

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: LOCKED UP: EXPLORING THE COMPLEX
 NATURE OF CONFLICTING VALUES
 SYSTEMS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON WORK
 ATTITUDES

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Values are individuals' enduring perspectives on what is fundamentally right or wrong (Rokeach, 1973). These perspectives affect how people interpret their surroundings and interactions with others; individuals act in accordance with, and judge others' behavior by, what they believe is right (Bandura, 1991). Values have been studied extensively in the organizational literature, focusing on how individuals' values (such as honesty or achievement) affect their job attitudes (such as organizational commitment and job satisfaction; Ravlin & Meglino, 1987). While values and their effects on employees have been widely studied (Braithwaite, 1994; Cable & Edwards, 2004; Judge & Bretz, 1992; Rokeach, 1973; Ravlin & Meglino, 1987; Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989), they are often categorized into competing or conflicting frameworks (e.g., Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Schwartz, 1994). However, emerging evidence suggests that some competing values might actually be held *simultaneously* by individuals (Braithwaite, 1994; El-Sawad, Arnold, & Cohen, 2004; Kerlinger, 1983; Tetlock, 1986). If this paradoxical scenario is true, these values may actually interact, rather than displace one another. While cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) and balance theory (Heider, 1946) ---

central in psychology and organizational literature --- predict that individuals cannot hold conflicting values simultaneously without suffering from negative consequences like stress, I argue otherwise. This dissertation examines the extent to which individuals can hold conflicting values simultaneously rather than dichotomously, explores the mechanisms through which they do so, and also examines the effects of such value composition on employee attitudes. This is accomplished through two studies: first, a survey-based examination, and second, an in-depth inductive study. Both of these studies investigate these questions about conflicting values in a sample of correctional officers, and their values towards crime (punitive and rehabilitative ideals).

Results indicate support that conflicting values can be simultaneously held by individuals, and that they interact to produce positive, rather than negative, job attitudes. More specifically, I find that correctional officers who hold both of these values have higher levels of perceived fit with their organization, higher levels of organizational commitment, and lower levels of burnout than officers of other value combinations. Inductive results of the qualitative portion also add explanatory value to the question of why and how this can happen; qualitative results show that correctional officers often draw from both value-perspectives in order to complete their difficult job duties in effective and balanced ways.

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By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Values are beliefs pertaining to desirable end-states or modes of conduct that transcend specific situations, that guide selection or evaluation of behavior, and are ordered by importance relative to other values to form a system of priorities (Chatman, 1989; Kristof, 1996; Schwartz, 1992, 1994). Values are beliefs that individuals hold regarding how people should ideologically behave (Ravlin & Meglino, 1987), and which influence attitudes and work behavior (Schwartz, 1994). For example, employees are more attracted to, and trusting of, others whom they believe to hold values similar to theirs (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). Individuals feel more comfortable in an organization that exhibits values similar to their own, and this leads to increased communication, improved work relationships, and reduced uncertainty in the work environment (Kalliath, Bluedorn, & Strube, 1999). However, more research is needed in order to understand the complexity of how values affect employees and organizations.

Researchers commonly conceptualize values following a bipolar continuum ranging from one value to another. For example, the “left-right” continuum represents a range of political beliefs from liberalism to conservatism (cf. Braithwaite, 1994). This classification of values implies that individuals typically assume an “either-or” mentality and that those whose values fall in the middle of this continuum are either disinterested or naïve (Braithwaite, 1994). Indeed, much research has been completed assuming that values systems are composed of competing sets of beliefs, which are mutually exclusive or dichotomous in nature (e.g., Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Schwartz, 1992, 1994;). For example, interdependence is assumed between values towards personal success, and those of benevolence towards others (Schwartz, 1994). In fact, Schwartz’s well-known and highly cited typology of values is organized into sets of two opposing values (self-transcendence vs. self-enhancement and openness to change vs. conservation; cf. Bouckennooghe, Buelens, Fontaine, & Vanderheyden, 2005; Schwartz, 1994). For the purposes of

this research, I define conflicting values as oppositional sets of beliefs that appear contradictory and incompatible with one another to a majority of individuals.

Organizations also possess values systems (Chatman, 1989; Kristof, 1996).

Organizational values compose an organization's culture, providing norms that specify how organizational members should behave (cf. Cable & Edwards, 2004). Thus, employees who behave in norm-consistent ways are rewarded by their organization, and what is important to an organization also affects the type of reward that is distributed to employees (Schein, 1992). For example, an *organization* that values teamwork may be more likely to offer opportunities for employees to work as part of a team, and to reward employees who work well within a team. Similarly, *employees* who value working in a team are likely to desire greater amounts of teamwork than employees who do not value this form of work.

Similar to theories of personal values, research on organizational values also tends to be presented in terms of "competing" or conflicting values (e.g., Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983). These authors, for example, developed a framework that placed organizational values on two dimensions. The first dimension consisted of attitudes towards an internal or external focus, and the second consisted of preference for organizational structure (from control to flexibility). These two dimensions form four quadrants, which represent a set of organizational effectiveness indicators; or, what people value about an organization. Thus, these effectiveness indicators represent the core values underlying an organization's culture. Notably, these authors assume that each value is in direct competition with its other pole (i.e., internal focus competes with external focus, and control focus competes with flexibility focus).

However, recent theory in social values has begun to explore the possibility that individuals that do not fall into either extremity of the continuum between "competing" values are not neutral or disinterested. Rather, those who fall in the middle of the continuum might

actually hold *both* values simultaneously (Braithwaite, 1994). Thus, some values researchers have begun to explore more multi-dimensional models to explain how values affect attitudes and behavior (e.g., Priester & Petty, 1996). Their findings support the idea that both types of seemingly opposing values (e.g., political liberalism vs. conservatism; personal success vs. benevolence) can be, and often are, held simultaneously rather than dichotomously (Brickson, 2005; O'Reilly & Tushman, 2004; Tetlock, 1986).

This evidence suggests that different approaches are needed to understand values rather than relying solely on the prevailing "tradeoff" or competing model. First, anecdotally oppositional values should be analyzed in terms of their relative dominance over each other, rather than assuming that they are mutually exclusive. In addition, without the interdependence assumption, it is possible to evaluate the interaction of two separate values—rather than solely in terms of the absolute strength of a single orientation (Braithwaite, 1994). This implies that instead of understanding seemingly competing values on a single continuum and assuming their compensatory nature, values should be understood in terms of their natural complexity.

This has important implications for the organizational literature, which perhaps too often assumes a more simplistic nature of values. Work in the area of person-organization fit (PO fit), for example, has found that those employees who perceive that their values match those of their organization will have better perceptions of fit and related positive attitudes (e.g., Cable & Edwards, 2004). That is, organizational values affect what is offered to and expected of employees, and employee values affect what they desire from their job (Cable & Edwards, 2004). Thus, value congruence exists when these employee desires are matched by what is offered by the organization, leading employees to feel satisfied and committed to their jobs (Cable & Judge, 1996; Chatman, 1989). However, when considering jobs that can activate many ---and potentially conflicting--- value sets, it is difficult to predict outcomes using the existing

PO fit theory about value congruence prognosticating outcomes. For example, if a corrections officer highly values punishment but does not value the rehabilitation of offenders, how might he perceive “fit” in a job or organization that values both approaches?

A longstanding tradition of psychological research reflects a general understanding that individuals are dissonance-reducers and cannot live with inconsistencies. For example, research on cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), balance theory (Heider, 1946), and internal conflict (e.g., Bazerman, Tenbrunsel & Wade-Benzoni, 1998) argues that internal conflict produces such discomfort that it cannot persist; therefore, people with internal conflict rationalize or change their opinions or behavior in order to be consistent, reducing their discomfort. Therefore, individuals’ and organizations’ values (e.g., innovation-efficiency) are often presumed to be competing and dissonance producing, and thus drivers of discomfort-reduction through seeking consistency. This dissertation argues that individuals may very well be able to tolerate a certain amount of internal conflict regarding their values. Thus, the wide variety of existing research concerning competing values and goals needs to broaden to include this possibility.

Research on psychological ambivalence (e.g., Priester & Petty, 1996) and multiple organizational identities (e.g. Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002) demonstrates that multiple, even seemingly contradictory, values can exist within individuals in relation to their work. However, this work assumes that the simultaneous possession of these values leads to discomfort and dissonance-reduction techniques. Thus, this research falls short of theorizing about *how* individuals simultaneously hold conflicting values, the mechanisms through which this affects their job attitudes, measurement and assumptions about values systems, and the potential *positive* aspects of holding multiple values. This dissertation addresses these shortcomings through an in-depth evaluation of conflicting values including several methodologies.

Recent work completed by organizational scholars has started to explore the unique work

demands of employees in organizations with conflicting values systems (Cameron & Quinn, 1999). The demands and tasks required in a job, as well as the cultural norms and employee reward systems, are all affected by what an organization values (Schein, 1992). However, some professions are especially prone to eliciting conflicting values. For example, recent theorizing by Molinsky and Margolis (2005) has highlighted a unique set of concerns for employees who regularly work with “necessary evil.” This type of work concerns tasks “in which an individual must, as part of his or her job, perform an act that causes emotional or physical harm to another human being in the service of achieving some perceived greater good or purpose” (p.245). This work can elicit the potentially conflicting values of both care (Gilligan, 1982) and justice (Kohlberg, 1984). Work which elicits inherently conflicting individual values (such as necessary evil) is particularly difficult because of this conflict. Workers have a *duty* to perform these interpersonally challenging tasks, while also being charged with *caring for* those upon whom they cause pain or harm. Physicians must treat patients with interpersonal sensitivity; teachers must care that their students learn and develop effectively; managers must believe in their employees and care that they are trained, satisfied, and perform their jobs well (Molinsky & Margolis, 2005).

Necessary evils are often an integral part of professional life. For example, managers must regularly complete such difficult necessary evils as performance reviews, employee disciplinary actions, and even terminations. Physicians, for example, must often inflict pain on others. Community service workers, such as police officers and teachers, must often enforce discipline/punishment. Thus, work involving conflicting values is quite widespread.

When considering these types of jobs --- where multiple, conflicting values sets exist within an organization and an individual --- it is challenging to forecast how specific values will predict job attitudes. For example, research on psychological burnout suggests that the caring

nature of social work, and the value placed on interpersonal care by many social workers, might lead them towards burnout and negativity (Maslach, 1982; Meyerson, 1998). However, research on meaningfulness (e.g., Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003; Hackman & Oldham, 1980) suggests that this caring nature of social work and the value placed on interpersonal care by many social workers might actually create meaningfulness in their jobs, thus *decreasing* burnout and *increasing* positive job attitudes. These two research camps make competing predictions regarding how a personal value towards "caring" functions in such environments. In addition, neither camp accounts for the simultaneous, conflicting value towards "harmdoer," and how this might interact with the "care" value to determine employee attitudes.

Importantly, there are broad organizational implications about how contradictory values operate. Organizations and their employees are often simultaneously charged with seemingly competing goals, and this concept is pervasive throughout the organizational literature. For example, organizations pursue both financial and social performance duties (Margolis & Walsh, 2003), which are assumed to compete for resources and priority. The longstanding neoclassical economic view (Friedman & Friedman, 1962) contends that the social responsibility of business *is* to make financial profits, which conflicts with more stakeholder-oriented arguments of corporate social responsibility (Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Freeman, 1984). Organizations are charged with simultaneous exploration and exploitation responsibilities, often assumed to be irreconcilable (March, 1991). Additionally, learning and performance goals are believed to be largely incompatible (DeShon & Gillespie, 2005; Dweck, 1999), as are control and collaboration between agencies such as business and regulation (Sundaramurthy & Lewis, 2003). However, we know that some organizations and individuals *can* operate successfully in both "competing" goals such as these. Research has *not* yet explained how this is truly possible from a cognitive perspective.

Accordingly, the primary objectives of this dissertation were to answer these emerging questions by exploring employees' sets of potentially conflicting values and investigating the effects of different combinations of values on job attitudes. I investigated these questions using a sample of corrections officers and will refer to corrections officers and their values throughout this dissertation. This sample provides me with a unique, ideal setting in which to test my ideas about the multidimensionality of values, since corrections officers are subject to potential personal value conflict elicited by simultaneous job demands (i.e., values towards punitiveness/security, and values towards rehabilitation; Dowden & Tellier, 2004).

Corrections officers make an interesting and appropriate sample of employees who experience potential value plurality and conflict since they appropriately match the distinguishing characteristics of necessary evil workers (cf. Molinsky & Margolis, 2005). The authors describe that the first characteristic, that greater good is produced as a result of necessary evils, may be a greater good for an individual, an organization, or a society. The greater good advanced through corrections officers is public safety. By keeping dangerous criminals at bay, correction officers are advancing the goal of keeping the public a safer place for law-abiding citizens. The second characteristic of necessary evil is that they are expected to perform acts that are "evil," (i.e., "ineradicable harm" is being done to another human being; Baumeister, 1999; cf. Molinsky & Margolis, 2005). Corrections officers clearly cause this "harm" by keeping offenders incarcerated from society and its relevant privileges, such as freedom of movement and interacting with friends and family at will, as well as sometimes disciplining offenders for their offenses within prison walls. The third characteristic is that necessary evil tasks involve individuals who are *obligated* to perform "evil" in order to fulfill their professional duties. Without a doubt, corrections officers are required to perform these acts as a part of their organizational role. For example, the job specifications listed in the job description for these

employees includes: “Subdues and restrains inmates during fights, riots and escape attempts; when standing an armed post, learns how to determine the need for using firearms and uses them when necessary; May place inmates in handcuffs, restraining belts and leg irons” and are required to have the “ability to work in an institutional setting where personal physical attack by convicted felons is a constant possibility and where the use of physical force to restrain inmates is a required part of the job.”

In summary, correctional officers are an appropriate sample of employees with which to investigate my questions. While the quantitative investigation (Study I) allows for rigorous testing of hypotheses regarding conflicting values and job attitudes, the qualitative study (Study II) supplements this by offering a more in-depth exploration of the mechanisms through which these relationships between values and attitudes occur, and links them to potential behavioral outcomes.

In conclusion, this dissertation extends previous research by exploring the implications of intricate value plurality inherent in many occupations, such as those who work with necessary evil (Margolis & Molinsky, 2005; Tetlock, 1986). Additionally, I examine how individuals’ concurrent holding of anecdotally competing values might not always lead to dissonance and discomfort as assumed by previous psychological theory (Festinger, 1957). This is done first through a survey of correctional officers’ conflicting values and their effects on job attitudes; then, through an in-depth, qualitative examination of how correctional officers see and or describe their values working in combination to affect their work attitudes.

Overview of chapters

In Chapter 2, I define the theoretical concepts I draw upon to build my conceptual framework. Then, I review literature that informs my two studies. I also differentiate my ideas from other forms of intrapersonal conflict that exist in the management literature, explaining how

I extend research on concepts such as multiple identities and role conflict.

In Chapter 3, I review the relevant literature that supports my arguments for Study I, and present specific hypotheses regarding values and their combinations in predicting job attitudes. This chapter includes the presentation of competing hypotheses about how rehabilitative values predict—or protect—employees from job burnout, and their effect on attitudes when working together with punitive values.

In Chapter 4, I describe the research methods used to investigate these questions through Study I, a survey-based approach to evaluating correctional officers' values and resulting job attitudes.

Chapter 5 contains the results and discussion of Study I.

In Chapter 6, I describe Study II, an inductive qualitative approach which deeply explores how value combinations actually work in predicting job attitudes. Here, I present a more thorough explanation of the mechanisms through which people understand their complex realities when holding potentially conflicting values.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I present an overall discussion and conclusion for this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Concepts

Below, I first provide an overarching conceptual framework that guides the structure of this dissertation (displayed in Figures 1a and 1b). Then, I review the theoretical concepts from which I draw to build the quantitative and qualitative investigations directed by this framework. More importantly, I differentiate my ideas from previous scholars' concepts such as multiple organizational identities, ambivalence, and role conflict, describing how I extend the research in these areas.

Conceptual Framework

The model displayed in Figure 1a demonstrates the conceptual framework of the first portion of this dissertation. In Study I, I evaluated the co-existence of conflicting values, and the effects of those values working in combination to predict job attitudes. However, I only investigated one way in which these values may affect job attitudes (namely, perceived fit).

For Study II, I build upon the model from Study I and investigate *other* potential mechanisms through which conflicting values are held and can affect job attitudes, as well as how values combinations affect behavior. This framework is displayed in Figure 1b. In short, I believe that the mechanisms through which employees' values interact to predict attitudes and behavior are a result of those found in Study 1 (perceived fit/role enrichment), as well as tactics that individuals use in the face of these conflicting values. However, not much theory exists which explains how (i.e., tactics and procedures) individuals use to hold and manage these conflicting values to result in positive outcomes. Therefore, I used insights from the work on existing bodies of literature (e.g., identity, necessary evils, meaningfulness) in order to develop qualitative research methods that more fully evaluated how employees' values are formed, maintained, and actually work to affect their job attitudes and behavior.

Values and Value Plurality

Individual values affect information seeking, as well as interpretations of what people see and hear around them (Bandura, 1991). Values, both individually and interacting in a system, are therefore important influences on how employees form attitudes when interpreting and experiencing work (Ravlin & Meglino, 1987). However, most research on values assumes that certain values are competitive by nature, and therefore cannot exist simultaneously within an individual (e.g., openness to change versus conservatism, or self-enhancement versus self-transcendence; Schwartz, 1992). Organizational research has followed this tradition, proposing competing values such as internal versus external focus, and self-interest versus altruism (Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Cable & Edwards, 2004; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983). However, organizations pursue many simultaneous and seemingly conflicting goals and demands (e.g., flexibility and efficiency; Cyert & March, 1963; exploration and exploitation; March 1991), or are “hybrid” or “ambidextrous” (Brickson, 2005; O’Reilly & Tushman, 2004). It is likely that individuals within these organizations could hold similarly conflicting values, which they may or may not see as contradictory.

Some work has been completed on value plurality and integrative complexity (e.g., Tetlock, 1986) which begins to investigate this phenomenon. Integrative complexity is defined in two dimensions: differentiation and integration (cf. Tetlock, 1986). First, differentiation is the variety of aspects relevant to an issue that an individual recognizes. Someone who is scored “high” on differentiation recognizes that decisions involve multiple values that are often in conflict with one another. The second dimension, integration, refers to an individual’s connections among differentiated values. For example, someone who is scored “high” on integration offers some kind of criteria or explanation for coping with the value conflict. Integrative complexity has largely been used in studies explaining political ideologies and

predicting relevant decisions among senators (Tetlock, 1981, 1983), Supreme Court justices (Tetlock, Bernzweig, & Gallant, 1985), and parliamentarians (Tetlock, 1984). These results indicate support for Tetlock's Value Pluralism Model (1986), which states that individuals are likely to think about an issue in an integratively complex way to the degree that the issue activates conflicting values that people perceive as important and of approximately equal importance.

The value pluralism model, consistent with psychological research on cognitive dissonance reduction, states that when conflicting values are of unequal importance, individuals rely on tactics such as denying the less important value and bolstering the more important value (Festinger, 1957; Myyry, 2002; Tetlock, 1986). However, when both values are both of high importance, some individuals might use integratively complex reasoning which combines both values on a superordinate level (Ableson, 1959, 1968; Tetlock, 1986). However, while this work recognizes that conflicting values can be thought of in more complex ways than the traditional trade-off models, it does not offer evidence of specific ways in which integratively complex thinking can occur in the face of value conflicts *beyond* what is known from research on cognitive dissonance-reduction techniques. The theory on value pluralism and integrative complexity also assumes that dissonance occurs for individuals who can think in integratively complex ways. I challenge this assumption that dissonance always occurs for individuals in the face of conflicting values. Therefore, this dissertation seeks to extend research on value conflict by exploring these specific techniques that go beyond what is already known from dissonance-related research.

In this research, I make a critical assumption that individuals come to their jobs with pre-existing and relatively stable punitive and rehabilitative values. Values, by their very definition, are relatively enduring, and typically demonstrate stability over time (Ravlin & Meglino, 1989;

Schwartz, 1992, 1994). They are believed to be largely unaffected by socialization in organizations (Lusk & Oliver, 1974). However, it is also recognized that individuals form their values through life experiences (Judge & Bretz, 1992; Lusk & Oliver, 1974). I follow these prior researchers' findings and generally accepted principle in the literature that values are moderately stable over time.

Moral psychologists examine the way individuals' values help them evaluate and guide the morality of social behavior. These psychologists view values as having two primary components (cf. Lefkowitz, 2003): justice, or attitudes towards fairness, impartiality, and universalism (e.g., Kohlberg, 1984); and welfare/care, or attitudes towards beneficence, caring, and altruism (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1986). Moral psychologists do not assume that the values of justice and empathy are always competing, and argue that some people can hold both values (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000). In fact, recent evidence confirms that individuals might possess both strong justice *and* care values (Margolis, Molinsky & DeCelles, 2006).

Following the work of these scholars, I do not make the assumption that certain conflicting values, such as justice and empathy, exist in opposition. Instead, I use these previous insights to contribute to the work on values' operation in organizations. I then evaluate the complex nature of conflicting values working *together* rather than in competition. In doing so, I extend the literature on values by demonstrating conflicting value independence and the multiple and differential effects when looking at how these values interact to predict work attitudes.

Moreover, work on values in organizations and in psychology has not yet fully incorporated how conflicting values might be highlighted given the work demands of certain organizational settings. For example, work on "necessary evils" (Molinsky & Margolis, 2005), emphasizes potentially conflicting values of "interpersonal care" and "justice". In these situations, employees must inflict harm another human being, but for a greater good (an

organizational duty, e.g., an HR professional must fire someone, or a doctor must cause someone physical pain). This dissertation extends this prior work by looking at how an individual holding simultaneous conflicting values affects his job attitudes (Jones, 1991; Lefkowitz, 2003).

Necessary Evils

As mentioned, Molinsky and Margolis (2005) define a necessary evil as “a work-related task in which an individual must, as part of his or her job, perform an act that causes emotional or physical harm to another human being in the service of achieving some perceived greater good or purpose” (p.245) These tasks have three distinguishing characteristics: (1) A valued objective or goal requires that they are done. Therefore, they are *necessary*; (2) They inflict emotional or physical pain or suffering on another human being. Therefore, they are *evil*; and (3) They are fundamental to the job that the performer holds. Therefore, they are *mandatory* (cf. Molinsky & Margolis, 2005: 247).

As these authors point out, organizational justice researchers have demonstrated the benefits of treating individuals who are "targets" of necessary evil in a sensitive manner, respecting their rights and feelings. However, there is little work on the challenges faced by the perpetrators of the necessary evil (cf. Molinsky & Margolis, 2005: 256; Folger & Skarlicki, 2001). Molinsky and Margolis theoretically examine the psychological and emotional challenges to those who must exhibit appropriate levels of interpersonal sensitivity while simultaneously completing a "painful" task. For example, they demonstrate that this may cause some employees to distance themselves mentally and act callously. In contrast, this psychological conflict could also result in emotions that overwhelm employees, prohibiting them from actually completing the task at hand. A necessary evil worker must maintain sufficient psychological distance from the target not to become overwhelmed with guilt and sympathy. Nevertheless, he or she must remain close enough to connect to the target to treat them with appropriate sensitivity. Zimbardo'

(1971) infamous prison study which documented psychological and physical abuse in prisons demonstrated the severe consequences of performing these necessary tasks without suitable interpersonal treatment. Therefore, these tasks pose significant psychological challenges for a successful outcome accomplished with appropriate empathy (Molinsky & Margolis, 2005).

Many questions remain concerning necessary evil workers; such as, what is the impact of this challenging work on employees beyond task outcomes? Molinsky and Margolis focus only on the psychological moment of task execution and behavioral performance outcomes of the task completion (above). However, important questions remain in predicting and examining how people manage the inherent psychological conflict from their job. How might this conflict predict an individual's job attitudes, which accrue across many tasks? For example, since these jobs entail significant psychological conflict management, there are important implications for employee stress and burnout.

Meaningfulness

The job characteristics model, created by Hackman and Oldham (1974; 1980), contends that jobs with certain characteristics (i.e., skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback) create higher levels of important psychological states, which then translate into higher employee motivation and better work attitudes. One of these important psychological states exists when an employee perceives their job as meaningful within their personal values system (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). The positive organizational scholarship field, which emphasizes the process behind extraordinary positive phenomena in organizations (Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003) contends that finding meaning in one's job can create extraordinary positive energy for organizations (Pratt & Ashforth, 2003; Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2003; Wrzesniewski, 2003). When employees believe that their jobs are significant, they feel like they are working for an important cause, and find deeper meaning for their work. This can create

greater job performance and satisfaction (Spreitzer, 1995), as well as increase commitment towards one's job. For example, an individual might find more purpose in completing a job that makes a difference in peoples' lives (e.g., social work) rather than working for a profit-motivated corporation. However, meaningfulness is largely a function of an individual's perception of the extent to which their own ideological values are fulfilled by their work. Thus, meaningfulness is likely an outcome of subjective PO fit; *i.e.*, how personal and organizational values match as perceived by the individual employee.

Importantly, however, researchers evaluating meaningfulness have not yet looked at how sets of potentially competing, work-related values affect perceived meaningfulness (e.g., Spreitzer, 1995; Wrzesniewski, 2003). If potentially conflicting values are elicited by certain jobs, employees might form different conceptualizations of the purposefulness of their job than they would if these values were not in opposition. For example, some correctional officers may believe that the purpose of prison is punishment, and therefore derive a sense of purpose and meaning through carrying out their punitive duties. However, other officers may value the rehabilitation component or purpose of prison, and focus on the potential offender-societal reintegration. These varying perceptions of meaning may cause employees to manifest very different job attitudes in such areas as perceived fit and organizational commitment. This dissertation extends prior work on meaningfulness to explore the process of how meaning can be created in jobs that elicit conflicting values.

Job Stress and Burnout

Researchers have thoroughly evaluated how certain aspects of peoples' jobs affect their psychological state of stress (e.g., Ganster & Schaubroeck, 1991; Karasek, 1979). These models are primarily arranged into two situations: (1) when job demands match an individual employee's resources or skills, resulting in positive outcomes, or (2) situations where the

demands are too high and the employee inadequate or "misfit," resulting in negative, stressful outcomes (Edwards, 1992; Ganster & Schaubroeck, 1991; Karasek, 1979).

A well-documented effect of job stress is referred to as "burnout," *i.e.*, a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization of others, and a feeling of reduced personal accomplishment (Maslach, 1982). The conservation of resources model of burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996) suggests that burnout results from a person's resources being inadequate to meet job demands. Job demands are those physical, social, or organizational features of a job that require sustained effort, and therefore are associated with certain psychological "costs" (cf. Bakker, et al., 2005). Job resources consist of physical, psychological, social, or organizational features of a job that aid in performing work, achieving work goals, reducing job demands or stimulating growth and development (cf. Bakker, et al., 2005). Burnout results when demands are high and resources are limited. This dangerous combination depletes employees' mental and physical resources. The results are exhaustion and reduced motivation (Bakker, Demerouti, De Boer, & Schaufeli, 2003). This framework suggests that individuals' resources interact with their job demands to produce "fit" or lack thereof, and the resulting stress and burnout, and explains most researchers' views of burnout (e.g., Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lee & Ashforth, 1990, 1993, 1996; Leiter, 1993; Leiter & Maslach, 1988).

