

Criminal Justice Organizations

Administration and Management

Sixth Edition

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, the students will have achieved the following objectives:

- Understand a definition of job design.
- Explain the early importance of engineering and efficiency to job design.
- Define and explain Taylorism.
- Understand the application of Taylorism to criminal justice.
- Know how job satisfaction, job stress, and job burnout relate to job design.
- Define and explain job design theory.
- Comprehend job redesign programs and their application to criminal justice organizations.
- Explain the relationship between job design and the community.
- Define the "new criminal justice" and its relationship to job design.

VIGNETTE

An interesting revolution is taking place within criminal justice organizations. Criminal justice agencies are being challenged to be more precise and accountable in what they do. As part of a larger trend occurring in the human services, there has been an evolving and nascent movement to improve criminal justice services through better design efforts and increasing application of modern techniques of information gathering to crime-related problems. We briefly mentioned this change in Chapter 1, but in this chapter, we expand on what this change really means when it comes to designing jobs for criminal justice organizations.

Traditional questions regarding job design no longer are as relevant as they were only ten years ago. Today, we expect criminal justice employees to be smarter and more analytical in what they do. Relying primarily on past practices and legend and lore no longer can meet the needs of a modern criminal justice organization. Take, for example, the issue of intelligence-based or intelligence-led policing. The premise of this model of policing is that better information leads to better results when it comes to addressing crime. But what does this actually mean when it comes to employee job design? For many police departments, movement toward information-driven policing means recruiting a different type of employee and engendering a different type of organizational structure. The police professional of the twenty-first century must be an intelligence analyst—a person who can analyze large amounts of information in a systematic and analytical way to produce a more efficient and effective response to crime. In addition, the type of job design we create for criminal justice professionals must be predicated on differing ideas of how we recruit, train, and develop them to meet the needs of their communities.

As we analyze criminal justice job design, we'll think through the changes that have occurred within criminal justice organizations and how administrative tactics have changed to effectively implement a new way of understanding job design. Many of the ideas regarding a "new criminal justice" are based on significant changes in the organizational structures of criminal justice organizations. Questions of job design may be some of the most interesting and challenging to face criminal justice administrators as we move through the twenty-first century.

* We are at work for much of our lives. This is true whether the duration of our careers or the amount of time we spend on the job every day is measured. For many of us, work is not only a place where tasks are accomplished but also is an experience that adds to the value and meaning of our lives. Although we have many work-related personal goals, our jobs also fulfill organizational goals. Our efforts may contribute to the control of crime, the processing of offenders, or the treatment of those convicted.

In this chapter, we examine the interplay of these personal and organizational goals. We focus on how the structure of work can satisfy or fail to satisfy these goals. After reviewing some of the criteria for a good job, we consider the technological aspects of job design and the influence of Frederick Taylor in industry and in human services. We also examine some of the undesirable consequences of poorly designed work. The chapter then turns to advancements made in theoretical approaches to job design and finally to examples of job design and redesign in criminal justice.

WHAT IS JOB DESIGN?

In criminal justice, the design of jobs is often taken for granted: police officers police, corrections officers guard, probation officers manage their caseloads, and judges deliberate. It is often assumed that these tasks govern the design of work. Both theory and research in industrial settings, however, question such assumptions. The term **job design** has been used to describe the "deliberate, purposeful planning of the job, including all of its structural and social aspects and their effects on the employee" (Hellriegel, Slocum, and Woodman, 1995).

There are many approaches to job design and many lists of criteria for a good job. Although efficiency was once the chief concern, a wide variety of other goals has been recognized. One popular list of "psychological job requirements" includes the following factors (Emmery and Emmery, 1974:147):

1. *Adequate elbow room.* Workers need a sense that they are their own bosses and that (except in unusual circumstances) they will not have a boss breathing down their necks. But they don't want so much elbow room that they don't know what to do next.
2. *Chances to learn on the job and go on learning.* Such learning is possible only when people are able to set goals that are reasonable challenges for them and to know results in time for them to correct their behavior.

Job design: The deliberate, purposeful planning of the job, including all of its structural and social aspects and their effects on the employee.

3. *An optimal level of variety.* Workers need to be able to vary the work—so as to avoid boredom and fatigue and to gain the best advantage from settling into a satisfying rhythm of work.
4. *Help and respect from workmates.* We need to avoid conditions in which it is in no one's interest to lift a finger to help another, in which people are pitted against each other so that one person's gain is another's loss, and in which the individual's capabilities or inabilities are denied.
5. *A sense that one's work meaningfully contributes to social welfare.* Workers do not want a job that could be done as well by a trained monkey or an industrial robot machine. They also do not want to feel that society would probably be better served by not having the job done or at least not having it done so shoddily.
6. *A desirable future.* Workers do not want dead-end jobs; they want jobs that continue to allow personal growth.

These qualities of a good job reflect a common concern in the literature and can be traced to the warnings of Karl Marx:

What do we mean by the alienation of labor? First, that the work he performs is extraneous to the worker—that is, it is not personal to him, is not part of his nature; therefore, he does not fulfill himself in work but actually denies himself; feels miserable rather than content, cannot freely develop his physical and mental power but instead becomes physically exhausted and mentally debased. (Cited in Josephson and Josephson, 1975:871.)

These concerns were echoed in a 1973 federal government task force report entitled *Work in America*. The conclusion of the report begins with the words of the existentialist philosopher Albert Camus: "Without work all life goes rotten. But when work is soulless, life stifles and dies" (Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973:186).

ENGINEERING AND EFFICIENCY IN JOB DESIGN

The task force report was most critical of jobs characterized by "dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks" and traced these impoverished jobs to the "anachronism of Taylorism" (1973:xv). Throughout most of the last century, technological criteria or concern with the efficient completion of tasks dictated the design of most industrial jobs. Frederick Winslow Taylor and his associates are properly credited as the major influence behind this trend. Increasing the efficiency of labor through the fragmentation of work, the use of time and motion studies, and the motivation of workers with pay incentives was the main component of Taylor's *Scientific Management* (1947). From the marriage of task and technology emerged such innovations as the "science of bricklaying," worked out in detail by Frank Gilbreth:

He developed the exact position which each of the feet of the bricklayer should occupy in relation to the wall, the mortar box, and the pile of bricks, and so made it unnecessary for him to take a step or two toward the pile of bricks and back again each time a brick is laid.... Through all of this minute study of the motions of the bricklayer in laying bricks under standard conditions, Mr. Gilbreth has reduced his movements from eighteen motions per brick to five, and even in one case to as low as two motions per brick.... With union bricklayers in laying a factory wall ... he averaged, after his selected workmen had become skillful in his new methods, 350 bricks per man-hour; whereas the average speed of doing this work with the old methods, in this part of the country, was 120 bricks per man-hour (Taylor, 1947:81).

