Inter-domain work-family, family-work conflict and police work satisfaction

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Abstract *This research investigates the relationship between inter-domain conflict in the form of work-family conflict and family-work conflict with various facets of employee job satisfaction. The study was conducted among police personnel (*n = *119) in a large southeastern state. Results indicate that work-family conflict is significantly related to satisfaction with job in general, pay, supervision, promotion, work, and co-workers. Family-work conflict is not as consistently related to the facets of job satisfaction. In general, as expected, conflict between work-family is more closely related to employee job satisfaction than conflict between family-work. Managerial implications are included as well as directions for future theoretical research.*

Conflict between work and family responsibilities and its effects on employees are issues of increasing importance. In 1996, *Business Week* rated firms on the basis of how they dealt with issues involving the intersection of work and family life domains rather than how they ranked economically (Hammonds, 1996). Academic research has examined this same issue in education (Netemeyer *et al.*, 1996); accounting (Bedeian *et al.*, 1988) and probation and parole work (Boles *et al.*, 2001). The conflict between work and family domain has been dually labeled: work-family conflict and family-work conflict.

Work-family conflict is defined as inter-role conflict in which responsibilities from the work and family domains are not compatible (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Work-family conflict occurs when participation in the family role is made more difficult by participation in the work role, hence the term "work-family conflict." Previous research indicates that work-family conflict correlates to lower overall job satisfaction (Kossek and Ozeki, 1998) and other negative dispositions, such as emotional exhaustion (Boles *et al.*, 1997) and greater propensity to leave a position (Good *et al.*, 1988).

Family-work conflict, also a form of inter-role conflict, is similar to work-family conflict. It occurs when "the role pressures from the family and work domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985, p. 77); the emphasis is on family and the conflict that transpires when family responsibilities conflict with an individual's work-related duties. Previous reports suggest that

family-work conflict is more apt to exert negative influences in the home domain, cause more internal conflict in the family unit, and contribute to less life and job satisfaction (Netemeyer *et al.*, 1996).

Some research indicates that work-family conflict relates to overall job satisfaction (Thomas and Ganster, 1995; Good *et al.*, 1996). However, not all studies note a significant correlation between work-family conflict and job satisfaction (Bedeian *et al.*, 1988). Moreover, the research has focused instead on general job satisfaction (Kossek and Ozeki, 1998). Since there are multiple facets of job satisfaction, measuring each of these as well as overall job satisfaction is important. Further, simply summing individual scores of subscales is not sufficient to assess overall satisfaction since one aspect of the job may not be of equal importance as another to the employee (Smith *et al.*, 1969). Thus, equal overall scores may not accurately assess the degree of employee satisfaction in general.

Research concerning inter-relations between work-family conflict, family-work conflict and job-related constructs is fairly limited. Therefore, this study attempts to extend the literature on the work-family interface by examining the relationship of family-work conflict and work-family conflict with components of job satisfaction among police personnel – satisfaction with pay, satisfaction with the work itself, satisfaction with co-workers, and satisfaction with supervision. It will also re-examine the link between work-family conflict and family-work conflict with general job satisfaction. Police personnel were selected for several reasons.

Police officers occupy boundary spanning positions in which an employee's work places him/her in frequent, direct contact with the public or with customers/clients. In these types of positions, an employee may be more susceptible to negative effects from stress (Burke, 1994; Sager, 1994) which is associated with work-family conflict (Bedeian *et al.*, 1988).

While police officers as well as other human services agents encounter situations that can cause job stress, some situations are unique to police. For example, a police officer has no control over case assignments, and offending individuals are often difficult to deal with. Furthermore, police officers encounter dangerous offenders daily. The officer's world of work is very negative. Police daily experience people who violate rules and intend to harm; officers anticipate that malefactors will try to harm them as well.

Thus, police experience a different type of stress than most of the work force. In listing ten ways that police are different, Goldfarb and Aumiller (1999) describe it as burst stress. "Burst stress means there is not always a steady stressor, but at times, there is an immediate 'burst' from low stress to a high stress state" (www.heavybadge.com/10reasons.htm). This stress is contrasted to a process of stress building experienced in most occupations where intervention and reduction are possible before the stress is extreme. For police, stress can become extreme in a matter of moments.