The concept of burnout was originally thought to be a phenomenon exclusive to those in the human services (Maslach, 1982; Maslach & Jackson, 1984; Pines & Aronson, 1988). Caregivers, such as social workers, teachers, and doctors were thought to be at risk of becoming emotionally drained through constant giving of themselves in interactions with their clientele (Kahn, 1993). Although human services employees may be particularly susceptible to burnout because of the nature their "compassion work" (cf. Cordes & Dougherty, 1993: 623), which places great demand on personal resources and often results in unmet personal expectations,

further examination of the burnout phenomena reveals that it is not exclusive to human services employees.

While research examining job stress and burnout has been extensive (see Cordes & Dougherty, 1993, and Lee & Ashforth, 1996, for reviews), the specific role of personal and potentially conflicting values remains unclear. For example, those correctional officers who strongly value rehabilitation might give more of themselves to their job, investing psychological resources in the hopes that it will bring about offender change. Unfortunately, when this is combined with the fact that offenders are unlikely to succeed in rehabilitation (*i.e.*, recidivism rates of offenders is nearly 68%, and the amount of quality treatment programs are limited in availability to about 4% of inmates in need; Mumola, 1999; Belenko, 2002) it can lead to burnout. In contrast, the personal value of rehabilitation could act as a motivator for redemption-minded correctional officers who feel they are performing a difficult, but valuable service (Bouckenoghe, Buelens, Fontaine, & Vanderheyden, 2005). In addition, it is unclear how punitive and rehabilitative values might interact to affect the relationship between values and burnout in such an environment. This dissertation explores these remaining questions.

PO fit

Person-organization fit (PO fit) is the idea that a fit can exist between a person and their organizational environment because certain people might be better suited for certain jobs (Chatman, 1989; Edwards & Van Harrison, 1993; Kristof, 1996). While several different concepts of fit have been investigated (e.g., “demands-abilities,” or “needs-supplies;” Edwards, 1996; Kristof, 1996), the majority of research on PO fit has concentrated on employee-organization value congruence (Cable & Edwards, 2004; Kristof, 1996; Verquer, Beehr & Wagner, 2002). PO fit is thus defined as the compatibility between people and their employing organization’s values (Kristof, 1996). Indeed, support has been found that perceived values

congruence with an employing organization can predict positive employee attitudes. For example, a recent meta-analysis by Verquer and colleagues (2002) found consistent relationships between measures of this subjective PO fit and job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and (negative) turnover intentions.

However, many employees, such as corrections officers, are potentially subject to contradictory sets of organizational and corresponding internal values. For example, previous authors have elaborated on the moral imperatives of justice and care (e.g., Gilligan, 1977, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969, 1976, 1984), which are both present in the performance of “necessary evil” jobs (Molinsky & Margolis, 2005). The moral imperative of justice, which focuses around considerations of fairness (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000), dictates that workers must, as part of their duty to their organization and a greater good, cause harm to another human being. Correctional officers completing disciplinary and enforcement duties can cause inmates physical and emotional pain. However, the moral imperative of treating other human beings with a certain level of interpersonal care (Gilligan, 1977, 1982) conflicts with this. A correctional officer might enact this through acceptable interpersonal treatment of offenders. Both of these moral imperatives, which guide behavior and coping with moral dilemmas, are potentially present within an individual (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000); and both of these values are present within an organization such as a prison environment.

Similarly, correctional officers most likely have personal values associated with retribution and security concerns, as well as values towards treatment and rehabilitation. Thus, rather than a unidimensional similarity in values predicting good perceptions of fit, correctional officers workers might actually benefit from having *multiple, seemingly contradictory* perspectives which allow for mental flexibility and more positive outcomes. This dissertation evaluates how a more multidimensional perspective of PO fit can provide more explanation for

employees' work attitudes in such complex environment.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment has been defined as a strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values; a willingness to exert effort on behalf of the organization; and a strong desire to maintain membership in the organization (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982).

Affective commitment is defined as a personal attachment to one's organization, manifesting as a highly committed employee who demonstrates a strong identification with the employer, involvement, and enjoyment with membership in the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Meyer & Allen, 1991). Affective organizational commitment represents an employee's acceptance of organizational values and beliefs as his or her own (Caldwell, Chatman, & O'Reilly, 1990; Meyer & Allen, 1997). Therefore, this component of commitment is the most relevant to research concerning personal and organizational values and beliefs about work affecting attitudes.

Organizational commitment has been strongly associated with PO fit (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). This is because employees are more attracted and committed to an organization that they perceive as holding values and beliefs similar to their own (Chatman, 1989). However, certain work environments might elicit conflicting values and beliefs of individuals. Thus, questions remain about how conflicting personal values affect an employee's perceived similarity to their organization, and thus the process of how they form an affective attachment with a pluralistic organization remains largely unexplored.

Psychological Coping

When experiencing a stressful event, people usually attempt to reduce their stress and to resolve the situation that caused it (cf. Brown, et al., 2005; Lazarus, 1991). These psychological and behavioral efforts are often referred to as "coping" mechanisms, *i.e.*, "cognitive and

behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (Folkman & Lazarus, 1984: 141). Thus, those under stress will utilize coping mechanisms.

Research has found that individuals try to resolve their negative feelings from a stressful work event in many different ways. For example, Brown *et al* (2005) showed that employees at two industrial firms coped with a negative work event (loss of a sale) by venting, focusing more on their task, and exhibiting self-control over their emotions. Folkman and Lazarus (1988) showed that individuals coped with negative events through confronting their problem, distancing from the problem, controlling one's feelings by keeping them to themselves, seeking social support, accepting responsibility, avoiding the problem, engaging in problem solving, and reappraising the situation in a positive light. Stress is also a well-researched topic in the correctional officer population, due to their escalated rates of stress-related illnesses, divorce, and decreased life spans relative to similar, non-correctional officer individuals (cf. Dowden & Tellier, 2004). A recent meta-analysis on this topic suggests that correctional officers are better able to cope with their jobs (and therefore reduce their stress) by participating in organizational decision making and training intended to help them proactively identify work dangers (Dowden & Tellier, 2004).

Clearly, the manner in which a person copes with negative events at work will influence their levels of stress and burnout. However, depending on individual values, an employee may find that work which elicits internal conflict may be more or less stressful; or, they might cope with the related stress in different ways. In this dissertation, I use insights from this literature and synthesize it with other relevant concepts to develop new insights into how conflicting values affect individuals' coping with stress and burnout.

Identity and Ambivalence

Social identity theory argues that social identification is a perception of similarity or “oneness” between two individuals or of an individual with a group (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). People compare themselves to others, and classify themselves and others into categories of membership similarity, such as social status, gender, etc. (cf. Ashforth & Mael, 1989). By extension, organizational identification occurs when an employee defines himself through membership in his organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). Individuals develop identification (such as an association with their organization) in order to develop a positive sense of self-worth (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Someone who strongly identifies with their membership in the organization as part of "who they are," naturally places high importance on employment.

Organizational identification has been found to be positively related to performance, and negatively related to turnover (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002; Mael & Ashforth, 1995; Pratt, 1998). Identification has also been linked to how individuals form meaningfulness in their work (Ashforth, 2001). This is because as people form an attachment to their organization through identification, they become more committed to it, and work harder towards furthering its goals.

The concept of organizational identification is similar to PO fit because both concepts describe a perceived compatibility between an individual employee’s beliefs and their organization’s. Importantly, however, organizational identification is distinguished from PO fit in terms of how individuals perceive their relationship with their organization. Someone possessing organizational identification has a perception of “oneness” with, and an attachment to, their specific employer; whereas, someone with PO fit does not necessarily define himself or herself by that relationship (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002). Thus, someone may identify with their organization and feel a deep personal loss if terminated from it. However, someone may perceive a “fit” with a number of similar organizations (cf. Kreiner & Ashforth,

2002). For example, an employee may believe that his values are similar to his organization's --- such that they both value innovation and creativity --- but his membership in this organization is not highly important to how he views himself (*e.g.*, a “family” man).

Work in social identity has proposed that in the case of multiple identities, individuals will act in accordance with whichever identity is “salient” at the time (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Brickson, 2000; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002). This work has begun to evaluate how multiple identities form and operate, but it is largely theoretical in nature (*cf.* Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002). Multiple identity research highlights the possibility of identifying with both, neither, or just one of these sets of values (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002). However, it has yet to be investigated empirically.

Additional evidence from the psychological ambivalence literature supports this idea that an individual can hold multiple, seemingly opposing attitudes (Petty, Preister & Wegener, 1994; Priester & Petty, 1996). For example, these researchers have found that individuals can experience both favorable and unfavorable attitudes towards an object or another individual (Priester & Petty, 1996). However, while ambivalence research has demonstrated that individuals can hold simultaneous conflicting attitudes, this research has assumed that the conflicting attitudes do not interact with each other. Finally, research in this area has not evaluated *how* individuals manage conflicting values, and the resulting outcomes of this process.

This dissertation extends the literature on multiple identities and ambivalence by adding insight into how certain work contexts can elicit conflicting values and conflicting identities. However, a major assumption within this literature is that competing values or ambivalence produces some sort of psychological dissonance and/or discomfort. Instead, I argue that they could create constructive outcomes for individuals, not assuming that this “conflict” will always create dissonance (feelings of hypocrisy and stress), leading to decreased performance and

burnout (e.g., Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002; Priester & Petty, 1996). Moreover, my work provides empirical evidence about how individuals can effectively hold multiple, salient, and even seemingly competing identities, and the specific mechanisms through which this affects their work attitudes.

Role conflict

Role theory (Biddle, 1979, 1986; Katz & Kahn, 1978) states that each role, or position within an organization, should have a clear set of responsibilities, so that management can be clear about performance goals and thus employees understand what is expected of them. Unclear expectations can cause employees stress due to fear of doing the incorrect thing (Jackson & Schuler, 1985). Role conflict, therefore, is defined as an incompatibility between expectations of parties (e.g., employees and possibly multiple managers) or between aspects of a single role (Rizzo, et al., 1970). Scales used to measure this construct include items such as “I receive incompatible requests from two or more people” and “there are unreasonable pressures for better performance” (House, Schuler, & Levanoni, 1983).

Role ambiguity is a similar phenomenon, but is defined as uncertainty about what actions to take in order to fulfill an organizational role rather than a conflict of direction or expectations (Rizzo, et al., 1970). Role ambiguity scales include items such as “I don’t know what is expected of me,” and “I don’t know how I will be evaluated for a raise or promotion” (House, et al., 1983).

Role conflict and ambiguity cause employees stress, resulting in decreased cognitive resources due to the resources spent on attempting to neutralize the stress and resolve the felt conflict (Fried, Ben-David, Tiegs, Avital, & Yeverechyahu, 1998). This results in demands that are beyond an individual’s cognitive ability to cope lead to decreased job attitudes and performance (Erera-Weatherly, 1996; Jackson & Schuler, 1985).

Notably, a recent meta-analysis revealed that correctional officers are likely to experience role conflict or ambiguity, presumably because they are sometimes required to act in a security role, and other times in a more rehabilitative role (Dowden & Tellier, 2004; Poole & Regoli, 1980). However, we know little about the psychological processes behind role conflict and ambiguity. In fact, it might be that individual's possession of both conflicting values is what works to *alleviate* role conflict and ambiguity for those employees. My dissertation examines these psychological mechanisms through which conflicting values work to affect attitudes. In other words, given potential role conflict and ambiguity, how do an individual's personal and potentially conflicting values affect their ability to function in their job?

Finally, unlike role conflict research (e.g., Jackson & Schuler, 1985; House, et al., 1983), I do not assume that this potential internal conflict arising from the work environment is always negative—rather, holding sets of seemingly incompatible values may actually *benefit* employees in certain jobs due to an increased mental flexibility and value placed on the work which they complete. In contrast to the research on role conflict and traditional models of burnout, I draw from recent research on role enrichment (Rothbard, 2001) which suggests that individuals' multiple roles may increase, rather than decrease, cognitive resources and therefore alleviate (rather than cause) work-related stress and burnout. However, work on role enrichment has been limited to study on the combination of a work role and a personal-life role, rather than multiple work roles. Thus, I offer an extension to this research as well.

Finally, following and extending insight offered by Tetlock (1986), I believe that plurality in values may allow for individuals' construction of a "higher-order" identity. This superordinate identity likely encompasses both sets of values, alleviating stress that might result from viewing personal and organizational goals as incompatible or competing for priority. Or, perhaps value plurality can alleviate role conflict or mental stress arising from work without

conscious reconciliation between potentially competing values. These questions are addressed in this dissertation. Therefore, conflicting personal values associated with difficult work is distinct from the concepts of role conflict and ambiguity in several important ways.

In summary, a few areas of research have touched on the concept that a pluralistic work environment or system of individual beliefs can affect employee attitudes. However, this work stops short of fully explaining how conflicting values affect individuals and their ability to psychologically manage them. This dissertation extends this prior work, making conceptual clarifications about the existence of value plurality and how it can psychologically affect employee attitudes and behavior.

Chapter 3: Hypothesis Development

Below, I draw on the theoretical concepts presented in Chapter 2 to build my specific hypotheses for Study I. The proposed summary model for these relationships is displayed in Figure 3.

Values of Corrections Officers

As mentioned in the previous review (Chapter 2), values have often been studied in terms of their “competing” or compensatory nature (Donnellian & Moore, 1979; Glaser, 1965; Lanningham, Taber, & Dimants, 1966; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Sigler & McGraw, 1984). Similarly, research which looks at correctional officers’ values also treats the values of rehabilitation and punitiveness as if they are opposite ends on a single “orientation” construct (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). This is likely due to the evolution of correctional institutions in society. Most societies, historically, have adopted a general philosophy that those who commit a crime should be punished. This view is rationalized on four theoretical grounds: retribution (e.g., an “eye for an eye” principle), deterrence (seeing others punished will promote fear and less offending), incapacitation (isolating criminals from society so that they cannot re-offend) and rehabilitation (treatment which can turn around an offender so that can be reintegrated into society; Weinberger & Sreenivasan, 1994).

General public opinion and prevailing governmental ideologies usually fall into one of two camps comprised primarily of these principles: a “security” or “treatment” model (Ochipinti & Boston, 1987; Weinberger & Sreenivasan, 1994). The security model entails retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation, which all treat the offender as if he or she is not capable, or worthy, of change. Participants in this model may harbor anger, contempt, or even disgust towards inmates. The treatment or rehabilitation model, in contrast, emphasizes the therapeutic role that prison can have. Adherents of this construct view prisons, to some degree, as

responsible for rehabilitating and reintegrating offender into society (Grusky, 1959; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980).

However, organizations often pursue many simultaneous and seemingly conflicting goals (e.g., flexibility and efficiency; Cyert & March, 1963; March 1991). Accordingly, corrections pursues both rehabilitation and security goals; officers' jobs entail dangerous duties such as securing often aggressive and/or mentally ill criminal offenders, often times having to physically restrain them or defend themselves and/or other staff from attack (Gillan, 2001). Corrections officers must also, as part of their job duties, coordinate with prison staff so that offenders are able to receive any offered rehabilitation services (e.g., self-help group meetings, psychological therapy, social worker contact, religious services, education, etc.), or even perform a “welfare” role by focusing on personal and social problems that may have contributed to offending in order to facilitate behavioral change or appropriate case management (cf. Allard, Wortley, & Stewart, 2003). Corrections officers thus can view the values of their job along these two components of their job responsibilities—for security/punishment *and* for rehabilitation/care of offenders.

While it is possible that political camps may generally fall into only one belief system, individuals can believe in the value of both, or neither, punishment or rehabilitation (Braithwaite, 1994; Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2004). Support for this assertion also is found in the value plurality literature (e.g., Tetlock, 1986), which finds that individuals can indeed simultaneously believe in two opposing political ideals. Importantly, these employees might *not* view security/punishment and rehabilitation as incompatible and mutually exclusive values. Correctional officers in particular may believe in the value of securing offenders from society and punishing criminals, as well as the idea that offenders deserve rehabilitation and proper interpersonal treatment. It is also true, however, that people might believe in the value of both punishment and rehabilitation, yet still see them as conflicting. Cognitive dissonance theory

(Festinger, 1957) predicts that holding both of these values will cause people to attempt to reconcile them; however, people may be indeed capable of living with a considerable amount of conflict among their values and beliefs.

Although often *measured* independently, the two values constructs of punishment and rehabilitation are often arranged into “favorable” and “unfavorable” orientations, and analyzed as “mirror-images” of each other (cf. Dowden & Tellier, 2004: 41; Griffin, 2002). For example, Griffin (2002) found that those correctional officers who are “high” on punitive/custody orientations are more likely to report a readiness to use force with inmates. No effect was found for rehabilitative orientations. Because the effects of punitive and rehabilitative orientations were not found to be mirror images of each other (that is, they do not have the equal but opposite effects), there is good reason to believe that they are independent dimensions. Thus, these two values can be considered in combination rather than as an “either-or” orientation. Without the assumption that values towards rehabilitation and those towards punitiveness are compensatory, it is likely that correctional officers have values towards both (or neither) of these orientations. This would produce different outcomes depending on their main effects *and* their interaction. Thus, this dissertation extends work in the corrections literature by evaluating not just the main effects of holding a single compensatory set of values, but the simultaneous holding of these conflicting attitudes.

Therefore, based on the above logic and research support, I believe that correctional officers can fall into one of four cells, composed of the two dimensions of these values systems (represented in Figure 2). Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 1: Correctional officers’ rehabilitative and punitive/security values form separate dimensions that are relatively independent of each other.

PO fit

PO fit is the perceived value congruence between an employee and his organization (Chatman, 1989; Kristof, 1996). Individuals' values, or what they believe is important, guide their attitudes and behavior (Schwartz, 1992). Similarly, organizational values compose an organization's culture, and provide norms about appropriate employee attitudes and conduct (Chatman, 1989). When a similarity exists between an individual's values, and their organization, an employee feels attracted to and more comfortable in their organization because they share a way of processing events and information and have better interpersonal relationships at work (Kalliath, Bluedorn, & Strube, 1999).

In a recent meta-analysis of PO fit research, Kristof-Brown and colleagues (2005) found consistent support for the hypothesis that value similarity between an employee and an organization creates a compatible and pleasant working environment, or a sense of "fit." Therefore, consistent with this research, correctional officers with the perception that their values are similar to their organizations' should have high perceptions of fit. Yet, certain occupations such as correctional officers are likely subject to two conflicting sets of values, both internally, and through their organization. As mentioned previously, correctional institutions and officers often maintain ideological attitudes about the best way to reduce crime—through a rehabilitative, treatment approach, and through a punitive, security approach (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). The logic leading to my first hypotheses proposes that both of these values might be held by individuals and institutions, suggesting that perhaps both of these values are needed in order for correctional officers to have true value congruence with their organization.

Using insight from this previous PO fit literature, yet extending it to fit on multidimensional organizational values such as those required by prisons and other organizations, I propose that in order to maximize this concept of "fit," employees should rate

high on *both* sets of values in order to have the overall best values congruence with their organization. Individuals likely assess how their values are congruent with their organizations' in many areas such as the balance of work and family responsibilities and social responsibility. Perceptions of value congruence, then, are overall assessments of how an individual feels their beliefs agree with their organization's. Together with the logic leading to hypothesis 1, if we assume that employees can hold both rehabilitative and punitive values, the effects of individuals "fitting" on both dimensions will be multiplicative, such that those who are "high" on one set of values will have an especially high PO fit when they also score highly on the other values set. This is because each value set provides employees with critical beliefs to draw from in order to psychologically feel as if they fit with their organization. Each of these values are hypothesized to be relatively independent, and speak to different, distinctive areas of the job. An employee having either one of these values is likely to lead to an increase in their perceived fit. In combination, however, both value sets will work together to allow employees an even greater fit above and beyond the addition of these two value components together. Having both values simultaneously will synergistically increase employee fit perceptions with their organization because they will have an increased adaptability to the nature of their work, and a fit their job as a whole. This leads these employees to a high perception of overall fit.

The logic leading to this prediction also finds support from recent research on role enrichment (Rothbard, 2001). Role enrichment theory predicts that dual roles can foster meaning and mental flexibility for employees, which serves to increase (rather than decrease) psychological resources. Thus, dual roles do not necessarily cause stress for employees, but rather, can increase employees' psychological presence or engagement in both roles from increased attention and interest (Rothbard, 2001). These two values sets can serve as resources for employee interest and meaning, which then will likely lead them to perceive a strong fit with

their organization.

I believe that extending the PO fit concept to multidimensional values sets will predict the greatest employee benefit from being able to take on both sets of values. This results from certain unique professions requiring a level of mental flexibility, and values which allow employees to easily travel between their work roles or values. Similarly, but conversely, those who rate low on both of these values sets are expected to have the lowest levels of fit. Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 2a: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values and high (rather than low) on security/punitive values will have the highest levels of PO fit.

Hypothesis 2b: Correctional officers who are low (rather than high) on rehabilitative values and low (rather than high) on security/punitive values will have the lowest levels of PO fit.

Similarly, I believe that those employees who only rate “high” on one set of values, and “low” on the other, will have moderate levels of fit, because they possess at least one of the dimensions of values intrinsic to their job. Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 2c: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values and low (rather than high) on security/punitive values will have moderate levels of PO fit.

Hypothesis 2d: Correctional officers who are low (rather than high) on rehabilitative values and high (rather than low) on security/punitive values will have moderate levels of PO fit.

Organizational Commitment

I also believe that an employee's value combinations will affect his level of organizational commitment. Research has consistently demonstrated that an increase in similar values with the organization (PO fit) leads to increased organizational commitment (Cable & Judge, 1996; Kristof, et al., 2005; Verquer, et al., 2002). This is because as employees feel more similar to their employer, they become more attracted to it and form a stronger attachment. For

example, Cable and Judge (1996) found, in a longitudinal study, that job seekers' perceptions of fit significantly predicted their subsequent level of organizational commitment. Together with my prior logic leading to Hypotheses 2a-d, which predict PO fit from values combinations, I believe this result will transfer to relevant levels of organizational commitment.

Similarly, those who have neither value (those who are low on both values) are likely to have the lowest levels of organizational commitment because they simply do not place any worth on any aspect of their job. Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 3: There will be a direct effect of value combinations on levels of correctional officers' organizational commitment, such that:

- a. Those correctional officers who are high/high will have the greatest organizational commitment;*
- b. Those correctional officers that are low/low will have the lowest organizational commitment;*
- c. Those correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values and low (rather than high) on security/punitive values will have moderate levels of organizational commitment.*
- d. Those correctional officers who are low (rather than high) on rehabilitative values and high (rather than low) on security/punitive values will have moderate levels of organizational commitment.*
- e. The effects predicted in Hypothesis 3a through 3d will be mediated through PO fit.*

Burnout

Psychological burnout occurs at high rates in corrections work (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). However, the effects of individuals' conflicting values on the mechanisms through which

burnout occurs is unclear. Below, I propose six competing hypotheses regarding the exact nature through which rehabilitative and punitive values may affect correctional officer burnout.

Employee values will likely affect their levels of burnout, because values shape how employees interpret their surroundings and how they handle stress (Edwards, 1996). Burnout could be especially likely in the case of those employees who hold high rehabilitative values. Those in the caring professions have been shown to be especially susceptible to burnout (Pines & Aronson, 1988; Pines & Maslach, 1978; Maslach, 1982), because the work is especially emotionally draining (cf. Kahn, 1993). Burnout has been recognized as a particular threat for human service employees because these professions attract people who are unusually self-giving, emotionally caring, and have high hopes and expectations for helping others (Schaufeli, Maslach, & Marek, 1993; van Dierendonck, Schaufeli, & Buunk, 1998). Individuals entering this type of work are often motivated to make significant contributions to the lives of others, and derive a sense of meaning and purpose from their work (Pines & Aronson, 1988; Pines, Aronson, & Kafry, 1981).

Unfortunately, these high expectations and hopes are often met with difficult clients, unrewarding environments, and failure. This often results in overwhelming stress, frustration, and eventual emotional exhaustion, the primary component of the burnout construct (Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003; Maslach, 1982; Pines, Aronson, & Kafry, 1981).

Correctional officers who are high on rehabilitative values, by definition, care greatly about the treatment of others. They are likely to have greater expectations of changing others' lives positively, and also likely to be more emotionally giving than those who are "low" on rehabilitation values. Prior research evaluating the effects of rehabilitative values on correctional officer stress has found that, in the U.S., the correctional officers who hold more rehabilitative values are subject to greater levels of stress (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). Therefore, those

correctional officers who are high on rehabilitative values are likely to suffer high psychological costs, resulting in the highest levels of burnout.

Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4a: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values will have the highest levels of burnout.

In contrast, research on meaningfulness suggests that employees who value rehabilitation in such an environment may find more *purpose* in their jobs than those who do not believe strongly in rehabilitation (Wrzesniewski, 2003). Thus, it is possible that those who hold strong rehabilitative values remain more motivated and psychologically fulfilled and are actually *less* likely to burn out (Cameron, et al., 2003; Hackman & Oldham, 1980). Prisons are difficult work environments for correctional officers. High job demands, combined with low control over work procedures and little positive feedback, can make their duties monotonous, draining, and frustrating (Karasek, 1979; Hackman & Oldham, 1980). Holding rehabilitative values in such a situation might allow employees to feel like there is more purpose to their jobs and in the necessary evils they complete, and that they are contributing to a safer society --- potentially even helping to rehabilitate individual offenders.

The meaningfulness provided to individual workers through interpretation of the value of their work might satisfy an innate human need, *i.e.*, to strive for purpose in life and a sense of self (cf. Wrzesniewski, 2003). Work that fulfills an employee's personal values will therefore be more significant to them, contributing to their motivation and positive attitudes (Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997). Rehabilitative values might act as a personal resource for correctional officers, allowing them to see a greater good in the work they do, and therefore acting as a source of resistance to burnout rather than contributing to it. Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4b: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values will

have the lowest levels of burnout.

How might correctional officers who are high on *punitive* values experience burnout? It might be particularly stressful for officers to act in a consistently punitive way towards other human beings, thus exhausting a person of psychological resources (Lee & Ashforth, 1996). Those who are highly punitive are possibly more likely to “dehumanize” offenders in order to make it easier to psychologically justify such a disciplinary, non-caring demeanor. Dehumanization is a known component of burnout (Maslach, 1982). It is also possible that those officers who strongly value punishment are more vigilant in their surveillance of offenders, constantly being more aware of one’s dangerous environment, which can be particularly mentally exhausting (Poole & Regoli, 1980). A recent meta-analysis within the criminology literature supports this finding, and has found a positive relationship between punitive values and correctional officer stress (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). Correctional officers who are highly punitive therefore might be at the greatest risk for burnout.

Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4c: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on punitive/security values will have the highest levels of burnout.

