The place of civilians in policing

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine the correlates of job satisfaction among civilian employees of law enforcement agencies, to assess how features of the policing workplace influence employee morale.

Design/methodology/approach – The data for this study were drawn from surveys conducted as part of the National Police Research Platform. In total, 472 civilians from 19 police agencies completed the survey.

Findings – The findings indicate that contentment with pay and benefits, lower levels of work-related stress, equality in the workplace, and feelings of acceptance were associated with civilian employee satisfaction.

Research limitations/implications – The analyses presented here focusses on factors more unique to policing and did not include all of factors correlated with job satisfaction in past literature. Future research should address this as well as control for the effect of organizational-level factors.

Practical implications – The research identifies key factors in each of those categories that inhibit the effective incorporation of civilians into the workforce. It indicates that reaping the full advantages of civilianization is complex and requires attention to fundamental aspects of police organizations. How administrators deal with this reality will impact the efficiency and effectiveness of their organizations in important ways.

Originality/value – To date, much of what has been written about the place of civilians in policing consists of descriptions of their numeric representation and discussions of the presumed advantages of hiring them in larger numbers. Less is known about how well civilians have been integrated into the policing workforce.

Keywords Job satisfaction, Management, Civilians

Paper type Research paper

Little is known about civilian employees of police agencies and the contributions they make to policing. In his review of the changing demography of American policing, Sklansky (2006) examines broad trends in officer race, gender and sexual orientation, and assesses the impact of these changes on police organizations and the community, but he never mentions the civilians who work alongside them. Anecdotally, all is not well in their world. They are usually described as attractive hires; advocates argue that civilians can be cheaper, more efficient, and easier to hire and lay off than sworn officers. However, it is reputedly hard to incorporate civilians into police organizations in ways that make full use of their skills and knowledge. The long-term retention of highly skilled civilians can also be difficult. The low salaries and limited opportunities for promotion and professional advancement that characterize the civilian policing

world may not be competitive in the labor market. Civilians are more vulnerable to staffing cuts than their sworn co-workers, given the political ramifications of laying off police officers. Finally, civilians may find themselves marginal members of their own organizations. They can find their contributions unappreciated and perhaps actively disrespected by their sworn peers. A host of factors threaten to block the effective incorporation of civilians into the workforce, making it difficult for police agencies to reap the full advantages of civilianization.

This paper first reviews what is known about the role of civilians in policing. It examines research on personnel policies, workload and work-related stress problems, equality and diversity issues, and barriers to the acceptance of civilians by sworn members. It then turns to the findings of a recent survey of civilian employees of 19 police agencies across the USA. The survey focussed on workplace issues that are relatively distinctive to police organizations and are at least potentially within the power of police managers and executives to resolve. This turn out to play an important role in encouraging, or undermining, job satisfaction.

Research on the place of civilians in policing

To date, much of what has been written about the place of civilians in policing consists of descriptions of their numeric representation and discussions of the presumed advantages of hiring them in larger numbers. Guyot (1979), Heininger and Urbanck (1983), and King (2009) calculate that civilians made up 7-8 percent of police employees during the 1950s, and 15-20 percent in the 1970s. Guyot called the 1950s-1970s growth in civilian hiring "the biggest change in police structure in the past 30 years," but this was partly a sly comment on how limited innovation in policing had been. The civilian share of the law enforcement labor market remained in the low 1920s into the early 1990s, but Maguire *et al.* (2003) noted an uptick in civilian numbers following implementation of federal COPS/MORE police hiring legislation. Civilianization, as defined by Forst (2000, p. 23) as "law enforcement agency's hiring of nonsworn personnel to replace or augment its corps of sworn officers, typically with the aims of reducing costs and improving service," has not changed much since; in 2008, 22 percent of the full-time employees of American municipal police departments were civilians (Reaves, 2011).

We also know something about the agencies and cities that make more use of civilians. Younger, Western and "good government" cities hire greater percentages of civilians than do agencies in the Midwest and Eastern Seaboard, as do smaller and predominately minority communities and police departments that are downsizing (Zhao *et al.*, 2010; Crank, 1989; Langworthy, 1986).

Beyond their numeric representation and the types of agencies likely to hire civilians, several rationales for civilianization have been widely discussed. One is to control costs. It is often observed that civilians cost less than sworn officers who might be performing the same tasks. Even if their salaries do not differ significantly, officers' benefits, uniform allowances, training costs, equipment, and early retirement options can easily tip the scale in the direction of employing civilians (Lewin and Keith, 1976; Schwartz *et al.*, 1975). Another advantage is that hiring civilians can be a quick route to acquiring specialized skills. As a historically bounded example, Chess (1960, p. 591) observed that "there are just not enough competent stenographers among members of the force," and argued that New York City police officers performing this task should be replaced. Unlike sworn employees, civilians can be hired specifically to fill vacant slots in the organization, perhaps with limited additional training. In a study

characterizing police organizations on a number of conceptual dimensions, Langworthy (1986) used percent civilian as his measure of "occupational differentiation," because they bring their past training and specialized skills to fill diverse niches in the organization. It is also feasible to hire civilians with temporary funding because it is politically easier to lay them off. Finally, civilian hiring can help mend some of the profession's political problems. In the 1970s, Boston's Mayor Kevin White faced implacable opposition from his department when he pressed them to hire more African Americans. Instead, he found a way to finance adding a large contingent of civilians of color as traffic aides, clerical workers, and in other support tasks, in order to buy peace with his constituents (Randall, 1978).

By contrast, sworn employees generally join police organizations with limited skills and modest formal education, and are trained as generalist law enforcement officers. They often rotate assignments or are redeployed frequently, so any expertise they develop at specific administrative, technical or managerial tasks is lost. Civilians, on the other hand, can be kept in their box in the organization chart (Forst, 2000; Major City Chiefs, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that hiring civilians for their accounting, technical, scientific, and even foreign language skills has become routine in policing. Guyot (1979, p. 277) summarized the situation clearly: "The very decision to hire civilians shows that the rank system lacked the flexibility to provide personnel with the desired skills at a reasonable salary cost." Finally, if the emphasis on efficiency in public management should spread meaningfully to policing, we could also anticipate a larger role for skilled civilian executives. In Britain, where corporate-style managerialism is more advanced in policing, there is greater use of civilians as section heads and senior executives in operational as well as business units of the police services (Bryett, 1999).

Personnel policies
Despite the apparent budgetary and skill advantages of civilianizing aspects of the work of police organizations, there are considerable obstacles to hiring and retaining them in numbers significant enough to make a difference in agency efficiency and effectiveness. Little is known systematically about the role of pay, benefits, career opportunities or job security in attracting or retaining civilian policing employees. Even research on motivations for joining the sworn force was mostly conducted more than 20 years ago (White *et al*, 2010). Then, studies frequently identified job security as an important attraction of the policing profession (Lester, 1983; Westley, 1970; Niederhoffer, 1967). A more recent study by the Rand Corporation of police hiring and retention in San Diego found that job security was the second most highly ranked reason for joining, and pay and benefits were ranked number four (Ridgeway *et al.*, 2008). A similar, national study that was conducted by Rand in the middle of the Great Recession put job security at the top of the list (Castaneda and Ridgeway, 2010). In surveys of newly sworn members of the New York City Police Department, White *et al* (2010) found job security ranked as the number one attraction of the job, followed immediately by job benefits; next came early retirement and opportunities for career advancement. The applicability of these findings to civilian police employees is only inferential, however, and since among the presumed benefits of deploying civilians in policing is that they are cheap, their pay and benefits are not likely to be particularly generous.

In addition, during the period in which our data were collected, the job security even of sworn officers has come into question. The Great Recession that began in 2008 hit municipal employees hard two years later, the very year in which our surveys were

conducted. Although there are no systematic figures, there are accounts of financially struggling cities that have turned first to civilian layoffs in order to reduce police budgets (Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2011). Public sector jobs are not as secure as they once were, and from a political standpoint civilian positions are not as untouchable as sworn numbers have traditionally been treated. This even holds true when sworn personnel need to be reassigned to do civilian work despite the fact that such reassignment results in net reduction of police service. However, the politics of doing so are easier.