Police also experience stress through role conflict with an ambivalent public. Bittner's (1980, p. 8) phrase that police "are viewed as the fire it takes to fight fire" dramatizes the dilemma. On the one hand, citizens want police to solve crimes and arrest people. On the other hand, there is an increased concern, even disdain, over excessive force.

An additional source of role conflict for police officers involves criminal justice work groups – judges, attorneys, probation/parole officers, supervisors. For example, a perception that courts inhibit police work can diminish police officers' optimism of

fighting crime. The greater the differences in expectations for officers' behavior, the greater the degree of role conflict. Examination of stress in police officers has indicated that role conflict is related to job stress and burnout; and job satisfaction, along with job stress, is related to the inclination to quit (Polowek, 1996). There is further evidence that role conflict is an antecedent of work-family conflict (Boles *et al.*, 1997).

Thus, police officers in stressful environments may note that work conflicts with family, producing negative effects on job satisfaction (Burke, 1989; Greller and Parsons, 1988; Jermier *et al.*, 1989). The same is true of family duties which may conflict with work requirements and be negatively linked to facets of job satisfaction.

Background literature

The modern era of criminal justice began in 1967 with the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration fueled an abundance of studies replete with analyses of crime and criminal justice agencies; many of the studies stressed the need for resources.

One such study which focused on needed human and material resources (Becker *et al.*, 1968) assessed parole officers, probation officers, and police working with juveniles. In examining the relationship of occupational values and job satisfaction, the authors emphasized the fact that there was little standardization in defining and measuring job satisfaction. Another early study of work and family (Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer, 1978) surveyed over 500 police, spouses, and children describing police family relationships; however, no statistical tests of significance were performed due to the over-representation of a single department.

Although research has increased dramatically on job satisfaction, empirical studies examining criminal justice agencies are relatively recent. The preponderance of job satisfaction studies that have been conducted on police have been based primarily on educational level and background, ethnicity, gender, and rank/service years (Zhao *et al.*, 1999; Dantzker, 1993; Dantzker and Kubin, 1998; Love and Singer, 1988). A dearth of quantitative research has addressed the relationship between police job satisfaction and non-work responsibilities and activities.

Work-family conflict and family-work conflict

Inter-domain conflict between work and home domains has become a major concern for employers due to the conflict generated in families as work intrudes into family life and vice-versa (Williams and Alliger, 1994). Several reasons account for the increase in the importance of this issue. First is the increase of women in the workforce. Over 60 percent of married women with at least one child under the age of 18 are employed. Another reason is the changing compositions of US households. Two examples are the dramatic increase in the number of dual-career families and the substantial number of single-parent households. In such settings, managing work-family responsibilities may be more difficult than in traditional households (i.e., husband works, wife stays home). In any case, the multiple time and task requirements faced by employees as they juggle work and family responsibilities can create conflicts; and the conflict between the work and family domains is of increasing concern in today's organizational environment.

To date, organizational research has focused on work-family conflict rather than family-work conflict (Kossek and Ozeki, 1998). The research suggests that work-family

conflict has negative consequences and has been linked with workplace perceptions and attitudes. Inter-domain conflict seems to occur with front-line, blue-collar employees (Babin and Boles, 1998), business owners (Boles, 1996), professionals (Bedeian *et al.*, 1988), and managers (Good *et al.*, 1996).

Good *et al.* (1988) report that work-family conflict is related to lower job satisfaction and tendency to leave the job among retail managers. In a study of front-line service employees in the restaurant industry, Boles and Babin (1996) found that work-family conflict mediated the role stress-job satisfaction relationship that has often been reported in organizational research (Fisher and Gitelson, 1983). Bacharach *et al.* (1991) reported that work-family conflict led to emotional exhaustion (burnout) which, in turn, resulted in lower levels of job satisfaction.

