



The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare

Volume 14
Issue 4 *December*


Article 7

December 1987

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R. L. Mcneely
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

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Recommended Citation

Mcneely, R. L. (1987) "Predictors of Job Satisfaction among Three Racial/Ethnic Groups of Professional Female Human Service Workers," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 14 : Iss. 4 , Article 7.
Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol14/iss4/7>

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PREDICTORS OF JOB SATISFACTION AMONG THREE RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL FEMALE HUMAN SERVICE WORKERS*

R.L. McNEELY

School of Social Welfare
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Three hundred and thirty-six female human service workers were studied to determine whether or not racial/ethnic status was related to job satisfaction among managerial, supervisory and professional employees. Both overall and intrinsic satisfaction were assessed. Two groups were similar in the patterns predictive of their satisfaction but the third group appeared to be influenced by concerns peculiar to those achieving recent professional status.

INTRODUCTION

Although plagued with many inconsistencies (cf. Sauser and York, 1978:537) and despite contrary findings (cf. Varca et al., 1983; Weaver, 1978b), a very tentative degree of consensus has begun to emerge in some of the recent research literature indicating that there may be substantive gender-linked differences in the factors predictive of job satisfaction. For example, Miller (1980) found systematic differences when she examined a nationally representative subset of male respondents enrolled in a longitudinal study begun in 1966 and 43% of their wives who were employed ten or more hours per week. Although men and women rated pay as equally important, job income was a much more important predictor of women's sat-

* The research reported in this article was funded by the School of Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

isfaction while job protections were more salient for men. Women were more concerned about pressures, defined in terms of working hours, job-related stresses, cleanliness, and the degree to which their jobs were tiring. Men were more concerned about their ability to make decisions, possibilities for promotional opportunities, and exercising leadership. There were strong relationships between job conditions and job satisfaction for both sexes. Consequently though reported job satisfaction levels could be similar or vary depending upon the conditions examined, the factors underlying satisfaction appeared to be consistently different between the sexes.

Little attention of the sort evidenced in Miller's study has been addressed to human service workers. Instead, gender-focused studies utilizing human service workers generally have sought simply to determine whether or not job satisfaction levels vary by sex, or to assess the relationship of selected attributes (such as professional role conception, perceived career saliency, sex-role concept, etc.) to reported job satisfaction (cf. Carter-Rice, 1980; Kwalwasser, 1977). One exception is a national study conducted by Jayaratne and Chess (1983) which revealed that female human service administrators are more likely to report higher workloads than their male counterparts and to consider financial rewards as a major factor in turnover decisions. By contrast, the presence or absence of promotional opportunities were the major determinants of turnover decisions for male administrators. Job challenge was very important for both sexes.

Similar findings were reported subsequently by McNeely (1984). In this study the satisfaction of female human service workers was found to be affected by job pressures, fringe benefits and financial rewards whereas the satisfaction of males was affected by promotional concerns, perceptions of administrative superiors, and the ability to exercise judgment on the job.

Nevertheless, the human services literature, like the broader literature, is not consistent. For example, when Jayaratne and Chess (1982-83) examined a larger group of human service workers, including non-administrators, job challenge continued to be the best predictor for males and females but the

patterns observed for promotional opportunities and financial rewards were reversed. In this study, the satisfaction of male workers was predicted by financial rewards whereas female satisfaction was predicted by promotional opportunities. Too, marital status emerged as a significant predictor for women not for males, with married women being more satisfied than single females. Additionally, McNeely (1985) in a longitudinal follow-up found that male and female human service workers become much more androgenous in the factors predictive of satisfaction during budgetary cutback periods. The latter finding points to the need to consider the time period during which surveys are conducted as broad conditions may affect both the satisfaction levels and the satisfaction predictors observed for the sexes. Additionally, as evidenced by the Jayaratne and Chess surveys, the occupational rank of respondents must be taken into account. Findings generated by their studies differ depending upon the rank of those being examined.