Until now, I have hypothesized about the potential independent main effects of each set of values. However, how might the *interaction* between these values systems affect burnout? Correctional officers might experience the greatest burnout when they experience both the effects of the stressful nature of rehabilitative and punitive values argued above. In addition, the existence of two sets of conflicting values may indicate a form of role conflict (Dowden & Tellier, 2004; House, et al., 1983). Prior research on role conflict has consistently found that those who experience cognitive conflict as a result of their job having multiple, conflicting demands will be subject to greater psychological stress and burnout (Jackson & Schuler, 1985).

This is supported by the conservation or depletion model of burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Bakker, et al., 2003), which posits that burnout results from a person's resources being inadequate to meet job demands which require sustained effort. Thus, increased burnout is a result of these psychological "costs" exerted on behalf of the employee, who must put forth effort towards both, seemingly contradictory goals.

More in-depth explanation can be found in the well-supported cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957). That is, if these two values sets are indeed conflicting, then individuals who strongly endorse both values likely feel inconsistent and hypocritical, causing them dissonance. These individuals will then feel more cognitive stress and discomfort, which will deplete psychological resources. Therefore, employees high on both sets of values might have the greatest level of burnout. Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4d: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on punitive/security values and high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values will have the highest levels of burnout.

It is also possible, however, that employees who are high on both sets of values will be best able to navigate between conflicting roles. In fact, these employees might actually resist role conflict as a result of holding both sets of values. These individuals might be able to navigate through potential role conflict by not necessarily viewing rehabilitation and punishment as inherently incompatible. Work on cognitive and integrative complexity (e.g., Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2003; Myyry, 2002; Tetlock, 1986) demonstrates that some people are better able to understand multifaceted and (and even potentially seemingly conflicting) information. That is, some people might be more or less sophisticated in their ability to cognitively process both sets of values without difficulty. Employees who hold both rehabilitation and punitive values might also be able to find meaning and worth in both aspects of their jobs, thus being less at risk for stress and burnout from a low risk for emotional exhaustion (burnout).

This predicted effect is consistent with research on role enrichment (Rothbard, 2001), and the logic leading to hypothesis 2, which states that dual roles can foster meaning and mental flexibility for employees. This serves to *increase* psychological resources, rather than decrease them as would be expected using the depletion model of burnout (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Lee & Ashforth, 1996). Simultaneously holding these two values sets may not necessarily cause stress for employees, but rather serve to increase employees' attention and interest in their work roles (Rothbard, 2001). These two values sets can serve as resources for employee interest, attention, and meaning, which then will likely serve as increased psychological resources from which to draw.

Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4e: Correctional officers who are high (rather than low) on rehabilitative values and high (rather than low) on punitive/security values will have the lowest levels of burnout.

A likely mediating mechanism through which values affect burnout is through PO fit. As discussed, prisons implicitly place value on both rehabilitation and punishment (Grusky, 1959; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Ochipinti & Boston, 1987; Weinberger & Sreenivasan, 1994). Employees whose values are more similar to those of the organization --- that is, employees who hold high levels of both rehabilitative and punitive values --- will have increased "fit" with their organization. Increased fit allows employees to feel more comfortable at their jobs, predict others' behavior, and feel valued by their organization (Chatman, 1989; Kristof, 1996). This, in turn, decreases their stress and risk for the burnout. Therefore, I believe that the effects of simultaneously holding high values in reducing burnout be fully mediated by PO fit.

Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4f: The relationship predicted by Hypothesis 4e, that correctional officers who are high on both sets of values will have the lowest levels of burnout, will be fully mediated through

PO fit.

However, if holding these two values together enables individuals to see purpose in both, seemingly competing job goals (as predicted in Hypothesis 4e), then the *absence* of both of these values could lead employees to feel that there is little value in their job. Thus, completing a difficult job such as correctional work might be especially likely to lead to burnout for those employees who hold neither relevant value set. Moreover, if holding both sets of values is what helps to alleviate role conflict in such jobs, then those who have neither value will be especially vulnerable to stress as a result of being in direct disagreement with *both* aspects inherent in their position. Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 4g: Correctional officers who are low (rather than high) on rehabilitative values and low (rather than high) on punitive/security values will have the highest levels of burnout.

Remaining Questions about Value Balance and Intrapersonal Values Fit

Positive job attitudes on the part of correctional officers might not be due to *only* the effect of having values that interact to help an employee feel a better fit with their organization, as suggested by the previous hypotheses. Rather, correctional officers' attitudes may also be a function of *the level of congruence between their rehabilitative values and their punitive values*. That is, it might not be that just high values of rehabilitativeness and punitiveness interact to predict job attitudes, but rather how these two sets of values are balanced within the individual employee. Theory from social values (e.g., Braithwaite, 1994) posits that it might be that those who fall into the middle of the continuum between “competing” values measured on one continuum are *not* neutral. Thus, those who fall in the middle of the single continuum might actually hold *both* values equally (Braithwaite, 1994). Therefore, seemingly oppositional values might be best measured by two continuums in order to capture this distinction. The two values

can then be looked at in terms of how they vary independently of each other, and we can make comparisons between the levels of each value with the other.

Recent findings support the idea that both types of seemingly opposing values (e.g., political liberalism-conservatism; personal success and benevolence) can be, and often are, held simultaneously rather than dichotomously (Braithwaite, 1994; Kerlinger, 1983; Priester & Petty, 1996). The latter explanation, the value balance hypothesis (cf. Braithwaite, 1994) suggests that individuals with more congruent levels of values are best able to manage conflicting aspects of their jobs, influencing their perceptions of fit, commitment, and burnout. Those correctional officers who are balanced in their values of punitiveness and rehabilitation might be best equipped to deal with the nature of their work. This is because employees who are not prejudiced towards one value over the other are those that can most easily cognitively navigate through their task demands. Thus, this decreases the cognitive load and stress associated with working in such pluralistic environments, increasing individuals' perceptions of fit, commitment, and decreasing burnout. Thus, it could be that conflicting values' *relative* similarity, i.e., the congruence between employees' values, is how they work to affect job attitudes.

Moreover, negative outcomes have been associated with both rehabilitative-type attitudes (as found in the social work literature; Maslach, 1989), as well as with punitive orientations (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). It is possible that those who have equal levels of each of these values are able to resist those negative outcomes associated with polarization onto only one of these values sets. Thus, people who are balanced between these conflicting values sets are best positioned to avoid the stress associated with having only one of these orientations, such as becoming overly hardened by punitiveness, or becoming too much of a "bleeding heart" by being overly rehabilitative.

Therefore, I predict:

Hypothesis 5: Correctional officers who are more congruent (i.e., have similar levels) on both sets of values will have the lowest levels of burnout, the highest levels of PO fit, and the highest levels of organizational commitment.

Chapter 4: Study I Methods

Sample and Setting

As part of the Criminal Justice Drug and Alcohol Treatment Survey (CJDATS) pretest project, I collected data from 768 correctional officers from thirteen state-level prisons in a mid-Atlantic state. The thirteen prisons were selected from a total of 21 state institutions because they were not pre-trial, pre-release, or detention units. As part of this larger CJDATS data collection effort to assess organizational attributes of correctional systems in their facilitation of treatment services for offenders, I collected data on correctional officers' values and attitudinal measures of burnout, organizational commitment, and overall levels of PO fit. Prior to conducting the survey, I conducted focus groups with administrators, correctional officers, and treatment staff, in order to improve the reliability of the measures. I used a random selection of approximately 50% of all correctional officers taken from personnel rosters for 9 of the 13 prisons, and the remaining four prisons' correctional officers participated voluntarily.¹ I then asked corrections officers to voluntarily participate in the study by completing a survey. Response rates averaged approximately 48% per prison for those pre-selected to take the survey (i.e., approximately 24% of the entire staff), and 34% of the entire staff for those that were purely voluntary.

Respondents had an average of 8.74 years at their current job, and averaged just over 39 years of age. The sample was 39.2% female, and 58.3% male, and 56.5% of respondents had obtained at least some college education. The sample identified themselves as 54.1% African-American, 38.1% white, and 3.2% other minorities.

Measures

¹ Prisons that had randomly-selected personnel participants were compared to those who participated on a voluntary basis; no significant differences were found between these two groups of participants on education, tenure, gender, rehabilitative and punitive values, burnout, or PO fit. Purely voluntary participants were slightly older than randomly selected participants, less likely to be white, and had slightly greater levels of organizational commitment.

Person-Organization Fit.

In this study, I used three items from Cable and DeRue (2002) on subjective fit perceptions. Respondents answered in Likert-style format from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on these items such as: “The things I value in life are very similar to the things that my organization values”; “My personal values match my organization’s values and culture”; and “My organization’s values and culture provide a good fit with the things that I value in life.” Reliability for the scale was calculated at .95.

Values

In order to measure correctional officers’ values towards their punitive and security roles (versus those of care and rehabilitation), items were adopted from academic articles where public opinion surveys assessed the public’s attitude towards crime and offenders (Cullen, Cullen, & Wozniak, 1988; Cullen, Fisher, & Applegate, 2000). Items were created to assess each of the theoretical approaches towards crime (described above, *e.g.*, deterrence, retribution, incapacitation, and rehabilitation). Respondents rated items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on topics such as, “The best way to reduce crime is to show people they will be punished severely for committing crimes.” I conducted exploratory factor analysis on a random half of the data using maximum likelihood with varimax rotation on an original 22 items and found four factors. The observed four factors concentrated around values of rehabilitation, punishment, security, punishment of drug users, and financial concerns. Items concerning financial matters were dropped because they were not of interest in this study. The remaining items and their respective loadings are illustrated in Table 1 (values less than .4 have been suppressed for clarity). The Scree plot (in Figure 4) demonstrates a useful 2-factor solution. Also, as can be seen in Table 1, there were two items with high cross-loadings between the punishment and punishment of drug user factors. This, together with the theoretical evidence that

these punitive opinions towards crime and the more specific crime of drug use are often grouped together (Cullen, et al., 1988; Cullen, et a., 2000; Dowden & Tellier, 2004; Grusky, 1959; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Ochipinti & Boston, 1987; Weinberger & Sreenivasan, 1994), led me to condense the items from the first two factors into a single scale of punishment/security. The final result was the emergence of two factors: one that concerned punitive and security items, and another that focused on rehabilitation. Again, this is consistent with the theoretical background on opinions towards crime. Final reliability estimates for the punitive/security and rehabilitation values scales were .90 and .82, respectively.

Burnout

Job burnout was assessed with items from Pines and Aronson (1988). Following a 1 (never) to 5 (very often) scale, respondents answered 19 Likert-style items asking: “How often do you find yourself . . . being physically exhausted,” “feeling run-down,” “being tired,” “feeling depressed,” “having a good day (reverse-scored),” “ being emotionally exhausted,” “being happy (reverse-scored),” “feeling ‘wiped out’,” “feeling like you ‘can’t take it anymore’,” being unhappy,” “feeling run-down,” “feeling trapped,” “feeling worthless,” “feeling disillusioned and resentful,” “being weak and susceptible to illness,” “feeling hopeless,” “feeling rejected,” “feeling optimistic (reverse-scored),” feeling energetic (reverse-scored),” and “feeling anxious.”

A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation was run, which resulted in two factors; one concerning depressive emotions and another dealing with emotional and physical exhaustion. Since burnout is primarily composed of exhaustion concerns (cf. Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003), I limited the scale to only those items. The resulting scale of burnout had a reliability estimate of .90.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment was measured using 7 items adapted from Balfour and

Wechsler (1996). These authors developed this scale specifically for use in public sector organizations. Respondents answered 7 Likert-style questions from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The items consisted of, “I feel a strong sense of belonging to this organization,” “I am quite proud to be able to say to people that I work for this organization,” “What this organization stands for is important to me,” “I work for an organization that is incompetent and unable to accomplish its mission (reverse-scored),” “I feel a strong sense of belonging to this organization,” “I feel like ‘part of the family’ at this organization,” “This organization appreciates my accomplishments on the job,” and “My efforts on the job are largely ignored or overlooked by this organization (reverse-scored).” Reliability of the scale was calculated at .87.

Controls

Because the sample of correctional officers came from several different prisons, I controlled for organizational membership in all analyses. Gender and race were included as control variables due to a recent meta-analytic result (Dowden & Tellier, 2004) demonstrating their significant effects on correctional officer stress (with ethnic minorities and male officers experiencing significantly less stress due to the fact they are in the majority of the correctional officer population). Education level has generally not been found to be significantly correlated to correctional officer stress (Dowden & Tellier, 2004), or to correlate with more rehabilitative or punitive orientations (cf. Leiber, Schwarze, Mack, & Farnworth, 2002). Tenure might affect stress because as an officer gains more experience, he or she might be better equipped to cope with the stress of their job, and those who are particularly susceptible to stress might turnover. In addition, over time, certain values in corrections may become stronger or weaker. Values might also be affected by the *type* of offender a correctional officer works with (for example, a non-violent or violent criminal, or an inmate serving a longer or shorter sentence). Therefore, I investigated the effect of prison security level on the study’s variables. Thus, control variables

investigated included respondent gender, race, education, age, and tenure, and prison security level. Also included as controls in analyses was type of selection procedure (random selection vs. purely voluntary) because there were small significant differences between those two populations in terms of age, race, and organizational commitment.

Chapter 5: Study I Results

Means, standard deviations, correlations between variables, and descriptive statistics are displayed in Table 2.

Analyses

The hypotheses were tested primarily using hierarchical, moderated multiple regression (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). For example, to test the effects of the interaction between punitive and rehabilitative values on PO fit, I entered in the control variables in step 1 of the regression analysis, followed by main effects of these values in step 2, and finally their interaction term in step 3. Following the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991), statistically significant interactions were plotted one standard deviation above/below the mean on a graph to assist with interpretation. Finally, Hypothesis 5, which proposes how the internal fit or balance of values within correctional officers will affect job attitudes, was evaluated through polynomial regression due to the greater ability of polynomial regression to precisely test for the nature of congruence-relationships, as opposed to difference scores (Edwards, 1993; 1994).

Controls

Because the sample of correctional officers came from several different prisons, I investigated the effects of organizational membership on the study variables. Intraclass correlation coefficients I (ICCs) were calculated to investigate to what extent prison membership affected individual values scores (James, 1982). This was calculated by first running a one-way ANOVA with prison membership predicting both punitive and rehabilitative values scores. I then used this data to calculate these values. The results indicated an ICC for rehabilitative values of .07, and an ICC for punitive values of .04. These values indicated that prison membership accounted for a reasonable portion of the variance in individual responses on both punitive and rehabilitative values (James, 1982). Therefore, it was necessary to control for prison

membership in all the analyses. I did this by running residualization procedures on the data (Cohen & Cohen, 1983); that is, by regressing each variable on prison membership, saving the residuals, and completing all remaining analyses on these residual data.

A correlation matrix was created among all potential control variables and study variables (Table 2). All control variables except for tenure and education were correlated with one or more of the study variables, and therefore were included as controls in all analyses.

Hypothesis 1

My first hypothesis proposes that individuals can experience both punitive and rehabilitative values simultaneously; thus, these values do not lie on opposite ends of a continuum, but rather form relatively independent dimensions. In order to test this hypothesis and the nature of these values, I first examined the psychometric properties of the values scale. As discussed in the previous section, I conducted exploratory factor analysis using maximum likelihood with varimax rotation on the punishment and rehabilitation items, on a randomly selected half of the data. The final result was the emergence of two factors: one of punitive and security concerns, and another that focused on rehabilitation. These two factors remaining were slightly negatively correlated at $r = -.15$ ($p < .01$).

I then conducted a confirmatory factor analysis on the other randomly selected half of the data to confirm an adequate fit of the data to this 2-factor structure. I first obtained the one factor model's fit statistics ($\chi^2 = 1210.05$, $df = 170$; CFI=.80; GFI=.73; RMSEA=.13). In order to compare the one factor model to the theorized two factor model, I then conducted a two-factor CFA with a third, higher-order factor onto which the two punishment-related factors loaded. This was guided by the results of the exploratory factor analysis. I obtained this model's fit statistics in order to compare them to the one-factor model ($\chi^2 = 573.10$, $df = 168$; CFI=.88; GFI=.86;

RMSEA=.08). The $\Delta \chi^2$ between the two models was 636.95, which was significant at $p < .01$ ($df=2$). Furthermore, the standardized fit statistics were greater for the higher order two-factor structure than for the single-factor solution ($\Delta CFI=.08$, $\Delta GFI=.13$), and the RMSEA was much lower ($\Delta RMSEA=.05$). Together, these results indicated that the two factor solution fit significantly better than the one factor solution.

Finally, I also created a scatterplot of the standardized residual scores on punitive and rehabilitative values (after removing the effect of prison membership). The scatterplot demonstrated that individuals indeed can fall within both high ranges of punitive values and rehabilitative values. This is displayed in Figure 5. All together, these analyses provided support for Hypothesis 1.

Hypotheses 2a through 2d

These hypotheses proposed an interactive effect, so that correctional officers who are high on both punitive and rehabilitative values (rather than low) will have the highest levels of PO fit (Hypothesis 2a). Similarly, I proposed that correctional officers who are low on both punitive and rehabilitative values (rather than high) will have the lowest levels of PO fit (Hypothesis 2b). Finally, I proposed that those individuals who were high on one value and low on the other would have moderate levels of fit (Hypotheses 2c and 2d).

These hypotheses were investigated through moderated multiple regression, placing control variables in the first step, followed by each value main effect in the second step, and finally their interaction term in the final step. These results appear in Table 3. Results from the final step indicated a significant interaction term ($\beta=.11$, $p < .01$; $\Delta R^2=.01$, $p < .01$). This interaction was then plotted according to procedures outlined in Aiken and West (1991) and appears in Figure 7.

As can be seen in this figure, the respondents with the highest level of PO fit are those with highest levels of both punitive and rehabilitative values. This inference was tested by conducting t-tests to evaluate the significance of the simple slopes in this interaction. The slope for “high” levels of rehabilitative values across punitive values was significant ($t=2.25, p<.05$), as was the slope for “high” punitive values across rehabilitative values ($t=6.51, p<.001$). The slope for low rehabilitative values across punitive values was not significant ($t=-1.44, ns$), and the slope for low punitive values across rehabilitative values was marginally significant ($t=1.77, p=.08$). Thus, the “high/high” combination had significantly greater levels of PO fit than those who were in any other combination of values, indicating support for Hypothesis 2a. However, examining the interaction plot reveals that those with the lowest levels of PO fit were those who were high on punitive values and low on rehabilitative values, contrary to the prediction of those with low levels of both values. The slope analysis above indicates that these two points are not significantly different from each other ($t=-1.44, ns$), indicating partial support for Hypothesis 2b.

Hypothesis 2c predicted that those who were high on rehabilitative values and low on punitive values would have moderate levels of fit. According to the slope analysis reported above, these correctional officers had the second-highest levels of fit, and were significantly different from the other hypothesized combinations. This indicated support for Hypothesis 2c. However, Hypothesis 2d predicted that those who were high on punitive values and low on rehabilitative values would also have moderate levels of fit. The interaction plot shows that these individuals qualitatively have the lowest levels of fit (although they are not significantly different from those who are low on both values). Thus, this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypotheses 3a through 3d

Hypothesis 3a proposed an interactive effect, such that correctional officers who are high

on both punitive and rehabilitative values (rather than low) would have the highest levels of organizational commitment. This was investigated through moderated multiple regression, and the results appear in Table 3. Results from the final step of the regression indicated a significant interaction term ($\beta = .13$, $p < .01$; $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $p < .01$). This interaction was then plotted to assist with interpretation, and appears in Figure 3.

As can be seen in this figure, both groups of respondents who scored high on rehabilitative values have relatively equal (and the highest levels) of organizational commitment. This interpretation was confirmed by conducting t-tests to evaluate the significance of the simple slopes in this interaction. The slope for “high” levels of rehabilitative values across punitive values was not significant ($t = .94$, ns). The slope for low levels of punitive across levels of rehabilitative values was significant ($t = 2.31$, $p < .05$), as was the slope for “high” punitive values across rehabilitative values ($t = 8.87$, $p < .001$), and the slope for low rehabilitative values across punitive values ($t = -4.34$, $p < .001$). Thus, the interaction indicates that both of those cells that contain officers who scored high on rehabilitative values have the highest levels of organizational commitment relative to the other groups, but are not statistically significantly different from each other. Therefore, there was partial support for Hypothesis 3a.

Hypothesis 3b proposed that those who were low on both values would have the lowest levels of organizational commitment. As is clearly indicated in the interaction plot, this hypothesis was not supported as those with high punitive and low rehabilitative values were the respondents with the lowest levels of organizational commitment. This was confirmed in the simple slope analysis (described above; $t = -4.34$, $p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3c proposed that those who were high on rehabilitative values and low on punitive values would have moderate levels of organizational commitment. This hypothesis was partially supported by the simple slope analysis reported above; although these respondents had

significantly greater organizational commitment compared to both of the low rehabilitative groups ($t=2.31, p<.05$; $t=8.87, p<.001$), they did not significantly differ from those respondents who were high on both values sets ($t=.94, ns$).

Hypothesis 3d predicted that those who were low on rehabilitative values and high on punitive values would have moderate levels of organizational commitment. As can be seen in the interaction plot, these respondents actually had the lowest levels of organizational commitment compared with the other three groups, which again was confirmed in the simple slope analysis ($t=-4.34, p<.001$; $t=8.87, p<.001$; $t=2.31, p<.05$). Thus, hypothesis 3d was not supported.

Hypothesis 3e

This hypothesis proposed that the interactive effects of rehabilitative and punitive values on organizational commitment would be fully mediated by PO fit. In order to test this, I followed procedures according to Baron and Kenny (1986). These results appear in Table 4. This was tested in four steps. First, the test of hypothesis 2 (above) demonstrated a significant interaction of values predicting PO fit ($\beta=.11, p<.001$). For the second step, I tested the effects of PO fit on organizational commitment, which also resulted in a significant, positive relationship ($\beta=.61, p<.001$). Thirdly, I tested the significance for the interaction of values predicting organizational commitment ($\beta=.13, p<.001$; note that this was also the test for hypothesis 3a, above). Finally, in order to test the mediation effect, I then tested the effects of the value interaction predicting organizational commitment while controlling for PO fit. This resulted in a decreased beta coefficient (from $.11, p <.001$ to $.08, p<.01$) which remained significant for values predicting organizational commitment, indicating support for a partial-mediation. I then tested this using the Sobel test to see if the influence of the interaction was carried to organizational commitment through PO fit, using the raw regression coefficients and their standard error from the multiple

regression results reported above (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Sobel, 1982). This indicated that there was a significant mediation effect ($t=2.68$, $p<.01$). Therefore, hypothesis 3e was partially supported.

Hypotheses 4a through 4e

Hypothesis 4a predicted a main effect such that those who were high on rehabilitative values would have the highest levels of burnout. Contrary to this hypothesis, Hypothesis 4b proposed a competing hypothesis such that those who were high on rehabilitative values would have the lowest levels of burnout. This pair of hypotheses was tested using hierarchical regression which included all control variables, and then the main effect of rehabilitative values predicting burnout. Results indicated support for Hypothesis 4b, showing a negative main effect of rehabilitative values in predicting burnout ($\beta=-.09$, $p<.05$).

Hypothesis 4c predicted a main effect of punitive values on burnout, such that those correctional officers who were high on punitive values would have increased levels of burnout. This was tested using hierarchical regression, with control variables in the first step, including the main effect of rehabilitative values, followed by the main effect of punitive values predicting burnout. Results indicated that punitive values had a marginally significant positive effect on burnout ($\beta=.09$, $p<.10$).

Hypothesis 4d proposed an interactive effect, so that correctional officers who are high on both punitive and rehabilitative values (rather than low) would have the highest levels of burnout. In contrast, Hypothesis 4e proposed a competing prediction such that correctional officers who are high on both punitive and rehabilitative values (rather than low) would have the lowest levels of burnout. This pair of hypotheses was investigated through moderated multiple regression and the results appear in Table 3. Results from the final step indicated a significant

interaction term ($\beta=-.09$, $p<.05$; $\Delta R^2=.01$, $p<.05$). This interaction was then plotted to assist with interpretation, and appears in Figure 3. As can be seen in this figure, there are three groups of respondents that have relatively equal (and the lowest levels) of burnout: those who are high on both sets of values, those who are high on only rehabilitative values, and those who are low on both sets of values. This interpretation was confirmed by conducting t-tests to evaluate the significance of the simple slopes in this interaction. Neither the slope for “high” levels of rehabilitative values across punitive values nor the slope for low levels of punitive across levels of rehabilitative values was significant ($t=.05$, ns; $t=.68$, ns). However, the slope for “high” punitive values across rehabilitative values was significant ($t=-3.08$, $p<.01$), and the slope for low rehabilitative values across punitive values was significant ($t=3.65$, $p=.001$). Thus, the interaction indicates that those who are high on punitive and low on rehabilitative values have the highest levels of burnout relative to the other combinations. However, the other three combinations did not statistically significantly differ, and thus the “high/high” combination was only significantly lower in terms of burnout than one other group—those who were high on punitive and low on rehabilitative values—and not significantly better than the other two groups of values combinations. Therefore, there was partial support for Hypothesis 4e, and no support for Hypothesis 4d.

Hypothesis 4f

This hypothesis proposed that the interactive effects of rehabilitative and punitive values predicted in Hypothesis 4e would be fully mediated by PO fit. In order to test this, I followed procedures according to Baron and Kenny (1986). These results appear in Table 4. This was tested in four steps. First, the test of hypothesis 2 (above) demonstrated a significant interaction of values predicting PO fit ($\beta=.11$, $p<.001$; $\Delta R^2=.01$, $p<.01$). For the second step, I tested the

effects of PO fit on burnout, which resulted in a significant, negative relationship ($\beta = -.20$, $p < .001$). Thirdly, I tested the significance for the interaction of values predicting burnout ($\beta = .09$, $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $p < .05$). Finally, in order to test the mediation effect, I then tested the effects of the value interaction predicting burnout while controlling for PO fit. This resulted in a marginally-significant beta coefficient ($p < .10$) for values predicting burnout, indicating support for a partial-mediation. I then tested this using the Sobel test to see if the influence of the interaction was carried to burnout through PO fit, using the raw regression coefficients and their standard error from the multiple regression results reported above (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Sobel, 1982). This indicated that there was a significant mediation effect ($t = -2.40$, $p < .05$). Therefore, hypothesis 4f was partially supported.

Hypothesis 4g

This hypothesis predicted that those who were low on both sets of values would have the highest levels of burnout. This was tested using the regression results and plotting from the tests for Hypotheses 4c through 4e. As can be seen in the plotted interaction, those that were lowest on both sets of values did not have the highest levels of burnout; rather, those that were high on only punitive values had the highest levels of burnout ($t = 3.65$, $p < .001$). Therefore, this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5, in contrast to the previous hypotheses, proposed that those who are *balanced* in their punitive and rehabilitative values would have the most optimal outcomes for PO fit and burnout. This was tested using polynomial regression. Consistent with prior research on polynomial regression (Edwards, 1993, 1994), I first scale-centered all predictors by subtracting the scale midpoint from each value (3 on a 5-point scale) before conducting the

analyses. This procedure reduces multicollinearity among the quadratic variables. For each dependent variable, I composed a separate quadratic equation using each set of values as predictors. This resulted in three regressions (one for PO fit, one for organizational commitment, and one for burnout). In accordance with the technique, I specified the functional form of the hypothesized model. I hypothesized that any incongruence would lead to lower (i.e., worse) individual outcomes than would congruence. Therefore, I used the quadratic regression equation, including separate measures of both value sets (rehabilitative values and punitive values), their squared terms, as well as their interaction term. These regressions were completed by placing control variables into step 1, each value's main effect into step 2, and then each value's squared term and their interaction term into step 3. Results of these analyses appear in Table 5.