Finally, like employees everywhere, many civilians in policing will want to grow professionally and get ahead. In most organizations, employees can hope to move up fairly clearly defined career ladders that offer higher rungs that bring with them increased responsibility and pay. Many police organizations, on the other hand, do not offer much in the way of civilian career tracks. Supervisors and unit heads usually are sworn employees (Major City Chiefs, 2009); Loveday (2006) attributes this to cultural resistance to letting civilians work autonomously and exercise control in their agencies. Chess (1960) wrote off what he described as the poorly thought-out personnel policies of departments to sheer indifference among police executives toward civilian personnel issues, and their preoccupation with traditional police operations rather than administrative functions. This includes proper training of civilian managers who supervise and direct sworn personnel.

Work and stress

Police work can be stressful, and there are reasons to believe that stress issues extend to civilian employees as well. While many civilians work the day shift, police agencies run "24/7" and some civilian duties extend around the clock. Civilians assigned as dispatchers or overseeing lockups, for instance, work during all shifts. Others, such as traffic aides, engage in selected functions that are similar to the tasks of their sworn counterparts. These activities, such as directing traffic and ticketing violators, require civilians to interact with community members in authoritative fashion. Civilian staffing reductions, something described by respondents in a majority of the agencies participating in this study, likely placed new burdens on the remaining employees, who were left to carry the workload. Moreover, civilian layoffs remind those remaining of the vulnerability of their positions.

There is an immense literature on stress in the wider world of work. An entire Taylor & Francis Group academic journal, *Work and Stress*, is devoted to this topic. There is much less research on workplace stress in the policing field, especially involving civilian employees. Doener (1987), for example, found a small sample of civilian dispatchers reporting high levels of stress when compared to their sworn co-workers. In contrast, McCarty and Skogan (2013) found no differences between sworn and civilian employees in terms of self-reported stress symptoms. These included questions about symptoms like "feeling burned out at the end of the day." However, the vast bulk of research on stress has been conducted among sworn employees, and has focussed on issues that are tangential to the working day of most of their civilian co-workers. These include dangers inherent in the work, officers' hyper-vigilance on the street, intense media scrutiny of their performance, and the tensions framing even their routine interactions with the public.

Equality and respect for diversity

Research on "organizational justice" focusses on discrepancies between how employees feel they should be treated and how they feel they – and co-workers who

are like them – are treated. Perceptions of systemic injustice are as important as individual injustice, and whole groups of employees can come to see themselves as victims of organizational injustice (Latham and Pinder, 2005). Moreover, research suggests that employers who value employee diversity because they appreciate differing opinions and ideas have employees who more positively rate their work environment (Ely and Thomas, 2001).

Police organizations have historically struggled with issues related to workforce equality and diversification. In her study of the culture of Australian policing, Chan (1997, p. 10) described the "widely accepted practice of denigrating minorities and telling racist jokes within the station." That culture is also often described as negative and recalcitrant, and characterized by institutionalized police racism and sexism; two elements of Reiner's (1992) very definition of the "working personality" of police officers are their "machismo" and "racist attitude." Perceptions of the lack of equality within the workforce between civilians and sworn may also be due to the fact that a significant proportion of civilians hired by police agencies are women and minorities (Lonsway *et al.*, 2002). Policing is associated with masculine qualities, privileging "masculine" activities such as crime fighting, while devaluing contributions perceived as feminine, such as support and administrative work. In addition, male officers have been historically hostile toward females amongst the sworn ranks (Lonsway *et al.*, 2002), and a large "tokenism" literature (see Stroshine and Brandl, 2011) highlights the traditional outsider status of women in police work. Thus, some civilians may be treated like outsiders not only because they are non-sworn members of the force, but also because they are female and racial or ethnic minorities.

In Britain, Loveday's (2006) survey of civilian employees found widespread bullying of police staff. Civilians there perceived that they were generally undervalued within the police force, and they expected to continue experiencing unequal status in comparison with police officers. Highmore (1993) attributed sworn-civilian tensions in Britain to gender status in particular. On the other hand, recent changes in the composition of sworn officers as well as increases in civilian members may make this concern dated. The widespread presence of civilians – and a more diverse sworn force – may have had a "humanizing effect" effect on stationhouse culture. Loftus (2010) notes that police traditionally were somewhat isolated from wider society. However, the insularity and uniformity of stationhouse culture may be undermined where there is racial, ethnic, and gender diversity among the rank and file (Sklansky, 2006) as well as when there are civilian employees around. Even by 1975, Schwartz *et al.* noted that officers were more courteous and less verbally grating in the presence of civilians.

Police culture
Several of the organization, workload and workplace determinants of job satisfaction that have been considered to this point are essentially generic. That is, they could – and probably do – play a role in employee satisfaction in most job settings, but there is reason to fear that they are more frequently encountered in policing. But police departments present additional and fairly unique challenges as a workplace. There is a significant body of research on these issues as they affect sworn officers. One of the most commented-upon of these workplace issues is the role of organizational culture in shaping police behavior, including their on-street activity, the relationship of officers to their leadership, and officer perceptions of the general public. An under-appreciated aspect of police culture is how it may shape the relationship between sworn and civilian employees of the same organization.

Some sworn-civilian tensions can have deeply cultural roots, in the sense that they reflect the traditional isolation and solidarity among police officers, and their convictions that outsiders cannot possibly understand their job. Officers fear supervisory authority by, accountability to, or evaluation by, civilians. Loveday (2006) reports that in Britain tensions mount where non-sworn are seen as taking on "police operational" duties, and especially when civilians are given supervisory authority over sworn officers. The Major City Chiefs (2009) report on civilianization also commented on the extent to which resistance to officers reporting to civilians was a significant barrier to integration of civilians into the workplace. Sworn officers may not only perceive civilianization of management positions as taking desirable supervisory slots, but also may be less accepting of direction from supervisors who have no policing experience. In fact, many US police agencies have tended to shy away from use of civilian managers for sworn members and have instead relegated these positions to supervising mostly other civilian staff or officers working in administrative positions.

Police isolation and solidarity also could contribute to the view that civilian employees cannot be trusted; civilians will not "have their back" or be dependable in emergencies, especially life-threatening ones (Swanson and Territo, 1983; Schwartz et al., 1975). In a study of union resistance to civilian employment in Boston, Randall (1978) reported that police believed they could only rely on other officers – that, for example, civilian lockup personnel would not join them in a fight with prisoners. There also may be concern that civilians are not trustworthy. They perhaps cannot be trusted with confidential information, nor with in-house "dirty little secrets" regarding day-to-day policing practices that the "blue curtain" protects from view. They may not know "how to keep their mouth shut" regarding things they learn and stories that they hear. In a British study of stationhouse culture, Highmore (1993) found that only one-third of the officers considered the civilian staff to be "loyal" members of the police service. Finally, it is possible that officers transfer some of the cynicism, antagonism, and distrust that characterize their view of the general public onto their civilian counterparts within the organization (Cochran and Bromley, 2003).

It is also important not to overlook some of the practical, work-related issues that lie behind these sworn-civilian tensions. One is the threat of civilianization of sworn positions. As noted above, hiring civilians will cost less when they are paid less and demand fewer benefits. This is a credible threat to sworn officers when civilians actually replace them rather than just perform additional supplemental tasks. Further, talk that civilianization will "return more officers to the street" threatens that civilians will take away desirable positions, including day-shift, indoor, and low-stress desk and back-office jobs. Chess (1960, p. 594) noted that officers could "feel that the civilian employee is depriving a member of the force of a desirable detail or assignment." These will include assignments that older and lightly incapacitated officers could aspire to hold while winding down their careers (King, 2009; Schwartz et al., 1975). Additionally, highly skilled and educated civilians offer policing subject matter expertise that sworn members typically do not possess. However, the use of civilians for these positions may become more problematic as more agencies recruit college educated officers; these officers may have interests that lie beyond more traditional police functions, such as patrol, and may become frustrated when these opportunities are limited. Tensions, therefore, can grow when civilian numbers grow as sworn numbers stagnate, and where civilians colonize desirable positions.