Burke (1994, 1993, 1989) and, more recently, Finn (2000) have reported that work-family conflict is an important variable in determining work attitudes as well as emotional and physical wellbeing of police officers. The findings of their studies reveal a consistent correlation between work-family conflict and stress. There may also be a direct connection between work-family conflict and job satisfaction. Yet there is a dearth of information on the inter-domain conflict of work-family and family-work among police officers.

While some research has supported a significant, negative relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction, others have not always done so. For example, Bedeian *et al.* (1988) did not find a significant relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction. On the other hand, Kossek and Ozeki's (1998) meta-analysis reports that work-family conflict is negatively related to job satisfaction. Thus, it appears additional research is required to more thoroughly examine this issue.

Family-work conflict has received somewhat less attention in the managerial literature than work-family conflict. Nevertheless, several studies have reported relationships between this construct and other work-related attitudes and/or behaviors. For example, Netemeyer *et al.* (1996) discovered that both work-family and family-work conflict are associated with work consequences such as organizational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to leave the organization. Other research augments the view that family-work conflict is linked to workplace consequences in addition to non-work attitudes and behaviors (Higgins and Duxbury, 1992).

Although family-work conflict tends to be less related to work-related attitudes than work-family conflict, it does appear to be significantly related to job satisfaction. Generally, work-family conflict appears to be more strongly related to job-related attitudes such as job satisfaction, job distress and turnover while family-work conflict is more strongly related to attitudes such as life satisfaction (Adams *et al.*, 1996; Frone *et al.*, 1992).

Job satisfaction
Job satisfaction has received extensive attention in organizational research. For purposes of this study, the following definition of job satisfaction will be used: "a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job" (including various facets of that job) (Locke, 1976, p. 1300). Job satisfaction is an important construct for a variety of reasons. It has been linked to increased organizational commitment (Johnston *et al.*, 1990). Employees who possess high levels of job satisfaction are apt to have stronger commitment to an organization (Brown and

Peterson, 1993). Employees with higher levels of job satisfaction are also less likely to search for a job (Sager, 1994) or to leave a job (Boles *et al.*, 1997). Additionally, job satisfaction influences boundary-spanning employee turnover through organizational commitment (Brown and Peterson, 1993).

Law enforcement and/or probation and parole (Simmons *et al.*, 1997) as well as other organizations recognize that turnover is a major concern because of the high cost of hiring and training new personnel as well as the cost of lost work productivity. For these reasons, job satisfaction is one of the most important attitudinal issues managers face in the workplace.

The job satisfaction literature has identified some possible antecedent constructs to job satisfaction, including actionable work-related perceptions and attitudes. For example, supportive supervision and other aspects of the work environment are related to increased job satisfaction (Babin and Boles, 1996). Role stress, on the other hand, is negatively related to job satisfaction (Fisher and Gitelson, 1983). In fact, role conflict and role ambiguity may be the most important predictors of job satisfaction in many work settings. To date, most of the previous studies have not dealt with work-family or family-work conflict as possible predictors of job satisfaction (Jackson and Schuler, 1985).

While the literature concerning job satisfaction is very extensive, the purpose of this study is not to comprehensively review the job satisfaction literature; the studies cited indicated that, across a variety of work settings, job satisfaction is an important workplace construct of importance to managers. Therefore, findings indicating that inter-domain conflict is negatively related to various aspects of employee job satisfaction would be significant and provide a meaningful supplement to the job satisfaction literature.

Study hypotheses
Based on previous research, the following three general hypotheses are offered:

H1. Work-family conflict will be negatively related to all aspects of job satisfaction.

H2. Family-work conflict will be negatively related to all aspects of job satisfaction.

H3. When both work-family conflict and family-work conflict are used as predictors of various aspects of job satisfaction, work-family conflict will be a more important predictor.

Methods
Sample
Data for the current study were collected from city and county police officers in a large southeastern state in the USA. The sample included two departments in two major areas of the state, one county with an MSA urban center and one with a rural sector. One county has 63 percent of the population living within municipal boundaries; in this jurisdiction, city police personnel were surveyed. The crime rate in the city was 8,863 per 100,000 with a clearance rate of 33.87 percent. In the other county, 89 percent of the population live outside municipal boundaries, and there are two towns with populations between 5,000-8,000; sheriff's deputies were surveyed in this county. The crime rate in this county was 2,302 per 100,000 and a similar clearance rate of 33.69 percent.