Taylorism was named after Frederick Taylor, who emphasized the application of scientific principles to job design, most notably the division of labor, time-motion studies, and pay as a primary incentive for workers. Taylor's influence on the design of jobs cannot be fully appreciated without examining his underlying assumptions. Throughout his works, Taylor presents unflattering views of human nature. In his often-cited description of a highly trained pig iron handler, Taylor refers to him as being "as stupid and phlegmatic as an ox" (1947:62). In Taylor's view, most people are unmotivated by work itself and instead are motivated by leisure and increases in pay. His belief was that close supervision by college-educated, highly trained managers and financial incentives in the form of increased wages for increased production counteracts the natural tendency toward laziness.

Taylorism: Named after Frederick Taylor, who emphasized the application of scientific principles to job design, most notably the division of labor, time-motion studies, and pay as a primary incentive for workers.

TAYLORISM IN THE HUMAN SERVICES

Scientific management formed the foundation of industrial engineering and technology and has remained a principal influence in the engineer's design of job content in industrial settings. Taylor, however, was careful to distinguish the "mechanisms" of scientific management, which may have limited applicability outside the machine shop, from the "essence" of scientific management, which would have much wider utility:

Scientific Management is not an efficiency device ... not a new system of figuring costs; it is not a new scheme for paying men; it is not a time study; it is not a motion study.... These devices are useful adjuncts to Scientific Management.... In its essence, Scientific Management involves a complete mental revolution on the part of working man (Taylor, 1919:68-69).

In the human services, the essence of Taylorism has been a potent influence, but the mechanisms have not been ignored. Time and motion study has been used to determine the best location of instruments for dentistry, the need for mechanized hospital beds, and even the advantages of rhythmic movements for

surgeons. Beyond these studies, however, Taylor's concern with increasing efficiency through the fragmentation of work and close supervision has found wide application in the "people work" industries. Unlike managers in production industries, however, managers in the human services can rarely define their workers' roles in terms of the requirements of an assembly line or machine (Phillips and McConnell, 1996). In a review of policing, public welfare, and other street-level bureaucracies, Lipsky (1980:14) notes that most human services work is characterized by considerably more discretion and variety than jobs in a factory. These differences, however, have not insulated human services work from tight bureaucratic control. For example, Karger (1981:275) notes the similarities between the alienating features of industrial and human services work:

The routinization of public welfare is complemented by increased specialization and the creation of continually narrower job descriptions.... Accountability is achieved through daily logs, regular breaks, and performance objectives. The assumption is that workers are selling their labors rather than their skills.... Even in private welfare we see "numbered contact hours"—a designation referring to quantity rather than quality.... The workplace in a large public bureaucracy—with its large rooms filled with long rows of cubicles—appears more like a bureaucratic assembly line than a private environment in which to discuss personal matters. The client is objectified as a problem that must be processed as the line grows longer. (See Hagedorn [1995] for further discussion of these issues.)

TAYLORISM IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE

In the field of criminal justice, policing has been described as a "Taylorized occupation" (Fyfe et al., 1997; Haring, 1982). Concern with productivity has led administrators to fragment the role of the police officer. Automobile-based patrolling and the use of non-sworn personnel for traffic control, bus monitoring, and other tasks have taken away from regular line officers the Florence Nightingale duties that Haring argues provided a broad, humane role for the police. He concludes that the Taylorization of police institutions is important to study because it can undermine the notion that the police are immune from the dehumanizing experiences of other workers.

This trend toward decreased discretion and increased control has been referred to as the deprofessionalization syndrome (Sharp, 1982; Stone and Stoker, 1979). The irony behind the syndrome is that as management has increased its professionalization through increased accountability and bureaucratization of work life, the status of frontline personnel has diminished. As Hahn notes: "The professionalization of police departments, therefore, acts to undermine the professional stature of individual police officers by limiting their personal discretion in handling the problems of 'clients' in the community" (1974:23). The deprofessionalization of police has also been questioned by proponents of "community policing," whereby increased discretion and involvement of officers to solve community problems is critical. Job design, under this model of policing,

argues for recognition that only when police and citizens work together can crime be addressed effectively (Kelling and Coles, 1996; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Deprofessionalization, therefore, may be counter to what police need to effectively address crime and disorder in their communities.

Similar concerns about deprofessionalization are seen in the areas of probation and parole. Because probation officers generally come under the jurisdiction of the courts, Lawrence (1984) argues that they have traditionally been uncertain of their professional status. He reports that many probation officers see themselves more as judicial servants caught in the civil service malaise than as professionals. The revolution in technology in the field of community supervision may further erode the autonomy and discretion of frontline workers (Rosecrance, 1999a). The introduction of standardized classification instruments is an example. The instruments frequently use information about an offender's criminal history and other background variables to establish a numerical score reflecting the appropriate security level. These devices not only restrict the judgment of probation and parole officers in assessing their cases but they also dictate the amount of time they can spend on cases requiring maximum, medium, or minimum supervision.

The development of electronic monitoring systems for offenders also appears to be altering the jobs of probation and parole agents. Such devices track the offender's location through an electronic device generally strapped to the ankle. A review of these and other changes in the processing of information in probation and parole offices suggests that they are likely to have a major impact on the nature of probation and parole jobs. The devices will accentuate the clearly defined law enforcement role of probation and parole officers and diminish the discretionary aspects of their work that are generally associated with their treatment function (Clear, 1995; Moran and Lindner, 1985).

In corrections, jobs have frequently been described by highly circumscribed responsibilities. Civil service job descriptions in New York state list the corrections officer's duties as follows:

Correctional officers supervise the movement and activities of inmates; make periodic rounds of assigned areas; conduct searches for contraband; and maintain order within the facility. They advise inmates on the rules and regulations governing the operation of the facility and assist in solving problems (New York Department of Corrections, 2007).

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967b) described corrections officers as the "employees who man the walls, supervise living units, escort inmates to and from work, and supervise all group movement around an institution." These responsibilities were clearly distinguished from the professional role of other corrections staff. Such descriptions reify the corrections officer's job by ignoring the discretionary human relations aspects of the role.