Short of hostility, it may be that simple indifference by sworn members to what civilians do or contribute to their agencies may be just as debilitating as the other

factors discussed here. Civilians may not be viewed as genuine and valuable members of the organization. As noted, this could be a function of many things, including civilian non-sworn status, gender, and minority status. For whatever reason, civilians can be made – as King (2009) put it – to "know their place" as second class organizational citizens.

In short, while the Major City Chiefs (2009) report on civilianization calls for greater teamwork and recognition of the interdependence of sworn and civilian roles in policing, there are many forces at work that make this difficult to achieve. The pathologies and rational self-interest embedded in police culture could serve to undercut the morale of civilian employees and erode their commitment to the organization.

Job satisfaction
The purpose of this study is to examine civilian job satisfaction and its relationship to these workplace issues. Job satisfaction is a concept that typically measured in quite operational fashion. As described in a major review of the literature by Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2012, p. 347), job satisfaction "[…] is an evaluative state that expresses contentment with, and positive feelings about, one's job." The term is often interchanged with "morale," or referred to as "quality of work life." What the concept lacks in subtlety it makes up for in volume. There is an immense scientific literature on job satisfaction, which is the oldest and the most researched attitude in the study of organizations. A decade-and-a-half ago, Spector (1996) identified more than 10,000 studies of job satisfaction. In addition to being huge, this body of research is also difficult to summarize; it has not been "[…] typically guided by a well-articulated theoretical frame of reference" (Brief and Weiss, 2002, p. 282).

The body of research on job satisfaction in policing is smaller, but it has been equally non-theoretical. Moreover, most of the research on job satisfaction in policing has not focussed on civilian employees. In addition to the well-studied sources of job satisfaction in the private sector, satisfaction among civilian police employees should be determined in part by a list of policies and working conditions which are fairly unique to policing, or to subsets of public sector employees. However, police researchers have largely focussed on the demographic correlates of satisfaction among sworn officers. White *et al.* (2010) summarized job satisfaction as it relates to educational background, gender, race, and years of service. The findings have of course been inconsistent, because the officers in these studies were embedded in many different organizations, and little attention has been given to the relationship between organizational factors and employee satisfaction. As White *et al.* (2010) lament, few policing studies have focussed on organizational or environmental factors, although they should be key points in police research. Among the rare exceptions, Buzawa found that satisfaction was linked to perceptions of opportunities for career advancement in Oakland (Buzawa, 1984) and Detroit (Buzawa *et al.*, 1994). In the study that touches upon organizational theory most deeply, Zhao *et al.* (1999) report that job satisfaction among sworn officers is related to factors like skill variety, task autonomy, and a belief that the task is important.

However, the key reason for focussing here on job satisfaction is its consequences. In the job satisfaction literature there is a long list of documented consequences of satisfaction for organizations and for individual employees. There are many benefits linked to having satisfied employees. The consequences of job satisfaction are both affective and behavioral, and they manifest themselves both at the individual and organizational level[1]. A brief listing of some of the findings of the 10,000-plus studies include the following consequences of dissatisfaction: low productivity, low job

commitment, absenteeism and tardiness, abuse of sick leave, psychological withdrawal, anger, hopelessness, sadness, cynicism, workplace deviance (theft and related acts), and acts of workplace revenge, sabotage, and retaliation. Importantly, dissatisfaction is also linked to turnover among the most valuable and able employees, often resulting in a "brain drain" from unhappy organizations. Among the dissatisfied, those who actually leave are those with higher cognitive ability, more education, and advanced training; in other words, the very people that organizations want to keep. These individuals are the most likely to have opportunities to go elsewhere. In their review, Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2012) stress that job satisfaction is also linked to a long list of "organizational citizenship" variables. This concept encompasses a broad range of often "non-task" behaviors that have the effect of smoothing relationships at work and making organizations function better.

At the organizational level, dissatisfaction has been linked to a similarly long list of issues, including group cohesiveness, labor unrest, and accidents. Meta-analyses demonstrate a strong link between job satisfaction and job performance. In private sector, unit-level employee satisfaction is related to customer satisfaction, productivity, profitability and store performance. At the aggregate level, employee job satisfaction has been linked to organizational innovation, measured in a two-year follow-up.

In sum, what is known about civilians in policing, although extremely limited, suggests that the incorporation of civilians into policing can be a complex and fraught process. Civilians may be cheaper and bring with them specialized skills, but there are significant challenges to harnessing their full productivity. This study examines the extent to which personnel policies and career opportunities, workload and stress problems, equality and diversity issues, and the acceptance of civilians by "the troops" matter, because they relate to civilian job satisfaction. The findings could be used to identify ways to improve the work environment facing civilians, a topic that we return to at the end of this report.

This study

The data for this study were drawn from surveys conducted as part of the National Police Research Platform, a project funded by the National Institute of Justice. In total, 19 agencies participated in the employee survey component of the Platform's research portfolio. This small group is not a representative sample of agencies, but they were selected for diversity. The participating agencies fell into six broad agency size bands and all of the nation's major geographic regions. Three of the agencies are located on the Eastern Seaboard; seven are in the Midwest; four are located in the Southeast; and five are found in the West and Southwest. One is a tribal agency serving a compact area; the others are municipal police departments. On average (based on agency records), 18 percent of their employees are civilians, but that figure ranges from less than 10 to over 40 percent. Agencies involved in the study also varied in their rate of civilianization. One-third of the participating agencies have less than ten civilian members, while another third had more than 100 civilian employees. In line with our agreement with the study sites, their identities are not revealed in this report.

The surveys were conducted online using software hosted by Qualtrics Inc©. Between March and May 2011, every employee received e-mails and follow-ups encouraging them to complete a survey using departmental computers during their regular working shift. Participation was voluntary and their responses were anonymous. Administration of the surveys was coordinated with agency representatives, and the e-mail invitations to participate were sent by the departments' senior leaders. The initial

e-mails and three to four subsequent reminder messages included a link to a survey page reserved for their agency. The home page described the project's potential risks and benefits; respondents who chose to participate were next presented the survey questions. The first question ascertained their sworn or civilian status, and the survey branched at this point to items appropriate for each group.

Every employee thus received an invitation to participate through their official work e-mail address. Because we could compare the surveys with agency personnel records, we could therefore calculate a true response rate, rather than just gather questionnaires from employees who happened to be at work when we were there. Employees who were on vacation or working at alternative sites, for example, had an equal opportunity to participate. To encourage this, the surveys remained available for more than a month and the reminder e-mails were distributed throughout this period. For civilian employees, the resulting average agency level response rate was 51 percent, which is in line with many web-based surveys. One-quarter of the agencies had response rates below 30 percent, the lowest being 6 percent, and just under one-third had response rates above 70 percent; 20 percent of the agencies recorded response rates above 90 percent (see Appendix). There were no meaningful agency-level correlates of variations in response rates, such as aggregate city or department characteristics. There was not much variation in the number of follow-up e-mails received by employees (they received either three or four), so this also could not account for variations response rates. However, further research with a larger sample of participating agencies could shed more light on this important methodological question.