Surveys were hand delivered to the departments and a supervisor had them distributed to the officers in the field. To ensure confidentiality, an addressed, postage

paid, return envelope was provided with each survey, so the individual officer could return it directly. Questionnaires were distributed by shifts to a random sample of 160 out of 420 total full time sworn officers; 119 were completed and returned, yielding a response rate of 74 percent.

Respondents were 80 percent uniformed patrol officers, and 20 percent were officers holding rank requiring supervisory responsibilities; 85 percent were male and 15 percent were female. The average respondent was 36 years old with 11 years of experience in police work. The education distribution percentages were as follows: 23, high school diploma; 23, associate degree; 46, baccalaureate degree; and 9, master's degree.

Measures
Existing scales in the organizational behavior literature which have exhibited acceptable psychometric properties were used for this study. A job description inventory (Smith *et al.*, 1969), which has been used successfully in a variety of work settings, was used to assess job satisfaction. This inventory is composed of two scales: Job Descriptive Index (JDI) and Job In General (JIG). Five facets of job satisfaction are measured by the JDI: work itself, pay, promotion, supervision, coworkers; the JIG identifies overall satisfaction with the job. The format of each of the areas of satisfaction is an adjective checklist. A total of 18 items constitute each of the facet measures of JDI work, supervision, coworkers, and JIG. JDI pay and promotion measures have only nine items; and, thus, the scores are doubled. Satisfaction with an item is scored 3 and dissatisfaction 0. Both favorable and unfavorable items are included which requires some reverse scoring. Therefore, the range of possible scores on each facet measure of the JDI scale and JIG scale is 0-54.

These scales meet the measurement criteria that the measures be tested empirically and that the scales be multidimensional (Dantzker, 1993). In addition, the scales satisfy the need for an instrument to be applicable to a variety of organizations; Jayaratne (1993) reported that the JDI was one of the three surveys most employed on job satisfaction studies. Most recently, the JDI was used to examine the effect of demographic and work environment models on police job satisfaction (Zhao *et al.*, 1999).

Utilizing both scales, this current study examined satisfaction with work, promotion, pay, supervision, co-workers, and job in general. Scale reliability for the sample was as follows: work, 0.79; promotion, 0.84; pay, 0.83; supervision, 0.94; co-workers, 0.92; job in general, 0.84.

To measure work-family conflict and family-work conflict, the Netemeyer *et al.* (1996) scales were employed. Both scales contain five items. A seven-point response scale was used for responses: $1 =$ strongly disagree and $7 =$ strongly agree. Larger numbers are associated with greater inter-domain conflict in each scale. Scale reliability for work-family conflict was 0.91; for family-work conflict, it was 0.73. These items are located in the Appendix.

Findings
Regression analysis was used to test the effects of work-family and family-work conflict on the facets of job satisfaction. Correlations for the constructs used in the study can be viewed in Table I. These correlations indicate that work-family conflict is significantly related to all facets of job satisfaction ($p < 0.05$) with correlations ranging

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	WFC	(0.91)	0.36	−0.53	−0.31	−0.42	−0.48	−0.34	−0.24
2.	FWC		(0.73)	−0.17	−0.14	−0.14	−0.28	−0.21	−0.14
3.	Satisfaction with job in general			(0.84)	0.38	0.53	0.60	0.58	0.37
4.	Satisfaction with pay				(0.83)	0.26	0.22	0.30	0.41
5.	Satisfaction with co-workers					(0.92)	0.48	0.57	0.31
6.	Satisfaction with the work						(0.79)	0.35	0.30
7.	Satisfaction with supervision							(0.94)	0.41
8.	Satisfaction with promotion								(0.84)

Note: All correlations greater than 0.17 are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level; correlations greater than 0.21 are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level

Table I.
Correlations of study constructs

from −0.24 to −0.53. Family-work conflict is significantly related to both the work (−0.28) and supervision (−0.21) facets of job satisfaction ($p < 0.05$). Thus, correlational analysis indicates that *H1* is supported and *H2* is partially supported. These correlations indicate that work-family conflict is much more strongly related to job satisfaction than is family-work conflict. Though prior studies have indicated that both constructs are significantly related to global job satisfaction, they have generally found a stronger relationship between WFC and job satisfaction (Netemeyer *et al.*, 1996). Thus, the findings of this study are supportive of those reported in previous research.