Parallels between criminal justice and industrial work can be overemphasized, however. As Toch and Grant suggest, "no matter how badly off human service workers are, their fate is less circumscribed than that of the men and women who serve machines and are constrained by their technology"

(1982:85). Lipsky (1980) makes a similar point when he remarks that police, judges, and probation officers continue to exercise considerable discretion because of the way their jobs are designed.

Work Perspective: TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY JAILS TODAY AND TOMORROW

Why Jails Have Become De Facto Mental Health Hospitals in the United States

Many people who administer jails are aware of the fact the urban jails today are now the biggest mental health centers in the community. The continued closure of mental hospitals across the United States into the twenty-first century began in 1955. Thousands of people were released from mental hospitals (without much in the way of treatment) to return to the community. Then, President Kennedy persuaded Congress to enact the Community Mental Health Act of 1963. Community mental health centers would enable people to live at home and take advantage of the opportunity for treatment on an outpatient basis, but the money wasn't available to do this, so jails became the twenty-first century mental health centers by default, not by choice.

Political Action

The bright new era for the mentally ill vanished (1960s and 1970s) because it proved to be a mirage and the mentally ill were left as homeless persons with no option but the streets. Before long, citizens were upset by the mentally ill on the streets, and the public demanded action; local governments responded by pursuing a criminal justice solution. Law enforcement would arrest the mentally disturbed on the streets for primarily minor offenses and bring them to the local jails to be incarcerated. Many jails lacked sufficient staff, and frequently the staff that was available had no training in the management and care of mentally disturbed individuals.

Direct Supervision Jails and How They Operate

Significant jail changes also occurred during the final quarter of the twentieth century. Direct supervision jails tested first by the Federal Bureau of Prisons received the endorsement of the National Institute of Corrections Jail Center as a new, improved management approach for local jails. A different style of jail architecture emphasizing a more normal environment and a new management encompassing the principles of direct supervision were developed to guide jail leadership in the direction of making the management

of inmates the sine qua non at the line officer level. By 2006, according to the *2006 Sourcebook on Direct Supervision Jails*, published by the National Institute of Corrections Jail Center, 349 jails in 47 states were listed as direct supervision, a substantial jump from the 199 direct supervision jails listed in 1995. The total of direct supervision beds had climbed to 183,538 in these facilities.

The basic idea underlying direct supervision was to make the jail environment resemble a more normal living environment in the outside world with carpets in the pods to cover the concrete floors and normal furniture instead of stainless steel stools and tables. A pod officer in charge of the inmates took on the responsibility of enforcing the rules and assisting prisoners with their numerous problems. The pod officer, empowered by direct supervision management principles, exercised total authority in the pod, a departure from the paramilitary model frequently found in jails when higher-ranking officers would overrule line staff for whatever reason. If the direct supervision model was to function properly, the pod officers had to be better educated and better trained to thoroughly understand the underpinnings of this model. Empowering the line officers who worked the direct supervision pods took time, but if it were done right, it worked well.

Birth of CIT (Crisis Intervention Training) and Direct Supervision

Crisis intervention training was born in Memphis, Tennessee, in the 1980s when Memphis police killed a mentally disturbed citizen. In response to citizens' outcries, crisis intervention training for police officers started. The training emphasized diverting people suspected of having mental health problems to a diagnostic center for an evaluation as opposed to booking them into the local jails. This new approach grew rapidly, and today hundreds of criminal justice agencies across the country (police, corrections, parole/probation, judges, district/defense attorneys) are now involved in training staff in CIT. Many jail officers now undergo CIT training based on the idea that if some mentally ill continue to be institutionalized, correctional staff require instruction on how to manage them. This placed a renewed emphasis on suicide-prevention training.

WORK PERSPECTIVE—continued

Making the Criminal Justice System Work for the Community

An equally important dynamic is reentry into the community upon release. Many inmates in jails exhibit co-occurring disorders (mental health and alcohol and drug problems), which are treated during incarceration. Programs and treatment centers need to be in place for inmates released into the communities; if not, it is doubtful that many of these released inmates can function successfully without this outside help. Group homes or halfway houses, where staff can check to determine whether the clients take their meds on a daily basis or go to their alcohol/drug counseling, have become a vital part of the solution. Many inmates released from institutions need assistance to avoid recidivism. A lot depends on collaboration among community groups if progress is to be successfully monitored. A feasible approach requires the use of criminal justice personnel, including jail staff, to cooperate with other non-criminal justice staff to assure a positive outcome and reduce the possibility of re-arrest.

Ironically, the dumping of the mentally ill into the local jails has produced a compelling reason for communities to do something productive for those arrested with co-occurring disorders. More and more, staff employed in jails and in other criminal justice agencies need exposure to social work training on the management and care of these populations. This is not yet well understood by the general public, but success in reducing jail populations today requires a total approach starting with diversion from the criminal justice system, treatment in the institutions of incarceration, and a solid reentry program upon release.

One of the principles of direct supervision is "Justice and Fairness," which directs the officers who work the direct supervision pods to treat each inmate in a fair and just manner. This approach will prove to benefit both the public and those incarcerated. Requiring the officers to be CIT trained only increases the chance that this management philosophy will continue to blossom.

SOURCE: Ken Kerle Board Member, CIT, Shawnee County, Topeka, Kansas 66611.

RESPONSES TO JOB CHARACTERISTICS

Much of the recent interest in job design has grown out of concerns raised in studies of worker satisfaction. Although more than 85 percent of American workers report general satisfaction with their jobs, detailed inquiry has revealed sharply declining levels of satisfaction with specific aspects of the work environment (see Hackman and Oldham, 1980). Those aspects are the **job characteristics**, and include items such as job satisfaction, job burnout, and job stress that are directly affected by job design. Discontent among hourly and clerical workers has risen to the highest level since those measurements began to be made in the 1950s. Other research has identified young workers as the most dissatisfied and the most likely to be concerned with job design issues (Sheppard and Herrick, 1972). The discontent of workers was dramatically illustrated in the early 1970s at a strike in a Lordstown, Ohio, automobile plant. Workers there did not protest low wages but instead voiced opposition to routine and boring labor. A Lordstown employee described the frustration workers felt: "You have to ... break the boredom to get immediate feedback from the job because the only gratification you get is a paycheck once a week, and that's too long without any kind of gratification from the job" (quoted in Kreman, 1973:17).