One possibly salient factor that has been virtually ignored in the human services literature is race. This is surprising given the fact that numerous studies have shown race to be an important influence on the degree and nature of job satisfaction (Gold et al., 1982; Bartel, 1981; Moch, 1980). For example, some studies have shown Blacks* to be less job satisfied than Caucasians (cf., Forgionne and Peeters, 1983; Andrisani and Shapiro, 1978) and other studies have shown satisfaction among Blacks to be tied more strongly to certain factors or predicted by factors different than those predictive for Caucasians (Brenner and Fernsten, 1984; Weaver, 1978a; Jones, et al., 1977).

A literature search revealed only two race-related job satisfaction studies specifically involving human service workers. Wright, Wesley-King and Berg (1985) examined 41 Black female managers and found few substantive differences in the factors important to Black female managers and factors reported in the

* Usage of upper and lower case letters in this article conforms to the standard practice of capitalizing proper nouns. For example, the upper case "B" in Black is used to denote reference to a racial group. The lower case "w" in white denotes reference to color. "Caucasian" is the proper noun used to denote white non-Hispanic racial heritage.

literature for comparable non-Black managerial groups. The major differences observed were that a limited number of organizational features were predictive of Blacks' satisfaction and, unlike the findings observed primarily for Caucasian females by Jayaratne and Chess (1982-83), Black females who had never married were more satisfied with their jobs than other Black females. Wright et al. concluded that Black female human service managers represent a distinct subpopulation of the larger population of human service managers (1985:77).

Gold, Webb and Smith in their examination of 561 mental health employees found only one of several factors examined to be directly comparable across racial lines (1982:260). For example, variables associated with turnover intent among Black employees were contraindicative of turnover intent among Caucasian employees, Blacks were more affected than Caucasians by the public's perception of their place of employment, and the degree of one's experience in the mental health field appeared more important in explaining job satisfaction for Blacks. A number of researchers have proposed that Blacks and Caucasians bring different frames of reference to the job (cf. Brenner and Fernsten, 1984; Jones et al., 1977; O'Reilly and Roberts, 1973) in order to account for the apparent influence of race as observed by Gold, et al., and others (Zingraff and Schulman, 1984; Hawkes et al., 1984; Ivancevich and McMahan, 1977).

Wright's research team was hampered somewhat by the small N (41) generated by their study despite rigorous efforts to locate Black respondents. Too, the study did not involve a comparison group of non-Blacks. Gold's research team also was hampered by the fact that respondents were not disaggregated by occupational status. Both professionals and non-professionals were included in the race cohorts.

The present study sought to examine racial differences among a group of similarly employed subjects. Restricting the sample to human service workers is responsive to the observations of some critics (cf. Jones et al., 1977) that race-focused studies must examine Blacks and Caucasians who work under similar conditions within similar settings. Further censoring was achieved by limiting the study only to those in managerial,

supervisory or professional jobs, and by excluding male workers. Thus, the occupational spectrum of those participating in the study was confined to upper-echelon workers, and the possibility that any differences observed between the groups were due either to the confounding influence of gender or the interactive effects of race and gender were eliminated. The subjects were surveyed during 1983 and 1984, a period wherein cutbacks inspired by the Reagan administration affected everyone involved in human services work although some subjects were from regions of the country affected more severely than others. The scope of these censoring methods is responsive to those who contend that race and gender differences in job satisfaction disappear if adequate controls are instituted (Weaver, 1978b; 1977).