Internet surveys conducted in the workplace are threatened by break-offs as well as non-participation. In a distracting environment it is easy for respondents to give up or turn elsewhere if the survey becomes a burden or no longer engages their attention. The Platform's methodological work suggests that respondents will continue internet surveys to completion when they include no more than approximately 50 straight-forward, check-list questions, and this was the strategy employed in this study. Many of the perceptual and attitudinal scales reported here include just a few items, reflecting the goal of keeping the survey short in order to maximize its representativeness[2]. The median length of time it took to complete the survey was between eight and nine minutes. Thus, not only were employees allowed and encouraged to complete the surveys during work hours by senior administrators, they were collected anonymously and the surveys were relatively short in length. All of these factors likely contributed to the response rate that was achieved for most of the participating agencies. A total of 472 civilian employees responded to the survey. Descriptive statistics for those surveyed are presented in Table I. Their jobs ranged from parking enforcement and data entry to planning and budgeting. The largest category of respondents (30 percent of the total) included those performing administrative or clerical support functions and reception duties. In total, 15 percent worked in communications and dispatching centers. Professionals doing planning, budgeting, program development and legal work made up 6 percent of the total, as did crime analysts and data entry clerks. Technical or systems support staff accounted for another 8 percent of the total. Traffic aides and other civilian employees made up the remainder. As a group, 61 percent of civilians were female; women predominated among data entry clerks, crime analysts, and administrative and clerical staff. Overall, about 70 percent of the respondents identified themselves as white, 13 percent African American, and 7 percent Hispanic. Racial minorities were concentrated in larger numbers among the data entry clerks and traffic aides employed by these agencies.

Variable	Frequency	%
Gender		
Male	186	39.4
Female	286	60.6
Race		
White	277	69.4
Black	53	13.3
Hispanic	29	7.3
Other	40	10.0
Age		
18-35 years	61	17.9
36-44 years	73	21.4
45-50 years	59	17.3
51-59 years	108	31.7
60-74 years	40	11.7
Education level		
High School diploma	171	41.6
Associates degree	55	13.4
Bachelors or graduate college degree	185	45.0
Job description		
Planning, budgeting, programs, legal work	28	6.1
Crime or data analysis	29	6.3
Technical or systems support	38	8.2
Data entry	30	6.5
Administrative/clerical support, office manager	140	30.4
Parking enforcement, traffic aide	24	5.2
Communications/dispatch	68	14.8
Other	104	22.6
Supervises others	110	25.5
Size of city served		
Pop 1,000-24,999	32	6.8
Pop 25,000-99,000	53	11.2
Pop 100,000-499,000	245	51.9
Pop 500,000 and over	142	30.1

Table I.
Respondent demographic, job, and workplace characteristics

About half of respondents were over age 50. In total, 45 percent of them had joined their department under the age of 30, and 20 percent did so when they were over age 50. They were well educated. Almost 45 percent of those responding indicated they had a college diploma, and another 13 percent had a junior college or associate degree. Civilians with college degrees, and especially those with some graduate training, were concentrated in planning, budgeting, program development, legal work, and crime analysis. About 26 percent of our respondents indicated that they supervised others in the organization.

In this study, civilians working in larger organizations are represented in greater numbers than their counterparts in smaller departments. The findings therefore should be read as representative (in a general sense, for there are only 19 participating agencies) of the universe of civilian police employees rather than of police organizations. However, when it proves illuminating this article also examines inter-organizational differences among civilians in policing as well. It does so by averaging the responses of individuals within each department, in order to illustrate the range of working conditions across departments.

Findings

Job satisfaction

There are many approaches to measuring job satisfaction. They range from a simple focus on overall or general affect to measures of an elaborate array of sub-components of satisfaction that have been identified in this vast research literature (Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller, 2012). This study focussed on general job affect. Respondents were simply asked to indicate how satisfied they were with their job. The job satisfaction measure examined here averaged responses to two questions: how satisfied respondents are with their "present job assignment" and with their "department as a place to work." The response categories included "satisfied" or "very satisfied" (scored 3 and 4), as opposed to "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" (scored 2 or 1). The correlation between responses to the two questions was $r = 0.67$, indicating they were both reflecting the same underlying dimension, but that each contributes independently to the average score.

Overall, the level of satisfaction among respondents was moderately high. More reported being satisfied (about 56 percent) than very satisfied (about 22 percent) on each of the measures. There were few strong individual-level demographic correlates of job satisfaction. There was a tendency ($r = 0.17$, $p \leqslant 0.001$) for white employees to be more satisfied. Older employees also reported being more satisfied ($r = 0.13$, $p = 0.014$), but they also had the most years of service and they had not left the organization; one would anticipate higher drop-out rate among younger dissatisfied employees.

Rather than varying greatly among individuals, the important variation in job satisfaction was at the organizational level, and in individual reports of organizational processes. To illustrate the extent of inter-organizational differences in job satisfaction, Figure 1 presents average satisfaction levels for each of the 16 participating agencies with enough civilian employees to examine at this level. The agencies are arrayed from least satisfied to most satisfied, based on their mean scores. Labels on the vertical axis translate those average scores into the response categories from which they were calculated. Controlling for age and race at the individual level to take out any "composition" effect of those factors, just over 12 percent of the variation in job satisfaction was between organizations rather than between individuals, a contextual effect of significant magnitude. With 19 participating agencies (and only 16 with an appreciable number of civilian employees) it is not possible to conduct multilevel statistical analyses with these data. It is also not appropriate to "test" any aggregate-level propositions regarding the determinants of satisfaction. However, the factors shaping job satisfaction at the individual level discussed below – ranging from pay and benefit levels to job security, workload stress and the vagaries of police culture – are strongly linked at the aggregate level to civilian job satisfaction (with correlations in the $+0.70$ to $+0.85$ range), and there are theoretical reasons why these should be important features of organizations.

Personnel policies

As noted above, research and the wisdom of observers of the police suggests that the financial, career, and job security aspects of working in police agencies should be important determinants of job satisfaction. Each of these was measured by one question in the survey. Respondents were asked "how satisfied are you with your pay and benefits?," and responses were gathered in a four-point scale ranging from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied." They also indicated the extent of their agreement with the statement "There are opportunities for advancement by civilians in this organization," with the response categories including "strongly agree," "agree,"
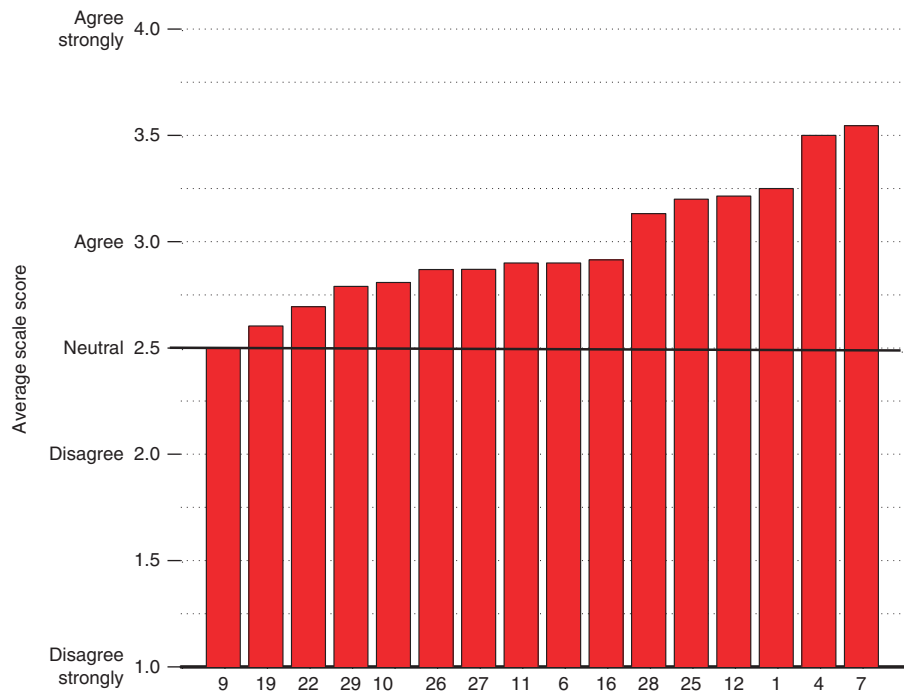
Figure 1.
Average job satisfaction
scale score, by agency

Note: Three agencies were eliminated from the figure due to small sample size

disagree," and "strongly disagree." Perceptions of job security and the impact of the Great Recession that was swirling around them at the time of the survey were gauged by their agreement with the statement, "In the past year or two, civilian positions have been dramatically reduced due to budget cuts."