Criminal justice research lacks the longitudinal data necessary to indicate changes in levels of job satisfaction. Still, the literature is suggestive about employees' expectations of their work. A study of police officer satisfaction, for

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example, paralleled findings in industrial settings when it revealed that many officers described themselves as generally satisfied with the tangible benefits of their jobs but were concerned about such issues as opportunities for advancement and opportunities to improve their skills. Only about half the officers reported that they would recommend police work to a friend, and many reported that their enthusiasm for the job had diminished over time (Alpert, Dunham, and Stroschne, 2005; Bayley, 1994; Buzawa, 1984).

Patterns of job satisfaction appear to be similar for police and corrections officers. Attitudinal changes appear to occur following training. During the initial years on the job, satisfaction decreases and cynicism increases (Niederhoffer, 1969; Van Maanen, 1973). Researchers have also described an inverted U-shaped curve in which negative attitudes are highest in the middle of careers and lowest among officers with the least as well as the most seniority (Poole and Regoli, 1980; Toch and Klofas, 1982). Education levels have also been found to be negatively correlated with job satisfaction among police officers. Evidence indicates that a disproportionate number of the more educated police officers voluntarily leave their jobs before retirement (Buzawa, 1984; Carter, Sapp, and Stephens, 1989). It has been suggested that this turnover results from the frustration of working in a rigid setting. One study, however, suggests that this turnover may be the result of increased job opportunities (Buzawa, 1984).

In human services occupations, reactions to work also include stress and burnout. Both of these concepts refer to physical and psychological reactions to the work environment. After reviewing the available literature, Whitehead and Lindquist (1986) argue that chronic, intense stress may lead to burnout, which has been defined as "a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and cynicism" (Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

Although much of the literature on burnout in the human services has focused on issues surrounding client contact (see Maslach, 1976), some researchers have examined organizational causes. Cherniss (1980) suggests that burnout may arise from boredom, excessive demands, and job design problems such as role conflict, role ambiguity, and lack of participation in decision making. In criminal justice research, organizational factors have been identified as the major causes of stress and burnout. In studies of corrections officers in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Washington, Cheek and Miller (1982, 1983) found that "administrative sources" were the primary reasons for stress on the job. Administrative sources included lack of communication from management, lack of clear guidelines, and lax or inconsistent administrative practices (Stojkovic, 1997). The researchers argue in favor of a redesign of the corrections officer's job.

Whitehead and Lindquist (1986) came to similar conclusions from their multivariate analysis of burnout among corrections officers. Using a standardized instrument developed by Maslach and Jackson (1981), these authors found that inmate contact was not only a cause of burnout but also that such contact was positively associated with feelings of accomplishment. However, administrative policies and procedures were identified as sources of stress. This finding was also replicated with a sample of federal corrections officers (Lasky, Gordon, and Srebalus, 1986). Whitehead and Lindquist suggest that these findings may

support the view that managerial control efforts conflict with officers' desires for autonomy and discretion. In another study by Stohr et al. (1994), the authors found that correctional officers in jail settings were much more satisfied in work environments that stressed employee concerns and more involvement in the day-to-day operations of their facilities rather than simply bald, custodial control of prisoners. Moreover, Britton (1997) suggests that there are differences among correctional officers concerning their perceptions of their work environment along racial and gender lines and that the work environment does affect, in part, the perceptions of correctional officers.

Whitehead (1985) also studied burnout among probation and parole officers. Using the Maslach Inventory (Maslach and Jackson, 1981) with a sample of nearly 1,500 probation and parole officers in four states, he found that respondents scored higher than other human services workers on most of the burnout dimensions. In considering causes, Whitehead argues that his data do not support theories that link burnout to emotionally charged contact with clients. Instead, burnout among probation and parole agents was tied to the officers' need for efficacy and a sense of providing competent service to clients. These findings support theoretical perspectives that view job design factors as important sources of burnout. (See Alpert, Dunham, and Strohshine, 2005, as well as Fyfe et al., 1997, for a discussion of these issues in relation to police organizations.)

It is interesting that research has also identified the importance of job satisfaction to overall innovation and creativity in manufacturing settings. Shipton et al. (2006) report that job satisfaction is related to increased innovation and creativity when taking into account job variety and a commitment to a "single status" reward distribution system. Single status refers to a reward structure that is based on relevant job criteria (such as task performance) rather than on arbitrary factors, such as status differentials (e.g., whether individuals are blue-collar or white-collar workers). Within criminal justice organizations, consistent with equity theory examined in Chapter 5, designing work so that there is a perception of fairness among employees is critical to motivating them and avoiding the negative consequences of work, such as absenteeism and burnout. Although the research identified by Shipton and coworkers is based on manufacturing settings, the relevance to criminal justice organizations is equally important. For criminal justice administrators, the issue centers on their ability to design work in such a way that personnel are satisfied and innovation is possible. The whole concept of problem-oriented policing, for example, is predicated on police officers working with citizens in innovative ways to address crime. The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) works toward the development of innovative community policing programs that are supported by the federal government (Uchida, 2005).

Similarly, Lambert and Hogan (2010) document the impact of innovation on job stress, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment among correctional employees. It is interesting that they found that *perceptions* of innovation can lead toward reduced job stress, increased job satisfaction, and more organizational commitment among employees. It must be noted that they were dealing with perceptions, and, as such, the impact of actual innovation on these key dimensions of the work environment is unknown. It is easy to say that one favors innovation, but at

the end of the day, innovation must be understood as highly episodic and dynamic, leading toward probable differential impacts on persons within organizations. Nevertheless, innovation as an ongoing process within criminal justice organizations may be very valuable to administrators. It may be part of a new approach to criminal justice, something we discuss later in the chapter.

JOB DESIGN THEORY

Job design theory:

Explanations that move beyond Taylorism to include job enrichment and job enlargement.

Hawthorne effect: The increase in productivity of workers due to the attention given them by management.

Motivation-hygiene theory: Employees are motivated by two sets of factors. The first are hygiene factors that are external to the work, such as pay, supervision, physical conditions, and interpersonal relations. The second are motivator factors, such as responsibility, recognition, and opportunities for achievement and growth. The former factors affect satisfaction levels among employees, while the latter factors affect motivation.

Ten years after Taylor first published a description of scientific management in 1911, the Hawthorne studies at the Western Electric Company in Chicago began to demonstrate the importance of nontechnical considerations in job design. In these studies, researchers under the direction of Elton Mayo tested the effects of experimentally induced conditions on worker fatigue and monotony. Set up as standard engineering experiments, the research focused on independent variables that were physical or technical in nature. Researchers found, however, that productivity increased regardless of increased or decreased illumination and regardless of the timing of work breaks or the length of the workday. The researchers soon abandoned concern with the technical variables and focused on social and psychological explanations (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939) such as **job design theory**, which is an explanation that moves beyond Taylorism to include job enrichment and job enlargement.