Based upon results of this study, both work-family conflict and family-work conflict are possible predictors of various facets of job satisfaction. However, when multiple regression analyses are conducted using both work-family and family-work as independent variables, only work-family conflict relationships with the various facets of job satisfaction are significant. Thus, *H3* is supported. In each of the job satisfaction sub-scales tested, findings indicate that work-family conflict is more closely related ($p < 0.05$) than is family-work conflict ($p > 0.05$) (see Table II).

One purpose for conducting this research was to determine if work-family and family-work conflict are similarly related to job satisfaction and whether there are

Relationship	Beta	Hypothesis supported	Model R^2
WFC- > Satisfaction with job in general	−0.543*	*H1* − Yes	0.279
FWC- > Satisfaction with job in general	0.019	*H2* − No	
WFC- > Satisfaction with pay	−0.297*	*H1* − Yes	0.098
FWC- > Satisfaction with pay	−0.038	*H2* − No	
WFC- > Satisfaction with supervision	−0.297*	*H1* − Yes	0.122
FWC- > Satisfaction with supervision	−0.106	*H2* − No	
WFC- > Satisfaction with promotion	−0.224**	*H1* − Yes	0.062
FWC- > Satisfaction with promotion	−0.056	*H2* − No	
WFC- > Satisfaction with work	−0.432*	*H1* − Yes	0.241
FWC- > Satisfaction with work	−0.124	*H2* − No	
WFC- > Satisfaction with co-workers	−0.430*	*H1* − Yes	0.180
FWC- > Satisfaction with co-workers	0.018	*H2* − No	

Notes: *Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level; **Significant at the $p < 0.05$ level; WFC = work-family conflict; FWC = family-work conflict

Table II.
Multiple regression analysis results

different relationships for each facet of job satisfaction. Our results show a wide variation in the amount of variance accounted for in the various types of job satisfaction by work-family and family-work conflict as predictors. As previously noted, research examining the work-family conflict-global job satisfaction relationship has generally produced fairly substantial relationships. The same is true in the current study.

Work-family conflict can account for almost 28 percent of the variance for satisfaction with the job in general and 24 percent of the variance in satisfaction with work. Other results show less strength of variance. Only six percent of the variation in satisfaction with promotion and about 10 percent of satisfaction with pay are accounted for by our study. Our results also can account for 12 percent and 18 percent, respectively, of the variance in satisfaction with supervision and satisfaction with co-workers.

These findings suggest that work-family conflict – when work duties affect one's ability to meet family responsibilities – is far more important in determining an employee's job satisfaction than family-work conflict, which occurs when attending to family responsibilities makes it more difficult to accomplish work-related tasks. It appears that work-family conflict exerts considerably more power in work settings – which is consistent with previous findings.

Potential moderators
After testing our hypotheses, we also considered that there could be potential moderators of the relationship examined in the current study. In particular, given that our demographic information about the respondents indicated that they were a highly educated group of police officers, we thought that it was important to test education as a possible moderator. Our tests of education and the interaction of WFC*education and FWC*education indicate that education does not moderate any of the relationships being examined in this study.

Another possible moderator that has been examined in previous research examining conflict between the work and family domains is gender (Babin and Boles, 1998; Duxbury and Higgins, 1991). Our sample consisted of 19 women and 100 men. The sample was divided by gender, and regression analyses were conducted to determine if the significance levels for the relationships being examined varied based on the officer's gender. Results indicate that only the WFC-Satisfaction with Pay relationship differed between the two groups. For men, the regression was significant ($p < 0.05$); for women, it was not ($p > 0.10$). One explanation for this difference may lie in the sample size difference between the two groups. The Beta weights for the regressions were quite similar ($\beta = -0.286$ for men and $\beta = -0.256$ for women). Therefore, we conclude that gender probably does not serve as an important moderator for most of the relationships being examined in this study.

