAL ORIENTATIONS AND WORK-RELATED VARIABLES

Variable

I. *Correctional orientations*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Rehabilitative orientation | A combination of nine items: (1) rehabilitating a criminal is just as important as making a criminal pay for his or her crime; (2) one of the reasons why rehabilitation programs often fail with prisoners is because they are underfunded; if enough money were available, these programs would work; (3) the most effective and humane cure to the crime problem in America is to make a strong effort to rehabilitate offenders; (4) we should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated and start paying more attention to the victims of these offenders; (5) the rehabilitation of prisoners has proven to be a failure; (6) All rehabilitation programs have done is to allow criminals who deserve to be punished to get off easily; (7) the only way to reduce crime in society is to punish criminals, not try to rehabilitate them; (8) the rehabilitation of adult criminals just does not work; (9) I would support expanding the rehabilitation programs with criminals that are now being undertaken in our prisons. Strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. Mean = 30.87. |
| 2. Custody orientation | A combination of seven items: (1) keeping inmates from causing trouble is my major concern while I'm on the job; (2) so long as the inmates I supervise stay quiet and don't cause any trouble, I really don't care if they are getting rehabilitated or cured while they are in here; (3) my job isn't to rehabilitate inmates; it is only to keep them orderly so that they don't hurt anyone or tear this place apart; (4) an inmate will go straight only when he finds that prison life is hard; (5) many people don't realize it, but prisons today are too soft on inmates; (6) we would be successful even if all we taught inmates was a little respect for authority; (7) sleep 'em, feed 'em, and work 'em is the best way to handle inmates. Strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. Mean = 28.07. |
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Variable	
<i>II. Work-related variables</i>	
1. Dangerousness	A combination of five items: (1) I work in a dangerous job; (2) in my job, a person stands a good chance of getting hurt; (3) there is really not much chance of getting hurt at work; (4) my job is a lot more dangerous than other kinds of jobs; (5) a lot of the people I work with get physically injured in the line of duty. Strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. Mean = 19.52.
2. Role conflict	A combination of four items: (1) in my job, I receive incompatible requests from two or more people; (2) at work I receive assignments without the manpower to complete them; (3) I do things that are apt to be accepted by one person and not accepted by others; (4) I have to do things at work that should be done differently. Strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. Mean = 13.60.
3. Supervisory support	A combination of three items: (1) the people I work with often have the importance of their job stressed to them by their supervisors; (2) my supervisors often encourage the people I work with if they do their job well; (3) when my supervisors have a dispute with one of my fellow coworkers they usually try to handle it in a friendly way. Strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. Mean = 12.53.