Overall, individual respondents split 60-40 in response to the job security question, with the largest percentage indicating they had faced staffing cuts. This was an agency rather than individual issue – big majorities in ten of the 19 participating agencies indicated that there had been civilian staff cuts. Layoffs were reported in agencies of all sizes, and in all regions of the country, although respondents working at agencies serving larger cities were more likely to report civilian staffing cuts ($\chi^2(9) = 45.89$, $p < 0.001$). This may reflect the fact that more civilians work in larger agencies, thus, increasing the likelihood of staff layoffs due to shear opportunity. Respondents were also split with regard to pay and benefits. Only about 9 percent indicated they were very satisfied with the economic aspects of their job, but 46 percent reported they were satisfied, leading to about a 50-50 split between those who were satisfied and those who were not. On the other hand, respondents were largely in agreement that there were few opportunities for advancement by civilians in their organizations; only 2 percent agreed strongly that there were such opportunities, and another 26 percent agreed. In short, many civilians found themselves facing layoffs, working in places without a clear career track, and reporting mixed views regarding their pay and benefits.

Table II presents zero-order correlations between the measures of each of these personnel policies and job satisfaction. They were all significant and fairly strong.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Satisfied with pay and benefits	1.00							
2. Advancement opportunities	0.34**							
3. Civilian job cuts	−0.16**	−0.29**						
4. Emotional stress	−0.32**	−0.47**	0.26**					
5. Workload stress	−0.28**	−0.45**	0.26**	0.57**				
6. Race/gender equality	0.33**	0.45**	−0.24**	−0.36**	−0.38**			
7. Respect for diversity	0.22**	0.14**	−0.11*	−0.24**	−0.27**	0.34**		
8. Acceptance of civilians	0.38***	0.58***	−0.34***	−0.51***	−0.59***	0.58***	0.32***	
9. Job satisfaction	0.42**	0.44**	−0.24**	−0.64**	−0.49**	0.48**	0.30**	0.58***

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.001$

Table II.
Bivariate correlations between personnel policies, workload and stress, equality and diversity, civilian acceptance, and job satisfaction

Pay and benefits had the strongest effect on satisfaction ($r = +0.42$), followed by perceptions that there was room to move up in the organization ($r = +0.34$). Reports of staff cuts were less strongly linked to satisfaction ($r = -0.16$), but it is important to remember that our survey necessarily includes only those who survived the widespread rounds of job cuts they described. Those who lost their positions may rightfully have been more concerned about their job security.

Panel A in Table III reports the results of a multivariate analysis of the joint impact of these three personnel policy measures. The standardized regression coefficients presented there assess their relative strength of their association with job satisfaction. Together these personnel policies explained almost 30 percent of the variance in job satisfaction. Job security – among the survivors – rated about one-third the importance of pay and benefits, and opportunities for advancement.

Work and stress
While there is an immense literature on stress in the world of work, much less research has been conducted on workplace stress in the policing field, and almost none of it has involved civilians. However, there are reasons to believe that workplace stress issues extend to civilian police employees. Some work the late shift, while others direct traffic, and – based on our survey – civilians in a majority of agencies have at least faced workforce reductions. The survey was designed to assess aspects of the role of workload and stress among civilians in law enforcement.

The stress items were modified from Maslach's Burnout Inventory, a widely used measure. As noted earlier, the internet-based format of the survey restricted the number of questions that could be selected for each construct. This led us to select three stress-related symptoms from the emotional exhaustion component of the Burnout Inventory, which is been hypothesized to be prevalent among the social services professions (Maslach, 1978). Respondents were asked to "Think about your

Variable	β	t	p
Panel A			
Personnel policies			
Satisfied with pay and benefits	0.32	7.27	0.000
Advancement opportunities	0.30	6.53	0.000
Civilian job cuts	−0.10	−2.31	0.022
	$R^2 = 0.29$		
Panel B			
Work and stress			
Emotional stress	−0.53	−11.92	0.000
Workload stress	−0.19	−4.37	0.000
	$R^2 = 0.44$		
Decomposition of direct and indirect effects			
Direct effect of stress	−0.23		
Direct effect of overwork	−0.20		
Indirect effect of overwork via stress	−0.30		
Panel C			
Equality and respect for diversity			
Race/gender equality	0.43	9.57	0.000
Respect for diversity	0.16	3.56	0.000
	$R^2 = 0.25$		

Table III.
regression analysis of job satisfaction by variable clusters – personnel policies, work and stress, equality and diversity

experiences on the job. How often do you feel the following?" Three stress indicators followed: "I feel burned out from my work," "I feel frustrated by my job," and "I feel emotionally drained from work." The response categories included never, less than once a month, once a month, two to three times a month, once a week, two to three times a week, and daily. The most common symptom of stress was feeling frustrated by one's job; 36 percent of our respondents reported experiencing this at least weekly, while just over a third had this experience less than once a month or never. Responses to the three items were correlated an average of $+0.77$, with a Cronbach's α reliability of 0.91 for an additive scale combining them. A single underlying factor explained 85 percent of the total variance in the items.

A closely related correlate of both stress and job satisfaction is workload. Respondents were asked how much they agreed with two statements: "The leadership expects us to do more than our staffing and time allows us to do," and "I am often asked to do things that are unrealistic given time and resources." Fully 60 percent of those we interviewed agreed that they were asked to do more than resources allowed, and 35 percent felt that they faced unrealistic demands. Responses to the two questions, which were correlated $+0.61$, were combined to form a workload stress scale.

Emotional stress is a workplace factor that varied considerably from agency to agency. In some places employees reported frequent bouts of frustration and burnout, while in other departments fewer did so. Figure 2 illustrates this variation in the percentage of civilians reporting an average (calculated across all three symptoms) of at least "two or three" episodes of stress per month. In two agencies, the reported incidence of frequent stress was zero. Otherwise, in a relatively low-stress workplace
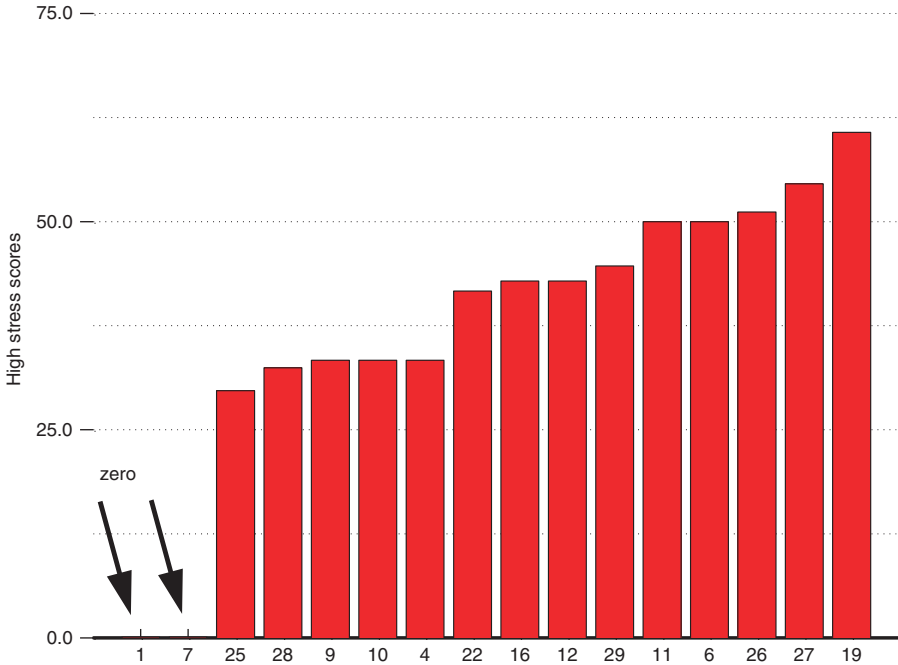

Note: Three agencies were eliminated from the figure due to small sample sizes

these symptoms affected about 30 percent of the civilian workforce in a month. This measure stood at about 50 percent in several of relatively high-stress workplaces, and peaked at over 60 percent in one agency.