Discussion
Causal factors underlying job satisfaction and this present analysis reveal that work-family conflict and family-work conflict are related to the job satisfaction law enforcement officers experience. Findings from this study suggest that increased levels of work-family conflict are negatively related to several different facets of employee job-related satisfaction and that responsibilities in the workplace and responsibilities

at home cannot be perceived as mutually exclusive entities in employees' lives. Similar results regarding overall or general job satisfaction have been reported in the literature (e.g., Netemeyer *et al.*, 1996; Good *et al.*, 1988). These studies, however, have not studied the effects of work-family conflict on facets of job satisfaction.

From the job description inventory employed, inter-domain conflict appears to be related to various facets of job satisfaction. In this present analysis, two measures reflect the greatest significance. When an employee is experiencing conflict between work and family, satisfaction with the job in general and the actual work itself suffer the greatest declines. Evidently, trying to juggle conflicting responsibilities makes the job less enjoyable and, perhaps, reduces the intrinsic rewards associated with work that is pleasurable. This outcome may be true because the officer blames the job and its associated duties for missing out on important family activities and events. Either way, officers seem to focus their feelings more globally toward the job in general or the work itself. Further, it is possible that much of what has been defined as stress in contemporary literature can be understood in terms of role conflict, and there is evidence that role conflict is related to work-family conflict (Boles *et al.*, 1997).

Police experience role conflict on several fronts. For example, historically police have been expected to achieve two often conflicting functions: crime control and service. Most police officers join the force because they want the satisfaction and excitement of fighting crime; yet the majority of their time is spent responding to service calls (Lurigio and Skogan, 1994; Meagher and Yentes, 1986). Then an officer's view of role – what should be done and how it should be accomplished – is an important link to satisfaction (Lawton *et al.*, 2000), and officers view their primary role as crime controllers (Seltzer *et al.*, 1996).

Thus, an important return on investment for police is for them to believe that their efforts are having an impact on the impossible job of controlling crime. Since most police enter law enforcement based upon their perception of the nature of the job or work, it seems they now blame the nature of the job or work when there is inter-domain conflict. Our data support the finding that role conflict of the job is a significant condition of work-family conflict. It appears that the stress of this conflict is transferred to the family as the officer brings the job dissatisfaction home. Therefore, the job becomes the reason for the police officer missing important family events and the cause of work-family conflict.

Work-family conflict exerts its next greatest effect on officer satisfaction with co-workers and supervisors. These facets of job satisfaction signify the importance of social support. For police, who have often been viewed as a subculture, social support can be a two-edged sword. On one hand, it can be a family of its own giving unquestioned support and loyalty. On the other, it is possible that work-family exchanges within such a cohesive social group can serve to intensify stress.

Police suffer stress when work causes family disruptions. It seems that these feelings are exacerbated when officers perceive lack of support from co-workers. Thus, when an individual is experiencing work-family conflict, he/she may not feel sufficient support from co-workers and may become more unhappy with them than would otherwise be the case. Perhaps, a co-worker is not willing to switch shifts or cover for the individuals. This refusal may be viewed by the person as being betrayed by a family member or the agency turning on them. This phenomenon is undoubtedly

magnified in the lives of those who experience the greatest levels of work conflict and require the greatest amount of extra consideration from co-workers.

Cullen *et al.* (1985, p. 515) found that support from supervisors is especially important and that "supervisor support mitigated work stress." Therefore, when officers take their jobs home or when work hours are shifted, causing work-family conflict, an important dimension appears to be the officer's perceptions of the amount of support he/she receives from management.