Although workers performed dull, repetitive tasks that required little skill and afforded little status, productivity and job satisfaction increased under the attention of the investigators. One explanation for the increases became known as the **Hawthorne effect**, which suggested that the novelty of having research conducted and the increased attention from management could lead to temporary increases in productivity. To explain persistent increases, the researchers focused on the informal interpersonal relationships of the workers. From these findings developed the human relations school of management, which became associated with the work of Mayo (1946) and Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939).

The human relations school replaced Taylor's portrait of the workers as motivated by money and leisure with a view of workers as motivated also by social attachments (for a critical examination of the human relations school, see Perrow, 1986). Contemporary job redesign theories have built on these models and have also incorporated increasingly complex theories of motivation. Much of modern job design theory can be traced to the motivational sequence proposed by Maslow (1943) and applied to management by McGregor (1978) (see Chapter 5) and to the empirically based theories of Herzberg (1966). Although some have argued for the redesign of jobs as a response to changes in society, most contemporary theories have been described as "classical theories of job redesign" with a foundation in the works of Maslow and Herzberg (Kelly, 1982:37).

Job enrichment can be traced to the work of Herzberg, beginning in the 1950s. **Motivation-hygiene theory** was developed by Herzberg from critical incident research in which he asked workers to describe the high and low points in their work lives. The research uncovered two sets of factors involved in

motivation at the workplace (Herzberg, 1966; Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman, 1959). *Hygiene factors* are external to the work being performed. These include pay, supervision, physical conditions at the work site, and interpersonal relations. Contentment with these factors, however, does not motivate workers; it simply prevents dissatisfaction. Herzberg labeled a second set of factors *motivators*. These factors, intrinsic to the work itself, include responsibility, recognition, and opportunities for achievement and growth (one study replicated Herzberg's finding regarding hygiene factors and motivators with a sample of corrections officers [Hayslip, 1982]). Job enrichment models, which Herzberg calls "orthodox job enrichment," build on motivation-hygiene theory by assuming that workers will be motivated only after hygiene needs are met and sources of intrinsic satisfaction are built into jobs. Job design, according to this theory, is concerned not simply with improved efficiency but also with motivating employees by meeting their higher-order needs.

Some research (Hackman and Oldham, 1980), however, has not supported the original dichotomy between hygiene factors and motivators and suggests that the findings may be an artifact of the particular interview techniques used by Herzberg. The substantive issue flowing from this criticism concerns the relationship between satisfaction with extrinsic factors and motivation. For instance, some theories argue that motivated employees need not be satisfied with the contexts of work (Morse, 1973). A related criticism of motivation-hygiene theory is that it pays too little attention to differences in workers' responses to jobs. Workers may attach different interpretations to job situations, and they may respond differently to jobs with varying levels of enrichment (Hackman and Oldham, 1980:57). Some workers may thrive in enriched jobs, while others may respond with confusion, resentment, and inability to cope with the new demands.

Enrichment theory and research have expanded to accommodate criticisms of the motivation-hygiene theory, and other theoretical orientations have been incorporated into job design efforts. One popular approach to job enrichment has been developed by Hackman and Oldham (1980). This model has the virtues of being empirically based and attentive to individual differences. For Hackman and Oldham, job redesign involves increasing certain core job dimensions that influence the psychological states of workers, which in turn affect personal and work outcomes. This sequence can be moderated, however, by certain variables: an individual's level of knowledge and skill, need for accomplishment and growth, and satisfaction with pay and working conditions (Robbins and Judge, 2007:235). This theoretical perspective recognizes the importance of matching individual workers with their jobs. Under the model, job enrichment is inappropriate and is likely to have negative consequences if workers have a low need for growth and jobs are relatively high on the core dimensions. However, when jobs are low on the core dimensions and workers are satisfied, have appropriate knowledge, and possess high needs for accomplishment and development, the potential for job enrichment is great.

As part of their theory, Hackman and Oldham (1980) describe the job characteristics they regard as most significant for employee motivation. These

characteristics can also be combined into a single measure of the motivating potential of a particular job. These are the core job dimensions:

1. *Skill variety*—the degree to which jobs require a variety of different activities, skills, and talents
2. *Task identity*—the degree to which a job requires the completion of a whole task rather than bits or pieces of a project
3. *Task significance*—the extent to which a job has a meaningful impact on others; the importance of the job
4. *Autonomy*—the degree of freedom, independence, and discretion provided by a job
5. *Feedback*—the extent to which workers get direct and clear information about the effectiveness of their performance

Job design efforts have frequently incorporated a process known as job analysis, or the study of work assignments with the goal of specifying the precise skills and training needed for the work. Most often, job analysis is limited to the technical dimensions of jobs and is used to produce job descriptions (Ghorpade and Atchison, 1980) or to identify appropriate levels of compensation.

Hackman and Oldham's model takes a broader view than job analysis of the kinds of information needed in job redesign efforts. The authors have developed an instrument, called the Job Diagnostic Survey, that allows managers to measure all the variables in the theory and to assess both jobs and workers with regard to the need as well as the potential for job enrichment. The Job Diagnostic Survey provides measures of the core job dimensions as well as measures of the worker-related variables. Considerable research has been done with the instrument, and Hackman and Oldham have published averages for all the variables for nine separate job families. The Job Diagnostic Survey has also been used to study criminal justice occupations. Brief, Munro, and Aldag (1976) used the instrument as the foundation of a data-based argument for redesign of some corrections officer tasks. The researchers found that the most satisfied corrections officers were those whose jobs had the highest variety, task identity, feedback, and autonomy. They also found, as the theory predicts, that these relationships tended to be moderated by individual needs for growth.

Similar ideas are expressed by Houston (1999) and Wright (1994). Houston suggests that effective correctional employees require opportunities to grow and develop in their jobs. Increasing the variety of work, as well as the employee's scope of influence in decision making, provides correctional employees avenues to experiment in their jobs. Through such experimentation, employees learn to adapt to their problems, and the organization learns new ways of approaching challenging situations. Wright reinforces this view by stating that correctional employees are the essence of prison organizations. Greater recognition of their experiences and ideas can only work toward the attainment of organizational objectives and the creation of a positive prison culture (Stojkovic and Farkas, 2003). Moreover, the correctional employee views himself or herself as an integral part of the organization. Goldstein (1990) offers similar views in his examination of

the influence of traditional police organizations and their stifling structures on police officers' development and growth. In his view, police organizations require more decentralization and greater autonomy for police officers to enable them to respond to the varied needs of the community. This would require an examination of the tasks that are central to the police role and the method(s) of structuring that would be the most appropriate to respond to them. Job redesign issues are, therefore, critical for effective criminal justice administration.