To interpret the results of the polynomial regressions, I first had to determine if the higher-order terms resulted in unique variance explained in the outcomes. These models (from the third step of the regression equation described above) significantly predicted outcomes ($R^2=.06$, $p<.001$ for PO fit; $R^2=.05$, $p<.001$ for burnout; $R^2=.13$, $p<.001$ for organizational commitment); however, the higher-order *interaction* terms explained significant variance, whereas the quadratic terms did not. Following the evidence that the interaction terms were significant in the regression, I then plotted these results in three-dimensions for each outcome using the unstandardized coefficients from the final step of the regression (in Figures 4a through 4c).

However, because the quadratic terms were not significant in the prediction of either of these outcomes, there is no evidence to support the hypothesis that the balance of these values affects individuals' job attitudes: rather, it is their interaction as predicted in the previous hypotheses. Therefore, Hypothesis 5 was not supported.

Discussion Study I

The purpose of Study I of this dissertation was to evaluate the nature of conflicting values, that is, their latent structures, whether individuals could hold both of these values, and the potential *positive* effects of holding such values. Results demonstrated that individuals *can* experience both punitive and rehabilitative values simultaneously, and that these values do not necessarily lie on opposite ends of a continuum, but rather form relatively independent dimensions that interact. Results also support the argument that the interaction of holding both sets of values can have positive outcomes—those who strongly endorse both sets of values experienced the highest degree of PO fit, and this effect then is related to lower levels of burnout and increased organizational commitment.

Interestingly, these results clearly contradict much existing theory and research (Festinger, 1957) which presumes that individuals cannot effectively hold conflicting values simultaneously, as well as the assumption of negative outcomes. Moreover, my results show that those who have both sets of values are *not* those who are at the highest risk for burnout as would be predicted using role conflict theory (Rizzo, et al., 1970). Rather, those who reported the highest levels of burnout, instead, were those individuals who were high on punitive values and simultaneously were low on values stressing rehabilitation of offenders. Perhaps this is because those who are highly punitive are strongly depersonalizing offenders, which is a known correlate of burnout (Maslach, 1982). Similarly, perhaps those who are punitive are also experiencing strong levels of anger or negative affect, which can also lead to depression and burnout (Maslach, 1982).

Interestingly, however, the possession of punitive values is not necessarily always a negative for employees—if possessed at the same time as rehabilitative values, we do not

witness higher levels of burnout. Instead, we see the highest perceptions of PO fit. This offers support for the value plurality model (Tetlock, 1986), which states that individuals can think integratively when conflicting values are both strongly held. Perhaps it is that those who are able to think integratively have higher-level conceptualizations of PO fit, which allows them to make sense of their environment and values in a way that does not cause dissonance and the negative job attitudes associated with it. Tetlock's construct of integrative complexity is a dimension of the broader construct of cognitive complexity, which is defined as the ability of a manager to envision an organization from multiple and competing perspectives (with the other dimension as differentiation; Crockett, 1965; Tetlock, 1986). As a broader construct, cognitive complexity allows individuals to discover solutions to complex problems in organizations due to their ability to hold multiple perspectives. Again, my research offers evidence in support of this construct as it applies to potentially competing values, and how an individual who can embrace both of these values might be able to benefit because of enlarged perspectives of their organization, which transfers to improved job attitudes.

My results largely support the interactive model, predicted by the role enrichment perspective, rather than the depletion or conservation model of burnout (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Rothbard, 2001), or the values balance hypothesis (Braithwaite, 1994). In my data, the congruence of values within individuals does not affect their attitudes of fit, organizational commitment and burnout. It is possible that the equality of values at medium and low levels is less important than the fact that these values are not highly endorsed; thus, because both values are needed in such an environment for optimum functioning, the absence of these values causes a decrease in job attitudes, swamping any effects that might be observed by their congruence. However, future research should not abandon this line of inquiry; it is possible that conflicting value congruence works to affect employees in other ways (e.g., it may affect

their performance, or their ability to work with others in the environment). In addition, future research should examine more complicated models of organizational culture which is composed of individual employee values (Schneider, 1987), and how employees and organization are potentially affected by conflicting values in ways that have previously gone unexplored. Moreover, some research demonstrates that Asian cultures might be more tolerant of contradiction than those in Western cultures (cf. El-Sawad, et al., 2004; Ho, 2000). Therefore, it might be interesting to explore how national culture relates to conditions when conflicting values may be occurring. Future work should also explore other types of conflicting values and organizational goals for their potential positive effects, as well as how they are best implemented by organizations and their employees.

There are also potential practical implications for organizations whose employees experience conflicting values. For example, organizations might be able to select individuals who have both sets of values, and therefore will function better in certain environments or in certain situations. Research has found that values often predict performance in organizations; for example, the value of concern for others has been found to be related to actual helping behaviors in organizations (McNeely & Meglino, 1994). Moreover, research on employee socialization has found that individuals who come to possess values that are favorable towards their organization and their role are more likely to acquire knowledge and skills needed for their job (cf. Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, & Gardner, 1994). Thus, these employees are likely to use these skills and knowledge to contribute to their actual job performance. This research on socialization also suggests that individuals may come to learn or acquire values over time. This implies that employees might also be able to be trained in ways that expand their values systems so that they can reap the potential benefits of holding both sets of values in relevant organizational contexts. Other research has also found evidence that employee values might be influenced by their job

experiences. For example, Wageman (1995) found that individuals' values towards working interdependently with others were influenced by their experiences in working in such arrangements. Such might be the case with correctional officers; that is, their values are influenced by their experiences with rehabilitation and punishment of inmates within their organizations.

While there are clear theoretical implications for many areas of organizational research from Study I, there are remaining questions about *how* exactly individuals can hold simultaneously salient and conflicting sets of values, when a large body of theory suggests that this is not possible without discomfort and attempts to reduce it (e.g., Festinger, 1957; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002; Priester & Petty, 1996). For example, cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) says that individuals are dissonance-reducers; that is, inconsistencies are bothersome for people, motivating them to reduce the discomfort. However, evidence from my first study demonstrates that there might be individuals and/or conditions under which people live with some sort of "dissonance." Furthermore, my first study suggests that these people might actually benefit rather than experience negative outcomes as previously thought.

However, it is unclear if these individuals recognize their own dissonance, or even view their simultaneously held values as potentially conflicting, and the explanations for such phenomena. Therefore, while the typical order for research is inductive/qualitative followed by deductive/empirical research, this dissertation takes the opposite approach. Namely, given the results of the empirical study, inductive work is necessary to explain the results in a more comprehensive and grounded way. Moreover, Study 1 included only attitudinal measurements, and a second approach will allow for assessment of behavioral implications. My objective of Study II, therefore, was to develop theory about how sets of conflicting values are held by

individuals, and how they work to affect job attitudes in ways that were previously not theorized.

Chapter 6: Study II

Research Questions and Methods

Study I of this dissertation has demonstrated several important contributions to our understanding of how personal values exist, and how they work to affect job attitudes. Study I established support for the hypothesis arguing for the relative independence of values that were previously thought to be compensatory. Thus, evaluating these values systems as interactive and complementary has proven useful in predicting job attitudes such as fit, commitment, and burnout. However, questions remain as to *how* exactly these individuals can hold simultaneously salient and often perceived as conflicting values, when a large body of theory suggests that this is not possible (e.g., Festinger, 1957; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2002; Priester & Petty, 1996). For example, cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) says that individuals are dissonance-reducers; that is, inconsistencies are bothersome for people, motivating them to try to resolve or reconcile them. However, evidence from my first study demonstrates that there might be individuals and/or conditions under which people live with some sort of “dissonance.” However, it is unclear if these individuals recognize their own dissonance, or even view their simultaneously held values as potentially conflicting. Therefore, while the typical order for research is inductive/qualitative followed by deductive/empirical research, this dissertation takes the opposite approach. Moreover, Study I included only attitudinal measurements, and a second approach allows for assessment of behavioral implications. Namely, given the results of the empirical study, inductive work is necessary to explain the results in a more comprehensive and grounded way.

My objective of Study II, therefore, was to develop theory about how sets of conflicting values affect work attitudes and behaviors by conducting an inductive, qualitative study. Because

most work has failed to account for the inherent complexity of individuals' values in such occupations as correctional officers, my goal was to discover how individuals with varying combinations of these job-salient values differ; that is, *how do they specifically affect their job attitudes and potential behavior in context?* These individuals, within situations of inherent conflict must navigate the tension within themselves and their jobs (cf. Margolis, et al., 2006). However, we understand little about how these conflicting values specifically predict job attitudes and eventually shape behavior.

Moreover, the question of how conflicting values affect work attitudes is highly contextual, because the very nature of the work is what likely elicits these values (or is where these values might be of the greatest benefit). This context is not fully appreciated through survey-based methodology. In addition, due to the highly sensitive nature of corrections work, direct observation by researchers is severely limited. An inductive, grounded examination is therefore an appropriate investigation of an underdeveloped and not yet well-understood construct and phenomenon (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Following prior researchers, I focus this investigation on clarifying individuals' thoughts and feelings that would be inaccessible for other forms of research (Eisenhardt, 1989; Margolis, et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1990). I examine these questions within a sample of correctional officers, who are under potentially conflicting job demands and subject to parallel conflicting personal values.

As previously described, correctional officers must, as part of their job, secure criminal offenders from society, guard against their escape, and maintain order through punishment (Taxman, et al., 2004). In contrast, they must also work with rehabilitative objectives of their institution and of society, transporting offenders to various forms of substance abuse and mental health treatment services, vocational activities, education (Poole & Regoli, 1980; Taxman, et al., 2004). Correctional officers must punish offenders and secure them away from greater society as

required by their job, yet they must also balance this punitive approach with a moral and humanistic goal of treating others in an interpersonally appropriate manner. Thus, correctional officers must, at the same time, perform their duties to their organization which are often imposing harm on others, and also being primary caretakers of inmates. Yet, they must balance these objectives, because there are basic human tendencies to both react in anger and retaliation to abusive personal assaults often demonstrated by inmates, and to empathize with others who are in distress (Batson, 1998; Davis, 1996).

Correctional officers are often categorized as having “punitive” or “rehabilitative” orientations (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). However, the primary purpose of this dissertation was to evaluate the possibility of, and the effects of, holding *both* orientations to varying degrees. Therefore, based on their survey responses in Study I in which I asked them about their punitive and rehabilitative values, I coded the entire set of correctional officers on their “rehabilitative” and “punitive/security” values into high (above the median) and low (at or below the median) on both sets of values, resulting in the 2 x 2 seen in Figure 2. This was done in order to classify potential interview respondents from each punitive-rehabilitative values combination.

Setting and Sample

Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Vaughan (1992) advise qualitative researchers to sample broadly when generating a novel, theoretically-grounded framework. Therefore, I interviewed corrections officers of each type of values combination (each of the four cells in Table 3). I interviewed a total of 40 correctional officers (6-8 officers per values-combination cell, as well as four new correctional officers)². Because this particular Department of Corrections had been

² Access to individual correctional officers’ identities were restricted, and four institutions were eliminated from the potential qualitative sample due to highly salient violence issues. Therefore, the qualitative sample consisted of corrections officers from 3 of the 13 institutions in the original sample. These three institutions were of varied security levels.

subject to several violent inmate and correctional officer attacks and killings during the time of data collection, interview locations were severely restricted for both researcher safety and study validity concerns. Because such events were recent and highly salient at the time of the interviews, I did not want officers' responses to be swayed by such recent events in their institutions. I had to further restrict the locations for interviews to maximize efficiency. Therefore, due to time and travel considerations, I restricted traveling to several of the institutions, and only selected institutions where there were at least 50 officers from the original sample still employed at the institution, and thus available for interviews. Therefore, three of the institutions were able to be used to select interview participants. This sample was representative of the entire Study I dataset, and did not differ significantly from the larger sample on these demographics. Characteristics and demographics of the original sample (Study 1) and this sample appear in Table 6.

The sampling strategy allowed me to interview the “extremes” of each value combination—that is, exemplars for each cell (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This sampling strategy allowed for the incorporation of all possible values combinations of individuals, as well as new officers, thus allowing me to generate theory with breadth as well as depth (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In addition, this follows the guidelines of theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), minimizing differences within the sample by conducting comparisons within groups, as well as maximizing differences within the sample by conducting comparisons between groups when analyzing the data.

Data Collection

I collected data through extensive, semi-structured interviews with correctional officers sampled from a group of survey respondents with certain values combinations. All interviews

were tape-recorded and then transcribed. Interviews were approximately one hour long and covered the topics in the interview protocol.

Interview structure

Interviews were structured around three primary areas: (1) a situational interview question, using an incident that was designed using insight from informal focus groups and individual interviews with correctional officers (who were not part of the original sample). This question was designed to be a realistic event that could tap both punitive and rehabilitative values, and also contained limited follow-up questioning about predicted behavior. (2) a critical incident recollection, where each correctional officer was asked to recall a time where they acted both in a rehabilitative and punitive manner (and follow-up questions), and finally (3) individual correctional officers' job characteristics and personal experiences (such as why they entered the field, job characteristics questions, and how they believe their values and opinions have changed since beginning, etc.).

In addition, when possible I attempted to limit retrospective bias (i.e., reconstructive rationality) of the participants by using several techniques suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). These included being careful not to lead the informant's responses by sticking with the list of primary and secondary probing questions, and attempting to share as little as possible with the informants about any existing ideas being formulated from the interview process.

The interview questions focused on themes pulled from relevant psychological and management literature on psychological coping and burnout (e.g., Brown, et al., 2005; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996; Folkman & Lazarus, 1988); necessary evil, and moral deliberations (e.g., Margolis, et al., 2006; Molinsky & Margolis, 2005; Ashforth, et al., 2006; Gilligan, 1977, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969, 1984); meaningfulness (Cameron, et al., 2003; Wrzesniewski, 2003); job demands, resources, and control (Hackman & Oldham, 1974, 1980; Karasek, 1979); and job

stress and burnout (Edwards, 1992; Maslach, 1982; Pines & Maslach, 1982; Pines & Aronson, 1988). Interview questions were designed to prompt participants about their job attitudes and values, as well as ask them to recall a specific incident where both of their rehabilitative and punitive values were salient, and how they dealt with this task. These methods tie directly to the guiding research questions by allowing for elaboration upon how correctional officers see their values as influencing their job attitudes, as well as their task-specific behavior.

Thus, the interviews were composed of both a general, gestalt-type interview, as well as containing a critical-incident recollection (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In addition, participants were asked to recall a specific incident that they participated in that involved both values of punishment and rehabilitation. This helped to place individuals' values within a specific context to see how they work in a more grounded and specific frame of reference. A complete list of interview topics/questions is listed in the Appendix. However, for the purpose of this dissertation's analyses, I focused in on three key questions: (1) the behavioral interview question/critical incident recollection, (2) the situational interview question, and finally, (3) a question which prompted them if they believed that these two values were in conflict or not, and finally.

In the course of this research, I developed relationships with certain key informants (Meyerson, 1994), or confidants (Miles & Huberman, 1994), who helped to provide additional background information on the prisons and the profession, and respond to any follow-up concerns or questions I have concerning my developing theory and analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). More specifically, Dr. Faye S. Taxman, a criminologist and renowned researcher highly familiar with this population, is part of this dissertation committee. In addition, ongoing projects with the Department of Corrections allow access to criminal justice researchers, wardens and other prison administrators, and correctional officers with whom I spoke and gained feedback.

Finally, interview informants also took the values survey again, in order to help rule out reverse causality issues about values forming or changing over time. The interviews were all recorded and then professionally transcribed.

Data Analysis

I implemented a multi-method, multi-phase approach in conducting data analysis (Patton, 1999). Following Yin (1994) and Eisenhardt (1989), I analyzed the qualitative data through a thorough and systematic qualitative analysis (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). This process is designed to help the researcher make discoveries and generate theory and hypotheses while developing rich descriptions of social phenomena (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I was careful to minimize holistic bias by ensuring that I look for counter-evidence as well as evidence supporting my pre-conceived ideas about how individuals hold conflicting values (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Where such counter-evidence exists, it was included in the coding scheme. For example, evidence of discomfort, dissonance, or rationalization tactics to reduce any experienced conflict between values were included in the coding scheme and is included in the results of this study.

Systematic qualitative analysis

To understand more systematically how different sets of conflicting values affect job attitudes and behavior, I employed a process of iterative, qualitative analysis to develop theory about how people can hold these values and their implications for potential behavior (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This was done in five steps. First, I was interested in deciphering the effects of values on interview respondents' potential behavior. Therefore, while blind to their self-identified values scores, and focusing only on interview responses to the consistent situational interview question, I developed a comprehensive list of all of the respondents' punitive and

rehabilitative thoughts and actions. I did this by first reading all of these interview responses and taking notes on each respondent's thoughts and behaviors. These notes were approximately 1-2 pages per respondent, and only focused on their responses to the situational interview question. I then re-read the transcripts, adding more observed thoughts and behaviors, and also sorting them into three categories: punitive, rehabilitative, and "other." I then re-read each situational interview until I believed I had developed a comprehensive list of subjects' punitive and rehabilitative thoughts and behaviors (i.e., nothing new was being found; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Using this comprehensive list, I developed a coding scheme to use in order to rate these situational interview responses from 1(low) to 5(high) on rehabilitative thoughts and actions, and from 1(low) to 5(high) on punitive thoughts and actions. This coding scheme appears in Appendix C. I then used this coding scheme to rate the strength of each respondent's rehabilitative and punitive thoughts and behaviors exhibited in the situational interview verbal responses. I then hired and trained an independent coder, who was also blind to individuals' self-scored values responses, to go through the situational interview responses, using the coding scheme in Appendix C, to also rate each response on punitive and rehabilitative thoughts and actions. As part of the training, the coder and I rated approximately 10% of the interviews together. After the second coder finished, I ran an initial correlation analysis, which resulted in a lower than acceptable criteria for rehabilitative and punitive ratings ($r=.62$ $p<.001$ and $.60$, $p<.001$, respectively). Therefore, we met and discussed our discrepancies that differed by 2 or more points on the response scale. The discrepancies appeared to be due to the second coder's narrow use of the scale-anchors. That is, the scale was iteratively developed based on the distribution observed in the behavioral question data in order to span the entire range of responses; however, the second coder often coded the behaviorally "low" responses as a middle value (3) rather than a "low" value (1). After resolving the discrepancies (approximately 8

ratings adjustments), reliabilities had acceptable correlation results ($r=.72$ for rehabilitative and $.79$ for punitive). I then calculated the Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC1) in order to estimate the proportion of variance in the data that was due to differences in the subjects rather than differences in the raters, which resulted in acceptable values ($.84$ for rehabilitative, $.88$ for punitive).

I then conducted correlational analyses between these individuals' self-identified values at time 1 (for Study 1) and time 2 (at the time of the interview) in order to check for their consistency across time. The results appear in Table 7. Interestingly, despite values typically demonstrating stability over time (Schwartz, 1992, 1994), respondents' values across time 1 and time 2 were not significantly correlated. This was the case for both punitive ($r=-.06$, ns) and rehabilitative ($r=.20$, ns) values. Table 8 contains descriptive information on the percentage of individuals whose values changed by varying increments. Because values guide thoughts and behaviors (Schwartz, 1994), I then looked at the relationship between individuals' values at time 1 and time 2, and how each score predicted the coded thoughts and behaviors they exhibited in the situational interview. Results indicated that time 1 values were not significantly correlated with their responses to the situational interview ($r=-.01$, ns for punitive; $r=-.21$, ns for rehabilitative). Respondents' time 2 self-scored values were significantly correlated with their situational interview responses such that the more punitive they scored their own values, the more punitive their thoughts and actions were ($r=.41$, $p<.01$). However, this was only the case for the punitive values. The rehabilitative self-scored values and the respondents' coded rehabilitative thoughts and behaviors did not significantly correlate ($r=-.02$, ns).

The values at time 2 appeared to be those that interview respondents were endorsing at the time of the interview rather than their values measured at time 1. The purpose of this qualitative study involved hearing about respondents' explanations about how they balanced

their conflicting values and understood their complex realities. Therefore, it made the most sense to use the values endorsed at the actual time of the interview rather than those endorsed when the initial survey had been distributed. This resulted in the changes in the distributions from what I originally had intended to sample for the interviews (seen in Figure 12). Nine of the original 36 respondents did not change in their classification (25%), however, the remaining 75% of respondents changed in their 2x2 classification. While this led to a small sample size for Cell 3 (high punitive, low rehabilitative; N=3), I felt it was the best approach to evaluate how the respondents dealt with their current values systems. In order to evaluate if there was an overall shift among the respondents in either value dimension, I then conducted t-tests on the rehabilitative and punitive means between time 1 and time 2. No significant differences were found ($t=-.49$, ns for rehabilitative, $t=-.48$, ns for punitive), providing some evidence that the observed changes were not due entirely to social desirability concerns or other methodological considerations.

In the second step in the qualitative analysis, I applied Eisenhardt's (1989) methodological strategy of moving between within-case analysis and cross-case analysis to search for patterns. Thus, using their time 2 self-scored values, I separated respondents according to their value combinations into four cells. I then qualitatively content analyzed the interviews, focusing on three key questions: their situational interview responses, their behavioral interview response (a critical incident recollection of when they saw both values coming into play in their jobs), and their responses to me asking them if they believed these values were in conflict with each other or not. In this process, I first looked within groups of respondents who self-scored "high" on rehabilitative values, taking extensive notes about what these individuals had in common in terms of thoughts and behaviors. I then did this for people who self-scored "low" on rehabilitative values, then for those who scored "high" on punitive values, and then for those

“low” on punitive values.

Next, I compared those who were high on rehabilitative values to those who were low on rehabilitative values, looking for similarities and differences in my iteratively developing case histories of each respondent. I then did this for punitive values, comparing those who scored low to those who scored high on this value (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). During this process, I took detailed notes about emerging themes, and periodically revisited all interviews to ensure a thorough approach (Gersick, Bartunek, & Dutton, 2000; Rindova & Kotha, 2001). I stopped when I reached thematic-theoretical saturation (i.e., no new themes are emerging from the data; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; 1999). After doing this extensive comparison, I believed I had developed a comprehensive list of similar characteristics among people on each value dimension. Using this list, I then went back to each case history (consisting of answers to these three key questions and all notes made about that respondent), counting how many interview respondents demonstrated each of these common characteristics that I had observed. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 9.

The third step in the qualitative analysis involved comparing individuals not just on their strength of either orientation, but comparing and contrasting all four “cells” of value combinations. In doing this, I identified new insights beyond the commonalities discovered in the second step (above) that help to explain important differences in the thoughts and actions among each cell of respondents. I then refined the categories by constructing a map of emerging themes, and differentiating between the various groups of respondents’ interview themes (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The results of this comparison phase appear in Tables 10 through 13.

The fourth phase of qualitative analysis was to use insight provided by my data to construct typologies and theoretical development about how individuals act in the face of

conflicting values. I moved back and forth between the data and extant theory and research reviewed in Chapter 2 in order to compare and inform my emerging findings and qualitative concepts (Eisenhardt, 1989). The results of this qualitative analysis are displayed in Table 14.

Lastly, I went back to the data and re-coded all respondents on *all* the dimensions that were elicited qualitatively. Therefore, I was able to compare across value dimensions and across specific cells of individuals to see if they had significantly greater likelihood of exhibiting these dimensions than those of other value strength levels, and other value combinations. Therefore, after recoding all of the data, I performed z-tests to compare the proportion of individuals of within each value (e.g., high rehabilitative) to those of the opposite dimension (e.g., low rehabilitative) that exhibited the dimensions found in the inductive analysis. This enabled me to see if these groups of respondents were significantly different in terms of the proportions of individuals exhibiting these dimensions. I then ran similar z-tests to compare the proportion of individuals within each cell (e.g., high rehabilitative, high punitive) to the rest of the sample (e.g., all other value combinations) to test for significant differences between the proportions of respondents exhibiting certain inductive dimensions. The results of these significance tests are included in the relevant accompanying tables.

Results: Balancing Conflicting Values

Above, I described my iterative process of evaluating the qualitative data. There, I also described the results of the first step of the analysis, the multimethod tests, as it greatly influenced the process of the qualitative analysis. Below, I present and discuss the results of my analyses that are described above in four steps. First, I discuss the results found in the multimethod tests that I reported above. Second, I report and discuss the results of how respondents in different *single* value-strengths varied in their thoughts and behaviors in the

interview responses. Third, I report and discuss the results of the cell to cell comparisons (i.e., the results demonstrated by looking at both value sets in tandem). Fourth, I report and discuss the typologies derived about how people act when confronted with conflicting values, and how this extends literature about conflicting values. In this section, I also discuss how these qualitative findings help to explain and extend findings from Study 1.

Multimethod Results and Discussion

As reported above, I found that officers' self-scored values were correlated with the thoughts and behaviors found in their situational interview responses. However, the correlation was only significant for how their self-scored punitive values predicted their coded punitive thoughts and behaviors. There was not a significant correlation between the officers' self-scored rehabilitative values with their independently coded thoughts and behaviors found in their responses. This could potentially be a result of individuals self-scoring themselves as highly rehabilitative due to social desirability concerns, and having more time to think through their answers on the values survey in comparison to the interview. It is possible that when responding immediately to the situational interview question, the officers were not able to demonstrate thoughts and actions that were in concordance with the values they self-reported on the values survey.

Also of interest is that officers' self-reported values at time 1 and at time 2 did not significantly correlate with each other (see Table 7). I believe this is likely the case because these values are quite salient in their work environment, which can often prove extreme. Recent personal assaults on the officer herself or of a close coworker might have swayed their self-reported values as more punitive, whereas a recent success in seeing an inmate released may have swayed her towards being more rehabilitative. On the other hand, seeing an inmate return to prison after failing to obey the law might make an officer feel less rehabilitative, or seeing a

recent severe punishment of an inmate by overly disciplinary officers might lead them towards feeling less punitive. Because situations such as these are likely quite powerful influences on officers, I believed their current self-scored values to likely be more accurate gauges than those taken at time 1 (nearly three years earlier). Moreover, if these values were indeed more accurate than those taken at time 1, using the current classifications for the remainder of the inductive work would be more helpful in explaining how values affect their current job attitudes (i.e., the relationships explored in Study 1).

Importantly, I found evidence that these values, despite their unstable nature across long periods of time, did indeed have behavioral implications, which extended the findings from Study 1 of this dissertation. That is, those who self-identified as valuing a more punitive approach demonstrated more punitive thoughts and actions when confronted with the exact same realistic scenario than those who had lower punitive values. These thoughts and actions, detailed in Appendix C, included hurting the inmate, engaging in physical assaults on inmates, threatening, cursing and screaming at them, and retaliating against them.