One motivation to pursue the study was a desire simply to learn more about a topic that has been neglected in the human services literature. This was achieved by designing the project to examine a conclusion that may be inferred from the work of Wright, Wesley-King and Berg, that Black females constitute a distinct subpopulation of human service workers. Too, the vast majority of job satisfaction studies have excluded all but Caucasian males and although there is a growing body of literature on professional newcomers, such as Blacks and women, it has failed to answer definitively a number of basic questions relevant to these groups. Hence, studies involving these workers create fertile opportunities to augment what is known. With this spirit in mind the present study included female Hispanic workers, a group for whom a search of the empirical human service literature failed to reveal a single citation. Indeed, the same review of *Social Work Research and Abstracts* disclosed that fewer than ten empirical job satisfaction studies have been published in social work journals since 1980. It is prudent to regard such a limited number of empirical examinations concerning the human services stratum of workers as forerunner studies. One function of such studies is to generate hypotheses that lend themselves to subsequent investigation. Thus, another objective of the present study was to develop speculative propositions about possible relationships involving race, gender

and job satisfaction. This was achieved by interpreting some of the findings in the light of selected contemporary influences.

Additionally, the inclusion of Hispanics permitted an examination of whether or not differences in job satisfaction levels appeared among members of two minority groups, one of whom tends to be victimized by harsher forms of discrimination. A second question was whether or not the variables predictive of job satisfaction would be reflective of hostile treatment afforded to one or both minority groups. Although the instrument used in the study was not designed specifically to capture the extent to which prejudice and discrimination existed within an employment setting, several of the items appearing on the questionnaire in conjunction with the methodology employed in the study provided a basis upon which to infer the presence of differential treatment based on race.

METHOD

This study is part of an ongoing multi-site study designed to assess factors associated with the job satisfaction of human service workers. Employees of county welfare departments located in disparate areas of the nation have been surveyed during a period of several years. Data were obtained in 1983 from Genesee County (Flint, Michigan), and in 1984 from Dade County (Miami, Florida) and Sacramento County (Sacramento, California). Presently, data are being collected from El Paso County (Colorado Springs, Colorado) and Fulton County (Atlanta, Georgia). Published reports of previous findings generated by the broader study may be found elsewhere (McNeely, 1983; 1984; 1985; McNeely et al., 1986.)

A mail questionnaire consisting of 115 Likert-type items was utilized to obtain information. Three indices, one assessing attitudes toward working conditions, and the other two assessing job satisfaction, were imbedded into the instrument: the Science Research Associates Attitude Survey (SRA); the Index of Job Satisfaction (IJS); and the Morse Index (MI) of Intrinsic Job Satisfaction, (Miller, 1977). Items requesting self-reported descriptive information on several dimensions also were included in the instrument. These questions focused upon race, gender, age, occupation, income, marital status, years of

schooling, length of employment and whether or not current employees had been recipients of AFDC or food stamps during their adult years. Other questions on the survey instrument were unrelated to the present study.

The analyses were limited to data generated by Black, Hispanic and Caucasian female respondents employed in managerial, supervisory or professional jobs. Managers were individuals who set broad policies and exercised overall responsibility for the execution of policies, or directed individual departments. Supervisors included those who monitored, evaluated, and provided overall guidance of the day-to-day activities of subordinates. Professionals were in jobs involving selection criteria requiring specialized and theoretical knowledge usually acquired through advanced formal training.

The criteria utilized to determine professional status were more rigorous than those employed to designate managerial or supervisory status. Individuals in the latter classifications need not have completed advanced formal training, nor even a high school diploma. For example, supervisors of clerical or home care workers often-times have not completed baccalaureate level training, let alone advanced graduate-level training. Respondents in department managerial or supervisory roles were included in the sample regardless of educational background.

The SRA was used to determine precise correlates of satisfaction. This large schedule (78 items) pinpoints very specific aspects of subjects' working conditions. For example, SRA items capture areas of possible employee concern such as internal grievance procedures, availability of supportive services necessary to get the job done, fringe benefits, supervision, executive management of the agency, etc. However, as it is an attitudinal survey, some SRA items focus upon generalized feelings. These items, which are more indicative of generalized levels of satisfaction, such as "I'm proud to work for the department," were eliminated from the analysis. Readers wishing to identify the omitted items may do so by examining the SRA as published in Miller's (1977) reference text. Items deleted from the analysis correspond to the reference text's numbered questions 22, 24, 27, 45, 50, 75, 77 and 78.