The findings of this study support that work-family conflict is a predictor of job satisfaction with supervisors and suggest several organizational implications for supervisors as managers. In the first place, one of the greatest sources of conflict for officers balancing work and family activities is shift work and overtime (Finn, 2000). Scheduling may need to consider home responsibilities of employees whenever possible. Schedule flexibility may be a key consideration in allowing individuals to meet home responsibilities and activities involving children and significant others. A single person may have important personal obligations to friends and family also, and single or childless employees should not be expected to bear the burden for everyone. Such expectations could negatively impact job satisfaction and increase turnover among people who perceive themselves as unfairly targeted to assume the bulk of unwanted work schedules.

The relationship between family-work conflict with job satisfaction, while of smaller magnitude than that of work-family conflict, still represents concern. In particular, conflict between family activities and work negatively affects satisfaction with supervision and satisfaction with work. Since the most often mentioned negative aspect of police work is work schedule (Storch and Panzarella, 1996), this finding also may occur, in part, due to the perception that supervisors are not willing to be flexible in scheduling and express little interest in hearing about an individual's family problems. Willingness to be flexible or negotiate assignments can be viewed as a form of organizational support, which is also linked with job satisfaction (Babin and Boles, 1996).

Senge (1990, p. 307) asserts: "Traditional organizations undeniably foster conflict between work and family ... More often, it is done inadvertently, by simply creating a set of demands and pressures on the individual that inevitably conflict with family and time." These present data suggest that the conflict between work and home is not just a conflict over time, but over values. Since there is a significant relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction with supervisors, this finding conveys the worth of management appreciating the importance of the officer and family.

This implication suggests the importance of social leadership, not just task leadership. Task leaders emphasize productivity, whereas social leaders concentrate on social cohesion. Thus, if task leadership alone operates, the organization's objectives dominate and the impact on the individual and the family may not enter the equation.

Conflict can erupt between officers who are striving to balance work and family and those who are not. This possibility increases when supervisors do not weigh the costs of the organization's goals on the individual and the family (Senge, 1990). Police may perceive that they are in a trap in which dedication to the job, not the family, is the only way to advance in their jobs and provide for their families (Kirschman, 1997). Officers actually may be lauded for factors which can cause work-family conflict. For example,

supervisors can help by not defining the "supercop" as one whose commitment and dedication are demonstrated by the number of hours logged on the job.

A supportive work environment is one way to reduce negative effects of work-family and family-work conflicts (Babin and Boles, 1996). Certainly, police officers need to be accountable for their actions and time, but not without adequate support (Kirschman, 1997). The need for the agency to be seen as providing social support is significant to reducing work stress (Cullen *et al.*, 1985). In other words, supervisors must support and advocate for their officers, and officers must perceive that their supervisors care. House (1981, p. 27) observed that no matter how supportive supervisors are, "there will be little effect on you unless you, in fact, perceive them as supportive". Supervisors need to be viewed as being supportive, being willing to be flexible, and allowing officers some control if social leadership is to be maximized. Such attention has the potential of creating a type of Hawthorne Effect (Miller, 1995) causing better performance and job satisfaction.

Finally, work-family conflict explains little variance in satisfaction with pay (0.098 percent) and satisfaction with promotion (0.062 percent). Officers are evidently able to separate these two factors from the work-family domain conflicts they experience. Pay and promotion are both less "person-centered," and the officer may see no direct, immediate relationship between his/her work-family conflicts and the pay-check or a promotion which is a long-term event. Unlike the other types of satisfaction which can be directly related to an officer having to miss family events to be on the job, pay and promotion do not seem to have a direct link to the conflict itself. This finding is in contrast to the job, or work in general, or co-workers and supervisors who may appear not to care about the individual's conflicts.

Conclusion: future research implications

The importance of discovering these inter-relationships between both work-family conflict and family-work conflict with facets of job satisfaction is based on the importance of satisfaction in the workplace. Job satisfaction has been linked to an employee's inclination to leave an organization (Boles *et al.*, 1997), and it impacts an employee's level of organizational commitment (Johnston *et al.*, 1990). Thus, jobs that generate considerable levels of conflict - either work-family or family-work (or both) - may expect an increase in propensity to leave and, eventually, turnover among employees filling these positions. Given the recruiting difficulty many departments encounter, turnover is a critically important issue (Hoffman, 1993).