As panel B in Table III indicates, these two measures of workload stress in combination explained 44 percent of the variance in job satisfaction. Both the zero-order correlations (see Table II) and the standardized regression coefficients highlight the importance of the emotional component of stress in undermining job satisfaction: the work is frequently frustrating, emotionally draining, and results in burnout. The correlation between emotional symptoms and job satisfaction was −0.32; for workload stress it was −0.28. Digging deeper, however, underscores the larger role actually played by overwork. Not only did it have a direct effect on job satisfaction, it had an indirect influence as well. This stems from the important role played by workload in creating stress in the first place. That is, workload contributes to emotional stress, which in turn undercuts morale, in addition to having a direct effect on job satisfaction. Panel B in Table III decomposes the direct and indirect effects of workload as well as the remaining direct effect of emotional stress, presenting the standardized coefficients associated with each as they influence job satisfaction[3]. The indirect effect of workload via emotional stress accounts for over half of the apparent effect of emotional stress. It still plays an important role, but emotional stress clearly takes second place to the workload demands reported by our respondents, in sparking job dissatisfaction.

Equality and respect for diversity
Another important feature of the police workplace environment is the extent to which its members respect diversity and racial and gender equality in the workplace. As noted, policing has historically been associated with heterosexual, masculine traits, with white males accounting for a disproportionate number of police officers. It has been speculated, however, that changes in the gender and racial or ethnic composition of police departments has the potential to reshape officer's views of the value of diversity; the more diverse the workforce, the more accepting officers will be. If true, diversification is also likely to benefit civilian employees, many of who are female and minorities.

Two questions examined the extent to which civilians felt that employees were generally treated equally in their organization: "employees are treated the same regardless of their gender" and "employees are treated the same regardless of their race." Like many questions in the survey, the response categories were strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Many agreed that equality was the norm in their organization. More than 60 percent felt that they were treated equally regardless of their gender, and 74 percent regardless of their race. However, there were differences by race and gender in skepticism about equality of treatment.

The link between responses to these questions and personal background are illustrated in Figure 3. It examines racial differences in responses to the racial equality measure and gender differences in perceived gender equality[4]. Each bar in Figure 3 sums to 100 percent, presenting separately the percentage of respondents who chose each response category. Significant differences in perceptions of racial equality in the workplace were linked to respondent's race ($\chi(6) = 62.64$, $p < 0.001$). In total, only about 15 percent of whites were dubious in any way regarding equality of treatment by race in their organization, while 41 percent of Latinos and 64 percent of African Americans disagreed with the equality-of-treatment view. Gender differences in perceptions of gender inequality were less dramatic and statistically insignificant ($\chi^2(3) = 5.99$,

Treated the same
regardless of their race

Treated the same
regardless of their gender

Strongly disagree
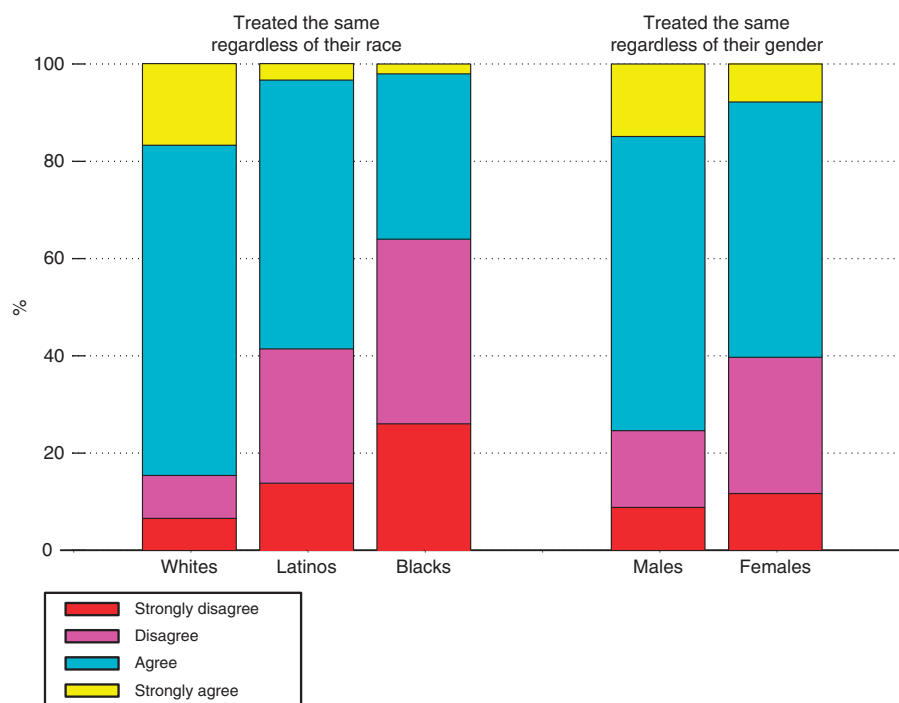Disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

Figure 3.
Percent reporting
employees treated the
same regardless of gender
or race and ethnicity

$p = 0.112$); a little more over one-quarter of males perceived any degree of inequality, while the comparable figure for female employees was 40 percent.

Respect for diversity in these organizations was assessed by responses to questions asking "how often" employees heard jokes or negative comments being made concerning other employees based on their sexual orientation, gender or race. The response categories were never, rarely, sometimes, often, and all the time. The survey found that, in their experience, our respondents encountered overt disrespect infrequently. Only 5 percent recalled hearing gender-based comments often or "all the time," and only 79 percent indicated that this happened only rarely or never at all. Negative commentary concerning fellow employees' race or sexual orientation was similarly uncommon, and a larger majority encountered such remarks very infrequently. Female employees reported hearing gender-based commentary just as infrequently as did males ($\chi^2(4) = 2.55$, $p = 0.635$). Whites were least likely to recall hearing race-based jokes or negative comments (2 percent often or all the time); blacks (12 percent) and Latinos (10 percent) reported hearing jokes or comments somewhat more frequently ($\chi^2(8) = 22.32$, $p = 0.004$).

For statistical analysis, an equality index was created by summing responses to its race and gender components. The correlation between responses to these questions was $+0.62$, indicating both were reflecting the same underlying dimension. An index was also created from responses to the questions probing the frequency of comments on employees' gender, race, and sexual orientation. These items were correlated an average of $+0.70$. Combined, their Cronbach's α reliability was 0.87, and the only factor on which they loaded explained 80 percent of the total variance of the items.

Panel C in Table III reports the results of a regression analysis of job satisfaction as it relates to equality of treatment and respect for diversity in participating organizations. Civilians working in agencies that were perceived to treat all employees equally were more satisfied with their jobs; the correlation between the two measure was +0.33. The correlation was positive for both components of the measure, perceived equality by gender and by race (analysis not shown). In addition, respect for diversity in the organization was linked to job satisfaction; this correlation was +0.22. Civilian employees were less satisfied with their jobs where they faced a culture which tolerated negative commentary on fellow employees' race, gender or sexual orientation. Based on the standardized regression coefficients documented in Table III, equality of treatment (in which there was more variance) had more than 2.5 times the impact of respect for diversity on our measure of job satisfaction.

### The place of civilians in police culture

Job security, equality of treatment, and tolerance of diversity are issues generic to the workplace, albeit concerns that have historically been a feature or a problem for police organizations. But police departments also present fairly unique challenges as a workplace. Police occupational culture perhaps has been the most commented-upon challenge. In other research, police culture has been evoked to help understand the relationship between street cops and their bosses, between white and minority officers, the role of women in policing, and antagonisms between police, the media, and the public. This study focusses on how police culture shapes relationships between civilian and sworn members, and how this impacts civilian employee morale.