Several SRA items emphasize the nature of interpersonal

conditions present in a work setting. For example, these questions point to the friendliness and helpfulness of fellow employees, whether or not employees experience a sense of "belongingness," and whether or not employees feel they have been treated fairly by "higher-ups." Other questions focus upon the fairness of internal promotional procedures, grievance procedures, pay levels, etc. Together, these items provide a basis upon which to determine whether or not any patterns are evident among Blacks and Hispanics, compared to Caucasians, that job satisfaction is influenced unduly by concerns in these areas.

The IJS focuses upon subjective assessments regarding whether or not a job is unpleasant, boring, like a hobby, more enjoyable than one's leisure time, etc. It consists of 18 Likert-type items. IJS scores were used to determine overall work satisfaction levels. Use of the Morse Index (MI) allowed an assessment of what Herzberg (1959) has referred to as intrinsic job satisfaction. In his two-factor theory, he has postulated that job satisfaction is a function of two conceptually discrete factors. Extrinsic factors refer primarily to factors such as pay, fringe benefits, job security, etc. Intrinsic factors refer to those aspects of the job that satisfy what has been described as the fundamental need of workers for creative and challenging work (cf., O'Toole et al., 1973). The MI, which consists of four Likert-type items, was used to determine whether or not significant differences existed in the intrinsic satisfaction levels of subjects.

The test-retest method has been used to determine the reliability of the SRA. The reported product-moment reliability coefficient is $r_{\pi} = .89$ (Miller, 1977). Removal of the nine SRA items as reported above may have affected the test-retest reliability coefficient. No test-retest was performed with the human service workers comprising this study's sample frame to determine whether or not removal of the items significantly affected the coefficient. The corrected odd-even product-moment reliability coefficient for the IJS is $r = .87$ (Miller, 1977). No test-retest or split-half reliability coefficients have been reported for the MI, but the scale has been found highly related to scales

measuring other aspects (such as pride in group performance) of one's overall job satisfaction (Miller, 1977).

F-tests and multiple stepwise regression analyses constituted the principal techniques employed to analyze the data. SRA variables comprised the independent variables in the regression model. Predictors not significant at $P = .05$ were not entered into the equation. In addition, because of the small number of hispanic females, the regression was set up so that the number of variables entered did not exceed one-tenth of the cases in order that the assumptions of regression analysis ($N >$ number of variables) not be violated. Thus, because there were only 20 female Hispanic professionals, only two predictors are reported for this group. Although the assumptions of regression analysis were not violated, the inclusion of Hispanics in the regression portion of the analysis is due principally to the need for heuristic inquiry; virtually nothing is known about female professional Hispanic human service workers.

FINDINGS

A total of 2,925 questionnaires were sent to employees of the three departments. One hundred and forty-five questionnaires were returned because respondents had moved without leaving a forwarding address. Follow-up efforts were unsuccessful with 28 respondents whose questionnaires were judged as insufficiently completed to warrant inclusion among the usable questionnaires. Thirty-seven attritions (retirements, turnover, lay-offs, terminations) occurred between the time mailing lists were compiled and the questionnaires were sent out to respondents. There were 1,367 completed usable questionnaires, amounting to a response rate of 50.3%. There were 104 questionnaires completed by Asians, Native Americans, and individuals designating their racial status as Pacific Islander, West Indian, etc. These were deleted from the analysis.