Research involving job satisfaction and employee turnover should address the work-family interface. Many previous studies have focused exclusively on work-related constructs and have not addressed other issues that may affect employees. Similarly, few turnover models have addressed work-family conflict as an important consideration in the turnover process even though other studies have indicated that it can affect turnover (Polowek, 1996; Linden, 1985). Since the findings from these and other studies demonstrate that conflict between the work and family domains may be an important issue in an employee's work satisfaction and job tenure, organizations should develop managerial guidelines for work-family conflicts. Research should consider this issue in future models of organizational behavior.

Like any study, this research has limitations; it also suggests opportunities for further inquiry. The amount of variance explained in the different facets of job satisfaction varied widely. While WFC and FWC accounted for 0.279 percent of the

variance in satisfaction with the job in general, they accounted for only 0.062 percent of satisfaction with promotion. The R^2 reported in this study might be increased by several options. First, work-related role stress was not included in this study, and role stress has been cited as a factor in job satisfaction. Whitehead and Lindquist (1986) reported a direct effect of stress and job satisfaction with emotional exhaustion of correctional officers. Other research suggests that over-worked employees have greater levels of work-family conflict and lower job satisfaction (Galinsky *et al.*, 2001). Findings of this study substantiated a significant relationship of work-family conflict with various facets of job satisfaction. Future research should investigate the inter-relationships between emotional exhaustion, physical exhaustion, work-family conflict, work-related role stress, and job satisfaction.

The respondents in this study represent both county and city law enforcement officers, but findings may not be generalizable to work settings in which client contact is voluntary. While the sample size is not large, it is comparable in size to other published studies, and the response rate of this study is high compared to similar studies. The current study also does not include other potential antecedents of the job satisfaction facets. Existing research indicates that many other variables may be equally important in determining the satisfaction of employees. For these reasons, further research is needed in other employment settings to determine the relationship between WFC and FWC with various facets of job satisfaction.

Although life satisfaction and family functions are not included in this study, the impact of family-work conflict on these non-work constructs need to be considered. The importance of this issue may be particularly true for law enforcement personnel who work long hours and experience reduced opportunity for promotion. This study recognizes that negative feelings may be reflected in family-related attitudes and behaviors that can affect workplace perceptions such as job satisfaction, which is examined in the current work.

Numerous dimensions of job satisfaction have been identified in police work. The current research has demonstrated that work-family conflict is significantly related to the job satisfaction of police personnel in general; it also has a negative relationship with employee satisfaction with different facets of the work environment. Clearly, the work and family domains do intersect and have strong implications for workplace perceptions and relationships. This study illustrates the need for further consideration of inter-domain conflict when attempting to address organizational behavior issues. Such information increases the possibility of building a synergy between the organization and family which will relieve the officer of the burden of balancing work and family, thus becoming an effective inoculation against job dissatisfaction and preventing the officer from leaving the force or remaining on the job as a disgruntled civil servant.

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Appendix. Work-family conflict and family-work conflict items
Directions
Please indicate your opinion on the following statements about your work and family. For each item, circle the number which most closely reflects the degree of your agreement or disagreement – the larger the number the more you agree, the smaller the number the more you disagree.

Work-family conflict
The demands of my work interfere with my home and family life.

Because of my job, I can't involve myself as much as I would like in maintaining close relations with my family or spouse/partner.

Things I want to do at home do not get done because of the demands my job puts on me.

I often have to miss important family activities because of my job.

There is a conflict between my job and the commitments and responsibilities I have to my family or spouse/partner.

Family-work conflict
The demands of my family or spouse/partner interfere with work-related activities.

I sometimes have to miss work so that family responsibilities are met.

Things I want to do at work don't get done because of the demands of my family or spouse/partner.

My home life interferes with my responsibilities at work such as getting to work on time, accomplishing daily tasks, and working overtime.

My co-workers and peers at work dislike how often I am preoccupied with my family life.