To assess their views of the place of civilians in the cultures in which they work, respondents rated their agreement with five statements: "employees are treated the same regardless of their sworn or civilian status," "the department culture is accepting of civilian professionals," "as a civilian I feel I have to constantly prove myself," "my expertise is often dismissed by sworn members," and "my personal experiences and opinions are often dismissed by the officers."

There was some variation in the views of civilians on these matters. They reacted most negatively to the idea that sworn and civilian employees are treated in similar fashion; only 30 percent agreed with that at any level, while virtually equal numbers disagreed (36 percent) and disagreed strongly (34 percent). Over one-third indicated that their personal experiences and opinions are often dismissed by officers and 44 percent reported that their expertise was often dismissed. More than half indicated that they felt they constantly had to prove themselves.

Together, responses to these questions formed an additive scale with an average inter-item correlation of +0.62 (range 0.56-0.82) and a Cronbach's α reliability of 0.89. This set of items was single factored, with that factor explaining 70 percent of the variance in all of the responses. Job satisfaction and this acceptance of civilians scale were significantly and substantially correlated (+0.58), indicating that feeling accepted within the organization matters as it relates to job satisfaction.

To illustrate the magnitude of differences in acceptance of civilians across the participating organizations, Figure 4 plots agency-by-agency average scores on the acceptance in policing scale described above. (Three small agencies with a tiny number of civilian employees are excluded from the chart.) A horizontal line delineates the neutral point on the scale, halfway between "disagree" and "agree." Figure 4 illustrates two main points. First, there was noticeable variation between these departments in the extent to which civilians felt marginalized; their acceptance in the policing
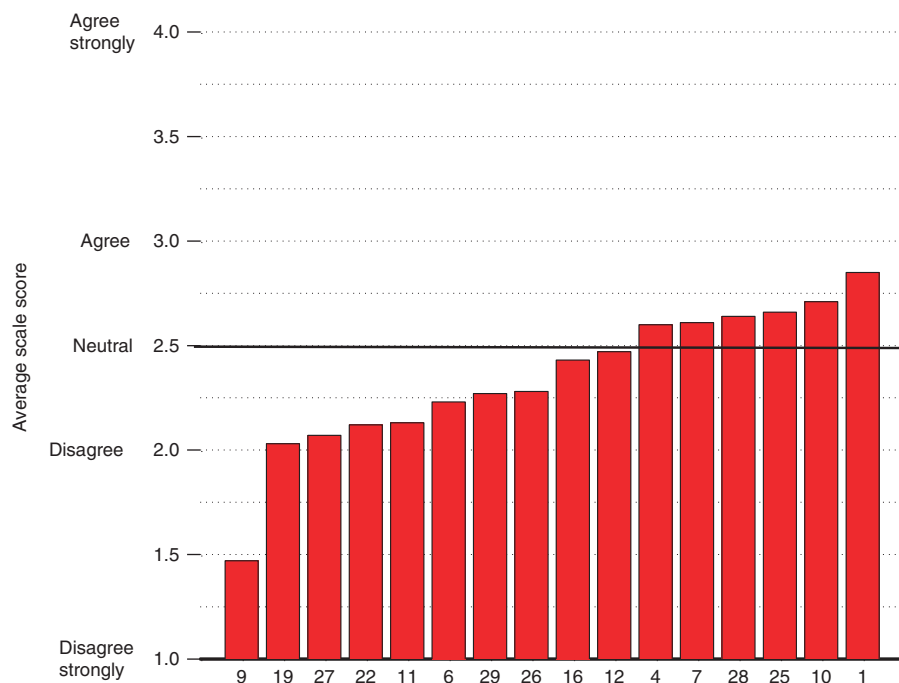
Note: Three agencies were eliminated from the figure due to small sample sizes

workplace was better in some places than others. Second, virtually all of that variation was somewhere in the negative range.

The finding that all of these organizations were below par is not good news, because favorability of the work environment is among the most important predictors of job satisfaction (Brief and Weiss, 2002). Interestingly, the occupants of one civilian role in these agencies stuck out as feeling particularly unappreciated: crime analysts. This parallels the conclusion of Taylor *et al.* (2007) that crime analysts believe sworn officers do not think much of crime analysis, and, further, that officers do not understand or use it. Crime analysts may feel particularly undervalued because their work, according to the official rhetoric, addresses the core mission of the agency. Yet police have historically been not accepting of knowledge derived from "academic" sources (Goldstein, 2003). Instead they value experiential knowledge. In fact, in an article outlining the steps that police agencies could take to further develop and implement problem-orientated policing, Goldstein argues for playing down the role of the crime analyst, because of the limited way in which police organizations have actually defined this job and used their product. The crime analysts involved in this study may have felt unaccepted not only because they are civilians, but because their work product entails forms of knowledge that are undervalued, misunderstood, and underutilized.

Multivariate findings
The discussion above explored the correlates of job satisfaction among civilian police employees on a cluster-by-cluster basis. Based on past research we hypothesized that satisfaction would be driven by the personnel policies of their organization, workload

and job-related stress, workplace equality and respect for diversity, and acceptance by civilians in police culture and by police organizations. In contrast to the well-studied sources of job satisfaction in the private sector, these are features of the workplace environment which are fairly unique to policing. As a consequence, the multivariate analyses described to this point have been exploratory in nature, intended to identify the stronger organizational correlates of job satisfaction within each conceptual cluster, and how their contributions join with that of key individual factors to shape job satisfaction.

Table IV presents the findings of the final, summative multivariate analyses of civilian job satisfaction. It presents the final list of significant predictors of job satisfaction, from analyses which began with all of the personnel and workplace factors described above while controlling for employee characteristics and city size. Overall, most of the employee characteristics frequently associated with policing-related perceptions – race, age, gender, education, job description – were not significantly linked to job satisfaction once direct measures of the workplace measures of personnel policies, stress, equality of treatment, and acceptance of civilians were taken into account. The only employee characteristics correlated with job satisfaction at the multivariate level was whether the employee supervised others; net of other factors, being a supervisor was associated with lower levels of job satisfaction. City size was not significantly related to job satisfaction in this summary analysis.

Across the personnel and workplace factors, four variables were significantly related to job satisfaction: satisfaction with pay and benefits, emotional stress, race and gender equality, and acceptance by sworn members. Based on the standardized regression coefficients presented in Table IV, emotional stress was the strongest driver of job dissatisfaction, followed by feelings of acceptance by sworn members of the organization. Perceptions that equality was valued in the workplace and satisfaction with pay and benefits were also significant, but the effects of these variables were not as great.

Although little research to date has focussed on stress amongst civilians in police agencies, workload and emotional stress issues were clearly important across these 19 agencies. This may be by-product of how police departments operate. Cowper (2000) argues that police agencies have two modes of operation: routine and crisis. Although many civilian personnel may be removed from the daily street-level operations of police agencies, they nonetheless may be exposed to stressful environments, particularly if they work for agencies in which administrators are continually "putting out fires" or are merely responding to one crisis after another. Additionally, the significance of workplace equality and acceptance indicate that perceptions of how respondents and their immediate peers were treated were important. Workplace environments that are disrespectful or are perceived to devalue employees' contributions undermine job satisfaction and likely

Variable	β	t	p
Supervises others	−0.10	−2.35	0.019
Satisfied with pay and benefits	0.19	4.24	0.000
Emotional stress	−0.38	−7.20	0.000
Race/gender equality	0.14	2.50	0.013
Acceptance of civilians	0.26	4.13	0.000
Note: $R^2 = 0.59$			

Table IV.
Significant correlates of job satisfaction – final multivariate regression model

contribute to low retention rates. Satisfaction with pay and benefits, on the other hand, is a more tangible means of evaluating one's value within an organization; therefore, it is not surprising that employees who were dissatisfied with their pay and benefits were also less satisfied with their job overall.