As indicated in Table 1, the respondents include 82 Black female "professionals" (includes managers, supervisors, professionals), 20 Hispanic female "professionals," and 234 Caucasian female "professionals." There were statistically significant differences in the length respondents had been employed

TABLE 1
 PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Race					
	Blacks	%	Hispanics	%	Whites	%
<i>Employment Length</i>						
<4	82	99.9	20	100.0	232	100.0
4-6	22	26.8	8	40.0	12	5.2
7-9	10	12.2	3	15.0	26	11.2
10-12	21	25.6	6	30.0	34	14.6
13-15	16	19.5	1	5.0	29	12.5
>15	6	7.3	2	10.0	39	16.8
	7	8.5	0	0.0	92	39.7
<i>Income</i>	82	100.0	20	100.0	232	100.0
<15,000	25	30.4	2	10.0	5	2.2
15,000-20,999	21	25.7	5	25.0	37	15.9
21,000-26,999	23	28.1	10	50.0	116	50.0
27,000-32,999	10	12.2	3	15.0	57	24.6
33,000-38,999	3	3.6	0	0.0	13	5.6
>38,999	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.7
<i>Education</i>	82	100.0	20	100.0	234	

<H.S.	4	4.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
H.S. Diploma	10	12.2	1	5.0	1	4
Some College	14	17.1	3	15.0	46	19.7
College Degree	23	28.0	2	10.0	66	28.2
Some Grad School	13	15.9	6	30.0	57	24.4
Grad Degree	17	20.7	7	35.0	55	23.5
Doctoral Courses	1	1.2	0	0.0	5	2.1
Ph.D./M.D.	0	0.0	1	5.0	4	1.7
<i>Marital Status</i>	82	100.0	20	100.0	233	100.0
Married	38	46.3	11	55.0	125	53.6
Widowed	3	3.7	1	5.0	9	3.9
Divorced	17	20.7	4	20.0	54	23.2
Separated	10	12.2	0	0.0	8	3.4
Never Married	14	17.1	4	20.0	37	15.9
<i>Age</i>	81	100.0	19	100.0	234	100.0
<30	8	9.9	3	15.8	3	1.3
30-41	35	43.2	10	52.6	114	48.7
42-53	33	40.7	5	26.3	75	32.1
>53	5	6.2	1	5.3	42	17.9
<i>Food Stamps/AFDC</i>	82	100.0	20	100.0	234	100.0
Recipient	25	30.5	5	25.0	38	16.2
Non-Recipient	57	69.5	15	75.0	196	83.8

at their respective departments. The mean employment length for Blacks was 8.6 years versus 12.9 years for Caucasians. Hispanics had been employed an average of 6.0 years. These differences achieved an F-value of 21.5 ($p < .001$). The average earnings of Blacks (\$18,293), Hispanics (\$20,249) and Caucasians (\$23,939) were significantly different ($F = 29.0$; $p < .001$).

Blacks were overrepresented among individuals who had not completed college. Whereas 34.2% of all Blacks had not completed college, only 20% of Hispanics and 20.1% of Caucasians had failed to do so ($F = 10.3$; $p < .001$). Caucasians were somewhat older than either Blacks or Hispanics. The respective means were 43.8, 40.7 and 39.2 years ($F = 5.3$; $p < .006$). More Blacks (30.5%) than either Hispanics (25%) or Caucasians (16.2%) had been recipients either of food stamps or AFDC during their adult years. Altogether, slightly more than one-fifth (20.2%) of these occupationally successful women had obtained gainful employment despite having had at least one period of financial need during adulthood.

Fewer Blacks (46.3%) than either Hispanics (55%) or Caucasians (53.6%) were married and, as evidenced by those who were divorced or separated, there was more marital instability among Blacks (32.9%) versus Hispanics (20%) or Caucasians (26.6%). The divorce rates among the three groups of professional women were quite similar. Married (separated individuals were treated as unmarried) Caucasians were more job satisfied than unmarried Caucasians on both overall ($t = 2.0$; $p = .046$) and intrinsic satisfaction ($t = 2.4$; $p = .016$). No differences were observed for Blacks or Hispanics (Mann-Whitney U Test used for Hispanic subset).

There were no significant differences among the race groups on either overall ($F = .902$; $p = .407$) or intrinsic ($F = .084$; $p = .919$) satisfaction, as indicated in Table 2. This is a bit surprising given the fact that there are significant differences among the groups on employment length, income and education. Presumably, differences among these variables would be associated with differences in job satisfaction. Thus, the fact that Blacks earn substantially less does not appear to be suppressing their satisfaction.