Single Value Orientation Results

I then conducted qualitative analyses according to the procedures outlined above, which included looking for similarities and differences among respondents on each single value orientation. I first sorted all of the respondents into their self-identified values groups (high and low on rehabilitative values). Then, I sorted all of the respondents again but into the groups based on high and low on punitive values). Based on these analyses, which were done independently of one another, I made some interesting discoveries in how these values guided individuals job-related thoughts and behaviors, which I elaborate upon below.

Low Rehabilitative

For those who scored “low” on rehabilitative values (N=15, 37.5%), I made observations

that many of these individuals had several common characteristics. These results are summarized in Table 9. The first commonality I discovered was that these individuals appeared to have great contempt towards inmates. That is, they displayed disgust and a general lack of concern for inmates' health, safety, or rehabilitation. Take, for example, the following quote:

“There will be guys, and it is 100 degrees locked in the cell, no air condition, no ventilation. It is hot. There will be in there howling, ‘oh my God! Please help me!’...[but] they spit on you, throw feces on you, talk about fighting you...and you know man, go ahead. Get off my face. I do not care what you do. As far as I’m concerned, you could die in that cell.”-*Respondent 2*

Clearly, this officer demonstrates a lack of regard for these inmates who are suffering.

Another example can be found when officers often complained about, and appeared almost jealous of, the resources that inmates had:

“I do not understand why, if a person is found guilty of a crime, you want to reward them with schooling, education, vocational skills, you know—have [training for] electricians, plumbing. They want to educate the people more than what they already are, for a crime they committed. I do not understand why [they want to] reward them.”
-*Respondent 41*

The second characteristic that I observed among officers who were “low” on rehabilitative values was that they appeared frustrated by a belief that inmates were not rehabilitated. These respondents often cited the cause of the problem to be that the system was not set up to allow for inmates to be rehabilitated. Thus, because of this, they had a strong belief in a continual “revolving door” of the inmate population. That is, they saw inmates as constantly getting out only to come back into the institution, i.e., not rehabilitated or able to live a law-abiding life. Again, the root cause of this was often blamed on the system being set up as not structured properly to motivate inmate change, rather than on the individual inmates as being at fault for not being able to change.

“Personally, I don’t believe the system rehabilitates anyone. Because when I attended school for criminal justice, there was no such thing as rehabilitation... rehabilitation is a chain which starts to work from with, and for the system—because to

me, the system, a lot of people discuss the system, it does not prepare them for society, jobs, etc. I don't think the system rehabilitates.”-*Respondent 7*

“A lot of people you get in here, they keep coming back, anyway. I think they are angry. Rehabilitated? Maybe a small few, but no—I don't see that it works. They keep coming back. They have it too good here. A lot of these guys have more than I do...it's just a big game, I think.”-*Respondent 33*

The third characteristic I observed among officers who were low on rehabilitative values was that, in their responses on the situational interview question, their primary concern was for themselves. This was in stark contrast to other officers who were able to demonstrate great concern for the inmate, despite his hypothetical personal assault. Those officers will be discussed in the “high” rehabilitation commonalities. Here, officers who scored low on rehabilitative values discuss their concern for themselves in the situational interview question response:

“I think...you are going to have fear, depending on what that person is capable of. We all know inside, what we are capable of to protect ourselves, but, you know, there is always that one tougher guy out there, and you know you cannot beat them all. What I guess my first instinct would be to look around my surroundings, where I can go for safety along with, you know, feeling that fear that I talked about.” -*Respondent 42*

“Well...I think that I would try to isolate the inmate so as far as to get him away from me...in some way of doing [that], whether it be restraints, or getting him to a cell or into a room, anywhere that he could be divided or segregated or separated from me or anybody else. Emotionally, probably initially I would be scared, and the adrenaline...so like initially you may be wondering, like, what's going to happen to me?”-*Respondent 27*

A final characteristic observed among those officers who were low on rehabilitative values was that they frequently mentioned inmates' crimes. I did not see evidence of this in the “high” rehabilitative values group. This awareness of their crimes is demonstrated in the following quotes:

“I think we are quite liberal here...with the punishment the people get in this prison...that we have, you know, child molesters, rapists, killers.”-*Respondent 32*

“There was a guy who was caught shooting where an innocent child was killed. They were just sitting out on the steps...but I used to hate this guy.”-*Respondent 2*

High Rehabilitative

Next, I evaluated those who scored highly on rehabilitative values (N=25, 62.5%). These results are summarized in Table 9. In stark contrast to those who were “low” on rehabilitative values, those who were high on rehabilitative values demonstrated their first concern in the situational interview response to be for the inmate, rather than for themselves and their own safety. The following quotes illustrate quite different thoughts and concerns in contrast to those officers above who were primarily concerned about themselves when presented with the hypothetical scenario:

“Well, first of all if I get somebody like this...after we try to restrain him, we will have him medically evaluated to find out exactly what is going on and if the doctor or whatever would have said that this inmate had some type of drug...we would go back and evaluate him again.”-*Respondent 5*

“I would tell the person that I am not going to talk to them until they calm down. And when [you] calm down, just call me and I will come back and I will address whatever their concerns are... So, anything that I can help them, I would, as long as it’s permitted, you know, in our rules, and I will do it for them”-*Respondent 16*

A second characteristic that I observed among the officers who scored highly on rehabilitative values was that they often spoke about talking with inmates to resolve problems, and explaining procedures to them. Comparatively, those who were “low” on rehabilitative values did not seem to demonstrate this characteristic.³ The following remarks clearly demonstrate this characteristic of officers that scored highly on rehabilitative values talking with inmates to resolve problems:

“I wanted to tell [an inmate acting up], you know, shut the hell up...but I just looked out and I realized, wait a minute, I do not need to do that. I need to just talk to this guy. So, I did...he finally calmed down and then when I saw him the next day, he was like, ‘thank you’.”-*Respondent 11*

“What I prime myself on is, I have got good communication skills, and I have learned it over the years in my experience that if you give an inmate time, he will come

³ However, among those who scored low on rehabilitative values, their methods of resolving conflicts with inmates also depended upon their punitive values and will be discussed in the “values combinations” results below.

down. I have had them shouting, spitting, foaming at the mouth to me. I will walk away and come back maybe in 15 or 20 minutes...I am not one of those guys that go in and use force just because he is cussing me...I just listen to him. You got be a good listener.” – *Respondent 24*

Another trait of officers that scored high on rehabilitative values is that they often appeared to take the perspective of inmates and their individual situations into account. In this first example, the officer describes how he treats an inmate who is acting up, taking his perspective:

“If we try, you know, try to correct someone like an inmate like that...I will try not to yell too much. I mean, this guy will be locked up for 20 to 30 years. You know, and they are already feeling like this, feeling bad...so I am not going to come in here and beat him down, you know. But I will just...you know, I want him to know that I will do my job. My technique is that try to come out on a man to man basis, the bet you can say. Though you have disrespected me I am not going to disrespect you. That is it. I try to talk to them like I am going to just talk to you...So I will try to console him, you know, I have dealt with a lot of things.” –*Respondent 9*

Similarly, in this second example, the officer discusses how an inmate who is usually calm and does not cause trouble was acting up, and how he believed it was in fact the new officers’ fault rather than the inmate causing trouble:

“An inmate, it was a few weeks ago. He went to the infirmary, he wanted to get his insulin. This guy really does not, you know, ever [give us any] problems. We had an officer, who was new, just moved to the state system, but she had worked prior in New York. So, she had the guy riled up. I did not really want to say it, but I knew it...the supervisor was there, everybody was there and I mean, everybody’s stress level was high. [But normally] he does not really bother anybody...this guy won’t bother nobody, what the heck is going on here?” –*Respondent 11*

A final and quite distinguishing characteristic of officers that scored highly on rehabilitative values is that they often discuss a parental role with inmates, saying that parental-like discipline is necessary with inmates, and that officers shouldn’t be too hard on them:

“See...some of the younger females...most of them call me Mom, because I will correct them in a minute. I will not criticize, I am not trying to embarrass you. But you got to get it together. And they know that when I say it I mean it, and you know, they have that level of respect for me.” –*Respondent 16*

“Sometimes it is like a mom, and I am 40 years old. It is like you are being a mom to some of them because they absolutely do not have a clue. So, they will say something like, ‘Good morning, Ms. Lewis, how are you doing? Can I have some of those danishes?’ and I say, ‘No, this is for a special function.’ [And they say], ‘You know I am your girl, and you cannot get me some?’ I will say, ‘Yes, you are [my girl]. You are so sweet and I love you to pieces. No.’ And you know at some point they begin to understand, and they respect that you would not bend for them.”-*Respondent 18*

Summary and Discussion of Rehabilitative Value Orientation Results

In summary, it is easy to recognize differences between officers who scored “low” and “high” on rehabilitative values. Officers ranged from low rehabilitative scores, where their focus in the situational interview was often on their own safety, to high scores where concern for the inmates’ safety was a primary concern. Those who were low on rehabilitative values often displayed contempt for inmates, which appeared to be fed by their awareness and focus on inmates’ crimes, and a general display of hopelessness and lack of concern for inmate rehabilitation. However, and in contrast, those scoring highly on rehabilitative values, in addition to focusing their concern in the situational interview on the inmate’s well being, also exhibited a parental-like concern for inmates. They often took their perspective and gave them individual consideration, even when it was the inmate’s word against another officer’s. As opposed to other officers’ approaches to resolving problematic behavior, such as withdrawing from the situation or acting with immediate force, officers that scored highly on rehabilitative values often focused on explaining rules and procedures to misbehaving inmates.

Z-tests were also completed, comparing those who scored low on rehabilitative values to those who scored highly on rehabilitative values. In doing this, I compared the proportion of each group that demonstrated the characteristics that I previously had iteratively developed in the qualitative analysis and described in-depth above. Results indicated that each of the dimensions associated with those who scored high on rehabilitative values (first concern for inmate rather than self, focus on explanations, perspective taking, and parental roles) were displayed

significantly more in the high rehabilitative values group than in the low-rehabilitative values group ($p < .05$). Similarly, each of the dimensions associated with those who scored low on rehabilitative values (contempt for inmates, revolving door, first concern for self rather than inmate, and awareness of inmates' crimes) were displayed significantly more in the low rehabilitative values group than in the high rehabilitative value group ($p < .05$; please refer to Table 9 for z-test values). These results enhance the qualitative findings by offering some support for the dimensions' discriminant validity when comparing individuals across the strength of the rehabilitative values dimension.

In Study 1, there was a clear main effect of rehabilitative values in decreasing officers' burnout, increasing their PO fit, and increasing their levels of organizational commitment. This qualitative examination gives some insight into why this might be the case, beyond the theory used to make these predictions in Study 1. As described above, officers with strong rehabilitative values displayed more functional relationships with inmates, and often even close relationships with them. They described incidents of taking on inmates' perspectives, which research has demonstrated can lead to greater cooperation between in organizations (Parker & Axtell, 2001; Parker, Wall, & Jackson, 1997). Rather than assuming inmates are "lost causes," which officers who scored low on rehabilitative values often suggested, these officers saw unfortunate situations that could have accounted for inmates' crimes. The officers that scored highly on rehabilitative values displayed unique techniques for interacting with inmates, their personal relationships with them, as well as their basic assumptions about them likely were a lot more effective in completing their jobs duties. These officers displayed known effective leadership behaviors towards inmates: individualized consideration and also relationship-based exchanges (Burns, 1978; Graen & Cashman, 1975).

The above tactics and behaviors likely are much more effective in gaining inmate respect,

thus getting them to be more compliant with orders and directions. This approach to this type of work is also likely to place these officers at less of a risk for inmate retaliation or assaults that are often witnessed in prison environments, due to greater inmate respect and compliance.⁴ Thus, the officers that scored highly on rehabilitative values do not appear to be at higher risk for burnout due to emotionally exhausting, unsuccessful attempts at rehabilitating offenders as predicted by social work literature (e.g., Maslach, 1989). Instead, they appear to be able to draw from these values in functional ways that decrease their negative outcomes. It is also of no surprise then, using this logic, why these officers feel a better “fit” with their organization, and remain more committed to their jobs than those who are of low rehabilitative values. These individuals likely feel as though prisons are an excellent environment for them to enact their parental-like roles, thus performing effectively, and even make important differences in the lives of inmates.

Low Punitive

Next, I turned my attention to the punitive values scale. First, I looked at those who scored low on the punitive values (N=27, 67.5%). These results are summarized in Table 9. The first distinguishing characteristic of officers who scored low on punitive values is that in the situational interview responses, they often did not mention any type of physical engagement with the inmate. Physical engagement responses (typically from those who scored highly on punitive values) ranged from procedural restraints to the use of excess force and chemical agents. However, typical responses from those who were low on punitive values are demonstrated by the following responses, where no physical interaction is considered:

“First of all I would be very tense. I will approach with caution. If she calls me [over] or whatever, I would not approach her. But depending where she is, I would observe her. I would not open her [cell] until I see what kind of person she is, you know, and that basically is it...I probably would not even want to do anything to do with her but

⁴ After extensive searching I was not able to locate any empirical evidence in the corrections literature supporting this. However, it could prove an interesting point for research and potentially effective practical training as well.

because of my job I would have to.” –*Respondent 15*

“I am sure I would be feeling some fear...I will use my walky-talky to call for assistance. In the meantime, I would try to calm the person down...I would use every tactic I can psychologically your mind over their mind and things that you touch on that may simply get them to calm down. You know, just sometimes when you just ask them a simple question....like, ‘are you from Baltimore or something?’ you know it gets their attention.”–*Respondent 21*

A second characteristic of officers scoring low on the punitive values scale is that they often relied on narrow definitions of their job, often justifying why they would not engage in punishment of inmates. For example:

“You know some guys make it and some guys do not, you know, but it is not my job to hold grudges...I talked to some other people and they might tell you something altogether different but you do got to learn to forgive and I am not perfect myself...whatever the state gives him, it is not my job to come in and say, ‘okay, I am going to punish you some more’.” –*Respondent 2*

“Me, myself, I look at it like this: we all do a crime, and my job here is to make sure they stay in the confines of this institution. Once they have already been certified, charged, it is my job to make sure they stay—not physically punish them.” –*Respondent 3b*

High Punitive

Next, I looked at those respondents who scored highly on the punitive scale (N=13, 32.5%). These results are summarized in Table 9. In direct contrast to those officers who scored low on the punitive values scale, those officers who scored highly on this scale easily described and often mentioned engaging physically with inmates in the situational interview and across the interview as a whole. Take, for example, the following quotes in contrast to the quotes above for the low punitive officers:

“My reaction, of course, I am going to be infuriated to say the least. And you know, the inmate would probably not make out that well...we would, in order to restrain that inmate to prevent him, we will use physical force...So, I want to say not hurt the inmate, but it would not be as passive as it should.”–*Respondent 4*

“I would feel like, if the inmate was about to throw feces, I would go in to take

the inmate down and protect myself.” –*Respondent 19*

“I sprayed [an inmate in his cell] with mace and I was not supposed to do that at that particular time—I mean, the guy was locked in behind [the cell door]...[the inmate said] I couldn’t do anything to him and he threw substance on me. So I sprayed him.” –*Respondent 11*

A second characteristic of those who scored highly on punitive values was that they displayed a keen awareness of inmates’ often manipulative and testing nature. For example, in the following quote, an officer describes that they would take an inmate to the hospital just so that the inmate could not later come back claiming that injuries were sustained to him by officers who were using force against him. He later also describes an awareness that inmates are quite likely to kill officers at any moment:

“We would subdue him and the first thing we always do is we take the inmate to the hospital. I mean, if we use any force at all, the inmate is taken to the hospital [so that] he cannot come back later and say, ‘oh, they stamped on me, they did this or that’ –*Respondent 34*

“You feel more than reasonably that they are more than willing to kill us if the circumstances are there” –*Respondent 34*

“I know them. I know that at any time, they can take me. I am not egoistic enough to think that [if] I stomp them, you walk to the rec hall, and bam, they drop you, and I know that.” –*Respondent 26*

Summary and Discussion of Punitive Value Orientation Results

In summary, it is easy to recognize differences between officers who are “low” and “high” on punitiveness. Those who were low on these values often mentioned job description-based justifications about why they would not act in punitive ways towards inmates. Along these lines, they also demonstrated a low likelihood of any sort of physical engagement with inmates, even those that are sometimes required by the job (e.g., restraining inmates or doing cell-extractions of inmates). In contrast, those officers those who scored highly on punitive values indicated that they would engage in a range of physical discipline with inmates. They did not

withdraw from a situation as indicated by other values-groups, but rather, appeared able to jump into a situation physically. These officers also demonstrated a constant awareness of inmates' often scheming character. As opposed to some of the officers that scored high on the rehabilitative values, who did not seem to recognize this characteristic of inmates, often treating them like their own children, those who scored highly on punitive values officers were different. These officers seemed committed and vigilant in not allowing themselves to be taken advantage of, or caught off-guard by the inmates.

I also completed z-tests on these data, comparing those who scored low on punitive values to those who scored highly on punitive values. I compared the proportion of each group that demonstrated the characteristics that I previously had iteratively developed in the qualitative analysis and described in-depth above. Results indicated that each of the dimensions associated with those who scored high on punitive values (ease of physical engagement, awareness of inmates' manipulative nature) were displayed significantly more in the high punitive values group than in the low punitive values group ($p < .05$; please refer to Table 9 for z-test values). Similarly, each of the dimensions associated with those who scored low on punitive values (low likelihood of physical engagement and narrow job definitions) were displayed significantly more in the low punitive values group than in the high punitive values group ($p < .05$). Again, these z-tests bolster the findings developed qualitatively by offering some support for the dimensions' discriminant validity. That is, when comparing individuals across the strength of the punitive values dimension, individuals in their value-strength group had a significantly greater proportion of individuals who displayed the characteristic qualitatively associated with that group than those who were in the opposite value-strength group).

These results may offer some explanation for the small main effect seen in Study 1 that related high punitive values to increased levels of burnout. Those officers who scored high on

these punitive values described a mental state of constant vigilance—watching out for inmates’ misbehavior and possible violence. This type of constant awareness, fear, and actively monitoring one’s environment likely drains cognitive resources, resulting in increased stress and burnout. In addition, these officers described a high likelihood of engaging in physical interactions with inmates, which can also be very stressful and straining because it is highly dangerous and fraught with uncertainty about how inmates will act and the injuries they might sustain. It is also possible that these officers are perhaps a little *too* ready to engage in physical inmate interaction; this might not go over well with inmates, who might see these officers as engaging in superfluous physical abuse. Inmates might then be less likely to comply with these particular officers’ verbal orders because they feel unfairly treated and act out in protest. This indeed could be quite stressful and draining for these officers in comparison to those who do not so easily engage in physical discipline.

Looking at each of these values has helped to shed some light on the findings from Study 1. However, it was also necessary to look at the *interaction* of these values rather than only as single constructs. This is done in the next section, comparing each of the four values combinations.

Value Combinations Results

As described in the data analysis section above, in order to derive theory about how people act in the face of these conflicting values, it was first necessary to look at any additional characteristics that were demonstrated by varying values combinations (i.e., interactions), in addition to the strength of each single orientation above. After extensive systematic qualitative analysis, I also was able to identify some common traits within each cell of values combinations, which I describe below.

Cell 1: Robots (Low Punitive, Low Rehabilitative)

The first value combination that I evaluated were those who scored low on both sets of values (N=12, 30%). These results are summarized in Table 10. Those officers who were low on both sets of values exhibited the characteristics described above for each of these single value orientations: contempt for inmates and their crimes, they saw little hope for rehabilitation, and confirmed this by discussing a constant revolving door of inmates. They had concern primarily for themselves in the situational interview, had a low likelihood of physical engagement with inmates, and defined their job duties narrowly. However, these officers also exhibited unique characteristics that were not seen in the single value-orientation results.

The first distinguishing characteristic of those who were low on both sets of values was that they appeared to often engage in retaliatory thoughts and actions on inmates. These individuals self-identified their values as low on both punitive and rehabilitative dimensions, meaning that they did not have strong beliefs that either approach would solve the problem of criminal behavior. However, they still have a job to do within the institution, regardless of their personal philosophies. Thus, rather than drawing from either value set to guide how they approached their job duties, as those who were “high” on a set of values did, these individuals often acted petty and hostile with inmates. For example, the following officers discuss how they would approach the inmate in the situational interview question, and often talk about acting retaliatory, as opposed to focusing on either punitive actions like writing infractions or using physical force or chemical agents on inmates, or on rehabilitative actions such as referring the inmate for medical assistance:

“In a situation like that, when you are dealing with a person who is hostile, you got two ways to go about it. You either give them back what they gave you...like ‘I am not for your shit’ which will make them look crazy, because I do not care what you do, because I have got something for you. I mean, that is the way you are going to really take it. I have got something for you...after awhile it is like a formal war...give him back what he gave you. You treat him like he is some shit too, and he will respect you because you are not going to be fooled, like I do not care what you do, because you are nobody to me,

nobody that I should be intimidated about. You know, I will say, ‘you are coming with one, I am coming with 50’.”-Respondent 2

“If he tries to assault or hurt me...you got to use some kind of tactic how to say things to people. [I will say,] ‘Oh you bitch, you motherfucker, I seen who your mother was’ you know, in front of a whole bunch of inmates, it hurts.”-Respondent 2

“I will say, ‘we can do it easy, or we can do it hard’.”-Respondent 37

“I think that [severe] punishment would be a deterrent [to crime] because they don’t want to come back here to have that harsh treatment.”-Respondent 37

Those who were low on both values dimensions also often spoke about their emotions like anger and fear, as did many of the officers I spoke with. However, the distinguishing characteristic of those who were low on both values sets was that they tried to suppress these emotions, and were quite aware of these efforts to suppress these reactions.⁵

“I would be angry. Angry but knowing that I have to do a job and knowing that I have to do it in a professional manner, and I would do it as professional as I can...I would be angry but I am here to do a job and I know that goes with the job, and it would piss me off. It does piss you off.”-Respondent 37

“I have got to remember that I cannot let my feelings take control of my actions at that point. So, it is very hard because you are a human, but you got some time in the home saying that I wish I could just hit this motherfucker in the mouth, that’s what you’ll be saying to yourself.”-Respondent 2

I named these officers who were low on both sets of values “Robots” due to these traits displayed above, such as attempting to suppress emotion and the low punitive values trait described earlier of relying on narrowly-defined job demands. I also performed z-tests which compared the proportion of individuals in this value combination who displayed each of these traits to the proportion who displayed each trait in rest of the sample. These indicated that these “Robot” officers were not significantly different as compared to the rest of the sample in terms of

⁵ Those officers who were highly punitive also often spoke of such emotions, however, they did not often talk about suppressing them in order to get their job done like those in this cell did.

the proportion of individuals who displayed these characteristics ($z=-.09$, ns; $z=.58$, ns).

However, due to the low sample size when comparing individuals in a specific value combination, there may simply not have been a large enough sample to empirically offer proof of their significant differences.

Looking closer at the results of Study 1 in combination with these qualitative insights offers some additional explanation for this group of officers. As predicted and found in Study 1, these officers had one of the lowest levels of PO fit among the sample. As can be seen in the qualitative data, these officers seem to not endorse the values often required for them to perform their jobs effectively, thus leading them to believe they have low levels of similarity in values with their organizations. These officers also exhibited a low level of organizational commitment in Study 1. Clearly, we can see how officers do not exhibit much of an attachment to their organizations and demonstrate low levels of job involvement, often sounding resentful and unwilling to perform their job duties. However, the officers with the lowest levels of commitment were those in Cell 3, discussed more in-depth below. Finally, the “Robot” officers (those not holding either value highly) had moderate levels of burnout in Study 1, and were not significantly different from those who held both values highly, or from those who held only strong rehabilitative values. These qualitative results help to support the argument that this job, in general, is a stressful one, leading many officers towards burnout. These officers likely experience burnout in different ways, however, despite their similar levels of the construct. Here, we see that officers either act out in retaliation towards inmates, or try to suppress their emotions like anger and fear. Thus, these officers in comparison to others with similar burnout levels in different values combinations appear to be experiencing the negative effects of emotional labor such as stress and feelings of inauthenticity, which can lead to emotional and physical exhaustion and burnout (Hochschild, 1983).

Cell 2: Parents (Low Punitive, High Rehabilitative)

The second combination of values that I evaluated were those who scored high on the rehabilitative scale, but low on the punitive scale (N=15, 37.5%). These results are summarized in Table 11. The first distinguishing characteristic of those officers that scored highly on (only) rehabilitative values was that they seemed to focus on consistency in correction/discipline:

“You try to treat every inmate the same, no matter what, and that is very hard to do. You have to treat them fair.”-*Respondent 36*

“I give them three opportunities [to steal before giving them, discipline]... but then when I catch him on the third time, then they are going down the river for it. But usually by catching, I will take what they have and then put him on detail or something like that...I carry myself...what I do, is I am constant. I am not a strict man like they say some [are]...I am the same way all of the time.”-*Respondent 14*

On a related topic, these officers also often spoke about discipline with inmates as tempered with personal consideration. For example, they frequently mentioned the importance of not embarrassing inmates when disciplining them, and that they tried not to personally criticize inmates. While they recognized the importance of discipline, especially focusing on verbal correction rather than any physical punishment, they recognized that this needed to be mitigated by their recognition of inmates’ often sensitive nature:

“It is not easy. We have to balance [our roles]...they are making me so mad, and then...I just get very loud on them and yell at them and scream, at them like, ‘okay! Enough is enough!’ but at the same time, you have to be fragile with them...some individuals if you just yell at them that is going to make them so hurt, they are going to cry, they might go in their room at start telling you they are suicidal.”-*Respondent 21*

“You know I am a father of two kids and you never leave that role alone...whether it be a female resident or a male resident. A lot of them are going to look up to you...and before I put on this uniform I am a man and they are women and they are men. So, I may have a resident who is acting out o the serving line and I will say, I will pull them away from everyone, so that I do not harass them in front of all of their friends, and I will say: ‘I am instructing you not to talk while you are serving the food, so that the saliva and everything is in your mouth, [it does] not get in the food. Do you understand?’ and after that it is acknowledged then we move on, then it is okay and they can see...You know, as a father, you have to do and say some things that are not so very popular to get the message across in order to get a job done.”-*Respondent 17*

This last quote also illustrates another distinguishing trait of officers who were (only) high on rehabilitative values. That is, they often had a higher-level understanding about their role at the prison and with inmates. In this last quote, as many officers described, they relate their relationship with inmates to that of a parent and child who needs discipline and to gain understanding, without sacrificing their humanity. They recognized that inmates were individuals who made mistakes, but that did not and should not take away from the fact that they deserved a certain level of compassionate treatment.