Implications for practice

This study explored the correlates of job satisfaction among civilian employees of 19 police agencies, in order to assess how facets of the workplace specific to policing contribute to employee satisfaction. Based on limited research on civilians in policing, we identified four main features of the policing workplace that could affect satisfaction: personnel policies, work and stress problems, equality and diversity issues, and acceptance of civilians by the sworn force. The findings were consistent with our expectations: contentment with pay and benefits, lower levels of work-related stress, equality in the workplace, and feelings of acceptance were associated with civilian employee satisfaction. Moreover, we found that stress and acceptance were particularly important, contributing the most to job dissatisfaction.

These findings, although exploratory, are significant because they indicate that reaping the full advantages of civilianization is complex and requires attention to some of the key features of policing. As noted above, the research literature has identified a legion of problems associated with employee dissatisfaction, problems ranging from abuse of sick leave to low productivity, anger, cynicism, workplace theft, and sabotage. Dissatisfaction hurts retention rates, particularly of employees with valued skills. Hiring civilians has generally been promoted as a solution for fiscal problems and way to make up for skill deficits on the sworn side of the organization. Hiring and retaining civilian staff members can help police agencies become more efficient, competent, and cost effective, all of which can have a positive impact on communities. For instance, hiring skilled civilian staff can improve police operations and processes, while hiring civilian administrative staff can help put more sworn members on the street. However, while civilians may be cheaper, their integration into the organization requires careful management.

When it comes to stress, the infrastructure support civilian members may already exist, because many police leaders are keenly aware of officer stress and its consequences. Employee assistance and peer support programs have been implemented in many agencies to help offices cope with work-related stress and their related personal problems (Walker and Katz, 2011). These programs could also be made available or more accessible to civilian employees. On a day-to-day basis, workload management is importantly in the hands of front-line supervisors, and research on dispatching highlights the importance of supportive supervision in moderating the impact of workload on stress in this key bureau. High-support supervisors communicate the value of worker's contributions, back them up, recognize that they are making tradeoffs, promote teamwork and workload sharing, and temper their criticism in difficult moments (Kirmeyer and Dougherty, 1988).

Training may also help. The Major City Chiefs report (2009) recommends that departments help new civilian hires navigate police culture and the unique features of police organizations. Officers are known to complain that civilians do not understand their job, and they could be right. Schwartz *et al.* (1975) observed that civilians received much less training then their sworn counterparts. Often this training was on-the-job and lasted no more than a week. This should be taken as a training challenge by departments. Departments could provide civilian employees with adequate training regarding the work of line elements of the agency. Police departments need to consider ways in which they can promote greater acceptance of civilians within the

organization, and training may be one vehicle for doing so. Training should also be developed to assist civilians who are tasked with supervising others, as our findings indicate that supervisors reported distinctively low levels of job satisfaction. This is consistent with past research indicating that officers can easily be hostile to civilian managers (Loveday, 2006). Training related to supervising both civilians and sworn members could assist civilian mangers in traversing the policies, procedures and very delicate political issues that govern overseeing sworn personnel. Providing civilian supervisors with adequate training may eliminate these tensions, some of which may be due to sworn perceptions that civilian managers are unqualified or too ignorant of "real policing" to take leadership roles in the organization.

Eliciting greater acceptance of civilians by sworn members will also require concerted effort. It likely entails a bit of a culture shift, never an easy thing. Police culture is highly suspicious of outsiders and promotes sworn member group loyalty. Not unlike female and minority officers, civilians experience being simultaneously insiders and outsiders. Although they may work with police officers and support the policing mission (insiders), they do not have the training and experiences of sworn staff, and civilians typically carry out administrative tasks that can be devalued in relation to more traditional policing activities (outsiders). This could be viewed as a procedural justice problem. To date, the procedural justice framework has been advanced as a way of improving relations between police and the public. It stresses the importance of treating citizens with dignity, giving them a voice in determining their fate, and encouraging trust (Lind and Tyler, 1988). These same constructs – dignity, voice, trust – could also be applied to tactics aimed at improving employee relationships, particularly when dealing with civilians who may have a lower social status within the organization. An employee-focussed procedural justice initiative could transform how agencies engage with their civilian employees, but such an initiative would require command staff commitment and support.

Conclusion

As Guyot (1979, p. 417) observed, "sworn officers are usually treated as *members* of the organization, while civilians are *employees*" (emphasis added). Yet this does not need to be the reality, and agencies would benefit from improved integration of their civilian employees. In Great Britain, civilization is known as "workforce modernization," and it is widely commented upon (e.g. see Loveday, 2006). In the USA, civilian hiring stalled during the 2000s, but civilianization – and even privatization – of policing could come to the forefront once again as political leaders struggle with public sector labor costs and pension reform in an era that seemingly demands lower taxes and smaller government. How police administrators deal with this reality will likely impact the efficiency and effectiveness of their organizations in important ways. This study has suggested specific ways in which administrators can improve civilian job satisfaction, by identifying key factors in policing that threaten to block their effective incorporation into the workplace. Management efforts to improve the integration and retention of civilians in policing could include additional support programs aimed at helping civilians cope with the stress related to working in police organizations, providing training to civilians related to the unique policies and procedures that govern police work, and more generally, promoting greater acceptance of civilians within the organization itself.

Study limitations

The analyses presented here did not include many of the host of factors affecting job satisfaction that have been identified in this huge research literature. We did not focus,

for example, on any "spillover" effects of exogenous factors such as marital problems, work vs home-life issues, or personal lifestyle shifts. There were no measures of employee's dispositional states, such as the extent of their depression or compulsiveness, nor of their general health. For example, extraversion and conscientiousness are positively related to job satisfaction, while neuroticism is negatively related (Judge, Heller and Mount, 2002). Rather, we focussed on workplace factors that are experienced cognitively, at least potentially within the power of managers and executives to resolve, and fairly distinctive features – or known problems – of police organizations.

The focus of the study was also driven by a selective reading of the literature on police officer's attitudes and experiences. Some of the findings of that research appeared to be extendable to their civilian counterparts; other studies of officers' attitudes helped us characterize the environment within which civilians find themselves. However, very central elements of police work – for example, the role of danger on the street or the opportunities for corruption that present themselves – vary dramatically from the workplace issues facing their civilian counterparts, so these extensions cannot be taken very far.

Finally, although there were sometimes very provocative differences among the 19 police organizations involved in this study, it was primarily cast as a study of individual employees. With a larger number of organizations it would be possible to test hypotheses regarding the effect of organizational level factors (e.g. the personnel policies they have in place) on employee satisfaction. That, however, would be a much larger project. Additionally, the agencies surveyed, although varying in agency size, region, and rate of civilianization, are not a representative sample of all police agencies in the USA. Although it is noteworthy that the study findings are generally consistent with the limited prior research in this area, generalizing the findings presented here to other agencies or policing nationally is cautioned. Future research continues to be needed in this area, particularly as police administrators and city managers look to civilianization as a way to reduce costs associated with policing. Future research should address the limitations of this study, including examining larger and randomly selected agencies.

Notes

1. Recent reviews of this literature, including summaries of many meta-analyses, include Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2012), Latham and Pinder (2005).

2. A copy of the questionnaire is available on request from the first author.

3. The specification and calculation of the direct and indirect effects summarized here was done using Mplus 6.12.

4. A small number of Asian and multi-racial respondents are excluded from this discussion.

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Appendix

Agency[a]	Sampling size[b]	Surveys completed	Response rate (%)
A	127	27	21.3
B	8	3	37.5
C	81	30	37.0
D	66	33	50.0
E	2	1	50.0
F	176	45	25.6
G	6	4	66.7
H	3	1	33.3
I	592	39	6.6
J	27	26	96.3
K	116	70	60.3
L	3	3	100.0
M	234	103	44.0
N	7	7	100.0
O	32	21	65.6
P	11	6	54.5
Q	103	40	38.8
R	7	1	14.3
S	12	12	100.0

Table AI.
Response rate by agencies sampled

Notes: [a]In line with our agreement with the study sites, their identities are not revealed in this report; [b]for some agencies the sampling size reflects a randomly selected subsample of all civilian employees while for others the sampling size reflects all civilians employed by that agency

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