TABLE 2
 OVERALL (IJS) AND INTRINSIC (MI) JOB SATISFACTION
 BY POPULATION GROUPS

Population Group	N	\bar{X}	Sd	F-Value	Significance
<i>Index of Job Satisfaction</i>					
Total Sample	332	64.0	10.2		
Black	80	63.7	9.8		
Hispanic	20	61.2	9.9	.902	N.S.
White	232	64.3	10.3		
<i>Morse Index</i>					
Total Sample	332	15.7	2.9		
Black	80	15.8	3.0		
Hispanic	20	15.5	2.7	.084	N.S.
White	232	15.7	2.9		

The pattern of variables predictive of satisfaction is quite similar for Blacks and Caucasians while Hispanic satisfaction is influenced by a different set of predictors. As reported for female human service workers enrolled in the national study performed by Jayaratne and Chess (1982-83; 1983), Black and Caucasian females in the present study, too, are affected most by challenge. Put differently, isolating those who are satisfied from those who are dissatisfied is best achieved by assessing the degree to which these respondents agree with the statement "My job is often dull and monotonous." Those who agree are the most dissatisfied. Blacks and Caucasians also are affected by whether or not their jobs permit them to use their abilities, a factor reported elsewhere as particularly salient in predicting satisfaction among females engaged in a wide range of occupations (Andrisani and Shapiro, 1978) as well as for those involved in professional-level human services work (McNeely, 1984).

Predictors associated with task stress emerged for Blacks and Caucasians, but not for Hispanics. Dissatisfied Blacks felt that job expectations were excessive whereas Caucasians simply indicated that their jobs involved too much pressure.

Again, the findings for both groups are consistent with prior studies involving female workers (Miller, 1980), including those in the human services wherein women were affected by jobs they perceived to have high workloads (Jayaratne and Chess, 1982–83; 1983), with those holding these views being less job-satisfied (McNeely, 1984).

Both Blacks and Caucasians were affected by job facets related to the qualities of superiors. Dissatisfied Blacks perceived their immediate supervisors as unknowledgeable whereas Caucasians reporting dissatisfaction were adversely affected by perceptions of managerial unfairness and dishonesty and by supervisors who failed to take timely action, i.e., “My supervisor keeps putting things off, she/he just lets things ride.”

The perception of satisfied Black females that there are an abundance of good jobs in their places of employment is akin to Wright’s finding that the most satisfied Black females in his sample believed they had career advancement opportunities where they worked (Wright et al., 1985). As indicated by the correlation coefficient and standardized beta weight reported in Table 3, the relative importance of this predictor increased substantially after the effects of suppressor variables were removed.

The satisfaction of Hispanic female professionals, in contrast to their non-Hispanic cohorts, was *not* strongly tied to perceptions regarding the challenge versus dullness of their jobs. In the case of Hispanic female professionals, whether or not they agreed that “My supervisor gets employees to work together as a team” best isolated those who were satisfied versus those who were not. Those who agreed were most satisfied. Too, among these respondents, the most satisfied felt that “If I have a complaint to make, I feel free to talk to someone up-the-line.” The independent relationship of these variables to job satisfaction among Blacks and Caucasians was not strong enough to permit their emergence as predictors of satisfaction for either group. In fact, among Blacks and Caucasians, even the simple correlation coefficients for both of these items were quite low.