“[I treat them] as if they are my own children. You know, nobody wants their kids to go astray, but misfortune that they are here and you know I try to give them the right direction to go [in].”-*Respondent 16*

“I like to think of myself as a little different type of correctional officer, because I have some compassion. And my compassion is more than I receive from other folks. A lot of that is based on my faith. I do not believe anybody is a throwaway person...obviously, this person, something is going on with him. Whether he is scared to death, whether he just cannot handle it any more—and a lot of times we do not have the luxury of having a psychologist with us—so we have to function in that role, and it is you either choose to do that, or you choose not to do that. I choose to try to help that inmate out as best I can...I tried to put myself [in his shoes] what I do, and what would I want somebody to do for me, and how could somebody help me...I picture my family at home and would want somebody to do something for me. So whatever it takes to get that inmate on the right track legally, I do not have any problems doing it, and it helps me and it helps him. It really makes me feel like if there is some good that comes out of this terrible situation [here].”-*Respondent 3*

I named these officers who scored high on only rehabilitative values “Parents” due to these traits displayed above, such as their focus on consistency, discipline, and understanding. Using this data, I performed z-tests which compared the proportion of individuals in this value combination who displayed each of these traits to the proportion who displayed each trait in rest of the sample. These indicated that these “Parent” officers were not significantly different as compared to the rest of the sample in terms of the proportion of individuals who displayed these characteristics ($z=1.60$, ns; $z=1.60$, ns; $z=1.27$, ns). However, due to the low sample size when

comparing individuals in a specific value combination, there may simply not have been a large enough sample to empirically offer proof of their significant differences. Moreover, these z-values are in the right direction and with a different data collection approach, might demonstrate statistical significance. However, while these tests did not offer statistical support to the results, the qualitative results still offer explanatory insight into the results of Study 1. First, in addition to the main effect of rehabilitative values in increasing PO fit (discussed in the single value orientation qualitative results), these officers scored the second highest levels of PO fit. It is clear that even though the public perception (and some officers' perception) of prison is that it is not an institution of rehabilitation, and that rehabilitation often fails with this population, these "Parents" feel differently. These officers, in contrast, seem to feel as though their values match those of their organization, and that they are able to make differences in the lives of inmates. These officers take on the parental role, exhibiting a higher-level understanding of the purpose of prison, and are quite forgiving of inmates for their misbehavior. Rather than becoming drained in a difficult environment, these officers appear to embrace their roles as 'moms' or 'dads', find meaning and fit in their job duties of steering inmates in the right direction. Thus, they have high levels of PO fit, and this also transfers the effect to their levels of organizational commitment, which are also the second-highest levels seen in Study 1.

Finally, these "Parents" have moderate levels of burnout, which again were not significantly different from other value combinations, except they were lower than those who scored (only) high on punitive values. Thus, as mentioned previously, this job is a stressful one, which can often lead officers toward stress and burnout. However, in contrast to the other cells demonstrating similar levels of burnout, I believe that these officers experience burnout because of their low likelihood of physical engagement with inmates. This is because the job of correctional officer sometimes necessitates this physical part of their job, and because these

officers are unwilling to enact this portion, this can cause a sense of role conflict and stress. In addition, I saw some evidence of dissonance within this population. For example, one officer spoke of the difficulty in constantly saying “no” to inmates who wanted only small things (like a small bag of chips). Several of these respondents mentioned similar difficulties in constantly being tough on inmates for discipline. Thus, this dissonance between their desires to nurture inmates and to give into their small requests and their job duties could also lead to their moderate levels of burnout.

Cell 3: Enforcers (High Punitive, Low Rehabilitative)

The third combination of values that I looked at were those who scored highly on the punitive scale, but low on the rehabilitative scale (N=3, 7.5%). These results are summarized in Table 12. In contrast to the “Parents” in cell 2, those who were high on only punitive values exhibited very different characteristics. Rather than putting inmates and their behavior into perspective, these officers often appeared to take things personally and internalize this contempt. For example, in the following quote, an officer describes how he believes that punishment should be harsher in the prison, making sure to mention that inmates received niceties that they did not deserve, and that he did not receive himself, despite his lack of incarceration:

“[I think that punishment] should be a little harsher around here...while they are here, usually to some of these guys [they] see this as a picnic, this is a vacation, you know they get three meals a day here...so it’s not harsh. Movie on every night. I don’t even get that in my house!”-*Respondent 32*

Similarly, the following officer describes her personal anger at inmates and her inability to see that they could, or even deserved a chance, at rehabilitation:

“I have tried not to take things personally when they come here but sometimes you cannot help it...even though I am not supposed to judge, but that is the way I feel. Child abusers? They are the worst. Baby killers? They are the worst. How can you rehabilitate someone who killed their own child?”-*Respondent 23*

Similar to those officers who were “low” on punitive values (see single value orientation discussion), these officers also often spoke about their emotions of fear and anger. However, in contrast to those who were low on punitive values, these officers did not make efforts to suppress these emotions, and instead, spoke freely about them:

“How would I feel? I would feel like, I want to just curse them back out and if they throw some type of unhealthy fluid on me, I want to throw the same thing back.”-*Respondent 23*

“I think the first thing in my mind is I would be scared. A lot of guys don’t admit that we are scared because you don’t know what’s coming.”-*Respondent 32*

I named these officers who were low on rehabilitative values and high on punitive values “Enforcers” due to these traits displayed above, such as reacting with fear and anger, and taking inmates’ crimes and misbehavior as personal and unforgivable. These officers appeared much more likely to act on these negative emotions. Z-tests which compared the proportion of individuals in this value combination who displayed each of these traits to the proportion who displayed each trait in rest of the sample were also conducted on this group. However, the results of these tests did not demonstrate support that these “Enforcer” officers were significantly different as compared to the rest of the sample in terms of the proportion of individuals who displayed these characteristics ($z=1.90$, ns; $z=1.58$, ns). However, while these statistical tests were not significant, these results still offer qualitative insight into the results of Study 1. These officers had the lowest levels of PO fit, the lowest levels of organizational commitment, and the highest levels of burnout in comparison to the other values combinations. These officers seemed to draw from the negative aspects of being low on rehabilitative values (e.g., having contempt for inmates and no hope for their rehabilitation) as well as the negative aspects of being high on punitive values (e.g., thinking of inmates as manipulative, and often engaging in physical punishment). When these traits are combined with the unique traits of “Enforcers,” i.e., taking

things personally and displaying strong negative emotions, one can see why these officers are at the greatest risk for negative job attitudes. These officers do not believe in rehabilitation of inmates, and thus any efforts by the prison to do this decreases their perceptions of PO fit. In addition, these officers seem to want a greater level of punishment for inmates, and thus also see poor fit in terms of the punitive values exhibited by their organization. They generally see the entire prison system as hopeless and/or useless. This general affect also transfers to low levels of organizational commitment for these officers, as they clearly do not demonstrate any sort of attachment to their employer.

As a result, these officers appear likely take things into their own hands, and act on their own anger towards inmates, likely physically assaulting them rather than taking other approaches to gaining their compliance. Thus, these officers are more likely to be physically injured, and at the same time, to feel like they are risking their own personal safety for a meaningless and hopeless organization. In addition, as previously mentioned, the high levels of anger and depersonalization of inmates demonstrated by these officers also is likely to cause increased levels of depression. Finally, I did see some evidence that at least one of these officers was experiencing dissonance, as he spoke about the difficulty he had in “switching up” between being hard on inmates and performing more counselor-type functions. While this was not clear in all of these respondents, the sample in this cell was small (N=3), and thus difficult to make conclusions about the level of dissonance across the typical officer with this value combination. However, we are able to see clear evidence of explanations for the high levels of burnout seen in Study 1.

Cell 4: Balancers (High Punitive, High Rehabilitative)

The final combination of values was those officers who scored highly on both sets of values (N=10, 25%). These results are summarized in Table 13. Notably, the first distinguishing

characteristic of these individuals was that they appeared not too weary about using force when necessary, like those who scored highly on punitive values, but they also often noted that it was only as a last option, and/or often in combination with rehabilitative actions. Thus, while similar to officers scoring (only) highly on punitive values in their ability to perform the physical nature of their job, this was balanced with a rehabilitative approach which was often used first:

“The way I handle [the situation], we have procedures in place for stuff like that. We have to isolate the area so that nobody else gets contaminated with the feces or whatever, call psychology and let them try to talk to him and if all else fails and we will have to use force to control the inmate, but that is usually the last option”-*Respondent 35*

“We would probably have to restrain him by whatever means possible, using chemical agents or we have a lasso...hopefully we will not have to do anything more than that. Then he would calm down and we would put handcuffs on him. Then we would probably take him to an isolation cell and isolate him from the rest of the inmates and from the staff until he could probably be evaluated by psychology or the medical department, and go from there.”-*Respondent 39*

Another interesting and distinguishing characteristic of officers who scored highly on both rehabilitative and punitive values was that they demonstrated concern for both themselves as well as for the inmate in the situational interview question. Again, this appears to be a result of being able to temper their highly rehabilitative values, which would lead them towards caring for the inmate, with their punitive values, which helped them to see that they could also be injured or taken advantage of by manipulative and dangerous inmates:

“Well, to be honest, a couple of things would be going through my mind. First things, I will be thinking about my own safety of course, but at the same time having some concern about what is going on with this inmate. Just basically try to assess the problem, watch his mood, his changes, his swings, and in the meantime make some phone calls to the proper resources that we have here at the facility to try to get him the proper help that he needs.” -*Respondent 12*

“I would be feeling extreme anger...we will call for backup, because I am not going to take down an inmate by myself, but if he is acting violently our first priority is to protect ourselves and get backup, subdue him, and obviously if he is coming down off of some drug high or you know something that he ingested, some type of chemical he is going to have [to be] evaluated at the hospital. So really, we are going to subdue him and get him to the hospital and be sure that he is okay.”- *Respondent 8*

A final distinguishing characteristic of officers scoring highly on rehabilitative and highly on punitive values was that they often did not see their job duties as particularly stressful. In contrast to other officers, these individuals did not appear to take inmate insults and assaults personally, or think about them as issues that were particularly out of the ordinary. They also appeared to have realistic expectations of inmates, and recognized that their failure rate was high. Nevertheless, unlike those who were “low” on rehabilitative values, this did not appear as a reason to abandon all hope and sense of meaning in their jobs. Thus, these officers demonstrated a great degree of putting their jobs into perspective:

“Let’s see. An incident. I do not even know. I really cannot think of an incident because to me, it is not significant enough to worry about it. Somebody else...might be able to answer that, because to them it is shocking...I do not think I can recall an incident”-*Respondent 26*

“They will just go off on you because they do not like what you said. They do not mean nothing.”-*Respondent 26*

“I walk through the jail and I will see an inmate that I see every day, washing clothes and he is doing a great job. He never breaks the rules in my eyes and a week later I see he gets caught bringing drugs...or he did something wrong. I really do not care in my mind. They are convicts. [They are] inmates. They are going to break the rules and I just accept it. I mean, after being here so long you just realize that some guys do con you. You know, in my eyes they are perfect or they look good, but behind my back they are actually doing something wrong. I just deal with it...I just accept it. I know they are inmate and they are convicts. They are going to manipulate you.”-*Respondent 24*

I named these officers who were high on both sets of values “Balancers” due to these traits displayed above, such as having concern for both one’s self and the inmate, not withdrawing from situations that require the use of force (but only doing so when the last option), and a unique ability to not see their jobs as extraordinary or extremely difficult. These officers appeared to have very efficient approaches, both for their own safety as well as for the inmates’ wellbeing. Finally, I performed z-tests which compared the proportion of individuals in

this value combination who displayed each of these traits to the proportion who displayed each trait in rest of the sample. These indicated that these “Balancer” officers were indeed has significantly greater proportion of individuals who displayed these traits as compared to the rest of the sample in terms ($z=4.29, p<.05$; $z=3.98, p<.05$, $z=4.78, p<.05$).

Looking closer at the results of Study 1 in combination with these qualitative insights offers some additional explanation for this group of officers. First, these officers demonstrated the highest levels of PO fit and organizational commitment. These officers are clearly able to draw from their unique values combinations to foster perceptions of fit with their organizations, and to form attachments to them. Rather than being at risk from either value extremes (as we saw in the officers that only were high on rehabilitative values, and with the officers that were high on only punitive values), these officers seemed to be able to balance and successfully use both values in their job performance and perspectives about their jobs. These officers also had moderate levels of burnout in Study 1, as did most of the officers in the sample. However, these officers likely experienced burnout for different reasons than the other cells. For example, those who held neither value strongly likely experienced difficulty performing all aspects of their job, leading them to burnout. Those officers may have experienced dissonance resulting from a lack of congruence between their own values and those required to act upon in their jobs. However, these “Balancers,” while not being the highest on burnout, probably experienced moderate burnout because the job is simply difficult. For example, officers spoke of the schedule and risk as being hard on one’s family, as well as having low pay to help justify such personal risk of working with inmates, and the job often has little resources and can be a frustrating, hierarchical system. I did not see any evidence of dissonance in this population, as the logic leading to one of the competing hypothesis in Study 1 suggested.

How do people act when confronted with conflicting values?

The final phase of these qualitative analyses was to use insight provided by my data to construct typologies about how individuals act in the face of conflicting values, extending the current relevant theories and literature. I moved back and forth between the data and extant theory and research reviewed in Chapter 2 in order to compare and inform my emerging findings and qualitative concepts (Eisenhardt, 1989). The results of this final qualitative analysis are displayed in Table 14.

The first typology of how people act with conflicting values is that they simply do not *see* a conflict. This can be the case for many reasons. First, as known from previous research on conflicting values, individuals might see the values as fitting together rather than in conflict because of a third, superordinate value (Tetlock, 1986). I saw evidence of this in my data. Many officers, rather than speaking directly about punishment or rehabilitation, instead focused on security. A security focus could encompass both values of rehabilitation and punishment. For example, increased security could lead to greater safety of the institution, thus increasing the likelihood that inmates could focus on rehabilitation rather than worrying about being assaulted by other inmates or officers. However, it could also represent increased punishment by restricting inmates from extracurricular activities or freedom of movement. Thus, rather than officers looking at their personal values or actions as conflicting, seeing their beliefs and actions as "security" resolves this potential psychological conflict and feelings of hypocrisy.

A second way in which people do not see a value conflict between punishment and rehabilitation is that they see them as fitting together through role-analogies. Many officers described themselves as parents, priests, teachers, and babysitters. These roles often require individuals to act in both punitive and rehabilitative ways. Thus, seeing their roles with inmates

as similar in capacities, officers do not experience dissonance and instead see their values as fitting together.

A third way that people do not see a value conflict is that they saw punishment and rehabilitation as working simultaneously. Thus, several officers described punishment as a form of rehabilitation—thus, through punishment and incapacitation, inmates would be rehabilitated and reintegrated into society.

A final way that officers saw a fit rather than these values as being in conflict is that they did not see them as simultaneously needed; rather, they saw them as both necessary, but needed at different points in time. Thus, some officers described punishment as necessary in prison, and that inmates needed rehabilitation (e.g. drug programs and job training) upon their release from the institution. Similarly, but conversely, some officers described punishment as being already dealt out to the inmate by the judge, and that his or her prison sentence was a time for them to rehabilitate and learn how to be a productive member of society.

A similar way that officers described the lack of seeing conflict between the values of punishment and rehabilitation was that they saw them as complementary and necessary values for their profession. Thus, rather than experiencing role conflict, many officers saw both values as needed for effective performance of their job in corrections.

Finally, there were two ways that officers described a lack of conflict between the values of punishment and rehabilitation. First, some officers said that a conflict did not exist because they did not believe in the effectiveness of either type of approach. Thus, no conflict existed for these officers because they saw neither value to be of any worth. Similarly, some officers described either one or both value as not existing in the system. For example, some officers described rehabilitation as simply never happening for inmates, and that they constantly came back into prison after being released. Similarly but conversely, some officers said that inmates

were never punished, and that they had it too easy in prison. If officers did not see evidence of either one or both value, there was simply no opportunity for a value conflict.

I found evidence of two other typologies of how people act with potential conflicting values. First, some officers appeared to ignore or deny the potential conflict. Rather than discussing the values, these officers often discussed what was in their job description, relying on the oft-heard “it’s not my job to punish” or “it’s not part of my job to rehabilitate them”. Thus, these officers appeared to externalize the values, and thus did not experience a sense of value conflict due to this tactic. Finally, officers also acted to reduce the conflict between values, using several tactics. For example, officers sometimes justified the superiority of one value over another (or justified the inferiority of one value). This was seen by officers saying that inmates did not deserve to be rehabilitated or punished, or that one or the other value was the only way to treat inmates. These two tactics (denial and bolstering) were previously theorized about by Tetlock (1986). However, I observed a new tactic in reducing conflict between values, which was placing the agency for one of the values onto the inmate. For example, officers often stated that it was “on the inmate to rehabilitate” themselves, or that it was the inmates’ fault that they needed to be punished. Thus, by placing the agency onto another person for one of the values, these officers were able to not experience dissonance and function when confronted with conflicting values at their job.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Summary of Major Findings

In Study 1, I evaluated the nature of the relationship between the conflicting values of punishment and rehabilitation, and how these values worked together to affect correctional officers' job attitudes of PO fit, organizational commitment, and burnout. I found that these two sets of values, while negatively correlated ($r = -.15$, $p < .01$), fit best to a two-factor structure, demonstrating their relative independence. Moreover, I found that these values interacted, such that those officers with high levels of both values had the greatest levels of PO fit and organizational commitment, and one of the lowest levels of burnout. These results suggested that these values positively affected job attitudes when they were both at equal and high levels, rather than only at equal levels as competing hypotheses predicted. Finally, holding both of these values simultaneously did not result in increased feelings of burnout, as research on role conflict and cognitive dissonance would predict.

In Study 2, I discovered some of the *processes* by which these values worked together, and the systematic qualitative analyses aided in lending explanation to the Study 1 results. By conducting these analyses, I developed theory about why having both of these value sets was functional and beneficial in this environment, and how they worked together in a way that did not cause inner conflict or dissonance. I found that individuals who strongly held both values were able to draw from them in order to perform their unique job demands. For example, these officers indicated that they would protect both themselves as well as inmates during a potential violent incident at work. This was in contrast to other officers with different value combinations who did not indicate that they would have both of these concerns during such an incident, but rather, typically focused on one or the other. This type of perspective considering both security *and* concern of the inmate demonstrated by the officers who strongly held both values likely

allowed them to function more effectively in their work environment, both from a job performance perspective, as well as for their own protection.

Theoretical Contributions

This dissertation makes several important theoretical contributions. The first theoretical contribution is that the findings challenge the common assumption of cognitive dissonance as a result of holding conflicting values (Festinger, 1957). In Study 2, I did not find evidence that officers experienced cognitive dissonance from holding both sets of values. Indeed, the positive results seen in Study 1 would likely not have occurred if cognitive dissonance had been present. As discussed previously, the burnout literature (e.g., Maslach, 1982) was founded on human service workers, and assumes that this type of internal conflict arising from the dual nature of these jobs, and being too giving of oneself, results in burnout. Similarly, one might expect these results in this frustrating prison environment which is fraught with overcrowding conditions and constantly returning offenders, staffing difficulties, dangerous conditions, bureaucracy, and poor resources. Instead, in my study I found that those officers that strongly held both values, as well as those who strongly held (only) rehabilitative values, actually had lesser burnout. Thus, this research suggests that in some jobs, even those in human services, employees who hold strong rehabilitative values, or who have strong levels of both values parallel to the dual nature of the job, can be resilient. Thus, rather than setting them up for burnout, holding certain values may actually allow for individuals to navigate around role conflict or dissonance in such a difficult environment.

The second theoretical contribution of this dissertation is the thorough examination of the structure and definition of conflicting values. Interestingly, while my definition of “conflicting” values offered in the beginning of this dissertation is normative (i.e., a majority of individuals would likely classify these two values as being contradictory), many officers in Study 2 did not

seem to think that these two values were actually in conflict. Indeed, these officers' values were not significantly correlated with each other, suggesting that they were not held in a dichotomous way. That is, these values might be held internally and facilitate effective performance in a typical correctional officer's job. This raises questions about the definition of conflicting values: are they really in conflict if many individuals do not see them as such, and can endorse both? I believe that going forward, we should be defining the existence of conflicting values based on their strong negative correlation across a majority of individuals, thus providing evidence of their tradeoff-type nature among a population. Therefore, rather than describing conflicting values, what I have likely measured and analyzed are *paradoxical* values.

Paradoxical is defined as having (and potentially reconciling) contradictory qualities (cf. Schneider, 1999: p.21). This is a notable difference because it allows for reconciling the contradiction in order to still keep the classification of paradoxical, which is not the case for the definition of "conflicting" values. Paradoxical values can be reconciled in a number of ways. Lewis (2000) describes paradox as being reconcilable through reflection, that is, critical and creative thinking which allows for "a more accommodating perception" that helps individuals re-frame their assumptions and develop more complicated and intricate understanding (p.764). The literature on integrative complexity describes how paradox can be understood in more concrete ways—for example, through combining the alternatives into a superordinate value (Abelson, 1968). Through this dissertation, I have discovered additional ways in which paradoxical values can be reconciled—for example, through role analogies such as a parent or teacher, or by placing the agency for one value onto others.

Additionally, with the adjustment of framing this study as "conflicting" values to that of paradoxical values, it can potentially be applied to more theoretical areas of management research. For example, Lewis (2000) describes organizations as "inherently paradoxical" (p.

760), often charged with increasing both efficiency and creativity in their workforce, enhancing worker autonomy while building interdependent teams, and exploiting competitive advantages while simultaneously exploring new competitive avenues (March, 1991). Moreover, Lewis describes paradox, as opposed to “either/or” choices, as two sides to the same coin that may simultaneously exist, but often misinterpreted to be dichotomous in nature. This is because as we seek to simplify complex environments, we often falsely reduce contradiction into simple bipolar concepts that make our environments easier to interpret. Indeed, this may be exactly what occurred in the design of this dissertation—falsely classifying these two sets of values as conflicting rather than as a paradox to explore. Importantly, research on paradox is relatively new, and this dissertation can offer interesting measures, analysis, and positive outcomes of paradox in an organizational environment as little empirical work has been completed using this theoretical frame. Future research in this area will also be contingent upon developing a clear and accurate description and classification scheme of when contradictory beliefs or statements are actually “conflicting” versus “paradoxical.”

A third theoretical contribution of this dissertation is extending the work on integrative complexity. While some work has evaluated how individuals can simultaneously hold high levels of paradoxical values (e.g., Tetlock, 1986), it is limited to work on mostly political values, rather than work-related values as seen in this sample. Additionally, while this prior work recognizes that conflicting values can be thought of in more complex ways than the traditional trade-off models, it does *not* offer evidence of specific ways in which integratively complex thinking can occur *beyond* what is known from research on cognitive dissonance-reduction techniques. My data demonstrate several of these specific techniques, such as role enactment, thus extending research on integrative complexity.

In addition, I based my arguments for Study 1 on extensions of PO fit theory (Chatman,

1991) and role enrichment theory (Rothbard, 2001). This second study demonstrates that there are other mechanisms through which the possession of two seemingly contradictory values generally increases job attitudes in addition to fit and role enrichment, such as developing more integratively complex ways of thinking by identifying a superordinate value that encompasses both, or drawing from both in order to perform a complex and demanding job. Such thoughts are consistent with philosophical work by Chester Barnard (see Mahoney, 2002, for a review), who believed that potential conflicts can be resolved through a higher level of abstraction—thus, the potential conflict here between these values can be resolved through a focus of individuals at higher levels of a values hierarchy, such as values towards safety or security, or perhaps even values towards humanitarianism. Again, since these values *can* be reconciled in such a way, they are better classified as paradoxical rather than conflicting.

Practical Implications

This dissertation as a whole offers several practical implications. First, institutions should recognize the large role that personal values play not only in affecting officers' job attitudes (seen in Study 1), but also their potential behaviors (seen in Study 2). That is, officers' punitive values in particular appear to make them more likely to behave in punitive ways, often physically, with inmates. While they did not correlate with coded responses to their situational interview question, rehabilitative values also clearly play a role in individuals' perceptions of their roles and approaches to their work. Thus, as demonstrated by Study 2, institutions might be better off having officers who hold both sets of values simultaneously and can balance these two potentially extreme reactions to their work environment. Finally, this study demonstrates that these values are subject to change—suggesting that they might be able to train officers to possess certain, more functional, value characteristics.

Study Strengths and Limitations

There are several strengths offered by this dissertation. First, it combines both rigorous quantitative study with qualitative data analysis. Thus, it offers both strong quantitative evidence as well as rich, in-depth explanations for those findings. The second strength of this dissertation was that it used a large sample and reliable measures, demonstrating its strong quantitative research methods. This large sample allowed for adequate statistical power for testing all of the empirical hypotheses, using moderated multiple regression and polynomial regression. However, there are several limitations of this dissertation that should be noted. First, the sample of correctional officers might be considered a very extreme work environment, and thus these findings might not generalize to other organizational and work contexts. Secondly, the research conducted at time 2 might have been subject to different demand characteristics because the officers took the values measure and interview directly in front of the researcher. Therefore, they may have been greater social-desirability pressures that influences their responses, or, conversely, even greater trust that may have actually promoted more honest responses due to subject-researcher interaction. Along these lines, a significant concern was the observed values change in officers' self-scored punitive and rehabilitative values between time 1 and time 2. This might mean that rather than values, an assumed "trait" or relatively unchanging variable (Ravlin & Meglino, 1987), I could have measured attitudes, which is more of a "state" or variable construct. If this is true, then this has severe consequences for the theory drawn from in order to develop my Study 1 hypotheses, and also limits the implications of the theory developed in Study 2. In reality, it appears as if there is some conflict in the literature about the potential changeability of values over time; the socialization literature has found evidence of organizations' influencing individual employees' values (Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, & Gardner, 1994), as has other literature (e.g., Wageman, 1995), whereas many values researchers

still appear relatively adamant that values should be stable across time (e.g., Judge & Bretz, 1992, Schwartz, 1994). Perhaps one answer to this apparent confusion could be in the assessment of values. In my study, I relied on self-report measures, both at time 1 and time 2 to assess individuals' values. Instead, I could have inferred presence of values from respondents' actual thoughts and behaviors reported in the interviews. This type of classification of values might be less subject to concerns about social desirability influencing the scores, as it is likely harder to "fake" certain values when describing an incident on the spot to an interviewer.