JOB REDESIGN PROGRAMS

Since IBM first began to experiment with job redesign in 1943, programs have been implemented in numerous work settings. In reviewing much of the literature on these programs, Kelly (1982) suggests that three approaches to work redesign have emerged. In mass-production industries, often characterized by fragmented jobs on assembly lines, job redesign efforts have sought to reduce or eliminate assembly lines. In continuous-process industries, such as chemical production, jobs have been enriched through the creation of autonomous work groups. In service industries, Kelly argues that enrichment has occurred principally through the combination of work roles from different parts of the job hierarchy. Other authors have distinguished job enlargement that involves the addition of tasks to job descriptions from job enrichment. The latter is more concerned with instilling greater responsibilities within positions. Still others have characterized programs as involving additions along the horizontal dimension, as in job enlargement, and strengthening the vertical dimension, as in job enrichment.

Many redesign programs have included combinations of strategies. In a well-known redesign of assembly-line tasks, AB Volvo of Sweden incorporated a variety of approaches (Gyllenhammer, 1975). In one auto assembly plant, managers turned to job enlargement by adding variety to workers' tasks. Some 1,600 workers rotated their jobs, often making several changes a day. In another plant, Volvo rotated assembly-line jobs within teams of twelve to fifteen members. Workers themselves decided how to rotate jobs within the groups and also met regularly with management to discuss how the work could be improved. In the production of trucks and buses, which was considered slower and more complex than the auto assembly line, Volvo formed smaller work groups with increased autonomy. Within these groups, some workers performed specialized assignments, while others opted to take alternate tasks. In their new plants, Volvo eliminated assembly lines and replaced them with work teams, each operating out of separate sections of the shop floor and responsible for completed parts of the final product.

In another well-known redesign project, managers at Texas Instruments sought to enrich the jobs of building janitors and matrons. The program began with training in managerial techniques, including those derived from McGregor's (1978) theory X and theory Y (see Chapter 5). Early program recruits later hired additional staff and chaired regular meetings that included training in management concepts as well as discussions of work-related problems. Teams of workers

became responsible for redesigning the maintenance tasks as well as for quality control. The results of the program included improved cleanliness at reduced costs; reductions in worker turnover, and other improvements, including the following worker-originated innovations (Toch and Grant, 1982:78):

1. Teams eliminated cleaning carts, installed supply cabinets, and took responsibility for their own inventories.
2. Work groups divided and controlled their own work, including scheduling the closing down of washrooms to minimize unpredictability for other employees.
3. Matrons, unhappy with a disinfectant that had corrosive effects and caused dermatitis, negotiated with a vendor who developed a new chemical to their specifications. Cleaning time was cut in half when the new chemical was packaged in spray form.
4. Janitors and matrons took responsibility for inspections of facilities.
5. The workers also became concerned with preventive maintenance.

Texas Instruments also embarked on an ingenious campaign to educate and involve the users. For example, matrons spoke to new hires as part of the company's employee-orientation sessions to explain their cleanliness goals and to solicit cooperation. In another approach, matrons and janitors photographed areas that were particularly untidy or dirty. These photos were circulated on production lines in an attempt to elicit cooperation from factory, laboratory, and office employees.

The Texas Instruments program is cited for disconfirming the assumption that the higher reaches of the Maslow hierarchy have been reserved for skilled workers. As Toch and Grant (1982:79) point out, "If toilet bowls can acquire motivating potential, any job is more enrichable than we first suspect." Other redesign efforts have been accomplished and documented by researchers in a number of different occupational settings (Kopelman, 1985; Lawler, 1986).

Robbins and Judge (2007:232-234) offer three alternative work arrangements that may enrich the work setting. They are flextime, job sharing, and telecommuting. *Flextime* provides the opportunity for workers to schedule their own hours, *job sharing* involves persons sharing job responsibilities and performing them on an agreed-upon schedule, and *telecommuting* enables persons to work at home through a computer for a specified number of days. The application of these newer ideas is even questionable in ordinary business settings (Robbins and Judge, 2007:234) and may have added difficulties being applied to traditional criminal justice settings; nevertheless, these more contemporary work arrangements deserve consideration by criminal justice administrators.

JOB REDESIGN IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND OTHER HUMAN SERVICES

Although few job redesign efforts in human services have incorporated the specific types of data Hackman and Oldham called for, considerable research supports the efficacy of such efforts. Sarrata and Jeppensen (1977), for example, found that the

job-design features that Hackman and Oldham identified as producing satisfaction in blue-collar workers functioned the same way for child-care workers.

Research has also shown that human services workers often value the most enriched aspects of their work or even take steps to enrich their own jobs. In a classic job design study of psychiatric aides, Simpson and Simpson (1959) found that the attendants reported intrinsically rewarding tasks involving patient care as their main reasons for staying on the job. The same aides reported originally being attracted to the job for extrinsic reasons, including job security and pay. In a study of corrections officers, Toch (1978:19) found that 20 percent of officers were independently experimenting with nontraditional enriched roles, which included "the officer as dispenser of mental health services, as a person who resonates to adjustment problems of inmates in crisis." Lombardo (1981) and Johnson (2002) also identified diversity in the way corrections officers perform their tasks.

Apart from the efforts of individual innovators, numerous formal programs have also involved the redesign of work in the human services. In mental health settings, aides' jobs have been enriched through the addition of treatment responsibilities (Ellsworth and Ellsworth, 1970). In criminal justice, the jobs of frontline workers have been redesigned through a variety of approaches, including job enlargement, vertical loading (job enrichment), and the creation of autonomous work groups.

One of the earliest documented job redesign efforts in corrections occurred under Howard Gill, superintendent of the Norfolk Prison Colony in Norfolk, Massachusetts, between 1931 and 1934 (Doering, 1940). Under Gill's grand scheme for creating as normal a community setting as possible, a new kind of prison guard was required. Officers who patrolled the perimeter and stood watch in the towers played the traditional role, but inside the colony, house officers performed additional tasks that included casework and counseling as well as facilitating inmate self-government within the housing units.