Altogether, the predictors explained 53% of the variance in job satisfaction among Blacks, 82% of the variance among His-

TABLE 3
 MULTIPLE STEPWISE REGRESSION OF SRA VARIABLES ON
 OVERALL (IJS) JOB SATISFACTION

Variable	Simple r	Beta Weight	R ² Changes	Total R ²
<i>Blacks (N = 80)</i>				
Job Dullness	-.554	-.435	.307	
Excessive Work	-.290	-.263	.095	
Use of Abilities	.498	.256	.058	
Immediate Supvr Unknowledgeable	-.378	-.199	.034	
Abundance of Good Jobs	.003	.169	.027	
<i>Hispanics (N = 20)</i>				
Supvr Encourages Teamwork	.674	1.048	.454	.531
Can Complain	.154	.708	.361	
<i>Whites (N = 232)</i>				
Job Dullness	-.557	-.451	.310	
Managerial Unfairness	-.321	-.189	.065	
Use of Abilities	.404	.196	.056	
Excessive Pressure	-.247	-.155	.023	
Supvr Lets Things Ride	-.315	-.118	.012	.466

panics, and 47% of the variance among Caucasians. In contrast to the findings of a number of other studies, cited previously, none of the predictors involved adequacy of pay or fringe benefits issues.

DISCUSSION: SPECULATIVE HYPOTHESES

Despite the fact that there were several statistically significant differences observed for demographic variables such as income, employment longevity, etc., there were no statistically significant differences on either overall or intrinsic job satisfaction among the races. In fact, the pattern of satisfaction predictors were quite similar for Blacks and Caucasians, although not for Hispanics.

These findings conflict with studies showing Blacks to be

less satisfied than Caucasians (Forgionne and Peeters, 1983; Andrisani and Shapiro, 1978) but are consistent with those contending that job satisfaction differences between the races disappear if adequate controls are instituted (Weaver, 1978b; 1977). Nevertheless, the presence of significant differences on several demographic factors, particularly income, is a bit puzzling, as some have contended that economic explanations are key in understanding job satisfaction differences between Blacks and Caucasians (Shapiro, 1977). One explanation that could account for similar satisfaction rates is the fact that Blacks had less education, less employment longevity, and a considerably higher AFDC/food stamp reciprocity rate than their Caucasian counterparts. These factors, it was thought, could be converging to lessen the expectations of Blacks that they should receive equivalent compensation. For example, nearly 31% of all Blacks were former recipients. Perhaps these individuals may be very satisfied simply to have extricated themselves from dependency status. These conjectures are very consistent with a number of studies in which it has been suggested that Blacks have different frames of reference leading them to expect less than Caucasians from their jobs (Brenner and Fernsten, 1984) and, therefore, register equivalent satisfaction despite earning less (Bartel, 1981).

However, satisfaction among Blacks, as was the case with the other race cohorts, was not related to education on either overall ($r = -.035$; $p = .379$) or intrinsic satisfaction ($r = -.047$; $p = .340$). Former reciprocity had no relationship to either measure of job satisfaction for any of the three groups. On the other hand, trends were observed wherein the most satisfied Blacks were those who had the least employment longevity as evidenced by correlation coefficients reported for overall ($r = -.186$; $p = .049$) and intrinsic satisfaction ($r = -.156$; $p = .084$). A similar trend was observed for Caucasians on overall satisfaction ($r = -.100$; $p = .065$) but not on intrinsic satisfaction. No significant differences or trends were observed among Hispanics. Thus, except for the modest influence of employment longevity among Blacks, there is little evidence suggesting that these demographic factors explain the non-emergence of concerns about pay in the regression analysis.

The author can think of only one reason accounting for the apparent suppression of pay issues as predictors of satisfaction. However, the explanation requires reliance on the interpretation of data and observations borne of studies other than the present examination.

In a prior study involving human service workers, a longitudinal follow-up revealed that pay issues no longer predicted satisfaction differences among males and females (McNeely, 1985). In addition, the same longitudinal follow-up revealed that the beta weight associated with job dullness had increased substantially (McNeely et al., 1986). The major distinction between the two time periods is that fiscal cutbacks had been imposed during the time interval between the data collection points, ending a span of years that had been characterized by program expansion. Explanations offered by respondents who were interviewed focused upon an increase in task routinization occurring between the two periods data were collected. The latter observation is important when one considers that a frequent outcome of efforts to maintain service levels with shrinking budgets is increased routinization in service delivery. Thus, the importance of job dullness as a predictor of satisfaction for Black and Caucasian women may be related to conditions imposed by federal and state recisions in human services funding, conditions under which race and gender-related concerns about pay differentials simply may have become less pronounced. On this point at least one study has shown women and men to become much more androgenous in the predictors of their satisfaction during periods of budgetary retrenchment (McNeely, 1985). Other evidence supporting the overarching influence of present-day budgetary conditions may be found elsewhere (McNeely and Schultz, 1986).