Directions for Future Research

This dissertation has begun to answer some important questions about the nature of conflicting (or paradoxical) values. However, there are remaining questions to which future research can speak to in promising ways. First, it would be useful to try to develop measures of the tactics and typologies discovered in the data, and to quantitatively validate these findings on an additional sample. For example, using a standardized vignette similar to the situational interview question, I could use items developed from the qualitative analysis, such as "In this situation, how likely would you be able to explain the rules and procedures to the inmate?" Using items such as this for each of the typologies developed qualitatively would then allow me to conduct factor analyses and to test psychometric properties of these constructs, as well as their predictive validity on other dependent variables such as turnover or performance. As seen in the z-tests tests for the qualitative data, it is hard to assess the validity of these findings without collecting additional data to subject it to rigorous empirical tests with a large dataset. Future work should also encompass other dependent variables as outcomes of the interaction or balance of values. For example, perhaps attitudinal variables such as those in this dissertation are not

affected by the balance of values, but other variables are (e.g., individual officer performance, turnover, or supervisor reprimands). Along these lines, a limitation of this dissertation is that for a large majority of the between-cells comparisons in the qualitative study, results were not found to be significantly different. For example, while many of the Cell 4 trait were found to be significantly greater in that group compared with the rest of the sample ($p < .05$), the majority of the other cells' traits were not found to be significantly greater for the group in question. However, a major factor in these calculations was likely the low number of respondents when separating into the cell comparison ($N=3$ for Cell 3, for example), and therefore these tests had less power to detect significant differences with such a low sample size. Thus, while bolstering support for some dimensions elicited in this research (the single value orientation results) it is hard to make any conclusions based on these results. Moreover, it might be better to ask questions in a survey that directly taps these dimensions and assess individuals' likelihood of agreeing with relevant statements. Therefore, these qualitative data should be used to develop a more quantitative measure in which the statistical reliability and predictive validity can be assessed.

In addition, future research should be conducted on other types of professions that might elicit conflicting (or paradoxical) values. For example, jobs that require concerns for both financial and social performance are often seen as inherently challenging because of the constant pressure for tradeoffs between these two sets of values. However, as seen in this dissertation, perhaps those that are able to endorse both sets of values are the least likely to experience dissonance and burnout. Rather, these individuals may use the tactics inductively derived in Study 2 in order to successfully perform their jobs and draw from both necessary and supplementary values.

Furthermore, a particularly interesting avenue for future research would be the role of

value change across time. In this sample, we saw that officers' values from time 1 to time 2 were not correlated, suggesting that these values are less stable across time than values are traditionally thought of (Schwartz, 1992, 1994). Perhaps it is because these values are very concretely related to officers' daily lives, that they are more subject to situational change than are more abstract values (like those towards benevolence or self-interest). Future research should evaluate how conflicting values might change with time and with salient situations at work, and why this is the case. For example, the role of the situation (especially in the prison context) is known to be extremely powerful (Zimbardo, 1971). Perhaps the role of the situation can change values in certain work contexts, or perhaps they are interactively determined by previously existing values in combination with the situational context. The setting in which I evaluated these values can also be rather extreme, and the values of punishment and rehabilitation quite salient. The day-to-day life of working in a prison can expose officers to events like being personally physically assaulted, witnessing extreme violence, seeing inmate suicide attempts, successfully counseling an inmate and experiencing their deep gratitude, or even witnessing an inmate's release back into society. These events may have made officers' values quite salient at any particular time, either reinforcing them so that they became stronger, or causing them to question their pre-existing values and change them. However, I was not able to fully evaluate if any of these significant events occurred for each officer between time 1 and time 2, and how they might have affected their values. I was restricted in my sample of time 2 values and interview respondents to institutions that did not experience recent severe officer assaults; however, because all officers were from one state system, it is still likely that the well-publicized recent officer assaults at the other institutions caused officers to question their values and how society should ideally approach criminal behavior.

Moreover, future research should evaluate if individuals actually simultaneously hold

both of these values, or if they are able to often switch between the two so that it merely appears as a simultaneous event. It might be that these officers appeared to often believe strongly in both approaches because they could imagine specific individuals who they thought deserved one approach or the other, but that they did not believe in both approaches for all inmates. Future work will therefore encompass follow-up questions of officers after they take the values measure to examine this potential explanation.

While Study 2 began to investigate the behavioral effects of conflicting values, it was still mostly speculative rather than quantification of actual behaviors. Future research should try to more accurately measure behaviors that might be associated with conflicting values (e.g., turnover, coworker interaction).

Instead of an internal conflict as a result of their own punitive and rehabilitative values, officers often spoke about the system being inappropriately structured to do both, or one or the other, and therefore there was some kind of external values conflict. Thus, rather than experiencing dissonance as a result of these potentially internally conflicting values and their day-to-day job duties involving both approaches, these officers seemed to be frustrated at the lack of appropriate organizational structure and measures that adequately enacted them. This raises the question of the locus of these values. It seems as though the way in which officers see these values as being endorsed by the organization (and higher in the state system) varies. While it would have been exceedingly difficult to encompass the level of organizations' endorsement of rehabilitative and punitive values, and the officers' perspectives that their organizations endorsed these values appropriately, this clearly is an important consideration for future research to take into account. Also of interest and in need of future work are the effects that coworkers have on individual officers' values, and how these influence individual officers' values over time.

Finally, while this dissertation explores many avenues explaining conflicting values and

their effects on work attitudes and potential behavior, it does not address all possible influences. For example, officers' individual histories and reasons for working as an officer might greatly affect their values systems, and how they approach working in such an environment.

Conclusion

Research on conflicting values has traditionally assumed that cognitive dissonance almost always occurs, resulting in stress and burnout for individuals confronted with such values. However, this research demonstrates that cognitive dissonance does not always occur; moreover, possession of conflicting values for some professions might be functional and beneficial. This dissertation explains why this might be the case, drawing from extensive qualitative approaches to develop additional theory about these causal mechanisms. In addition to discovering new tactics that these employees use in the face of conflicting values, this dissertation extends research on PO fit to these areas where work values are not uni-dimensional. In addition, I extend research on role enrichment theory to apply to dual work roles, rather than just a single work role and a single personal role.

In conclusion, this research offers support that conflicting values can be held simultaneously, and that they interact to predict unique ways in which people wrestle with their unique values and work demands. Thus, the holding of certain values might be better classified as paradoxical rather than conflicting. Moreover, the simultaneous holding of these values often act in positive ways for employees, rather than creating dissonance and negative outcomes, as much research predicts. This dissertation examines this paradox and has offered several new theoretical explanations for why this is the case, and the mechanisms which explain these results.

Table 1. Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis on Values Scale

The best way to reduce crime is to...(from 1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree)

Item	Factor 1 Punishment -drug users	Factor 2 Punishment -criminals	Factor 3 Rehab.
1. Keep drug users in prisons and off the streets.	.86		
2. Show people who use drugs they will be punished severely if they don't stop.	.72		
3. Give drug users long sentences in prison so they can't commit more crimes in the community.	.58	.46	
4. Punish addicts in prison to stop them from using drugs.	.66		
5. Keep criminals in prisons where they can't bother law-abiding citizens.		.62	
6. Keep criminals in prisons and off the streets.		.68	
7. Deter future criminals by severely punishing users who are caught and convicted.			
8. Punish people severely if they commit repeated crimes or serious crime.		.60	
9. Show people they will be punished severely for committing crimes.		.63	
10. Deter future offenders by severely punishing criminals who are caught and convicted.	.49	.52	
11. Ensure criminals are punished accordingly.		.54	
12. Give criminals long sentences in prison so they can't commit more crimes in the community.		.70	
13. Put in place "three strikes and you are out" laws to show the consequences.		.43	
14. Use the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" principle.		.53	
15. Provide criminals with treatment that can help stop addiction, mental health, or other problems.			.87

16. Make sure criminals get effective treatment for additions and other problems while they're in jail, prison, or on supervision in the community.	.70
17. Make sure that the treatment provided is matched to the offenders needs.	.84
18. Provide more treatment, jobs, and educational programs to address problems that often contribute to crime.	.72
19. Mandate that addicts get treatment in the community.	.45

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Selection Procedure (1=pre-selected)	.55	.50													
2. Gender (1=Male)	.62	.49	-.07*												
3. Race (1=Minority)	.53	.50	.17**	-.40**											
4. Age	39.87	9.00	-.13**	.20**	-.26**										
5. Tenure	7.95	6.29	-.13**	.08	.06	.15**									
6. Minimum Security (=1)	.08	.28	.28**	-.09*	.20**	-.03	.00								
7. Medium Security (=1)	.02	.13	-.15**	-.18**	.13**	-.03	-.01	-.04							
8. Med/Max Security (=1)	.57	.50	-.27**	.31**	-.63**	.28**	-.02	-.36**	-.16**						
9. Maximum Security (=1)	.32	.47	.16**	-.22**	.51**	-.27**	.02	.21**	-.09**	-.80**					
10. +Rehabilitative Values (standardized residual)	4.07 0.00	.76 .99	-.01	-.24**	.24**	.05	-.01	.05	.10**	-.17**	.12**				
11. +Punitive Values (standardized residual)	3.62 0.00	.69 .99	-.04	-.13**	-.25**	-.08*	-.03	-.06	-.05	.17**	-.13	-.16**			
12. +PO fit (standardized residual)	2.63 0.00	.96 .99	-.06	-.01	.03	.09*	-.10**	.01	.01	.02	.03	.21**	-.01		
13. +Burnout (standardized residual)	2.71 0.00	.99 .99	-.03	-.02	-.11**	-.03	.09*	-.08	.07	.06	.00	-.09*	.10**	-.20**	
14. +Org. Commitment (standardized residual)	3.10 0.00	.86 .99	-.07	-.02	.09*	.15**	-.11**	.03	.03	-.05	.02	.29**	-.13**	.63**	-.35**

N=768

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

+NOTE: Prison membership was assessed by calculating ICCs and statistically removing the effects of prison membership by regressing each variable on prison and saving the standardized residuals. All analyses were conducted on these data, including these correlations, therefore prison membership is not listed in the above table.

Table 3. Hierarchical Regression Results for Values Predicting Attitudes

	β	df	R ²	ΔR^2
PO fit				
Step 1: Controls	---	8	.04**	.04**
Gender (1=male)	.00			
Race (1=minority)	.09			
Age	.10*			
Tenure	.15**			
Step 2: Main effects			.07**	.03**
Punitive values	.03			
Rehabilitative values	.20**	10		
Step 3: Interaction	.11**	11	.08**	.01**
Burnout				
Step 1: Controls	---	8	.03**	.03**
Gender (1=male)	-.08*			
Race (1=minority)	-.15**			
Age	-.04			
Tenure	.13**			
Step 2: Main effects			.04**	.01**
Punitive values	.09*			
Rehabilitative values	-.09*	10		
Step 3: Interaction	-.09*	11	.05*	.01*
Organizational Commitment				
Step 1: Controls	---	8	.08**	.08**
Gender (1=male)	-.02			
Race (1=minority)	.16**			
Age	.28**			
Tenure	-.20**			
Step 2: Main effects			.15**	.07**
Punitive values	-.07			
Rehabilitative values	.26**	10		
Step 3: Interaction	.13**	11	.16**	.01**

* p < .05

** p < .01

Table 4. Mediated Moderation Results Predicting Burnout and Organizational Commitment

	β	df	p
Burnout			
Step 1: Interaction predicting PO fit	.11	11	<.001
Step 2: PO fit predicting burnout	-.20	9	<.001
Step 3: Interaction predicting burnout	-.09	11	<.05
Step 4: Interaction predicting burnout, PO fit controlled	-.07	12	<.10
Organizational Commitment			
Step 1: Interaction predicting PO fit	.11	11	<.001
Step 2: PO fit predicting Org. Commitment	.61	9	<.001
Step 3: Interaction predicting Org. Commitment	.13	11	<.001
Step 4: Interaction predicting Org. Commitment, PO fit controlled	.08	12	<.05

Steps indicate steps in testing for mediated moderation rather than steps in a regression equation. All results here included all control variables and traditional moderated regression processes.

Table 5. Results of Polynomial Regression Analyses

	β	df	Model R ²	ΔR^2
PO Fit				
Interaction rehab*punitive values	.09			
Squared rehabilitative values	.24			
Squared punitive values	.00			
		13	.06*	.01*
Burnout				
Interaction rehab*punitive values	-.28*			
Squared rehabilitative values	.13			
Squared punitive values	-.04			
		13	.05*	.02*
Organizational Commitment				
Interaction rehab*punitive values	.21*			
Squared rehabilitative values	.22			
Squared punitive values	.05			
		13	.13*	.01*

Degrees of freedom are reported from the final step in the regression equation

* p < .05

** p < .01

Table 6. Comparison of Original and Interview Sample

	Original Sample	Interview Sample
1. Average tenure	8.0	9.0
2. Average age	39.9	39.2
3. Percent female (male)	37% (60%)	38% (62%)
4. Percent with some college education	91.7%	86.8%
5. Percent African American	47.7%	50%
6. Percent white	44.0%	38%
7. Security levels represented	All	All but “supermax”

Table 7. Multimethod Correlation Results

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Time 1:</i>							
1. Self-rated rehabilitative values	4.38	.59					
2. Self-rated punitive values	3.46	.78	.08				
<i>Time 2:</i>							
3. Self-rated rehabilitative values	4.33	.56	.20	-.11			
4. Self-rated punitive values	3.39	.57	.11	-.06	.01		
5. ^a Coded rehabilitative thoughts/actions	2.39	1.07	-.21	-.22	-.02	.19	
6. ^a Coded punitive thoughts/actions	2.25	1.30	.06	-.01	.02	.41**	-.22

N=40

^a Averaged across the 2 independent coders

** p<.10

*p<.05

Table 8. Descriptive information about values changes over time in interview sample

Rehabilitative Values

Difference (time 1 score-time 2 score)	Percent of sample
-2.00 to -1.50	0.0%
-1.49 to -1.00	15.0%
-.99 to -.50	12.5%
-.49 to 0.00	20.0%
.01 to .50	32.5%
.51 to 1.00	10.0%
1.01 to 1.50	7.5%
1.51 to 2.00	2.5%
2.01 to 2.50	0.0%

Punitive Values

Difference (time 1 score-time 2 score)	Percent of sample
- 2.00 to -1.50	7.5%
-1.49 to -1.00	7.5%
-.99 to -.50	7.5%
-.49 to 0.00	32.5%
.01 to .50	20.0%
.51 to 1.00	7.5%
1.01 to 1.50	10.0%
1.51 to 2.00	2.5%
2.01 to 2.50	2.5%
2.51 to 3.00	2.5%

Table 9. Results of qualitative analysis comparing single value orientation characteristics

Low rehabilitative							High rehabilitative						
total N	N	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N High Rehab</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Z test</i>	<i>Sig</i>	total N	N	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N Low Rehab</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Z test</i>	<i>sig</i>
Contempt for inmates	15	53.33	4.00	16.00	2.49	p<.05	First concern for inmate (cell 4 and self)	25	52.00	1.00	6.67	-2.91	p<.05
Revolving door--hopeless/useless system	11	73.33	6.00	24.00	3.06	p<.05	Focus on explanations, talking with inmate to resolve problems, procedures	18	72.00	4.00	26.67	-2.79	p<.05
First concern for self in situational interview	9	60.00	4.00	16.00	2.28	p<.05	Perspective taking and individual consideration of inmates	17	68.00	1.00	6.67	-3.77	p<.05
Know/discuss inmates' crimes	4	26.67	1.00	4.00	2.10	p<.05	Parental role with inmates; can't be too hard	13	52.00	1.00	6.67	-2.91	p<.05
Low punitive							High punitive						
total N	N	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N High Pun</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Z test</i>	<i>Sig</i>	total N	N	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N Low Pun</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Z test</i>	<i>sig</i>
Low likelihood of physical engagement	27	62.96	3.00	23.08	-2.36	p<.05	Easily engage (cell 4 if needed)	13	84.62	5.00	18.52	4.00	p<.05
Defines job narrowly ("not my job")	9	33.33	3.00	23.08	-0.66	Ns	Aware of inmates' manipulative nature	9	69.23	7.00	25.93	2.62	p<.05

Table 10. Qualitative results for low punitive, low rehabilitative subjects

Cell 1 (LL)	"Robots"	Count of subjects that demonstrate	Percent that demonstrates	Number of other subjects demonstrating (total N=28)	Percent of all other cells demonstrating	z test	sig
Number in cell	12						
Where dimension comes from							
Low R	Contempt for inmates	6	50.00				
Low R	Revolving door; hopeless/useless system	9	75.00				
Low R	First concern for self in situational interview	7	58.33				
Low R	Know/discuss inmate's crimes	2	16.67				
Low P	Low likelihood of physical engagement	7	58.33				
Low P	Defines job narrowly ("not my job")	5	41.67				
Unique cell 1	Retaliatory actions	2	16.67	5	17.86	-0.09	ns
Unique cell 1	Try to be without emotions/suppress	5	41.67	9	32.14	0.58	ns

Table 11. Qualitative results for low punitive, high rehabilitative subjects

Cell 2 (HrehabLpun)	"Parents"	Count of subjects that demonstrate	Percent that demonstrates	Number of other subjects demonstrating (total N=25)	Percent of all other cells demonstrating	Z test	sig
Number in cell	15						
Where dimension comes from							
High R	Parental role with inmates; can't be too hard	10	71.43				
High R	Focus on explanations and talking with inmates to resolve issues, procedures	10	71.43				
High R	Perspective taking and individual consideration of inmates	9	64.29				
High R	First concern for inmates in situational interview	7	50.00				
Low P	Narrow definition of job (not my job to punish)	4	28.57				
Low P	Low likelihood of physical engagement	10	71.43				
Unique cell 2	Focus on consistency in correction/discipline	4	28.57	2	8.00	1.60	ns
Unique cell 2	Do not embarrass/criticize inmates, protect/help	4	28.57	2	8.00	1.60	ns
Unique cell 2	Higher level understandings (no one is a throwaway person; faith, morals, humility) people make mistakes, myself or my child could be in here	5	35.71	4	16.00	1.27	ns

Table 12. Qualitative results for high punitive, low rehabilitative subjects

Cell 3 (HpunLreh)	"Enforcers"	Count of subjects that demonstrate	Percent that demonstrates	Number of other subjects demonstrating (total N=37)	Percent of all other cells demonstrating	Z test	sig
Number in cell	3						
Where dimension comes from							
Low R	Contempt for inmates	2	66.67				
Low R	Revolving door; hopeless/useless system	2	66.67				
Low R	First concern for self in situational interview	2	66.67				
Low R	Talk about inmates' crimes	2	66.67				
High P	Will easily engage in physical force, pepper spray, screaming/cursing; act on instinct	3	100.00				
High P	Recognition of inmates' manipulative nature	2	66.67				
Unique cell 3	Take things personally	2	66.67	7	18.92	1.90	ns
Unique cell 3	Emotional-anger, fear	2	66.67	9	24.32	1.58	ns

Table 13. Qualitative results for high punitive, high rehabilitative subjects

		Count of subjects that demonstrate	Percent that demonstrates	Number of other subjects demonstrating (total N=30)	Percent of all other cells demonstrating	Z test	sig
Cell 4 (HH)	"Balancers"						
Number in cell	10						
Where dimension comes from							
High R	Perspective taking and individual consideration of inmates	8	80.00				
High R	Focus on explanations and talking with inmates to resolve issues	8	80.00				
High R	Parental role with inmates; can't be too hard	5	50.00				
High P	Recognition of inmates' manipulative/dangerous nature, stay vigilant	7	70.00				
Some Unique cell 4/High P	Not afraid to use force,(often as last option) and often in combo	8	80.00	3	10.00	4.29	p<.05
Some unique cell 4/High R	Show concern for self and inmate in situational interview	8	80.00	4	13.33	3.98	p<.05
Unique cell 4	Do not think about job as a big deal/accepts it, recognize own limitations and don't sweat small stuff; do not take assaults, inmates personally	9	90.00	3	10.00	4.78	p<.05

Table 14. Inductive results of typologies of how individuals act in the face of conflicting values

What cells demonstrate these tactics?

	<i>Do not see a conflict-fit</i>	
1,2,3		values fit together through superordinate value (security, safety)
2,4	*	values fit together through role-analogies (babysitter, parent, faith)
3	*	values are simultaneous (rehab through punishment)
3	*	values are longitudinal (first must be punished, then rehabilitated)
4	<i>Do not see a conflict-functional</i>	
	*	draw on both for effective performance (new for organizational behavior content domain--opposite of role conflict)
2,3	<i>Ignore conflict (denial)</i>	
	*	focus on narrow job duties/requirements rather than values (externalize values)
1	<i>Do not see conflict--because neither exists</i>	
	*	neither approach will work
	*	don't "see" either value in practice
2,3	<i>Reduce conflict--deny or bolster (reduces dissonance)</i>	
		Justify superiority of one approach (inmates don't deserve pun or rehab)--bolster
		Justify inferiority of one approach (deny)
	*	Place agency for one value onto inmate
	*= <i>new tactics to the literature</i>	

Figure 1a. Overarching Model of Study I

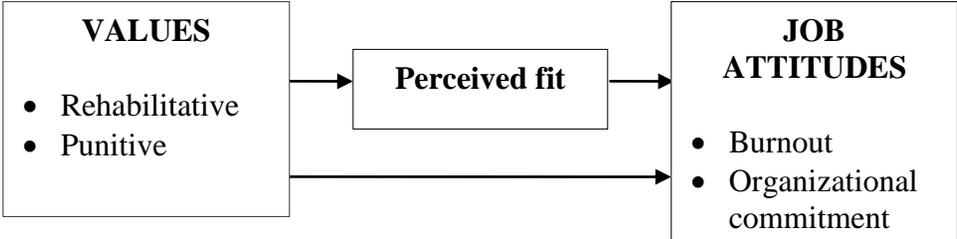


Figure 1b. Overarching Dissertation Model

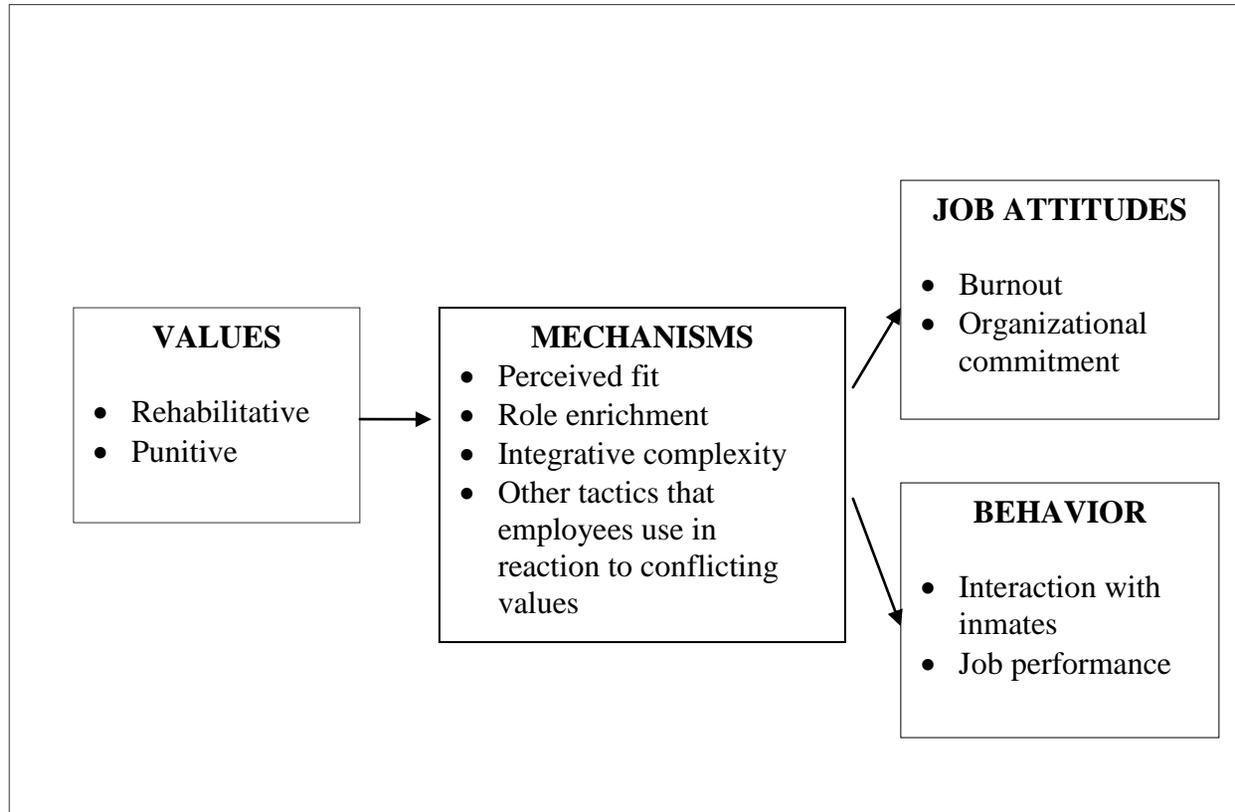


Figure 2. Correctional Officers' Values Systems Comprised of Two Dimensions

		Rehabilitation Values	
		Low	High
Punitive/Security	Low	<u>Cell 1</u> <i>Low Rehabilitation, Low Punitive Values</i>	<u>Cell 2</u> <i>High Rehabilitation, Low Punitive Values</i>
	High	<u>Cell 3</u> <i>Low Rehabilitation, High Punitive Values</i>	<u>Cell 4</u> <i>High Rehabilitation, High Punitive Values</i>