Lindquist and Whitehead (1986) report on a more recent experiment in job enlargement involving corrections officers. In the Alabama Supervised Intensive Restitution (SIR) program, corrections officers supervised inmates in the community as a solution to the problem of prison overcrowding. The officers managed caseloads of approximately thirty-five and acted much the same as probation and parole officers. The SIR officers experienced a greater sense of personal accomplishment and higher levels of job satisfaction than a sample of regular corrections officers and a sample of probation and parole officers.

Several efforts have also been made to enrich criminal justice jobs. Rather than add tasks to the job description, these programs generally increase responsibilities of frontline staff, a process known as *vertical loading*. One example is Carter and Wilkins's (1976:211) caseload distribution program in probation and parole. In the Work Unit Parole Program begun in California in 1965 and later introduced in Wisconsin, cases are assigned a weight based on the amount and type of supervision needed, and caseloads are determined by equal distribution of weighted cases. This program has allowed staff to spend time in the treatment and custodial supervision of cases, where the need is greatest (Dickey, 1988, 1996).

A different approach to the vertical loading of jobs is seen in the work of Toch and Grant (1982). They added responsibilities often reserved for management to the tasks of both police and corrections officers by involving frontline staff in examining and resolving significant work-related problems. Although Herzberg (1978:40) argues that such participation is not part of the work itself and is, therefore, a hygiene factor rather than a motivator, Toch and Grant argue that participation is a necessary part of job enrichment in the human services because of the wide discretion human services workers have. As they point out, "enriching a guard's or police officer's job means expanding the prison's or police department's human services involvement, a task that cannot be accomplished by edict" (1982:133). Similarly, Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) argue that police violence against citizens can be tied to the military structure of police organizations, where officers are discouraged, not encouraged, from providing input on how to perform their jobs. Skolnick and Fyfe suggest that greater police officer and citizen involvement in the definition of what the police role entails may reduce the likelihood of future violent confrontations between police and citizens. Furthermore, Fyfe (2004a: 163) argues that good police officers can be recruited to identify the characteristics of good policing. This valuable information can be used in the selection, training, and evaluation of police performance.

In a program with the Oakland, California, police department, Toch, Grant, and Galvin (1975) used groups of officers with records of violent confrontations with citizens to study and resolve problems of police violence. The groups collected and analyzed data (tape recordings of confrontations) and devised innovations, including peer review panels, specialized training, and mediation units to deal with family crises and landlord-tenant disputes. In a project with New York State corrections officers, group participants were selected on the basis of their interest in job enrichment as determined by a questionnaire. The groups at four separate prisons analyzed the corrections officer's job and suggested alterations. The project resulted in blueprints for training, increased involvement of officers in treatment and classification, and mechanisms for increasing communication with management.

In a replication of the Toch and Grant method, Klofas, Smith, and Meister (1986) used groups of jail officers to plan the operation of a new jail in Peoria, Illinois. In a program lasting two years, frontline officers wrote policies and procedures for the facility. Included in the products of their planning were innovations in classification and programming and a revision of the shift pattern and job assignments. Job satisfaction increased over the course of the program, particularly in perceived support from supervisors and opportunities to contribute new ideas.

Perhaps the best-known restructuring of the traditional police role is offered in Angell's (1971) model of team policing, which parallels autonomous work groups in industry. Linking police morale problems to the practices of classical management, Angell provides an alternative to the traditional police hierarchy. The core of his democratic model of policing involves teams of police generalists who provide services to designated neighborhoods. Teams are composed of officers of equal rank who are assigned to relatively small geographical areas for extended periods, which gives them a chance to become

familiar with the culturally homogeneous neighborhoods and to work closely with residents. (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990). The team initiates all investigations and may call in specialists if they are needed. Evaluations of team policing have highlighted its potential but have also called attention to forces within the organization that are resistant to change (Mastrofski, 1991; Sherman, Milton, and Kelly, 1973). In a review of innovations in policing in six American cities, Skolnick and Bayley (1986) also elaborate the benefits of team policing. They argue that, whereas the old professionalism leaned toward "legalistic" styles of policing, the new professionalism is marked by a service-oriented style. They illustrate their arguments with a review of changes in several cities: "Detroit's mini-stations exclusively organize community crime prevention; and Santa Ana's substations function as community ... meeting areas as well as locales for disseminating crime prevention information" (1986:214). The programs thus benefit the community as well as the participating officers.

In their discussion of a Houston program that integrates patrol, investigation, and intelligence collection, Skolnick and Bayley (1986:95) highlight another advantage of decentralization:

To be successful, this kind of teamwork among patrol officers and specialists requires a radical change in the traditional management style. Decisions must be made from the bottom up rather than the top down. The supervisor's job is not to produce conformity with a preordained plan but to help develop a plan out of the insights of the many people doing the work on the street.... Not only will policing become more purposeful this way, but, it is hoped, officers will develop greater enthusiasm for their work. No longer are they spear carriers in someone else's drama, they become responsible directors in their own right.

Revitalization of community policing is also being advocated by members of the Executive Session on Policing, which is associated with Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government (Kelling, 1988). Sometimes referred to as "problem-oriented" policing, the approach calls for police to work closely with citizens in identifying and solving problems before crimes occur. Officers and citizens resolve problems such as broken windows, local bullies, and other disruptions that make neighborhoods look and feel unsafe (Bayley, 1994; Iannone, 1994). As its supporters note, "The resourcefulness of police officers ... can at last be put to the service of the department" (Sparrow, 1999:494).

In addition, an evaluation of the Community Oriented Policing (COPS) program mentioned earlier describes the many organizational changes that must occur for police departments to fully implement the community policing idea, including revised mission, vision, and value statements, a strategic plan, changing policies and procedures, provision of training on community policing practices, and changing performance criteria to reflect community policing principles (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000b). The evidence is not in regarding the actual implementation of community policing efforts in police organizations, and, in fact, some critics have posited that actual job design changes in police organizations have been minimal even though the federal government has invested

billions of dollars in the COPS program (Cole and Smith, 2007). Nevertheless, community policing principles do reflect a commitment to organizational change consistent with some of the job design efforts mentioned in this chapter.

Programs creating autonomous work groups and other job design efforts have also been initiated in correctional institutions. Under the Unit Management system, pioneered in the Federal Bureau of Prisons, an alternative to the traditional prison hierarchy is established (Levinson and Gerard, 1973). Large institutions are divided into architecturally distinct housing units that typically have from fifty to one hundred inmates. Inmates can be assigned to the units based on similar treatment or security needs. A group of corrections officers and counseling staff has ongoing contact with a small group of inmates in their unit. Frequently headed by a corrections officer, the teams are responsible for all decision making in the unit. Although the distinction between custodial and treatment staff remains, officers and counselors share some duties. The roles of the team members are thus changed in both the horizontal and vertical dimensions.