All three racial/ethnic groups were affected by job facets related to the qualities of supervisors. However, the predictors of Hispanic satisfaction were quite different. The emphasis among Hispanics on teamwork may be related to the fact that these women had the least employment longevity of the three groups. It may be that those with less experience prefer more team work. Too, there are numerically fewer female Hispanics occupying upper-echelon positions in human service work.

This may place many Hispanic females in work situations offering limited opportunities for daily contact with other Hispanic women of similar or higher occupational status. Among other outcomes, this may be impacting adversely on the ability of these women to locate mentors (cf. Queralt, 1981). Under these conditions it may be even more important to have a responsive "ear" in the administrative hierarchy when problems arise.

Despite the fact that human services work has been a traditionally female occupation, the representation of female Hispanics in upper-echelon positions versus that of Blacks or Caucasians is comparatively recent. This may be increasing their sense of being newcomers and the discomforts associated with that status. One study has shown that female newcomers in non-traditional jobs are particularly appreciative of co-worker cooperation (McIlwee, 1982:314). Additionally, two of the departmental executive directors participating in this study were Black; one executive director was Caucasian. This may be important in that the racial status of an executive director appears to be related to the pattern of satisfaction observed for Black human service workers (McNeely, 1986). It would be interesting to observe the levels and nature of satisfaction among Hispanic and other females employed in departments directed by female Hispanics.

As stated previously, readers are urged to consider the data on Hispanic females with caution. Findings generated by these respondents are based on a very small N. They were included because virtually nothing is known about them in the human services literature. Perhaps the findings and conjectures can serve as a point of departure for future studies involving larger numbers of female Hispanics engaged in human services work.

Summary, Comments and Conclusion

Based upon the findings of this study, Black females do not appear to be members of a distinct sub-population of human service workers as proposed by Wright, Wesley-King and Berg (1985). Nor do Blacks and Caucasians appear to be affected by influences that are substantively different as suggested by the

findings of Gold, Webb and Smith (1982). However, while Blacks and Caucasians were very similar in the patterns predictive of their satisfaction, the satisfaction of Hispanics was predicted best by items not related significantly to the satisfaction of the other racial groups. All three groups were similar in the levels recorded for both overall and intrinsic job satisfaction.

The present study is among a very few seeking to examine the correlates of satisfaction for race and gender groups. As a forerunner study, an effort was made to develop some hypotheses particularly germane to the conditions under which human service workers are operating. Hence, the findings are interpreted within the context of some of the broad conditions impacting these workers, such as the present era of budgetary retrenchment in human services funding. Hopefully, future studies will examine the influence of this and other factors, such as the racial/ethnic studies of organizational leaders, that may bear on the job satisfaction of these employees.

Although the study revealed no major differences among Blacks and Caucasians it must be borne in mind that the stigma associated with being Black does result in differential treatment by race, leading to cosmological differences among the races. It is very possible that the ability to ascertain differences existing between the groups was impeded in the present study due to the fact that none of the standardized indices utilized were developed to capture race-sensitive concerns. This observation is suggestive of the need to develop race sensitive instruments, the properties of which are known.

Meanwhile, it is perhaps heartening to note that many of the findings of this study are consistent with those published in the broad literature. At least on instruments not set up to capture the subtle nuances of differential treatment by race, Blacks and Caucasians appear quite similar, the differences observed for female Hispanics are assumed to result from conditions other than being employed in an hostile environment.

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