Figure 3. Proposed Causal Model of Study I Relationships

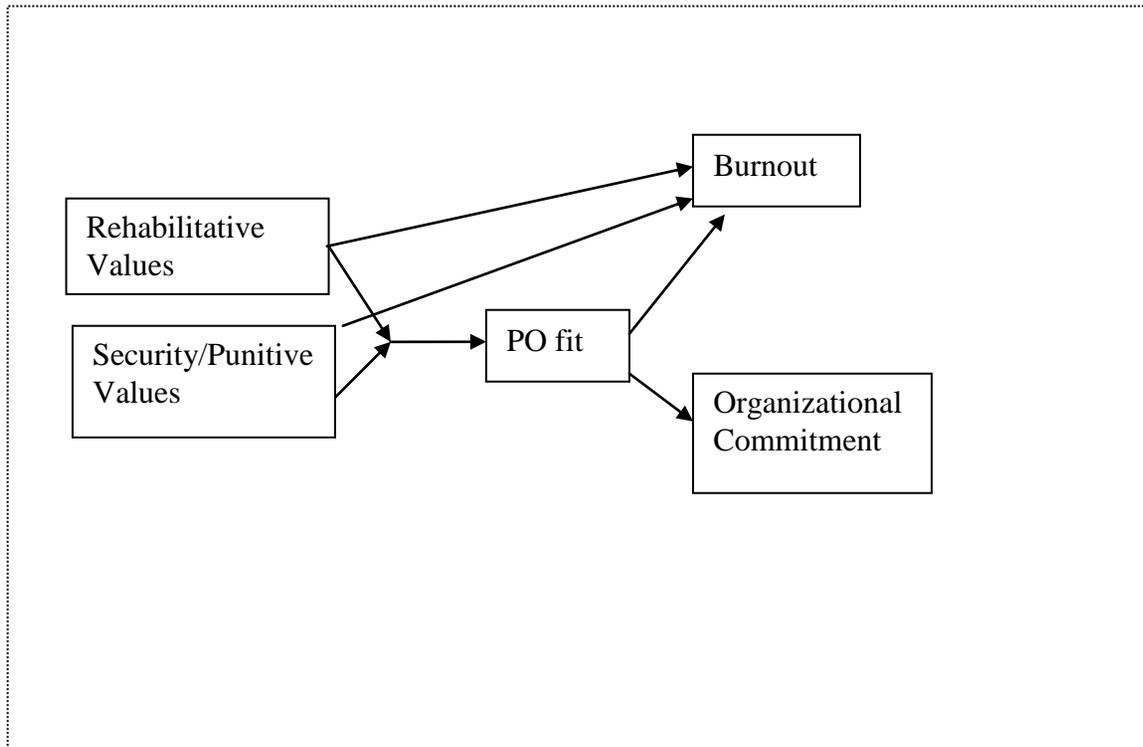


Figure 4. Scree Plot of Values Measure

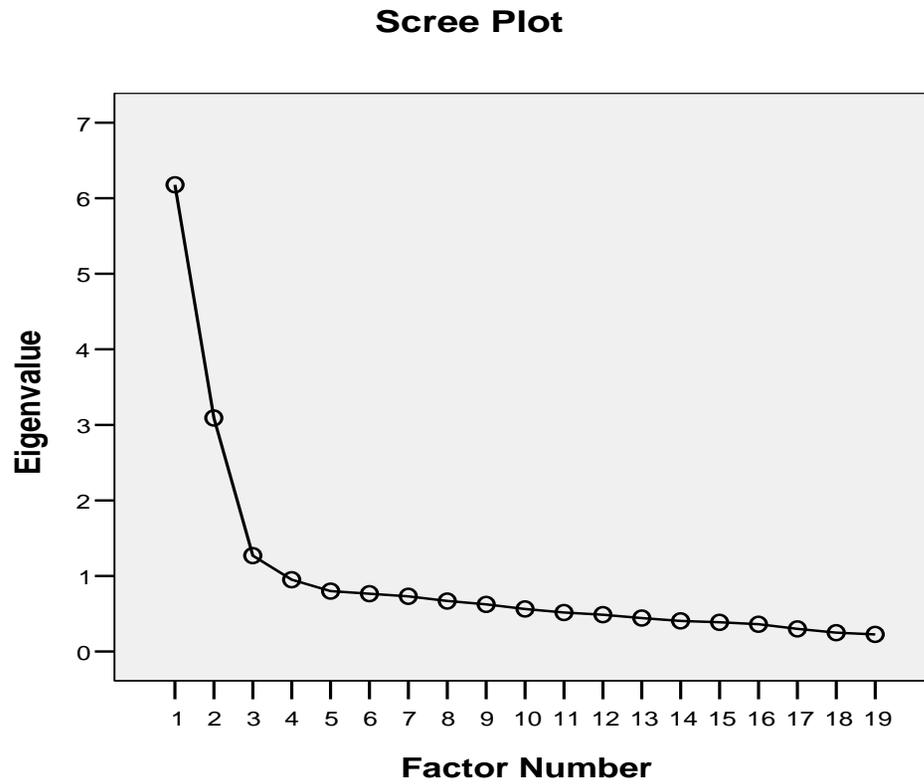


Figure 5. Distribution of Correctional Officers' Values Systems Comprised of Two Dimensions

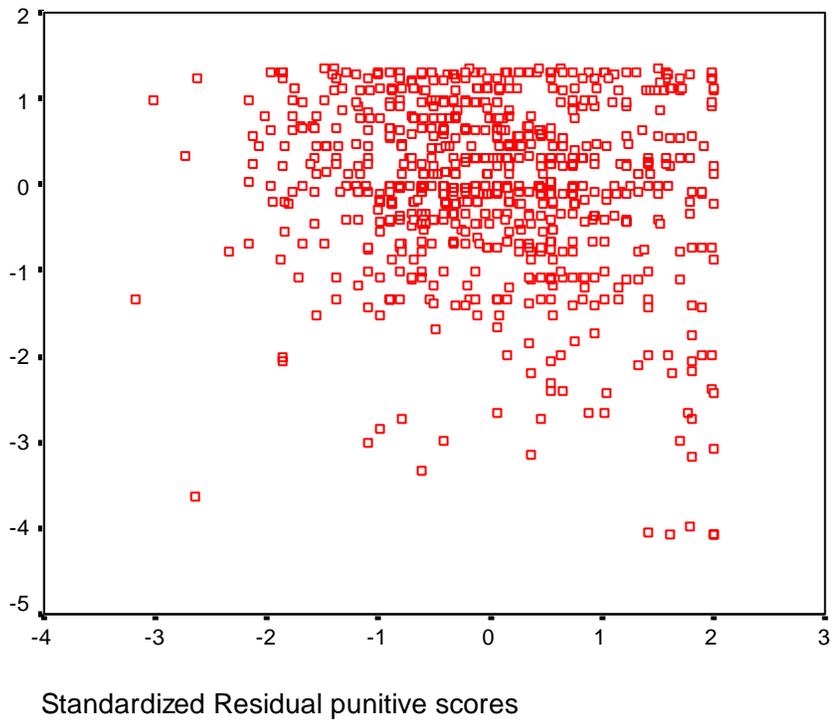


Figure 6. Interaction of Values predicting PO Fit

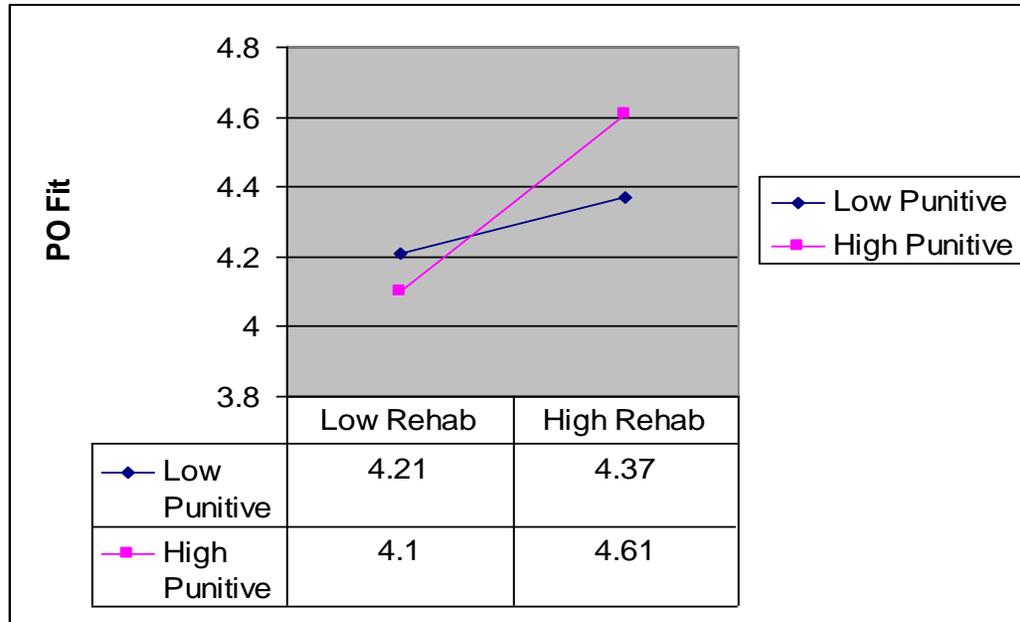


Figure 7. Interaction of Values predicting Organizational Commitment

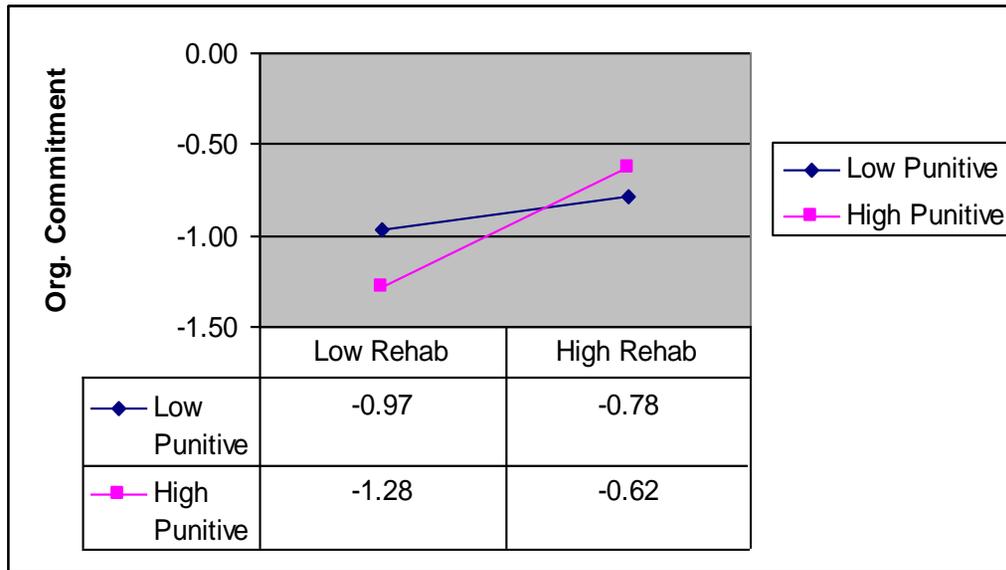


Figure 8. Interaction of Values predicting Burnout

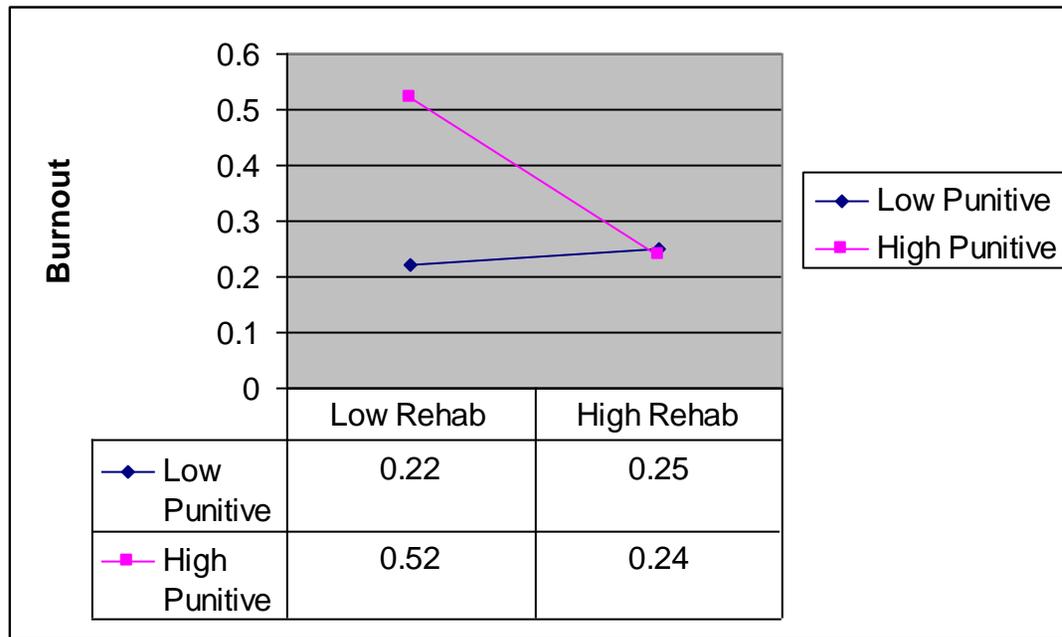


Figure 9. Polynomial Regression Results-Values predicting PO fit

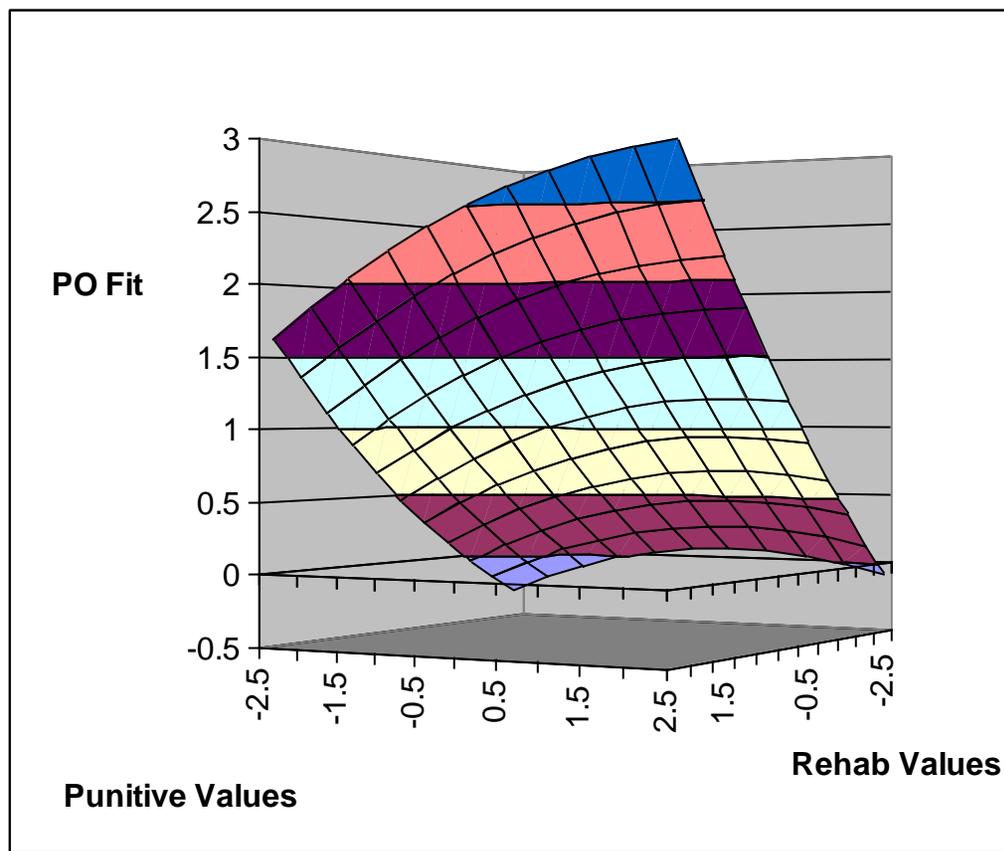


Figure 10. Polynomial Regression Results-Values predicting Burnout

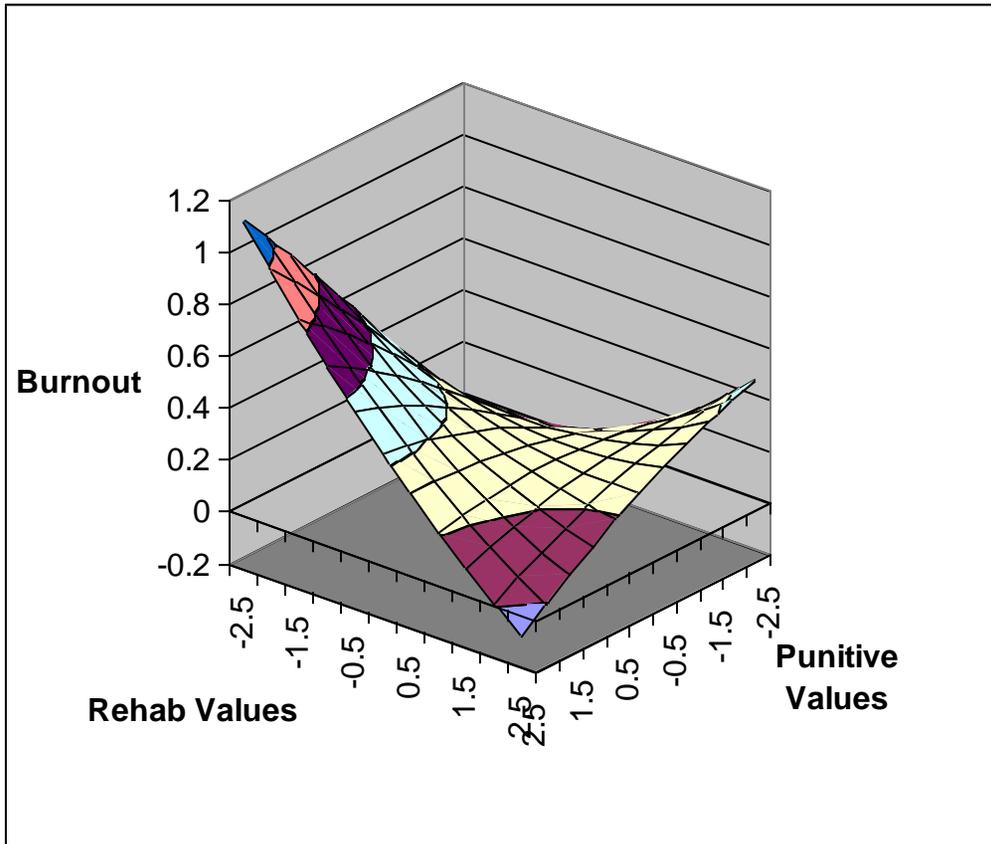


Figure 11. Polynomial Regression Results-Values predicting Org. Commitment

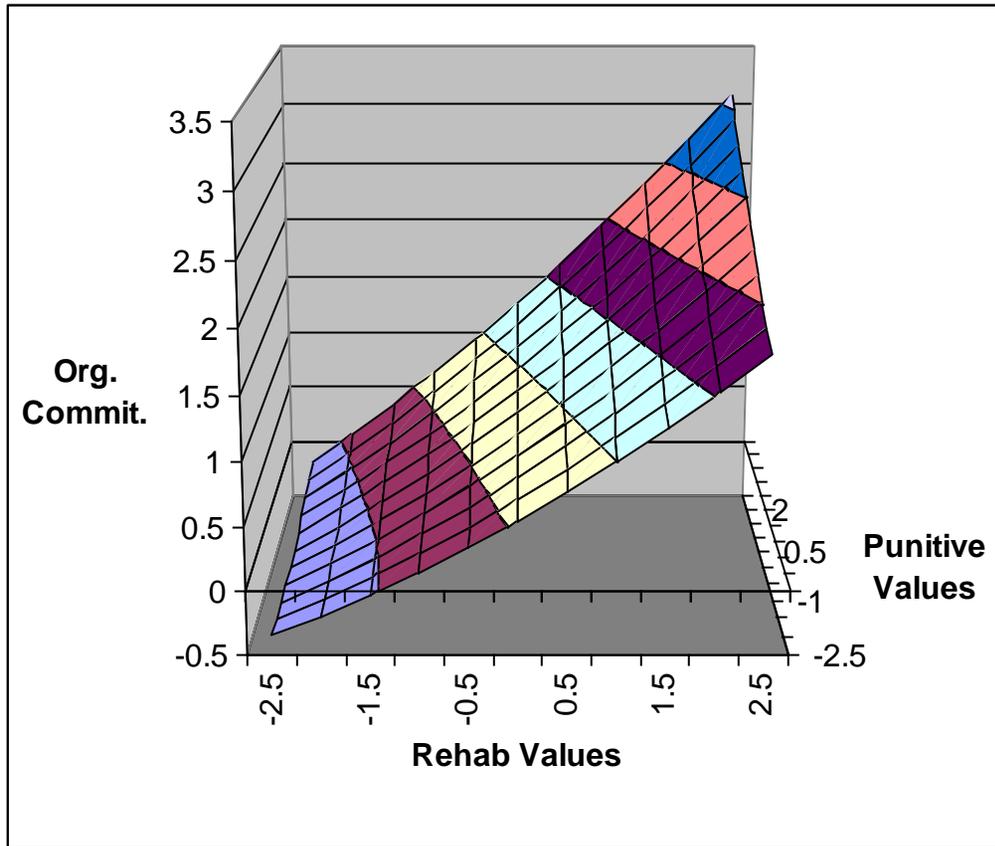


Figure 12. Distribution of interview respondents' self-scored values at time 1 (T1) and time 2 (T2)

		Rehabilitation Values	
		Low	High
Punitive/Security	Low	<u>Cell 1</u> T1: 10 T2: 12 (incl. 2 new)	<u>Cell 2</u> T1: 7 T2: 15
	High	<u>Cell 3</u> T1: 12 (incl. 2 new) T2: 3	<u>Cell 4</u> T1: 15 T2: 10 (incl. 2 new)

Appendix A: Survey Instrument-Selected Items (Organizational Commitment, PO fit, and Burnout Measures)

In this section, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree)

21. Working for the Division of Corrections (based on your experiences at this facility/location)	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disag ree	3 Neither Agree Nor Disagre e	4 Agree	5 Stron gly Agree
I am quite proud to be able to say to people that I work for this organization.					
What this organization stands for is important to me.					
I work for an organization that is incompetent and unable to accomplish its mission					
I feel a strong sense of belonging to this organization.					
I feel like “part of the family” at this organization.					
This organization appreciates my accomplishments on the job.					
My efforts on the job are largely ignored or overlooked by this organization.					

22. Your personal values and the values of the Division of Corrections	1 Stron gly Disag ree	2 Disag ree	3 Neither Agree Nor Disagre e	4 Agree	5 Stron gly Agree
The things I value in life are very similar to the things that my organization values.					
My personal values match my organization’s values and culture.					
My organization’s values and culture provide a good fit with the things that I value in life.					

1 Never	2 Once in a While	3 Someti mes	4 Often	5 Ver y Ofte n
------------	----------------------------	--------------------	------------	----------------------------

31. *How often do you find yourself...*

Being tired					
Feeling depressed					
Having a good day					
Being physically exhausted					
Being emotionally exhausted					
Being happy					
Being “wiped out”					
Feeling like you “can’t take it anymore”					
Being unhappy					
Feeling run-down					
Feeling trapped					
Feeling worthless					
Feeling disillusioned and resentful					
Being weak and susceptible to illness					
Feeling hopeless					
Feeling rejected					
Feeling optimistic					
Feeling energetic					
Feeling anxious					

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Situational Incident

A new inmate is highly violent, continually shouting and disrespecting you, and once even throwing human waste at you. It is obvious that they are coming down off of some drug. What would you do? What do you think would be going through your mind? What would you be feeling?

Critical Incident

1. Tell me about a time on the job where you felt you acted in both a punitive and rehabilitative (caring) way. I'd like you to do is take a few moments to think about a particularly vivid recent experience of this from your job. Try to remember as much as possible -- what you were thinking and feeling; when it happened; where it took place. Really try to place yourself back in that moment. Starting from the very beginning, can you tell me what happened?
 - a. When it took place
 - b. Where it took place
 - c. Who was involved
2. So, at that moment, what do you recall what you were feeling physically?
3. Do you recall what was going through your mind? What you were thinking?
4. Do you remember what you were feeling?
5. So you were feeling [repeat feelings interviewee mentioned] and you were thinking [repeat thoughts interviewee reported], but this was something that you had to do. How did you handle this?
6. Are there any specific techniques you use, or learned, for handling a situation like this?
7. Aside from your own personality and your personal way of going about things, what else do you think influences the way that you or others handle these types of situations around here?
 - a. To what extent do you feel that your own personal values towards rehabilitation (care) of offenders and the punishment of offenders are in conflict? Why?

Job Characteristics

1. Could you please briefly describe your duties as a correctional officer, and your daily activities?
2. What are the goals of the prison? What is expected of you?
3. What does the organization/ system/warden /peers value most?
4. What do you enjoy most about your job?
5. What is most rewarding about your job? What do you feel are your greatest accomplishments?
6. What is the most important part of your job?
7. What do you dislike most about your job?
8. What is the greatest challenge of your job (emotionally, socially, physically)? How do you handle/cope with these challenges?
9. Why do correctional officers burn out? What keeps some officers from burning out?
10. Where do you get a sense of meaning and purpose from your life/job?

Change

1. What initially attracted you to your job as a correctional officer? What keeps you employed as a correctional officer?
2. How did you initially adapt to working in this environment? Was it what you expected? How yes, how no?
3. What were your expectations coming into this job? What were your expectations of yourself, and have these changed since you initially arrived? Did you feel confident in your abilities? Do you remain as confident?
4. How have you changed over time since you began work as a correctional officer? Have your coping techniques changed? Emotions? Attitudes?
5. What are typical correctional officers' attitudes towards inmates? How do new CO's differ from more experienced COs in this area?

* CO's interviewed also re-took the survey items regarding values.

Appendix C. Situational Interview Coding Scheme

****Important to remember:** judgments of rehabilitativeness and punitiveness should NOT be influenced by one another. For example, someone may mention both physical violence and referral for medical treatment.

Situational interview question

A new inmate is highly violent, continually shouting and disrespecting you, and once even throwing human waste at you. It is obvious that they are coming down off of some drug.

What would you do?

What do you think would be going through your mind?

What would you be feeling?

From 1 (not at all rehabilitative)

2=somewhat rehabilitative

3=moderately rehabilitative

4=strongly rehabilitative

5=extremely rehabilitative

Definition: Rehabilitative thoughts and actions indicate a concern for resolution of the problem that is causing the behavior.

Rehabilitative thoughts/actions

- Demonstrating concern for inmate
 - Not wanting inmate to get hurt/hurt himself
 - Make sure inmate is OK
 - Try to protect inmate from other officers getting involved
 - Mention concern for inmate
 - Give inmate food, medication, help, other resources
 - Reassure inmate
 - Try to calm inmate
- Assessing the issue
 - Talk to inmate
 - Listen to inmate
 - Counsel inmate
 - Try to find out what their problem is
 - Physically assess inmate
 - Interview inmate
 - Assess inmate, watch their moods
 - Ask inmate questions
- Reason with inmate
 - Reason with inmate
 - Give inmate time to calm down
 - Explain rules and procedures

- Refer for treatment
 - Psychological
 - Mental
 - Medical
 - Hospital

What rehabilitative is NOT:

- Mentioning concern for self or others' safety (other officers/staff, other inmates)

Example of a low (1) rehabilitative person: subjects 2 and 4. They do not mention any of the above thoughts or behaviors.

Example of a 3 (moderate) rehabilitative person: subject 3 (mentions 2 of the above thoughts/actions)

Example of a high (5) rehabilitative person: subject 11. Mentions 3 of the above thoughts/actions, demonstrating high concern for inmate.

From 1 (not at all punitive)

2=somewhat punitive

3=moderately punitive

4=strongly punitive

5=extremely punitive

Definition: Punitive thoughts and actions indicate a concern for penalty, discipline, or retribution as a result the behavior.

Punitive thoughts/actions

- Hurt inmate
 - Retaliate in any way (e.g., “throw back what he gave us”)
 - Indicate desire for revenge
 - Embarrass him/her
 - Use force/mention physical force
 - Indirect reference to violence
 - “he would not make out well”; “it wouldn’t be as passive as it should”; “take him down”; “just handle the inmate”; “walk the thin chalk line”; “strap in”
 - Direct reference to violence
 - Spray with mace/chemical agent/pepper spray/fog/orange
 - Be physically violent
 - Inmate will “get stomped”
 - Mention desire to kill/strangle/hurt inmate (even if don’t actually say they will act on it)
 - Threaten inmate with violence
- Other punitive actions
 - Write an adjustment/ticket
 - Insult inmate (either actually or in interview)
 - Curse at inmate

What punitive is NOT:

- Mentioning anger, fear, restraining, controlling, isolating, segregate

Example of a low (1) punitive person: subjects 3 and 3b. They do not mention any of the above thoughts or behaviors.

Example of a 3 (moderate) punitive person: subject 1, 20 (mentions 2 of the above thoughts/actions)

Example of a high (5) punitive person: subject 4. Mentions 3 of the above thoughts/actions, demonstrating high concern for retribution and/or serious punishment (e.g., violence as opposed to writing a ticket, which would be a “2”).

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