Both Houston (1999) and Wright (1994) argue that unit management is the wave of the future in corrections. Through decentralization and more employee autonomy, correctional personnel are given the opportunity to "own" their work environments. Wright (1994) shows that through a process of sharing power, the functional capabilities of the unit and the prison are enhanced. Similar ideas are forwarded by those interested in the "direct supervision" model of jail management (Zupan, 1991). Research has shown how a management philosophy and job redesign effort have revolutionized how correctional workers view their work and the organization. Stohr et al. (1994) report how workers in direct supervision jails are much more satisfied in their work, compared to the attitudes of correctional workers in more traditional jail settings. The authors attribute these positive attitude changes to the new philosophy of employee empowerment exhibited in a jail managed under the direct supervision philosophy. In addition, Stojkovic and Farkas (2003) argue the importance of leadership in redesign efforts within prisons and how they can be used to alter the culture of a prison. Finally, we see a move toward more education and training requirements for correctional personnel that will demand a serious look at how employees are recruited, trained, and supervised. Camp and Camp (2000) report that correctional officers in the year 2000 had to complete, on average, a 9.9-month probationary period, 250 hours of introductory training, and 38 hours of in-service training before becoming full-time correctional officers. These increases in training and probationary periods make the twenty-first-century correctional officer better trained and equipped to handle the tasks of the job than her or his predecessors. Moreover, correctional officers will be demanding more of their managers and administrators regarding how they will be organized and supervised to address the tasks they will face, so job redesign issues will continue to be an important issue for prison administrators.

In probation and parole, the Community Resource Management Team (CRMT) has been developed as an alternative to the traditional caseload model (Clear and O'Leary, 1983:126). Based on the assumption that "no one person can possess all the skills to deal with the variety of human problems presented

by probationers" (Dell'Appa et al., cited in Clear and O'Leary, 1983:126), the model creates specialists in skill areas. Probation officers act as advocates concerned with the purchase of services or referrals in specific areas, such as employment, counseling, legal assistance, and drug abuse. CRMT staff have "duty areas" or functional responsibilities rather than caseloads. Clear and O'Leary (1983) describe a project that gave probation officers functional rather than caseload responsibilities. The project directors discovered that some officers naturally adopted functional approaches:

One officer, regarded as especially skilled in intensive counseling activities, had in fact stopped seeing some of her caseload so that she could see a minority of cases more intensively. Other areas of officer interest and knowledge included drugs, the military, and language problems. One officer had developed a system of mail reporting for a large non-contact caseload. The problem facing the supervisor was to make the best use of these existing officer skills and interests in the supervision of clients (Clear and O'Leary, 1983:127).

Probation officers in the large urban department involved in the change project altered the organizational structure to accommodate officer interests as well as the existing classification scheme. A two-person team became responsible for intake and initial case analysis. One of the intake officers also handled low-risk cases on a low reporting basis. Medium-level cases were handled by a team divided by functional interests, and high-risk cases were handled in small caseloads by single officers with counseling interests. Clear and O'Leary, however, make the important observation that this model may not be appropriate for other agencies or even for some other big-city agencies. They call for the direct involvement of staff and for flexibility in the redesign of probation officer tasks so that each organization can take advantage of its own resources. Dickey (1996) reports that in the state of Wisconsin, attempts were being made to restructure the probation officer role so that greater attention could be given to the law enforcement and supervision requirements of the job. Wisconsin, like other states, is interested in improving its supervision of offenders while in the community. Part of this focus includes concern over offender/staff ratios as well as the appropriate usage of finite resources. Utilizing employees as scarce resources is a theme consistent with a belief that community protection can be enhanced through more effective ways of designing job tasks among probation officers. Job redesign efforts, as part of a larger refocusing strategy in corrections, provide a rationale for more investment in community corrections (Petersilia, 1995).

The idea of job redesign, however, is not limited to corrections. Police organizations have gone through some revolutionary changes over the last twenty years, and the issue of police organization has raised some serious questions concerning the ways departments are organized and personnel supervised (Whisenand and Ferguson, 1996). Police organizations of the twenty-first century are much larger and more diverse with respect to the number of minority personnel, the degree to which line officers have a college education, and a commitment to a community policing philosophy. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics

(2005b), there are close to 900,000 law enforcement officers across almost 16,000 agencies. A vast majority of officers are within the following structures: local police departments (56 percent), county police (21 percent), state police (7 percent), special police (5 percent), and federal law enforcement (11 percent). According to the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey (2003), 14 percent of local police departments and 11 percent of sheriffs' departments had some type of college education requirement. One percent of agencies require a four-year degree. The increase in educational achievements now required for entry-level police officers makes job design questions of extreme importance to police administrators. More educated officers demand different ways of organizing and administering police organizations.

Nothing, however, has had more of an impact on police organization than the move toward community policing. The LEMAS survey reveals that nine in ten local police departments serving a population of 25,000 or more had full-time sworn personnel regularly engaged in community policing activities. Among municipal police departments, 62 percent had a formally written community policing plan, 76 percent operated one or more community substations, 73 percent had full-time school resource officers, and an overwhelming majority of these police departments invested dollars and other resources into community policing training for both officers and citizens alike.

Fyfe et al. (1997) suggest that many issues of both philosophy and practice must be considered when moving a police department from a traditional police organization structure with its top-down management philosophy to a community policing structure that emphasizes more decentralization and involvement by line police officers in the structuring of police duties and activities. Issues of job design become very important to police managers and administrators. Recruitment, selection, evaluation, and the retention of employees are significantly altered under a community policing approach. Fundamentally, line officers, supervisors, and administrators require more group cohesion to effectively operationalize the community policing philosophy. Most important, line officers require the support of frontline supervisors to make community policing strategies viable. Communication must be improved and increased across groups in the police organization. Officers have to feel their ideas have merit and will not be routinely dismissed. In the words of Fyfe and colleagues: "But line officers will not do so [increase communication] unless their cooperation is sought out and encouraged" (1997:272). Moreover, there must be a strong commitment to community-policing principles for any effective job design effort to be successful (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000b).

JOB DESIGN AND THE COMMUNITY

Job design issues within criminal justice organizations cannot be adequately addressed without the inclusion of broader issues of the community and how they affect job design efforts. One of the most recent revolutionary social changes was the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in